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Political Ecology of Inequality in Tourism Development in Rural Mongolia

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Sheffield Hallam University
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

Tourism is often advocated as a means of poverty reduction in the developing world, despite limited evidence about its effectiveness. There is even less research on tourism's wider effects on standards of living and general inequality in developing countries. This study explores the views of different people involved in tourism development about tourism's contribution to quality of livelihoods and standards of living, and about associated equality and inequality, as a consequence of tourism development in rural Mongolia. Use is made of a critical realist stance and three theoretical approaches: a political ecology, an actor-perspective and a capability approach. Taken in combination, these approaches focus on the macro-level structural aspects of tourism and standards of living, the associated micro-level actor relations, and the relations within and among them. The study explores two case study rural areas with substantial tourism elements: the Lake Hovsgol region and the Gobi Desert region, in northern and southern Mongolia respectively. Qualitative methods were used, including 52 semi-structured, face-to-face and focus group interviews with 61 respondents, participant observation, and analysis of government and agency reports. Analysis of the sources was undertaken using a framework approach.

The study findings suggest that tourism's contribution to grassroots people's standards of living was substantial and often accounted for more than half of household incomes, despite the short tourist season. Households with below average standards of living appeared to benefit the least from tourism in comparison to households with average and above average standards of living. It is argued that this relates to the lack of capability of many among the less-well-off to become involved in tourism. It was also shown that people held differing notions of tourism's contribution to inequalities. Tourism had varied environmental, economic and sociocultural burdens and benefits, resulting, for example, in water pollution, deforestation, soil degradation and the alteration of traditional patterns of nomadic culture. Tourism also competed with other economic sectors for natural resources. Tourism's burdens and benefits were influenced by the political economy of state governance, taxation policies, party politics and corruption. Many local actors considered that tourism development led by the private sector had only limited benefits for the host population, while private sector respondents considered it had led to substantial economic benefits. Community-based tourism programmes led by International Development Organisations were sometimes considered less efficient and destabilising in the long run as they created relatively low quality and low expenditure tourism.

It was found that individual actors exerted agency and found some room for manoeuvre in order to achieve their goals within the structural constraints. Yet modest grassroots people seem to have been bearing a disproportionately large proportion of the problems or costs of the structural forces. They suffered most from low wages and commodity price inflation, limited access to natural resources due to conservation policies, and a lack of information and opportunities. Yet some of these grassroots people exerted much agency, such as through the use of their informal social networks to make the most of the tourism-related opportunities.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	II
Acknowledgements	III
List of Tables	VIII
List of Figures	IX
Acronyms	X
Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. CONTEXT TO THE STUDY	1
1.2. STUDY AIM AND OBJECTIVES	4
1.3. KEY APPROACHES IN THE STUDY	7
1.3.1. Approaches and concepts used in the study	8
1.3.2. The case study context for the study	10
1.3.3. Philosophical context of the study	12
1.4. ORGANIZATION OF THESIS	12
1.5. CONCLUSION	17
Chapter 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	18
2.1. INTRODUCTION	18
2.2. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH	20
2.3. THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY APPROACH	23
2.4. ENVIRONMENTAL INEQUALITY AND JUSTICE	26
2.4.1. Distributional justice	26
2.4.2. Procedural justice	28
2.5. APPLICATION OF POLITICAL ECOLOGY IN TOURISM	28
2.6. ACTOR-ORIENTED APPROACH TO THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF TOURISM	34
2.7. STANDARDS OF LIVING, POVERTY, INEQUALITY, AND TOURISM	38
2.7.1. Standards of living, poverty and inequality	38
2.8. THE CAPABILITY APPROACH AND TOURISM	42
2.8.1. The capability approach in tourism research	44
2.9. CONCLUSION	45
Chapter 3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	48
3.1. INTRODUCTION	48
3.2. THE INITIAL CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	49
3.3. THE SECOND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	53
3.3.1. Political economy of tourism	56
3.3.2. Actors' relations	57
3.3.3. Practices and discourses of equity and (in)equality of standards of living	60
3.3.4. Equality and capabilities	63
3.3.5. Environmental justice	65

3.4.	APPLICATION OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	65
3.5.	CONCLUSION.....	67
Chapter 4	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	68
4.1.	INTRODUCTION	68
4.2.	RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY	68
4.2.1.	Ontology and Epistemology	68
4.2.2.	Positivism and Social Constructionism	69
4.2.3.	Critical Realism	71
4.2.4.	Application of critical realism as a research philosophy	72
4.3.	RESEARCH DESIGN	74
4.3.1.	Case Study Approach.....	74
4.3.2.	Data collection	76
4.4.	RESEARCH TECHNIQUES.....	81
4.4.1.	Semi-structured interviews	81
4.4.2.	Research sampling	87
4.4.3.	Interview themes.....	94
4.4.4.	Participant observation	102
4.4.5.	Secondary sources for data: document information	103
4.5.	INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS	104
4.6.	CONCLUSION.....	111
Chapter 5	POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND EQUITY ISSUES IN MONGOLIA.....	112
5.1.	INTRODUCTION	112
5.2.	MONGOLIA’S POLITICAL CONTEXT SINCE 1990.....	113
5.3.	MONGOLIA’S ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES SINCE 1990	116
5.4.	EMERGENCE OF POVERTY AND INEQUALITY, RESPONSE OF MONGOLIAN SOCIETY	119
5.5.	POVERTY ALLEVIATION POLICIES OF MONGOLIA	126
5.6.	THE TOURISM SECTOR CONTEXT IN MONGOLIA	129
5.7.	TOURISM DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND STRATEGIES, AND GRASSROOTS ASPIRATION	130
5.8.	PEOPLE’S ASPIRATION FOR THE POLICIES AFFECTING TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT	141
5.8.1.	Priorities for people’s lives	141
5.8.2.	Policies for appropriate livelihoods	141
5.9.	CONCLUSION.....	143
Chapter 6	ACTORS’ RELATIONS IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT	146
6.1.	INTRODUCTION	146
6.2.	ACTOR MAPPING	147
6.3.	ACTORS’ ROLES AND INTERESTS IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT.....	150

6.3.1. Actors' roles and interests in tourism development in Mongolia	153
6.3.2. Actors' roles and interests of IDOs and NGOs in tourism development	159
6.3.3. The roles and interests of tourism businesses in tourism development in Mongolia.....	162
6.3.4. The roles and interests of NP authorities in tourism development	168
6.3.5. The roles and interests of the people in tourism development	170
6.3.6. The roles and interests of secondary actors to tourism development in Mongolia.....	172
6.4. ACTORS' INTERACTIONS WITHIN MONGOLIA	174
6.4.1. Interactions between the government institutions	175
6.4.2. Interactions between government institutions and the grassroots people...	177
6.4.3. Interactions in relation to IDOs and NGOs	179
6.4.4. Interactions between tourism businesses, government institutions and people.	181
6.4.5. Practices and discourses around political parties and their implications for tourism development.....	185
6.4.6. Voluntary associations in tourism development.....	187
6.5. CONCLUSION.....	189
Chapter 7 PRACTICES AND DISCOURSES ABOUT STANDARDS OF LIVING, INEQUALITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT	191
7.1. INTRODUCTION	191
7.2. THE SUBJECTIVE STANDARD OF LIVING	192
7.2.1. The Elements of Standards of Living	193
7.2.2. Livelihood sources: Mobile livestock keeping	197
7.2.3. Livelihood sources: Combining tourism with livestock-keeping	200
7.3. TOURISM'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS	202
7.3.1. Economic well-being	203
7.3.2. Environmental well-being.....	209
7.3.3. Socio-cultural well-being.....	215
7.4. SUBJECTIVE STANDARDS OF LIVING ASSOCIATED WITH TOURISM DEVELOPMENT	223
7.5. INEQUALITY OF OUTCOMES, OPPORTUNITIES AND CAPABILITIES FROM TOURISM	231
7.5.1. A degree of income inequality in Mongolia at the national scale	231
7.5.2. A Degree of Equality of Opportunities in Tourism	240
7.5.3. A Degree of Equality of Capabilities in Tourism	244
7.5.4. A Degree of Environmental Justice in Tourism	250
7.5.4.1. A degree of procedural justice in tourism	251
7.5.4.2. A degree of distributional justice in tourism.....	259

7.6.	CONCLUSION	262
Chapter 8	CONCLUSION	267
8.1.	INTRODUCTION	267
8.2.	A REVIEW OF THE STUDY OBJECTIVES.....	268
8.3.	THE THEORETICAL BASIS OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	270
8.4.	A REVIEW OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	272
8.5.	KEY FINDINGS OF THE STUDY.....	274
8.5.1.	Tourism development policies and integration of grassroots aspirations...	275
8.5.2.	Tourism's contribution to the people's living standards.....	278
8.5.3.	Contribution to the current debate on tourism's implications for inequality 283	
8.5.4.	Environmental justice issues in tourism	288
8.6.	CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK CONTRIBUTION	290
8.7.	LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH	292
8.8.	RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.....	293
8.9.	PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON A ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER.....	294
8.10.	CONCLUSION.....	296
	REFERENCES	297
	APPENDIXES	311
	Appendix-I. Inequality in Mongolia	311
	Appendix-II. Pro-poor tourism	312
	Appendix-III. Consent form for respondents.....	314
	Appendix-IV. Consent form for respondents (in Mongolian)	315
	Appendix- V. Questions for grassroots people before interviewing	316
	Appendix-VI. Questions for the owners and managers in the tourism industry before interviewing	317
	Appendix- VII. Questions for the officials from government organisations, IDOs, NGOs before interviewing.....	318
	Appendix-VIII. Interview guide for Grassroots people (in Mongolian)	318
	Appendix-IX. Interview guide for officials, IDOs and NGOs (in Mongolian)	320
	Appendix-X. Interview guide for tourism businesses (in Mongolian)	323
	Appendix -XI. Rejected interviews	325
	Appendix -XII. Refused interviewees	326
	Appendix-XIII. Corruption Perceptions Index	326
	Appendix-XIV. Law on Tourism.....	327

List of Tables

Table 1.1 The organisation of the thesis	12
Table 4.1 A brief outline of the two case study areas	77
Table 4.2 List of actor groups, and number of interviews and interviewees	85
Table 4.3 Interviews with the grassroots people in Hovsgol province	88
Table 4.4 Interviews with the grassroots people in Umnugovi province	90
Table 4.5 Interviews with Government officials, IDOs, academics and NGOs	91
Table 4.6 Interviews with actors from the private sector in tourism	92
Table 4.7 Informal interviews and conversations	93
Table 4.8 Sub-themes and questions within the theme of actors and actors' relations in tourism development	95
Table 4.9 Sub-themes and questions on the theme of practices and discourses about the quality of livelihoods associated with tourism development	96
Table 4.10 Sub-themes and related questions within the theme of discourses about equality and inequality, and distributional justice associated with tourism development	98
Table 4.11 Sub-themes and related questions for the theme of the political economy of tourism development in Mongolia	101
Table 5.1 Election results for <i>the State Great Hural</i> (Parliament) since 1992	114
Table 5.2 Poverty statistics for Mongolia between 2002 and 2010	120
Table 5.3 Animal husbandry in Mongolia	124
Table 5.4 Population in the regions of Mongolia	125
Table 6.1 Actor mapping: actors, actors' roles, interests, and actors' interactions in tourism development in Mongolia	148
Table 6.2 Actors in tourism development in Mongolia	152
Table 6.3 Actors involved in a <i>ger</i> camp establishment in Mongolian NP areas.	182
Table 7.1 Summary of the analysis of the grassroots people's SoL in the case study areas	224
Table 7.2 Profile of the respondents from the 'below average' category of SoL	225
Table 7.3 Profile of the respondents from the 'average' category of SoL	227
Table 7.4 Profile of the respondents from the 'above average' category of SoL	230
Table 7.5 Discourses about tourism's contribution to income inequality in Mongolia	235
Table 8.1 Rejected interviews	325
Table 8.2 Refused, absent and non-responding interviewees	326

List of Figures

Figure 3.1 Conceptual framework developed by the author before the field study	51
Figure 3.2 The second conceptual framework developed by the author during the fieldwork ...	54
Figure 4.1 Map of the Lake Hovsgol NP in Hovsgol province, Mongolia	78
Figure 4.2 Map of the Govi Gurvan Saihan NP in Umnugovi province, Mongolia	79
Figure 4.3 Initial stage of data analysis: the selection of themes by colour coding and indexing.	106
Figure 4.4 Data indexing on interview transcripts	107
Figure 4.5 Charting: text was sifted and placed under analytic themes.....	108
Figure 4.6 Interpretation: frequent themes are counted, ordered and assigned meaning.....	110
Figure 5.1 Annual growth of real GDP of Mongolia during 1990-2009	117
Figure 5.2 Average annual population growth of Mongolia.....	123
Figure 5.3 A newly built gravel road along the west coast of the Lake Hovsgol in 2009.	143
Figure 5.4 <i>Ger</i> camp development on the west coast of the Lake Hovsgol in 2009.....	143
Figure 6.1 Structure and operation in relation to tourism development policy governance and operation in Mongolia, 2009	154
Figure 6.2 A guest house, run by a herder family in the Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert, 2007.	156
Figure 6.3 <i>Ger</i> camp locations along the west coast of the Lake Hovsgol: the areas of Dood Modot Bulan, 2009.	167
Figure 6.4 Souvenir sellers at a reindeer encampment in the Lake Hovsgol NP, 2009.	188
Figure 7.1 Analytical categories for the discourses about tourism's contribution to the grassroots people's SoL	193
Figure 7.2 Vehicles parked outside a <i>ger</i> camp in the Hongoriingol area in the Gobi Desert, 2005.	210
Figure 7.3 A nomadic family, who hosted independent tourists in the Gobi Desert, 2007	212
Figure 7.4 A nomadic family, who hosted independent tourists in the Gobi Desert, 2007	212
Figure 7.5 A nomadic family, who hosted independent tourists the Gobi Desert, 2007	213
Figure 7.6 A nomadic family, who hosted independent tourists in the Gobi Desert, 2007	213
Figure 7.7 Mobile souvenir sellers were often women in the Lake Hovsgol area, 2006.....	218
Figure 7.8 Mobile souvenir sellers heading to find tourists in the Lake Hovsgol area, 2009...	218
Figure 7.9 Distances between a nomadic herder's seasonal campsites in the Hongoriingol area in the Gobi Desert, 2009.	220
Figure 7.10 A household from an income group below average in the rural parts of the Gobi Desert.....	234
Figure 7.11 Household from an average income group in Dalanzadgad in the Gobi Desert...	235
Figure 7.12 A hierarchical system of factors that often affected income earning opportunities from tourism in Mongolia.	241
Figure 7.13 Circularity of income inequalities, opportunities and capabilities in tourism.	249
Figure 7.14 Financial responsibilities of Mongolia's administrative divisions.	252
Figure 8.1 The study objectives	268
Figure 8.2 Tourism's contribution to household income in the case of 31 households	281

Acronyms

DFID	Department For International Development
DP	Democratic Party
FAOUN	Food and Agricultural Organization of United Nations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GTZ	German Organisation for Technical Cooperation
HDI	Human Development Index
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
HSES	Household Socio-Economic Survey
ITB	Internationale Tourismusbörse
JATA	Japan Association of Travel Agents
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LSMS	Living Standard Measurement Survey
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNET	Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism
MPRP	Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
NGO	Non-Government Organisations
NPAP	National Poverty Alleviation Programme
NP	National Park
NSOM	National Statistical Office of Mongolia
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
ST-EP	Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty Programme
TACIS	Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
USAID	United States Aid for International Development
WTM	World Travel Market

Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. CONTEXT TO THE STUDY

Tourism in developing countries is often advocated within neo-liberal rhetoric, based on the premise that tourism's monetary benefits should be prioritised due to the industry's potential to contribute to development (Hall, 2000). This is despite tourism research suggesting that tourism may not always contribute positively to equity, equality and distributional equity in destination areas (Mowforth and Munt, 2008). Yet, tourism can be an important livelihood source in remote destinations with limited livelihood opportunities. In this context, livelihoods are taken to comprise of the following assets that are required to sustain given standards of living (SoL): people's capabilities, activities that sustain a means of making a living, assets to make a living (both material and social), income (in cash and in kind), social institutions (i.e. kin, family, and community), gender relations, and property rights (Chambers and Conway, 1991; Ellis, 1998; Scoones, 2009).

There is only limited research on the degree to which tourism contributes to people's quality of livelihoods, their SoL and to related equity issues. Thus, this study explores the relations between tourism and quality of livelihoods, the SoL, and equity. An improved understanding of tourism's contribution to the wellbeing of people in a destination can enhance and sharpen policymaking for tourism development in destinations. It is hoped that this study will contribute to this improved understanding.

As will be explored in this study, livelihoods comprise of diverse components which collectively sustain a given SoL. Our understanding of livelihoods depends on our specific conceptualisations. The present study is underpinned by three rather different notions of SoL, with these derived from the work of Sen (1984). First, a utility notion, which regards the SoL as material prosperity and as the standard of real incomes necessary to fulfil an individual's desires and satisfaction. Second, the notion of SoL as opulence, which is based on the supply of necessities and conveniences, which is often evaluated by real income indicators (i.e. GDP) and the indexing of commodity bundles (i.e. key commodity prices) (Sen, 1984). Third, there is the capability approach to the SoL, which stresses freedom, with the capability to live well seen as a freedom (Sen, 1984).

The first of these, the utility-based approach to the SoL, focuses on desire fulfilment from a good, whereas the second, opulence-focused approach emphasises the distribution of goods. Both of these approaches, however, neglect the differing characteristics of individuals, including their varying human capabilities (abilities and skills) and personal preferences, characteristics that are highlighted in the third (capabilities) approach to SoL. This latter approach is one of the key concepts in the present study.

In addition to SoL, the study also explores equality issues in relation to tourism development. Equality refers here to the outcome of a relative distribution of something, i.e. income and opportunities. In the present study a particular emphasis is placed on income equality, with the study exploring the subjective interpretations of the gap between modest and well-off households during an historic period of tourism development. The equality concept is here further related to environmental equity, with the study considering the equality issues associated with the distribution of environmental burdens and benefits.

Some of the key concepts used in the study have been considered in previous tourism studies. For example, tourism as a livelihood source has been explored in a number of previous studies (Ashley, 2000; Goodwin and Roe, 2001; Tao and Wall, 2009). These studies have often been based on a livelihood approach, which focuses on people's lives rather than on resources or defined project outputs (Ashley and Hussein, 2000). A livelihood approach often emphasises the interests of the poor, despite economists, conservationists, and the private sector in tourism often neglecting those interests (Ashley, 2000). Therefore, the livelihoods approach tends to evaluate people's ways of living through undertaking a thorough assessment of assets (i.e. natural, financial, physical, human and social capital assets), livelihood activities, outcomes (i.e. well-being, income empowerment, health and vulnerability), external influences and contexts, and of people's preferences (Ashley and Hussein, 2000). In such studies, tourism tends to be a minor element of many people's livelihoods. This often leads to there being less clarity about the links between tourism and livelihoods.

In many studies of tourism and livelihoods there has been some neglect of environmental aspects and of aspects of international political economy associated with

tourism development processes. A study by Tao and Wall (2009), for example, lacks an exploration of human interactions and issues around natural and other resources in tourism development processes, and it also lacks consideration of the issues in relation to wider local, national and international political, economic and environmental relations. Another quantitative study of tourism, livelihoods and protected areas in Zimbabwe by Goodwin and Roe (2001) suggests that tourism as a livelihood tends to offer only limited opportunities to the local communities in and around protected areas, using this to stress the importance of fair trade in the tourism agenda. But in this particular study the distribution of tourism's monetary benefits is hardly questioned, despite the possibility that only a relatively small %age of the population might gain the majority of tourism's monetary benefits. Therefore, it seems vital to understand tourism's contribution to quality of livelihoods, SoL and to equity issues, and these are the issues addressed in the present study. Further, the concepts of the poor and of poverty are frequently not questioned in the livelihoods approach, despite these concepts often being applied, albeit in a rather tokenistic way, by donors and international development organisations (IDOs).

Poverty and inequality still seem to be persistent, and despite this persistence there appears sometimes to be little concern about widening inequality and about associated environmental issues, particularly in developing countries where the environment is often a key source for people's livelihood and living. The advocates of tourism development appear to be no exception to this negligence. Despite tourism being targeted as a poverty alleviation mechanism in pro-poor tourism (PPT), there seems little associated concern over equity issues in tourism development processes. The studies by Harrison (2008) and by Chok et al., (2007) argue that PPT concerns maximizing benefits for the poor, but there is little concern about the relative distribution of the benefits among the poor. Thus, the poorest may not benefit from tourism, while the non-poor may benefit. PPT is often advocated within the context of international capitalism, despite this potentially bringing little benefit to the poorest of society (Harrison, 2008). Here Chok et al., (2007) stress the importance of identifying and addressing the structural inequities of global capitalist development which exacerbate poverty, and also of harnessing attempts to benefit the less well-off through pro-poor initiatives. Thus, the present study has a major focus on the largely neglected topic of equity issues in tourism development.

1.2. STUDY AIM AND OBJECTIVES

This study aims to explore tourism's practices and associated discourses (perceptions, opinions and values) among different actors about the quality of livelihoods, SoL, equity and (in)equality issues as they relate to tourism development in rural areas.

Tourism as a livelihood activity is quite commonly practiced in remote destinations, and this potentially can lead to differing perceptions, opinions and values about tourism and its consequences for the quality of livelihoods among the people involved in tourism in one way or another. This study specifically aims to explore such practices and related discourses about people's quality of livelihoods associated with tourism, with that quality of livelihoods underpinning their differing standards of living. Further, the study also explores equity and (in)equality issues associated with tourism development, issues which are often neglected in tourism studies.

These issues are explored through the application of three theoretical approaches – a political-ecology approach, an actor-oriented approach, and a capability approach – to the practical case study of two rural areas in Hovsgol and Umnugovi provinces in Mongolia. The study aim is achieved through the following six objectives, with the explanation of these objectives also justifying the approaches adopted in the study.

Objective 1. To critically review the academic literature relevant to a political ecology approach to the quality of livelihoods, standard of living, equity, and to (in)equalities and to a capability approach to tourism development.

The study's first objective is addressed in "Chapter 2.Literature review", where detailed consideration is given to the extent of previous publication concerning the study's topics, and this helps in identifying key gaps in the literature. Key areas covered in the literature review include the political ecology of tourism, the actor-oriented approach, the capability approach, environmental justice, quality of livelihoods, SoL, poverty and inequality issues, and pro-poor tourism (PPT), all considered where possible in relation to the tourism development process. This review of the literature assisted the researcher to identify major gaps in the literature concerning studies of the quality of livelihoods and of SoL, poverty and inequality issues associated with tourism development processes.

Objective 2. To develop and apply a conceptual framework based on the political ecology approach in order to conduct research about environmental and socio-economic inequality related to tourism development in two geographically distinct rural areas of Mongolia and to evaluate the value of that framework.

The second objective is met in “Chapter 3 Conceptual framework” and “Chapter 9 Conclusion”. Developing the study’s conceptual framework helped to define the area of the research, and the linkages between the concepts and their definitions. This process allowed the researcher to review key theoretical concepts and to approach the already-known concepts with a fresh eye in order to bring new insights and interpretation into the study. A crucial part of PhD study involves the processes that lead to the researcher’s personal development as a researcher, including their professional research skills. Having developed a coherent and clear framework of concepts for the study, this framework then underpinned the development of the methodology used in the study and the identification of key analytical themes behind the research. These issues are addressed in “Chapter 4 Research methodology” and in “Chapter 9 Conclusion”, with the latter summarising the key analytical themes that emerged, as well as the value of the conceptual framework used in the study, its advantages and potential directions for its future use.

Objective 3. To evaluate the study findings on tourism development in Mongolia in relation to the government’s wider development strategies and also the policies advocated by International Development Organisations and other NGOs.

The third objective is met in “Chapter 5 Political economy of tourism development and equity issues in Mongolia”. An understanding of Mongolia’s macro-level political and economic context involved undertaking a macro-scale analysis of Mongolia’s wider development policies concerning international and domestic political economy and also to equity issues in the country. Particular attention is paid to Mongolia’s political and economic transition and how it affects the micro-level of everyday life and living in the countryside. The chapter also discusses Mongolians’ responses to the country’s economic and political transition, and to the emerging poverty and inequality issues. The study discusses the poverty alleviation programmes in the

country, and at the policy-making level, how poverty eradication is incorporated within its development strategies in collaboration with International Development Organisations (IDOs) and other NGOs. This chapter also provides an account of the tourism context of Mongolia, of Mongolia's tourism policies and strategies, and it assesses whether grassroots people's aspirations are reflected on the government's tourism development policies.

Objective 4. To map the actors related to tourism development in the two case study areas and to evaluate the actors' roles and interests and their social relationships in the tourism development processes.

The fourth objective is addressed in "Chapter 6 Actors' Relations in Tourism Development". Another important part of the research is to explore how actors involved in tourism development relate to each other. The foundation to the discussion here is provided by examining the macro- and micro-level context. Exploring the macro-level of political economy in relation to the micro-level of the actors and their activities offers important insights into their inter-relationships. Here the analysis contributes to research on understanding the intertwined relations among diverse actors involved in tourism development processes, doing so particularly through its use of an actor perspective (Long, 2001). This actor perspective recognizes the fundamental importance of structural forces, i.e. the political and economic transition in Mongolia, but it also rejects the argument that tourism developments are the products almost exclusively of these external factors. Instead, the key focus is on the level of the operating or acting units at the micro level. This perspective also pays detailed attention to the differential responses of varied actors to the structural conditions. Thus, the discussion in the study focuses on how actors interact and exert their agency to influence policies. Based on an analysis of actors' views (Long, 2001), the chapter addresses the differing actors and it discusses their interests, roles and interactions in tourism development within Mongolia and in relation to cross-border areas.

Objective 5. To examine practices and discourses associated with the quality of livelihoods and standards of living, inequalities related to the tourism development processes among various social actors in the two areas.

The fifth objective is addressed in "Chapter 7. Practices and discourses about Standards of Living, inequality and environmental justice in tourism development". One

key focus in the present study is an examination of tourism's contribution to grassroots people's quality of livelihoods and SoL and various inequalities. In particular, the study evaluates how tourism is perceived by the various actors involved in tourism. This seldom researched topic is hoped to reveal new insights into the subject matter of the study. Two broad concepts to understand SoL are applied, including the subjective SoL and the capability approach in relation to the SoL. The subjective SoL involves exploring the individual's views and opinions about their current SoL. The capability approach to measuring SoL stresses adopting a fuller picture of the SoL beyond a single income-based approach via capturing ones' capabilities (abilities and skills) and how people use their capabilities to achieve their life goals (World Bank, 2006). Tourism is often regarded as more than an economic activity, in which consideration of tourism's environmental and socio-cultural dimensions may deepen our understanding of this industry's contribution to grassroots people's SoL.

Also additional dimensions of (in)equality issues are considered in relation to environmental justice. These issues all tend to be less researched in tourism studies, and they clearly await detailed examination. The study discusses (in)equalities in different forms relative to tourism development based on the views of the respondents in two case study areas in Mongolia. This is intended to deepen our understanding of the intertwined relations between society, inequality and tourism development. The theme of the extent of equality is explored in relation to three broad themes: the equality of outcomes, opportunities, and capabilities. These are further related to issues of environmental justice. There is a focus on the environment because it is commonly the core element for one's livelihood and living in the developing world, and it often plays a vital role in terms of access to natural resources.

Therefore, the study's discussion of the practices and discourses among different social groups about interrelations between tourism and (in)equalities related to SoL may make a valuable contribution in tourism studies, and it may deepen our knowledge of tourism and society in the context of rural areas in the developing world.

1.3. KEY APPROACHES IN THE STUDY

The study is informed by three theoretical approaches: a political ecology approach, an actor-oriented approach, and a capability approach, and each of these is briefly introduced next, together with the rationale for their use. Combining these different theoretical approaches potentially offers an extra dimension to the study, and it

is considered that this reveals substantial intimate insights into the case study area. Not only is there only a limited application of each of the approaches in tourism studies, but the combination of these approaches has not been attempted previously. Such a combination of three approaches makes the study holistic in its outlook through looking at broad political, economic, environmental and social aspects in relation to tourism development. Thus, the study also not only focuses on the present issues of tourism development, but it also places the present situation in the context of their historical political, economic and social roots. The next section introduces each of these approaches and concepts.

1.3.1. Approaches and concepts used in the study

Firstly, a political ecology is the overarching theoretical approach adopted in this study. It is a powerful analytical perspective with which to explore human and environmental interactions in the context of political and economic relations. It considers social and environmental changes to be the result of the various social actors' actions at differing spatial scales from the micro- to macro-scale, and the result of the reciprocal interactions between the micro- and the macro-scale processes (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987, Bryant 1992, Gössling, 2003, Neumann, 2005). Political ecology studies the conflicts and collaboration among various actors, their power relations in the context of the political and economic structural conditions affecting access to natural resources, and the resulting burdens and benefits. Thus, the political ecology perspective concerns the interconnections between politics (governance arrangements, policies and policy implications, and power in policy making), economics (powerful economic actors and business interests) and the environment (degradation and pollution, and conservation), and also their implications for society (i.e. in terms of equity, (in)equality, poverty and the quality of livelihoods and SoL) (Bryant, 1998).

Political ecology is underpinned by a concern with political and economic processes, but also by more specific concerns, i.e. about the quality of the environment and about struggles between multi-level(i.e. local to global) actors over natural resources, which are implicated within the political and economic processes. Almost all economic production and related political decisions have consequences for the environment, and simultaneously the environment often involves important political and economic issues. Political ecology can be seen as a holistic approach which encourages analysis that links together environmental changes, politics and economics, and it also

explores the interactions between international, national, regional, and local actors around their mutual interests (Gössling 2003). Regardless of political ecology's analytical strength, there have been only a limited number of studies which have applied a political ecology approach in tourism research. Most notably, these include Stonich (1998), Gössling (2003) and Cole (2012). As can be seen from these studies, the various actors' relationships are often prominent in political ecology. Therefore, an in-depth understanding of the actors and their relationships may offer additional insights. Thus, an actor-oriented approach was applied in conjunction with a political ecology perspective in the present study, and this actor-oriented approach is discussed next.

Secondly, Long's (2001) actor-oriented approach was applied to the present study due to its analytical strength in revealing insights into the actor as an agent and into their social relations, and this fits nicely with study's aim. An actor-oriented approach emphasises the formation of actors' views and how their interactions take place, while at the same time recognising the structural forces of politics and economics. This approach refuses to accept an over-emphasis on overly structural reasoning or interpretations about actors' views, interactions and actions. This actor-oriented approach and its application in tourism studies is reviewed in much more depth in Chapter 2, and it is further applied in the conceptual framework in Chapter 3. This actor-oriented approach is rarely applied in tourism studies. There is relatively more use of the political ecology approach in tourism studies – though that too is rare – and it can tend to apply structural reasoning rather strongly, thus giving less emphasis to an actor perspective. Thus, an application of an actor-oriented perspective can offer twofold benefits for the study. Firstly, it will stretch the political ecology approach via expanding its actor perspectives through a bottom-up approach; and, secondly, this study of tourism is approached through actor perspectives because of its limited application in tourism studies. A rare exception is in a few studies by Bramwell (2006a) and by Bramwell and Meyer (2007). Therefore, there is good potential to provide useful new insights into the use of these approaches. Thus, an actor-oriented approach in combination with a political ecology approach is central to the study's overall conceptual framework. Yet the study also applied another theoretical perspective – the capability approach – and that is discussed next.

Thirdly, a capability approach is applied to the present study. This is because one key focus in the study is to explore tourism's contribution to quality of livelihoods and SoL in relation to equity, (in)equality and environmental justice issues, during tourism development processes. While the previously discussed theoretical approaches of a political ecology and an actor-oriented perspective underpinned the study's overall conceptual framework, a key concept behind the study was also Sen's notion of capability (Sen, 1983). Sen argues that the quality of one's living or SoL can be best seen as the reflection of the person's capabilities rather than by how much money they earn. Capabilities refer to the abilities of an individual to function, to use opportunities, to make choices, and to take actions. Therefore, Sen (1983:160) argues that *'the constituent part of standard of living is not the good, nor its characteristics, but the ability to do various things by using that good or those characteristics, and it is that ability rather than the mental reaction to that ability in the form of happiness that, in this view, reflects the standard of living'* (emphasis added). In other words, it seems that commodity ownership may not be an appropriate focus for SoL, rather it should prioritise the abilities that are used to achieve the life that an individual would like to lead. The present study reviews the capability approach in the Chapter 2 Literature review, and this approach further underpins the study's conceptual framework in Chapter 3. Further, the capability approach is applied in the empirical studies and it is interpreted based on various actors' views, values and interpretation.

1.3.2. The case study context for the study

The study explores tourism's contribution to the quality of livelihoods, SoL and equity issues in two rural areas of Hovsgol and Umnugovi provinces in Mongolia. Mongolia's political and economic transition and its implications for the society, particularly its rural communities and the environment, make the area very worthwhile exploring in relation to tourism development. Also, the researcher is a native Mongolian, who has substantial experiences of living and working as a tour leader in remote rural regions of Mongolia. This places the researcher in an advantaged position for undertaking rich and explorative research due to his familiarity with the society and culture of the area.

Mongolia is a former communist country, landlocked between Russian and China, and since 1990 it has experienced one of the most dramatic stages of its

development: a political and economic transition from an autocratic, communist governance with a state planned economy to a democratic governance with a free market economy. The transition seemed to have emerged as a result not only of international political economic forces in the former communist countries in Eastern Europe, but also due to various youth movements within Mongolia. As a consequence, Mongolia emerged as a new democratic states. Since the political and economic transition from communism began, Mongolia has experienced severe economic crises, and achievements in the health and education sectors during socialism began to decline.

Due to economic hardship and soaring unemployment since the transition, alternative means of livelihoods were sought after. Following restrictions on international travel being lifted, Mongolia has experienced a growth in international tourism. The privatisation of Mongolia's state-run Juulchin Corporation in 1991 (Juulchin, 2013) encouraged a growth of private businesses in the tourism sector. Mongolia's communist past, the preservation of its ancient nomadic ways of life, and its pristine landscapes have begun to attract tourists from mainly developed countries. International tourism has been growing since the early stage of Mongolia's transition when the country was lacking foreign hard currency.

Because of Mongolia's potential for tourism development, the government has started to advocate for, and to promote, growth in the tourism sector as one of the main hard currency earners. The government of Mongolia foresaw tourism's potential and it has attempted to provide policy and legislation in order to provide for its long-term development. Thus, tourism's contribution to Mongolia's economy has reached over 10 % of the country's GDP as of 2008 (NSOM, 2009). However, the tourism sector's development in a free-market economy with democratic governance does not seem to have produced results that are always positive. Formerly less-known poverty problems have emerged during Mongolia's transition, with poverty persistently affecting over 35 % of the total population, while since 2009 almost half of Mongolia's rural population have been considered as poor (NSOM, 2010). Inequality in Mongolian society has seemingly been ever-expanding since the transition began, and the major inequality measurement of the Gini index (of 0.33) suggests it is an average (NSOM, 2010). Thus, poverty alleviation became a part of the Mongolian Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) agenda, and the government of Mongolia together with a number of IDOs and

NGOs have started to implement numerous poverty eradication programs. In the context of neo-liberal political and economic policies, development is often measured in terms of GDP growth, with equity and environmental issues hardly being questioned. The present study, however, was aimed to explore and contribute to an understanding of these issues in the tourism development context.

1.3.3. Philosophical context of the study

A review of ontological and epistemological stances led the researcher to accept Bhaskar's critical realist position, which is underpinned by a realist ontology, and it is combined with an interpretive thread (Easterby-Smith et al.,2008). The researcher asserts that reality is independent of his understanding and that it is possible to understand that reality through human interpretation and reinterpretation, and this position underpins the study. However, the researcher takes a rather critical stance to reality via reflecting on the transitive nature of reality, where social structure and power relations tend to affect the discursive interpretations of individuals. The associated interpretive thread in the study tends to be associated with social constructionism.

1.4. ORGANIZATION OF THESIS

The study's overall organization is addressed next, with brief introduction to each of the chapters, from Chapter 2 to Chapter 8. The organization is outlined in Table 1.1, which succinctly summarises the overall study contents and main focus.

Table 1.1 The organisation of the thesis

Chapters	Contents	Main focus in relation to objectives
CHAPTER 1 Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Context to the study Introduction to the study's aim and objectives, theoretical approaches, and thesis structure 	To introduce the study aim and objectives
CHAPTER 2 Literature review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Critical review of existing theoretical approaches and existing studies 	Objective 1. To critically review the academic literature relevant to a political ecology approach to the quality of livelihoods, SoL, equity, and to (in)equalities, and to a capability approach to tourism development.
CHAPTER 3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development of the 	

Conceptual framework	conceptual framework and its application to address the study objectives	Objective 2. To develop and apply a conceptual framework based on the political ecology approach in order to conduct research about environmental and socio-economic inequality related to tourism development in two geographically distinct rural areas of Mongolia and to evaluate the value of that framework.
CHAPTER 4 Methodology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Research designing processes such as research philosophy, methodology, data collection and analysis methods 	
CHAPTER 5 Political economy of tourism development and equity issues in Mongolia	<p>Results chapter 1</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introduction to the case study areas To identify structural forces influencing political and economic policies in relation to tourism development in rural regions of Mongolia. 	Objective 3. To evaluate the study findings on tourism development in Mongolia in relation to the government's wider development strategies and also the policies advocated by IDOs and other NGOs.
CHAPTER 6 Actors' relations associated with tourism development	<p>Results chapter 2</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actor mapping and actor relations associated with tourism development following Mongolia's political and economic transition To explore views about the values of various actors 	Objective 4. To map the actors related to tourism development in the two case study areas and to evaluate the actors' roles and interests and their social relationships in the tourism development processes.
CHAPTER 7 Practices and discourses about standards of living, inequality and environmental justice in tourism development	<p>Results chapter 3</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> People's views on tourism-related practices and on tourism's contribution to rural people's SoL and inequalities. 	Objective 5. To examine practices and discourses associated with the quality of livelihoods, SoL and inequalities and environmental justice related to the tourism development processes among various social actors in the two areas.
CHAPTER 8 Conclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Summary of the study Evaluation of the conceptual framework and examination of the study's contributions to knowledge 	A part of Objective 2, which is to evaluate the value of the study's conceptual framework, and also to review all previous five objectives.

Chapter 2 critically reviews relevant literature for research on the political ecology of people's SoL and of inequality issues associated with tourism development. The chapter begins by briefly reviewing the literature on political economy because its

principles and ideas underpin the main approach of political ecology used in the study. Then consideration is given to the political ecology approach based on reviewing the literature in relation to its key features as a holistic and interrelated approach. The core elements relevant to this study are discussed.

Chapter 3 addresses one of the study's key research objectives, that of developing and applying a conceptual framework based on the political ecology approach in order to conduct research about environmental and socio-economic inequality related to tourism development in two geographically distinct rural areas of Mongolia and to evaluate the value of that framework. The literature review in Chapter 2 underpins the study's conceptual framework. The conceptual framework for the study addresses how the conceptual framework evolved as the research progressed, notably through the fieldwork, with subsequent modest modifications and clarification of the concepts and organisation of the conceptual framework. The chapter explains both the earlier conceptual framework and the subsequent more developed and refined one, and it also explains how it was applied to the design of the research instruments and how it influenced the data analysis, such as through the data coding and identification of themes from the research findings.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodological issues and approaches used in the present study. It covers the study's research philosophy, research design, research techniques, and its interpretation and presentation of the research findings. It begins by reviewing some key ontological and epistemological stances in the social sciences, including positivism and social constructionism. That is followed by discussion of critical realism as a key research philosophy and rationale for the present research study.

The discussion continues next with an explanation of the methodological choices in the study, covering the case study approach and the use of various qualitative instruments of data collection, notably semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. A rationale is provided for a case study approach with qualitative survey instruments, with these selected mainly because of the study's aim of exploring discursive expressions (based on perceptions, opinions and values) among different actors about the quality of livelihoods, SoL, equity, (in)equality issues associated with tourism development processes in two rural areas in Mongolia. It was apparent that a wide range of actors had to be contacted and interviewed in order to

understand the study topic. Towards the end of the chapter, the data interpretation and analysis technique of framework analysis is explained, together with how it was used for the study.

Chapter 5 discusses the research context of the political economy of tourism development in Mongolia and how it relates to equity issues. In line with the study's Objective 3 to evaluate the study findings on tourism development in Mongolia in relation to the government's wider development strategies and also the policies advocated by IDOs and other NGOs and this chapter discusses research findings at a macro level. It further discusses how the government's development policies relate to poverty and equity issues and to tourism development in the rural parts of Mongolia since Mongolia's political and economic transition began in 1990. Discussing a macro-level political economy of tourism development lays a contextual foundation for the rest of the three results chapters on Mongolia. These cover the: (i) Actor relations around tourism development in Chapter 6, (ii) Practices and discourses about the quality of livelihoods and SoL and tourism development in Chapter 7, (iii) Practices and discourses about equality and inequality and about environmental justice in relation to tourism development in Chapter 8.

Chapter 6 follows up on the preceding chapter's discussion about Mongolia's macro-level political economic context. The discussion here continues to the micro-level relations between various participants (or actors) involved in tourism development processes in Mongolia. Tourism development is the nexus for diverse actors' involvements from the public and private sectors and from civil society. This chapter contributes to research on understanding the intertwined relations among diverse actors in tourism development processes by applying Long's (2001) actor perspective. This perspective recognizes the fundamental importance of structural forces, such as Mongolia's political and economic transition, which was discussed in Chapter 5, but it also rejects the argument that tourism development is almost exclusively directed by these external factors. By contrast, this chapter focuses on the level of operating or acting units at the micro level, while at the same time recognising that there are differential responses of actors exercising their agents to the structural conditions. There is a need for careful examination of the complex interplay between how actors interact and seek to influence policies and the structural constraints. Based on an analysis of actors' views (Long, 2001), this chapter identifies the differing actors and

discusses their interests, roles and interactions around tourism development within Mongolian and in relation to cross-border areas.

Chapter 7 discusses tourism's contribution to grassroots people's SoL, inequalities in the case study areas in Mongolia based on the views of grassroots people and other actors. The SoL is a broad concept that often depends on many determinants, with a variety of determinants potentially playing a pivotal role, especially in connection with tourism in peripheral regions. Here SoL is discussed specifically in relation to tourism development. This chapter, firstly, treats SoL as a subjective concept (satisfaction or desire fulfilment) derived from objective conditions (metrical provisions or income) and, secondly, it adopts the capability approach which is also discussed. The capability approach to understanding and measuring SoL stresses the use of a fuller picture of SoL beyond a single, income-based approach, a picture that captures the full range of people's capabilities (abilities and skills) and also how people use their capabilities to achieve their life goals (World Bank, 2006). Tourism is often regarded as more than an economic activity, as it also has environmental and socio-cultural dimensions, and these varying aspects of tourism can deepen our understanding of tourism's contribution to grassroots people's SoL. The chapter is structured in three sections. These are: (i) the elements of SoL; (ii) tourism's contribution to grassroots people's SoL; and (iii) the subjective SoL associated with tourism development processes.

The chapter also discusses the multidimensional aspects of tourism and SoL, focusing on how the extent of inequality of outcomes, opportunities and capabilities from tourism development processes are perceived by the different actors in the Mongolian case study areas. Practices and discourses about (in)equality and environmental justice issues related to the tourism development processes among various actors in two case study areas.

By discussing (in)equalities in different forms in relation to tourism development, and based on the views of the people in the case study areas in Mongolia, we may gain a deeper understanding of the intertwined relations between society, inequality and tourism development. Therefore, discussing the discourses among different social groups about interrelations between tourism and (in)equalities related to SoL makes a valuable contribution in tourism studies, and it may deepen our knowledge of tourism and society in the context of rural areas in the developing world.

The final chapter, Chapter 8, summarises and reflects on the overall value of the present study and the design of its conceptual framework and the value of its application to the subject area. Overall, the chapter addresses the present study's contributions to knowledge. To achieve that, the chapter begins with reflecting on the study's aim and objectives and how these were achieved, including the contribution of the conceptual framework and contribution by applying the conceptual framework via introducing study findings which provides new insights on the study's subject area. It, then, summarises the underpinning theories behind the study. Next, the overall value of the conceptual framework and the rationale for combining political ecology, actor perspectives and capability approaches were discussed. Further, the value of applying the conceptual framework to the empirical study is considered. After that, key findings are also discussed in relation to how the research is linked to the wider literature and previous relevant studies and in relation to ways forward to further understanding about tourism's contribution to one's SoL. This chapter concludes with personal reflections on the role of the researcher throughout his PhD journey.

1.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has introduced the study's aim and objectives, and the rationale behind the objectives. It further briefly introduced the study's three theoretical approaches of a political ecology, actor-oriented, and capability approach, and how these underlie the study. This study was undertaken in two rural regions of Mongolia. The researcher's philosophical stance of critical realism with social constructionism was also introduced. Overall, this chapter has laid stepping stones for the reader to understand the details of the study. This includes through explaining the broad purpose and content of each of the study's nine chapters. Chapter 2 concerns the literature review, Chapter 3 addresses the study's conceptual framework, and Chapter 4 deals with research methodology. The study's main results chapters begin with Chapter 5, which introduces the political economy of tourism development and inequality issues in Mongolia. Chapter 6 concerns the actors and actor relations associated with tourism development in Mongolia. The final results chapter (Chapter 7) address tourism's contribution to SoL and (in)equality issues and environmental justice issues in rural Mongolia. Chapter 8 reflects on study's main contributions to tourism studies and on the researcher's PhD journey.

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter critically reviews literature relevant to research on the political ecology of people's SoL and of inequality issues associated with tourism development. The chapter begins by briefly reviewing the literature on political economy because its principles and ideas underpin the main overall approach of political ecology used in the study. Then consideration is given to the political ecology approach based on reviewing the literature in relation to its key features as a holistic and interrelated approach. The core elements relevant to this study are discussed.

Next, the review considers aspects of environmental inequality and justice, with these being important concepts behind the study. Unequal access to natural resources tends to raise issues of justice, and these issues are explored specifically in relation to the concepts of distributional justice and procedural justice. Following that, published studies that apply political ecology to tourism by other researchers are reviewed, although there are only very limited numbers of such studies. Within a political ecology of tourism, attention is directed to an actor-oriented approach in which actors' roles, interests and their interactions are examined in relation to macro-structural forces. This actor-oriented approach within the content of broad structures, from a political ecology perspective, is examined in some depth as it was adopted in the study.

The discussion then moves on to the core concerns of socio-economic development, including SoL, poverty and inequality. These concepts are frequently measured by people's monetary gain and the distribution of different consumption levels within a population. Tourism is often considered to be almost a panacea to solve the problems of poverty and to contribute to an improved SoL through it enhancing people's economic position. Yet, while pro-poor tourism (PPT) strategies are often advocated in the literature, they tend to have limited success in the long run.

Finally, Sen's (1984) capability approach to socio-economic development is reviewed, as this emerges as a promising approach to complement the more income-based measures of SoL. Again, the capability approach is reviewed as it underpins the study's conceptual frameworks, as explained in Chapter 3. The capabilities approach takes account of measures beyond income and consumption, and it has rarely been used

in tourism research. The capability approach is reviewed, along with its limited application in tourism studies – only three relevant studies were identified.

The themes and concepts reviewed in this chapter may appear to be rather disjointed, but they are closely related ideas that are all relevant to the study. Further, there has been no previous attempt to review these themes and concepts together in relation to tourism, which led the researcher to investigate them more fully. The ways in which they are inter-related and relevant to the present study are explained in some depth in the study's conceptual framework, which is developed and explained in Chapter 3.

The selection of above literature themes is based on the rationale that previously there has been only a limited or almost no attempt to bring together the broad overall approaches of political ecology and of the capability approach in the tourism context. Tourism in a developing world context often relies on natural and cultural resources, with nature and human relations tending to be intertwined, and with the environment often forming a central element for people's source of livelihoods or living environment in a destination. Access to natural resources is, in this respect, often regarded as a highly political issue, and one where diverse, multi-level actors have varying degrees of influence and power.

The search for existing literature was undertaken as a continuing task or process, but there were also two main more concerted search stages in that process. The search process used chosen keywords to search on Sheffield Hallam University's Library catalogue, the Google Scholar Online Search Engine, and the British Library's Catalogue. The first more concerted literature search stage was undertaken between 2007 and 2009 in order to develop the first version of the study's conceptual framework (see the full explanation in Chapter 3 of the study's two conceptual frameworks), with that framework used to examine the political ecology of inequality and equality issues associated with tourism development in rural areas of Mongolia. The second more concerted literature search stage was undertaken between March 2012 and June 2014 and that sought to update the study by incorporating the latest publications in the final version of the Literature Review (Chapter 2) and elsewhere in the study. These two phases were in addition to regular updating searches.

Particular attention was directed to searching the top six peer-reviewed journals in tourism: *Annals of Tourism Research*; *Tourism Management*; *Journal of Travel Research*; *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*; *Tourism and Hospitality Research*; and *Annals of Leisure Research*. These journals are top ranked on the basis of research undertaken by Ryan (2005), McKercher, Law and Lam (2006), and Thomson Reuters, on the assumption that these journals may have published the best research by the most respected scholars. Wider searches were also undertaken and the major journals searched included the *Journal of Political Ecology*, *Progress in Human Geography* and *Tourism Geographies*.

The searches revealed literature on political ecology from as early as the 1800s, while relevant tourism-specific literature was mostly published between 1990 and 2014. The keywords for the online searches were organised into general and also tourism-specific key words. The general key words and key word clusters included such theoretical and analytical terms or phrases as: *'political ecology'*, *'actor-oriented approach'*, *'equity'*, *'equality'*, *'inequality'*, *'poverty'*, *'standard of living'*, *'capability approach'*, *'environmental justice'*, *'distributional justice'*, *'procedural justice'*. Tourism-specific key words included: *'political ecology of tourism'*, *'tourism's contribution to standard of living and inequality'*, *'capability approach in tourism'*, *'pro-poor tourism'*, *'tourism's contribution to inequality'*, *'(in)equality of outcome, opportunities and capability'*.

2.2. THE POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

To understand political ecology, it is necessary to see how many of its core principles are adapted from political economy. Political economy concerns the macro-level relationships between economy (labour, means of production, patterns of production, distribution, and consumption) and politics (governance arrangements, policy and its implications, and power distribution in policy making) in relation to socio-economic and societal development (Miller, 2008). Political economy is a field of enquiry that involves considering the cooperation and tensions among the state, the market, social actors and institutions (Balaam and Dillman, 2011). From a political economy perspective, development is seen as affected by capital and surplus accumulation and by struggles in social relationships around those processes (Peet and Hartwick, 1999). The capitalist mode of production is seen as a system of labour, value exchanges and technological advancements. The abundance of surplus accumulation in

capitalism further results in the development of financial institutions and other industries, and that surplus plus the wages and other rewards from economic activities are distributed unevenly according to the relative socio-economic positions of people in society (Harvey, 1996). In order to achieve development, classical economic theory favours private ownership of the means of production and extensive private property (in a freely trading market economy), and it also favours an individualism that is underpinned by concepts of equal rights in the sense of meeting some basic human needs and of societal responsibilities and rights in the context of the state's laws (Adam Smith and J. S. Mill, cited in Peet and Hartwick, 1999: 23-31).

It is apparent that development is a process where various actors' diverse interests coincide, yet within that aspiration for development people's expectations can be shared or they can clash. Balaam and Dillman (2011) argue that there are three main perspectives on political economy: mercantilism, economic liberalism, and structuralism, with each emphasizing different values, actors, and solutions to policy problems, each tending to favour differing levels of state involvement in market economic relations, and each tending to be more prominent in during different periods of world history. Mercantilism seems to focus on the role of the state in protecting its society's security from physical harm via accumulating state wealth and power, while economic liberalism tends to advocate a state which serves as a regulatory body for the public and private sectors in society through its macro-economic policies and judicial regulations (Jessop, 1990). 'Orthodox economic liberals' often advocate only very limited government intervention in market and trade relations, or even complete removal of such restraints by the state, while 'heterodox interventionist liberals' often support a state-regulated and protected economy in order to sustain the market (Balaam and Dillman, 2011: 9). In economic liberalism democratic governance and power distribution in society seem to occur through a system of free elections that is underpinned by democratic ideals of representing the general public through the government's elected representatives. Economic liberalism often underpins key tenets of a capitalist society (Miller, 2008).

According to Balaam and Dillman (2011), structuralism was an approach predominantly developed by Marxists which is largely focused on how economic structures shape different class segments of society, in which the capitalist production system operates at the expense of the working class, while the bourgeoisie hold the

majority of capital and power. Therefore, for Marxists, capitalist society and its wealth divisions lead to inevitable social class struggles, exclusions, inequalities and crises that may lead to revolutionary interventions in society (Harvey, 1996). Because of these tensions, a combination of social, economic, and political forces establish, regulate, and preserve market relations, with dominant values and beliefs tending to manipulate these market relations (Balaam and Dillman, 2011).

Nowadays, political economists suggest that neo-liberalism is a dominant discourse in society, which is based on achieving economic development through a free market economy and less state interventions (Caporaso and Levine, 2006). However, for some, replicating the neo-liberal capitalist development model of the “West” does not lead to improved SoL in the developing world. This is because poverty, inequality and environmental destruction, followed by other social problems (i.e. social unrest), are still persistent problems for a large majority of the developing world (Smith, Stenning and Willis, 2008).

In neo-liberalism, development is widely measured by GNP (Gross National Product) per capita and by GDP (Gross Domestic Product). However, ultimately these economic yardsticks may well not be the most appropriate measurements of socio-economic and societal development. These measurements do not measure, for example, the importance of informal economies in many societies, and of other social aspects, including informal agricultural outputs, social capital and kinship. Yet these are widely considered to be important aspects of the quality of people’s lives in the developing world (World Bank, 2006). In addition to economic prosperity, eliminating poverty, greater equality, improvements to people’s health and education – while maintaining environmental quality and sustained livelihoods – are important concerns for any country that seeks to secure socio-economic and societal development (Hall and Brown, 2006).

Although economies in capitalist societies have often advanced through similar ways of valuing economic activity, including their markets, labour, capital and goods, and that is in monetary terms, this has often meant that limited attention has been paid to other key social and environmental development factors, including the distribution of affluence and environmental quality (Peet and Hartwick, 1999). The Marxist stance, by contrast, treats inequality as a social ill, whereas the neo-liberal stance supports limited redistributive regulation and taxation so as to compensate those who have been affected

by inequality (Arneson, 2008). Currently, development strategies in the developing world are much influenced by IDOs, within overarching neo-liberal policies. However, the long-term viability of such a globalized development strategy is greatly contested because of its failure to improve SoL and the growing socio-economic and environmental inequalities in the developing world.

2.3. THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY APPROACH

Political economy principles and perspectives underpin the approach known as political ecology. Political ecology draws on the former's emphasis on the importance of, and connections between, powerful economic and political processes in society. Political ecology is an approach to understand human-environmental interactions, and the resulting social and environmental changes based on the actions of various social actors at different spatial scales, which is based on the political economy insights about the importance of the political and economic context (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987, Bryant 1992, Gössling, 2003, Neumann, 2005). Thus, the political ecology perspective concerns the interconnections between politics (governance arrangements, policies and policy implications, power in policy making), economics (powerful economic actors and business interests) and the environment (degradation and pollution, and conservation), and also their implications for society (i.e. for equity, (in)equality, poverty and SoL) (Bryant, 1998). Thus, political ecology is underpinned by political and economic principles, but also with more specific concerns about the quality of the environment and about struggles between multi-level (i.e. local to global) actors over natural resources, which are implicated within the political and economic processes. Almost all economic production and related political decisions relate to the environment, and at same time these can often be political and economic issues. As Harvey (1993) argues, '*all ecological projects (and arguments) are simultaneously political-economic projects (and arguments) and vice versa*' (cited in Bryant, 1998:82).

Political ecology can be seen as a holistic approach which encourages analysis linking together environmental changes, politics and economics, and also explores the interactions of international, national, regional, and local actors around those inter-relations (Gössling, 2003). Central to this approach are the macro-level structural forces of politics and economics and their reciprocal interactions with micro-level, everyday struggles over access to natural resources and livelihoods sources in the developing world. Yet, Bryant (1992) criticises the political ecology approach for its potential

danger of encouraging economic reductionism, whereby problems are invariably reduced largely to economic structures, so that more complex and multiple causes of environmental problems cannot be fully explained. Bryant (1992) further argues economic reductionism would neglect other factors, such as the influence of socio-cultural forces, affecting environmental degradation. Some also criticise political ecology for the potential shortcoming that its unsophisticated use could lead to the exclusion of less powerful people based on an assumption that their lack of power makes them analytical insignificant for political ecology analysis. Yet more sophisticated, nuanced use of political ecology can ensure that attention is given to the diverse influences on environmental problems and to the importance of the perspectives of the less powerful in society. Indeed, a full understanding of political ecology should help to direct the researcher to the importance of these complex and inter-related issues.

Bryant (1992) contends that it is important to include political forces in political ecology, including state policies, inter-state relations and global capitalism. State policies are often the result of the struggles between competing actors seeking to influence policy formulation, in which powerful elites tend to be favoured, and these political struggles are often a cause of environmental degradation and of public resistance to such degradation. Other scholars, such as Peet and Watts (2004), also stress the importance of politics for political ecology, such as the need to consider political actions, such as of resistance, the emergence of civil society movements and of party politics, in relation to struggles for access and control over natural resources. Walker (2006) criticises political ecology as sometimes being preoccupied with a structuralist emphasis on the role of political economy in shaping the land users' environmental decision-making, with at times too little consideration given to politics. Thus, Walker (2006) encourages more attention being given to local-level studies of environmental movements, of discursive and symbolic politics, of power and knowledge, with these types of studies attracting significant attention during a post-structural political ecology phase after the 1990s.

Further, Stott and Sullivan (2000:35) contend that in political ecology '*there might be much room for conceptual exchange between a biophysical science which embraces both form (i.e. structure) and change (i.e. innovation) in living complexes, and an actor-oriented applied social science grappling with local dynamics and national or global structures*'. They call for more attention to be given to the

relationships between individual actors and organizations and the broad political economy and their environmental context. As an analytical tool, the scale of analysis of social interactions between actors seems a vital part of the political ecology approach, in which the interactions ‘*radiate outward from individual “resource users” to peasant communities and to regional, national and global political and economic relations.*’ (Walker, 2003:9). Local-scale politics seems to play a large role in shaping the distribution of land and resources, and such on-the-ground outcomes can vary substantially within individual states and counties (McCarthy, 2002). It is arguably the presence of most or all of these varied themes as objects or components of case studies that defines political ecology more than any consistent theoretical or methodological approach to them (McCarthy, 2002). Thus, the approach can be far more than a focus on the economy and politics, and its breadth and flexibility has increased in more recent studies. Over recent decades the theoretical underpinning of political ecology has come to draw on a range of theories, including Marxist and neo-Marxist political economy, development theory and poststructuralist theory centred on discourses (Bailey and Bryant, 1997).

Political ecology also tends to focus on distributional justice arguments concerned with the unequal distribution of the burdens and benefits of environmental changes across social groups (or actors), resulting in either reduced or increased social and economic inequalities that have political implications through altering the power distributions among actors. This perspective helps in appreciating how environmental change and ecological conditions can result from complex and dynamic political processes. Therefore, political ecologists tend to accept that the distribution of the benefits and burdens of environmental degradation are unequal among actors, this being because the outcomes are often power dependent. They often consider how these outcomes tend to reinforce existing social and economic inequalities and further result in political implications through altered power relationships among actors (Robbins, 2004). The political ecology perspective provides a strong rationale to focus on issues of environmental inequality, a focus adopted in the present study, and that topic is considered next.

2.4. ENVIRONMENTAL INEQUALITY AND JUSTICE

The inequality concept is considered here specifically in an environmental context. The specific concept of environmental inequality concerns the distribution of environmental burdens and benefits across either a territory or socio-cultural groups (i.e. social classes, or races) (Walker, 2012). In other words, environmental inequality is a description of the outcome of what is being distributed in terms of environmental burdens and benefits. Initial reasoning suggests that this description of distributive outcomes ought to be the result of a process, which raises the question of the principles of the distribution of the environmental burdens and benefits. The principles of that distribution are those of environmental justice. As Walker (2012) argues, environmental inequality is a description of an outcome, whereas environmental justice is the normative issue of what ought to be, as well as the basic principles behind the distributive outcome.

The environment appears to be an inseparable part of a safe, healthy and good life for some, but for others it can be a source of threat to their well-being. Access to environmental resources can be vital for livelihoods but it may also be limited in rural regions of a developing world. Environmental justice concerns the intertwined relations between environment and the population, and more specifically it concerns the processes or means whereby environmental benefits and burdens become distributed among social groups (Camargo, Lane and Jamal, 2007). Environmental justice is broadly divided into distributional justice and procedural justice (Scholsberg, 2007; Walker, 2012).

2.4.1. Distributional justice

The analysis focuses next on distributional justice in relation to environmental resources, and particularly on how environmental burdens and benefits are distributed among different actors (Walker, 2012). Three questions need to be addressed in relation to this in order more fully to understand distributive justice: (i) what is distributed? (ii) among whom? and (iii) what are the underpinning principles?

First, what is distributed? The distribution of environmental burdens (i.e. waste, water pollution and noise) and benefits (i.e. access to water, grazing areas and green space) can be fairly apparent, and it is often the case that one person's benefit can be someone else's burden. Thus, it can be seen that the environmental benefits and burdens

are relative and context-specific, and they can also be contradictory. Tourism activities, for example, can contribute to environmental conservation, and simultaneously the waste generated by tourists also can pollute the environment.

Secondly, among whom are the environmental burdens and benefits distributed? Here, the recipients of environmental justice are framed within the socio-economic parameters of the varied socio-cultural backgrounds of the different actors in the specific territory being considered, and in some cases there are varied races and ethnic groups and even differences between intergenerational groups.

Thirdly, what are the underpinning principles that lead to distributive justice or lack of such justice? Here, there may be some principles affecting the patterns of distribution which are broadly agreed in society. Some of those potential principles of distributive justice are identified by Bell (2004). These principles include (i) the principle of equality, which seeks to secure an equal distribution of environmental burdens and benefits across a territory or population; (ii) the principle of a guaranteed standard of environmental equality that is ensured for all (i.e. a minimum standard of air or water quality); and (iii) the principle of a guaranteed minimum of environmental benefits with variation above that minimum according to personal income spending choices. In the latter principle people can choose the quality of environmental benefits relative to their spending, where inequality is above a basic minimum standard (cited in Walker, 2012:44).

Yet Walker (2012) argues there are other important principles or processes influencing environmental justice that need to be considered along with the distributive justice principles outlined above. These include vulnerability, need and responsibility, which are explained here. Hence, an equal distribution of environmental burdens could lead to significantly unequal outcomes due to the differing levels of vulnerability of people according to the differing socio-economic conditions that affect them. Such conditions could include modest income families potentially being more vulnerable from flooding or a lack of means to protect themselves from environmental hazards. This issue was seen during Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, USA in 2005, where vulnerable people, including the elderly, children, and African Americans, lacked the means of transport for evacuation and consequently they suffered disproportionately (UN-HABITAT, 2006). In relation to needs, some people may have more need to access certain natural resources, such as a family with many children needing more water or

elderly people potentially requiring more access to energy resources. In terms of responsibility, there can be an argument that the polluter should pay more. Thus, in the event of an unjust situation, it can be argued that the polluters are the ones who should take responsibility for the burdens.

2.4.2. Procedural justice

Discussion turns next to the issue of procedural justice. Here *'justice is defined as fair and equitable institutional processes of a state'* (Schlosberg, 2007:25), and it mainly concerns the procedures around how policies are made, such as for policies for tourism development, including the level of participation by the different relevant actors and their level of recognition. In many cases, natural resources tend to be used by some at the expenses of others, often in distant places, so there are important issues around the power to influence environmental decision-making tending to be unfairly distributed within and between populations (Walker, 2012). Thus, it is necessary to explore the procedural aspects of how decisions are made affecting access to natural resources in relation to tourism-related development, including the level of participation by different actors.

2.5. APPLICATION OF POLITICAL ECOLOGY IN TOURISM

The review, so far, has considered political ecology as an approach to research, and next attention is given to instances where political ecology perspectives are applied in tourism research. The application of a political ecology perspective in tourism studies appears to be especially relevant because of the significance of environmental resources for the tourism industry as well as for grassroots people's livelihoods in developing countries. Tourism actors, such as international, national and local tourism businesses and grassroots people, often compete over accessing natural resources, and this often contributes to environmental conflicts or conservation initiatives in a destination.

The relationships between actors involved in tourism development are interconnected through complex relations often centred around land-based resources, which provide consumptive (i.e. freshwater and land used for resort development or tourist enjoyment) and non-consumptive (such as the aesthetic qualities of flora and fauna or scenic landscapes) resources for tourism. These same natural resources can be integral parts of the livelihoods of grassroots people (i.e. through livestock pasture and

logging). Also tourism is often regarded as a basis for economic diversification in developing countries while its impact is felt at international and local level. For these reasons, a political ecology perspective provides a potentially strong analytical and methodological framework for tourism studies. The likely relevance of this perspective is reinforced by publications using political ecology to evaluate tourism development in developing countries by Stonich (1998), Gössling (2003) and Cole (2012). Yet, it is surprising that there are few such studies over the main period that was researched, that is, between 2003 and 2012.

Stonich (1998) was one of the first researchers to apply political ecology in tourism studies in order to understand the relationships between tourism development and its environmental impacts, including exploring the related relations between multi-scale actors. Her study also attempts to unveil the distributional aspects of tourism-related environmental impacts. It does that by examining the socio-economic inequalities among different ethnic groups, demonstrating that the tourism-related environmental impacts tended to contribute to these wider socio-economic inequalities, and that they often resulted from the macro-scale structural forces in the economic and political context.

The key concepts from the political ecology perspective used by Stonich include international interests, the functioning of the global economy, the role of the state, the relationships between class and ethnic structures, the interrelations between local resource users, the diversity of the decisions of local resource managers, and the differing related ideologies. Political ecology analysis, underpinned by political economy principles, was used to analyse the external forces affecting local groups and local-scale decisions. Her study considers how international actors and the state affected local people's actions on the local environment, and it emphasises the role of human actors (Stonich, 1998).

Stonich (1998) approaches the political ecology of tourism by first explaining the tourism development context, the ethnic structures of the population and their history of ethnic conflicts, the state's tourism policies, the expansion of tourism development, and the related population growth. Her analysis evaluates tourism's socio-economic and nutritional effects on the people and communities, examining this for both the less powerful and the powerful actors, and considering how these actors control the land and other natural resources. She next examines the environmental problems in

relation to tourism's environmental impact on fresh and marine water and on human health problems. Finally, her study identifies the state's policies for mitigating the adverse impact of tourism on environmental health and how these decisions are made in conjunction with external donor agencies. The latter reveals only minimal participation of local residents despite the participatory rhetoric of the project summary by the donor agencies and the state. Although her study lays an important foundation stone for the application of political ecology in tourism research, it appears to lack in-depth analysis of the actors involved in the relevant processes at micro-level of their everyday life and interactions. It can be argued that the study puts a little too much emphasis on the structural influences on social class, perhaps based on a rather narrow assumption that power is broadly associated with financial resources rather than a broader range of issues.

As exemplified in the work of Gössling (2003), the political ecology approach applied so far in tourism studies seems to focus on various actors' interactions, the economic contexts, the tourism and environment relations, the discourses and power relations, and the different conceptions of time and change over time. Firstly, these studies often explore the multi-level actors (i.e. international economic and environmental actors) and their interactions, the collaboration and conflicts in relation to access and control over natural resources, and these can be regarded as key aspects of the political context. Secondly, tourism is often analysed in relation to its economic context, with a major concern being the economic motive behind tourism development, which includes economic diversification in developing countries and how it fits with other economic sectors. Other key economic aspects which are considered include the distribution of tourism's economic benefits between groups of actors and within those groups. Thirdly, they tend to consider the environmental dimensions of tourism development, which often are linked with environmental degradation, pollution and conservation, and also associated with a micro- and macro-scale politics of resistance, civil movements and political parties.

Fourthly, in these studies the dialogues, discourses and power relations associated with tourism development processes are important considerations. As Gössling (2003:26) argues, tourism development often results in conflicts among actors with varying degree of intensity, and which also relates to '*power, identity, entitlements, natural or financial resources*'. Communication between actors involved in tourism

development often builds on the discourses that affect the political decisions associated with accessing or conserving the environment. Consequently, it can be important to understand how certain discourses are created and shaped by actor groups. Often powerful actor groups or elites establish certain prevailing or influential discourses and they seek to maintain the influence of those discourses. Such power is perhaps linked to financial resources, which further extends the control and power of those particular actor groups.

Finally, Gössling's (2003) use of political ecology introduces the issue of time frames from a cultural point of view. He asserts that actors involved in tourism development processes have differing attitude towards time in those processes, with business operators often viewing time as money, but with grassroots people focusing more on the tasks they are involved with, so that they tend to focus more on the present rather than on the future. Grassroots people consequently can tend not to foresee the medium- and long-term consequences of tourism development (Gössling, 2003). Gössling also indicates that (i) tourism investors often favour immediate profits and thus they can also neglect the long-term environmental consequences. Further, (ii) frequent changes in the operators and staff involved in managing tourism businesses tends to result in the managers being less concerned with environmental sustainability, as an understanding of their environmental impacts can best be gained by experience gained over a prolonged period of time.

One limitation of the existing studies which apply political ecology perspectives in tourism is that many concern tropical islands and are in countries that emerged from former colonies (Gössling, 2003). Another limitation is that many of the studies focus on the issues of access to fresh water resources during mass tourism development and the related interactions between local and non-local actors. A recent example of such an application of political ecology is by Cole (2012) who explores water equity and tourism development in the Indonesian island of Bali. This study is framed within political ecology, using both political economy and cultural ecology perspectives. Similar to previous studies, Cole explores how global political and economic processes affected the local social and environmental practices and the interactions between various actors at various geographical scales. There is a particular focus on *'the distributive (in)justices and outcomes of the environment and economic changes'* within the cultural and historic context of contemporary Bali (Cole, 2012:5-6). The study

explores the water and tourism nexus, with water resources being vital for sustainable tourism development.

Four main features or issues of political ecology are examined by Cole (2012), including environmental conflict, marginalisation, conservation and control. Her research is intended to bridge hydrological science, with its focus on what is happening to water resources, with the social sciences and their focus on how and why the present situation came about. However, the case of a tropical island environment and of the distribution of water resource continues an established tradition in the use of political ecology in tourism research, as previously established by Stonich (1998) and Gössling (2003). The narratives examined by Cole include those of social power and the inequitable distribution of fresh water. Cole evaluates this through exploring historical and social processes in order to uncover the causes and consequences of an unsustainable and mismanaged tourism development path. The study explores the causes of the water crises by considering the related environmental and political processes which have caused a skewed distribution of water from agriculture to tourism and which have also caused an inequitable share between locals and tourists.

Thus, Cole (2012) links the distributional aspects of water for agriculture and tourism to complex environmental and political factors. These include: (i) the ways in which water is supplied and consumed, (ii) the political and regulatory context, (iii) the social and cultural factors, (iv) levels of awareness among actors, (v) the changes in the environment, and (vi) the various land use factors. Cole (2012) suggests that the insufficient amount of piped water supply means that many residents and tourism business operators have dug or bored wells with a depth often beyond that permitted (40m), and these do not have water consumption meters and official permission. Thus, saltwater intrusion has become quite widespread. But in the face of these problems there are eleven government departments responsible for water management and regulations, and that diffuse regulatory control has exacerbated the weak law enforcement, the dysfunctional regulations, and the deliberate misinterpretation of regulations. There is also a pervasive collective culture of reverence towards people in power or of a high social status, and that means that there has been a lack of open protest, despite the problems. Instead conflicts seem to emerge between the people in the area. There is also a common misconception among the officials and tourists that there is no water problem, based on an assumption that fresh water is plentiful in Bali.

Environmental factors related to Bali's tourism development that are considered by Cole include the decreasing forest resources, with the forests protecting the mountain spring water by accumulating the water like a sponge. Also tourism-related constructions, such as of roads, means that fresh water drains more quickly into ditches and then into the sea, thereby lowering the fresh water table. Further, the differing economic value of land for uses by the tourism and agriculture industries has encouraged a reduction in land given over to rice fields, with rice fields generating fewer returns by comparison with tourism. Also, the remaining rice fields have tended to experience diminishing yield because of birds, which used to rely on larger rice fields prior to the conversion of land for tourism purposes, such as for villas and hotels. Consequently, rice growers harvest less rice. In sum, Cole's use of a political ecology approach shows that tourism has resulted in far-reaching and rather complex consequences for the environment, traditional ways of living and for society.

It can be argued less positively, however, that Cole's study can tend to treat the locals as a passively obedient group whose voices are suppressed due to the collective nature of their culture. Again, this might suggest that the study has tended to give relatively too much emphasis to structuralist notions. This contrasts with the work of the development sociologist Long (2001:13), who argues that social actors cannot be portrayed based on their social class or as '*passive recipients of intervention*'. Instead, he argues that they are '*active participants*' who develop their daily strategies via processing information and communicating with both local and external actors. Thus, Long suggests that '*the precise paths of change and their significance for those involved cannot be imposed from outside, nor can they be explained in terms of the working out of some inexorable structural logic.*' (Long, 2001:13).

This review of exiting tourism studies informed by political ecology approaches suggests that, to a great extent, they are underpinned by the principles of political economy, such as by the structural effects of actors at various scales on local-scale actors. At the same time, there has been a degree of differing emphasis placed on the broader political, economic, cultural and environmental influences, depending in part perhaps on the differing research contexts and presumably the differing value judgement of the researchers. It is contended here that what is missing in the political ecology of tourism has been an explicit use of an actor-oriented, micro-level analysis of

tourism development, and especially so in contexts other than in tropical island environments.

There have been few applications of political ecology to tourism in the mainland territories of developing countries, such as Mongolia, where tourism-related development and conservation activities have tended to raise issues of access both to land and water resources, and of land degradation as well as of water pollution and conservation. In such contexts access to, and control of, natural resources can lead to conflicts. Here grassroots people may express concern about environmental protection and may come into conflict with more powerful actors, some of whom may be outsiders with significant financial resources and political links, such as international investors. This suggests there is much potential value in applying a political ecology approach to the current study.

There is also only a limited application of a political ecology perspective in relation to grassroots people's SoL as affected by tourism development processes. In mainland developing countries this aspect of people's SoL often linked to their land-based resources. In the case of former socialist countries in transition, tourism is often pursued as a development tool and economic diversification strategy based on land-based resources, and it often takes place within a neo-liberal ideology. This tourism development path is often believed to be associated with environmental degradation. It is seen potentially as a means to reduce poverty and inequalities, although this is uncertain.

2.6. ACTOR-ORIENTED APPROACH TO THE POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF TOURISM

An actor-oriented approach to political ecology research may offer valuable insights to understand the local dynamics of tourism's contribution to grassroots people's SoL, as well as equity issues over access to, and control over natural resources and tourism-related opportunities. Developed most notably by Dutch development sociologist Norman Long, actor-oriented approach puts a lot of emphasis on actors and their agency, such as on the formation of actors' views, and the ways in which interactions take place at the micro-level of individual actors. While this perspective recognises the importance of structural forces, such as the pressure of global economic relations to exploit natural resources for tourism-related development processes, it starts by looking at the roles of actors and the interactions of those actors. From this

perspective, Long (2001) recognizes the considerable importance of external forces, such as the economic and political structures, but he also condemns an over-emphasis on external determination. Instead, Long (2001:13) argues for reciprocal interactions between structure and agency, contending that *'All forms of external intervention necessarily enter the existing lifeworlds of the individuals and social groups affected, and in this way they are mediated and transformed by these same actors and structures'*. While Long recognizes the external forces, he stresses the key importance of individual actors and their varying responses to structural forces. Such a perspective might be revealing in the case of Mongolia. Since 1990 this country has experienced a political and economic transition to a democratic government and a market economy, with the democratic movement emerging from the macro-structural force of the dissolving of the former communist regime. Yet the members of the emerging relatively egalitarian society have shown differing reactions to the transition and they have adopting various livelihoods strategies, including migration, border trading and livestock herding.

Long (2001: 49) identifies a number of key founding principles of an actor-oriented approach. First, society is seen as made up of diverse social and cultural forms, even under homogeneous circumstances. This can be seen in the cases of Japan, France and the UK, which are all democratic market economies with diverse and sometimes very different social and cultural structures and forms. Despite the similar structural conditions, therefore, these countries each have highly context-specific values and beliefs. Second, given this variation it is considered important to study how social and cultural differences are *'produced, reproduced and transformed'* beyond the structural forces. Thus, it is considered necessary to understand how actors process their own experiences and the experiences of others, and also how they act upon that. Third, social relations are seen as networks of interconnections based on shared meanings, values, and power relations, with these social actions and interpretations being context-specific. Fourth, the every-day actor interactions tend to be the result of broader macro-scale phenomena, while the macro-structures are in turn the result of micro-scale actor interactions (Long, 2001). These interpretations lead Long (2001:50) to suggest, fifth, that social relations may be better understood by *'the concept of 'social interface', which explores how discrepancies of social interest, cultural interpretation, knowledge and power are mediated and perpetuated or transformed at critical points of linkage or confrontation'*.

It is suggested here that the political ecology and actor-oriented approaches can be combined and that this combination may help to advance our understanding of the political ecology of tourism development, including its interactions in the tourism, environment and society nexus. Both approaches appear to offer a similar focus on multi-level analysis between the macro and micro, or between the global and local scales. An actor-oriented approach emphasises how social interactions and relations take place, and also the meanings, knowledge and power that are mediated in those relations, as well as also recognizing the importance of structural forces. The political ecology approach can also incorporate an actor-oriented approach in its analysis, while also helping to focus on the importance of land-based resources, the access to those resources, the conservation and degradation of the resources, and the resulting implications for people's livelihoods and for socio-economic inequalities, and justice. However, the political ecology approach seems to put much emphasis on structural forces, paying less attention to micro level analysis. In that respect, an actor-oriented approach may offer a valuable supplementary contribution to political ecology.

Bramwell (2006a) applies an actor perspective in examining government policies to limit tourism growth in Malta. His study explores the reciprocal interactions behind the trajectory of policy development to establish a limit to tourism development, the public debates about those limits, and the important structural pressures affecting the policies and related debates. Consequently, it focuses on the complex interactions between agency and structure. Bramwell (2006a) argues that the different actors had varying reactions to the growth management policies because of their different interests and networks of relations, which are tied to their social values and power relations. In employing an actor perspective, he uses the concepts of actors, networks, power configurations, knowledge frameworks and discourses (Bramwell, 2006a). Knowledge frameworks are particularly emphasised by Bramwell (2006b), while he also stresses the importance of identifying the actors and their power relations. Attention is given to structural analysis under the sociological categories of economic forces and social class and status, but the study is guided by the argument that analysis should start from the actors and their everyday life worlds, and only then move on to the sociological and structural.

As mentioned previously, an important feature of an actor-oriented approach is its emphasis on power relations between actors. From this perspective, power is often

described as something that cannot be possessed, and instead it is considered to be an emergent process that emerges through actor interactions and through its performance in social relations (Long, 2001). It occurs, for example, through people's perceptions that other actors have or lack power (Bramwell, 2006a, Bramwell and Meyer, 2007). Power can result from the interplay of different knowledge frameworks, with these ways of thinking and connecting ideas providing actors with ways for them to deal with the daily issues of their lives. Powerful actors may seek to establish knowledge frameworks that support their own interests (Long, 2001). The social interactions of actors tend to underpin their knowledge frameworks because actors tend to assimilate their own understandings through their interactions with others, and some actors can seek to persuade others to accept their own particular meanings or knowledge frameworks. Further, it is through social interactions that new knowledge frameworks or understandings can emerge (Long 2001). Actors' understanding and interpretation often reflect the multiple realities of many knowledge frameworks, which are open to contradictions, and they can be contested and negotiated.

Within broad knowledge frameworks there can be specific discourses. A discourse represents "*a set of meanings embodied in metaphors, representations, images, narratives, and statements that advance a particular version of 'the truth' about objects, persons, events, and relations between them*" (Long 2001:51-2). Fairclough (1992) stresses the importance discourses, or language, in order to understand social actions, and he contends that it is necessary to undertake discourse analysis in order to understand the wider social actions and social structure that frame those discourses.

Based on the earlier discussion, it is asserted here that a political ecology perspective combined with an actor-oriented approach potentially can provide important new insights into SoL, inequality issues and environmental justice. This can be assisted by incorporating such key ideas from an actor-oriented approach as the focus on power, knowledge frameworks and discourses. This combined approach could help to advance our understanding of human and environmental relations related to tourism development processes.

2.7. STANDARDS OF LIVING, POVERTY, INEQUALITY, AND TOURISM

The discussion now moves on to consider literature on tourism's interplay with people's SoL and with poverty and inequality. Tourism is often advocated as an economic diversification strategy in developing countries as these countries often have rich natural resources, such as wildlife and relatively untouched landscapes, and also historic and cultural resources. Tourism tends regularly to be seen to offer new hope for income generation, increased employment opportunities, poverty alleviation and also eventually for an improved SoL (Weaver, 2006). However, there seems not to be straightforward linear relations between income generation and increased SoL, and poverty and inequalities often persist despite the common neo-liberal rhetoric about trickle-down effects (Holden, 2008, Holden, 2013).

Therefore, it seems vital to explore the ideas of SoL, poverty and inequality and also to consider how they may be interrelated. Thus, the next section discusses, firstly, how SoL, poverty and inequality may be defined and measured, and it also examines their potential connections. Secondly, consideration is given to how poverty is approached in many tourism studies, which is often through the concept of pro-poor tourism (PPT) strategies. It is also noted how inequality issues more generally tend to be ignored in tourism research.

2.7.1. Standards of living, poverty and inequality

The SoL is described in the literature in two rather different ways, one based on economic measures of income, and the other based on a wider view of social life and living. In practice in international circles, such as by development organisations and the World Bank, the SoL is predominantly measured by household income per head. This income measurement is often derived from two different traditions of measuring – a (i) basic needs approach, and (ii) an income poverty line approach (Holden, 2013). The main assumption of both approaches is that humans must sustain their biological needs, such as for food and shelter, and their non-biological needs, such as for aesthetics and religion, and that these usually require people to have some financial resources. Thus, definitions of SoL based on human needs often give a priority to people's economic conditions, although non-economic conditions can also be considered (Boltvinik, 1998).

The first tradition of measurement of the SoL, that of the basic needs approach, attempts to measure the satisfaction of human needs based on measurable human needs

within certain thresholds. For example, it can focus on people's daily calorie intake based on their requirement for food consumption, based on such thresholds as 2,500 calories for women and 3,000 calories for men. Such measures are widely applied by IDOs. The second tradition, that of the Income Poverty Line approach, emphasises the resources that households command – both monetary resources and also rights and entitlements – in order to satisfy their basic needs (Haughton and Khandker, 2009, World Bank, 2010). When these resources are identified, these are often reduced to people's private current income (or private consumption expenditures) or to a specific level of income (or consumption) called 'the poverty line' (Boltvinik, 1998:4). Using this approach people's household income (or expenditure) is often compared with the poverty line.

The SoL and poverty can be regarded as interrelated concepts and they can be measured in almost identical ways. Poverty can be regarded as a deprived level of the SoL. Poverty in the modern world seems to be one of the most pressing issues in developing countries, and it is given prominence in the MDGs through the goal to 'eradicate extreme poverty and hunger' and by the target to *'halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 per day'* (United Nations, 2013:6).

It is suggested that there are two types of poverty: absolute and relative (Hulme, Moore and Shepherd, 2001, Holden, 2013). Hulme, Moore and Shepherd (2001:8) contends *'Absolute poverty is perceived as subsistence below the minimum requirements for physical well-being, generally based on a quantitative proxy indicator such as income or calories, but sometimes taking into account a broader package of goods and services. Alternatively, the relatively poor are those whose income or consumption level is below a particular fraction of the national average'*. These are seen as common characteristics of people in absolute poverty, whose deprivation is beyond their income. Yet here income appears still to be the key factor for one's deprivation. Thus, a minimum income level is widely used internationally to define the poverty line. The income level of US\$ 1 per person a day which had been used to define those who are in poverty was increased to US\$ 1.25 in 2008 (World Bank, 2010; Holden, 2013).

However, there is increased criticism of the income line approach to define poverty. One reason is that it assumes there is a linear connection between income and

poverty, while that may not always be the case. Also income measures of poverty do not seem to reflect the cultural practices that may result in various inequalities in people's livelihoods (McMichael, 2004). Hence, 'relative poverty' appears to be determined against the normal living standards of particular societies. Lister (2004:4) emphasises how poverty involves '*possessing insufficient resources to meet socially recognised needs and to participate in wider society*'. Owing to this perspective the measurement of poverty shifts from minimum standards to a comparison of averages and to socially recognised needs. Thus, the Chronic Poverty Research Centre at the University of Manchester identifies five chronic traps that cause chronic poverty, including insecurity, limited citizenship, poor work opportunities, social discrimination, and spatial disadvantages (Hulme, Moore and Shepherd, 2001).

Many criticisms have emerged because of the non-linear relations between SoL and household income levels. Poverty can involve not only material deprivation but it can also be socially defined and also seasonal, depending on the context. Poverty assessments often report poverty as peaking in particular periods. Seasonal and occasional stress and shocks, illness, drought and war can all cause poverty (Maxwell, 2009). Some analysts define actual and potential poverty, in which the poor are seen as those who are highly sensitive to shocks as they lack capacity and resilience (Maxwell, 2009). In the case of Mongolia, nomadic herders can be regarded as highly vulnerable to drought or *zud* (a harsh and cold winter), regardless of whether their current income may be sufficient. Despite the non-linear relations between SoL and income, international donors, NGOs and governments tend to require an observable, measurable unit of poverty in order to target the poor who they consider need assistance. Thus, in developing countries, they can use such criteria to define the poor as people's landholdings, the number of animals people own, and educational attainment (Barrett, 2005).

Poverty in society is illustrated by the poverty headcount index which is the share of the poor in the total population, or the percentage of the population whose consumption is below the poverty line. This is a very widely used poverty measure because it is especially simple and also easy to interpret and understand. However, there are two other measures which are used internationally to describe poverty more comprehensively, including in Mongolia, these being (i) the poverty gap, and (ii) the severity of poverty. The first of these, the poverty gap, measures how far on average

the poor live (or consume) from the poverty line (Sen, 1976:220). This index can also imply how much money is necessary to lift the consumption of the poor so as to get them out of poverty (Narankhuu, 2007). The second more comprehensive measure, the severity of poverty, concerns the distribution of consumption among the poor population, or the inequality among the poor, with higher scores indicating greater disparity among the poor.

The links between income inequality and poverty are complex. Neo-liberal economic policies advocate GDP growth, based on the assumption that it will help to eliminate income poverty. Yet international experience tends to show that, regardless of annual GDP growth, over time there has been growing income inequality and that rates of poverty have not reduced (Platt, 2011). Inequality measures widely make comparisons between or within countries, populations, social classes, and gender groups based on the distribution of income, opportunities, power and of natural resources. Income inequality and poverty tend to be interconnected, where greater income inequality tends to lead to a deteriorating SoL for those households with the most modest incomes. The negative consequences of income inequality include the *'stigma associated with the absence of choice'* (Platt, 2011: 132).

Income inequality is often measured through the use of the Gini coefficient. The Gini coefficient is a descriptive approach to the measurement of the statistical dispersion of household income (FAOUN, 2006). The coefficient ratio has values between 0 and 1, with a low Gini coefficient ratio indicating a more equal income distribution, and with a high Gini coefficient indicating a more unequal distribution. 0 corresponds to perfect equality (everyone having exactly the same income) and 1 corresponds to perfect inequality (where one person has all the income, while everyone else has zero income). The Gini coefficient is a controversial measure of income inequality. Not only does its value depend on income inequality within a country, but its value also depends on other factors, such as the country's demographic structure. Thus, countries with an aging population, or with a baby boom, often experience an increasing pre-tax Gini coefficient even if the real income distribution for working adults remains constant. The Gini coefficient requires that no one has a negative net income, or that income exceeds a household's spending, which cannot be the case for many households in rural areas of the developing world.

Another way to look at inequality is to look at the share of national consumption obtained by each population quintile (the population is divided into 5 groups, each containing 20% of the population and ranked from the poorest to the richest). The share of income or consumption received by the poorest 20 % of the population is often incorporated in the MDGs as a basic measure of equity. In a developing country, an average 6 % of total income or consumption is earned (or consumed) by the poorest 20 % of the population (World Bank, 2010). Mongolia's inequality quintile can be seen in Appendix-I.

Petras and Veltmeyer (2007) criticise the lack of diverse evidence on the growing inequality in the increasingly globalised world. They argue disorders, disease and constricted lifestyles cannot be measured only by the possession of consumer goods or income. Managers are often high earners, while workers' health, pension and severance payment are often being reduced. The deepening inequalities between workers and managers at work places can also be reflected in the non-working lives of the workers. The managers often press their workers to be more productive and well-disciplined, with the aim of increasing profits, but this leads to greater stress for the workers and less time to recover and feel revived after work. By contrast, managers can often have long and therapeutic holidays, while their work duties are well cushioned with the support of their subordinates (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2007). It appears that persisting inequalities may be, for some, rooted deep in the ideologies of neo-liberal rhetoric, through which elites' values are protected at the cost of their workers (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2007).

Although, there is an extensive literature on tourism and poverty (Ashley et al., 2000, Roe et al., 2004, Holden, Sonne and Novelli, 2011, Holden, 2013), it is not intention of the present study to review that literature in great depth. That is because this study largely focuses on the capability approach, an approach which complements SoL, poverty and tourism studies, and that approach is considered next. However, a brief discussion on pro-poor tourism can be found in Appendixes-II.

2.8. THE CAPABILITY APPROACH AND TOURISM

As indicated in the earlier analysis, monetary measures of SoL have been criticised as potentially arbitrary and as neglecting the diverse elements of social life and living (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2007). Sen's capability approach to measuring SoL

stresses a fuller picture of SoL beyond a single income-based approach. It does this through capturing people's capabilities (abilities to achieve) and various types of 'functioning' (achievements) in relation to their life goals. Sen (1984:84) argues that "*'capability' to function reflects what a person can do or can achieve*", such as being well nourished or being able to read, whereas functioning involves personal features; they tell us what a person is doing or achieving" (with original emphasis). In other words, '*a combination of "functionings" or "doings or beings"*' makes up people's achieved living. Sen argues that poverty measured as a shortfall in income essentially captures an input to an individual's capability and functioning, rather than it providing a direct measure of well-being (Sen, 1985). From this perspective, the essence of economic development is human development, which is seen as the command of basic capabilities, such as a long and healthy life, which enlarge people's choices to have a meaningful and creative life (Sen, 1999)

Sen (1992:39) argues that a person's SoL can be seen in terms of the quality of the person's being. The SoL may be seen as consisting of a set of interrelated functioning. Therefore, the evaluation of SoL has to take the form of an assessment of these constituent functioning elements. Capabilities closely relate to functioning. They represent the various combinations of functioning (beings and doings) that the person can achieve. Capability is, thus, a set of vectors of functioning, reflecting the person's freedom to lead one type of life or another (Sen, 1992: 40). Capabilities refer to the ability of an individual to function, to use opportunities, to make choices, and to take actions. Therefore, Sen (1983:160) argues that '*the constituent part of standard of living is not the good, nor its characteristics, but the ability to do various things by using that good or those characteristics, and it is that ability rather than the mental reaction to that ability in the form of happiness that, in this view, reflects the standard of living*'. In other words, it seems that commodity ownership may not be an appropriate focus for SoL, rather the abilities to make use of such goods could reflect one's SoL.

To a large extent, human capabilities can be regarded as the potential of individuals to achieve something, including their abilities and skills that convert opportunities into outcomes (Kuklys, 2005). Therefore, capabilities seem to depend on the two interrelated factors of the person's command over resources, and their ability to use their acquired capabilities for work and leisure (Croes, 2012). The capability approach consequently emphasises providing all human beings with the opportunities

for a full life, rather than emphasizing economic growth (Sen, 1999). If capabilities are to be promoted in order to expand them, rather than to expand income and consumption, then the constituent capabilities need to be identified. Sen (1985b) rejects an arbitrary list of capabilities because capabilities tend to be context-specific, in terms of the heterogeneous character of individuals and of countries with differing values and aspirations. Therefore, the identification and ranking of capabilities tends in practice to be a significant challenge. One associated problem is that capabilities are unobservable and can only be viewed through latent variables (Croes, 2012).

2.8.1. The capability approach in tourism research

To date, only Croes (2012) applies the capability approach to assess the relationship between tourism development and human development. In this case the approach is used in the context of Latin America. However, two other studies by Hashimoto (2002) and Cracolici and Nijkamp (2009) apply at least some of the components of the capability approach. Hashimoto (2002) seeks to link tourism development with measurement of the social and cultural features of development, doing so through examining living conditions, the quality of life and the well-being of populations. Cracolici and Nijkamp (2009) apply the capability approach to analyse the attractiveness of destinations in relation to the destination meeting individual tourists' well-being. By far the most relevant study for the present research topic, however, is by Croes.

The study by Croes (2012) attempts to define the capability approach conceptually and it reviews its application in the context of tourism. The study is based on people's achievements (or various types of functioning), including their literacy, life expectancy and income, and it measures people's education, health and SoL. Croes (2012) investigated how much tourism can contribute to the increase in people's capabilities. Croes's main focus is to answer the question as to whether human development is either an input, or else an output, of tourism development. The study suggests that tourism income does not necessarily lead to human development unless the benefits are distributed evenly based on the human capabilities of public health, education and safety (Croes, 2012). However, taking such a dualistic approach to distinguish inputs from outputs may be rather inappropriate because in practice an input can be output, or vice versa. Further, Croes approaches SoL simply as people's purchasing power based on real GDP, in a largely quantitative way, but it has been argued previously that SoL is a much broader concept than people's income level alone.

In that respect, in the study by Croes a person's SoL is imposed rather than it being based on the person's own assessment. The study also seems to miss the potentially vital element of environmental justice for human development, an issue that has not been studied previously in relation to tourism development.

It seems that there are clear gaps in coverage in the application of the capability approach in tourism studies, gaps which need filling. Thus, one of the current research aims is to focus on the detailed investigation and application of the capability approach in a tourism study. The current study therefore applies a holistic political ecology approach in conjunction with an actor-oriented approach to a tourism study which examines human capabilities and functioning. This is an original approach and focus which has not been attempted previously.

2.9. CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed key literature on the political ecology approach, an approach which is underpinned by political economy principles. The review demonstrated that the political ecology approach can be a holistic, interconnected perspective which concerns human and environmental interrelations among multi-actors at multi-scales. It can achieve this through the use of the political economy concern with structural forces and actor relations. These perspectives are related to a capability approach to SoL, inequality and environmental justice.

From a political ecology perspective, almost all aspects of social life are interconnected and they involve mutual relations and interdependences. Macro-scale international actors, for example, increasingly play influential roles in developing countries due to their financial resources and technological skills and know-how. Further, human and environmental relations are seen as political in character, with the political as well as the economic given prominence in the political ecology approach. This approach can help to understand the distribution of environmental burdens and benefits, key concerns of distributional justice. This perspective can also highlight the procedural justice concerns of how the burdens and benefits are distributed and perhaps ought to be distributed.

However, there is very little research in tourism studies that applies a political ecology approach, despite its potential value. In relation to the environmental aspects of tourism, a small number of studies have applied a political ecology approach, mostly to

examine tourism development in relation to water quality, human health and inequalities, and often on tropical islands (Stonich, 1998, Gössling, 2001). By contrast, how tourism and environmental issues affect grassroots people's SoL has been much less well researched.

A political ecology perspective can incorporate an actor-oriented approach which can explore the varied interactions among diverse actors. Although macro-level structural forces are believed to be influential in both political ecology and an actor-oriented approach, Long (2001) stresses the role of actors at the micro-level, arguing that the micro-level is a pre-requisite to understand the macro-level. An actor-oriented approach can suggest that actors form structures, and vice versa. It indicates that, although human agents are much influenced by the structural macro-forces of politics, the economy and culture, individual actors potentially shape the macro structure.

The essence of economic development is often associated with human development, notably through progress in people's SoL. Income is often regarded as a key focus of SoL, but it can be argued that income measures do not capture the full essence of human development. Our understanding of SoL may also be hampered by some of the literature on poverty, inequality and PPT strategies, which seem to neglect the importance of the issues of equity and fairness. By contrast, Sen's capability approach concerns the broad range of human capabilities, rather than just income measures. Thus, the capability approach appears to offer much promise in developing an improved understanding of SoL and its relationships with tourism development.

In sum, this literature review explored the key approaches and themes behind the present study, notably those of political economy, political ecology, environmental justice, an actor-oriented approach and a capability approach, with these considered in part in relation to SoL and inequality issues associated with tourism development. Study's overarching approach is a political ecology, through which human and environmental relations are seen within the context of tourism development. In order to avoid a political ecology approach leading to an overly structuralist position, the study also incorporates an actor-oriented perspective that pays detailed attention to actor relations and actor agency without losing sight of structural forces. These broad approaches are used to explore tourism's contribution to SoL and human development, and that exploration draws on a capability approach.

The political ecology, actor-oriented and capability approaches have only very occasionally been applied to the study of tourism in the developing world, a context where the environment is an integral part of both traditional and modern livelihoods. Following the literature review, Chapter 3 brings together these approaches and core concepts within an integrated conceptual framework.

Chapter 3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses one of the study's key research objectives that of developing a conceptual framework based on a political ecology approach to understand quality of livelihoods and SoL, inequality issues in tourism development. In subsequent chapters the conceptual framework is applied in two geographically distinctive rural areas of Mongolia, in part in order to evaluate the effectiveness of the framework. The literature review in Chapter 2 discussed key literature relevant to the present study, and that literature underpins the study's conceptual framework. The conceptual framework for the study evolved as the research progressed, and notably as the fieldwork was started, and there was an evolving process of modest modification and clarification of the concepts and organisation of the conceptual framework. To a large extent, however, the basic principles and ideas in the conceptual framework's key concepts remained the same. The chapter explains both the earlier conceptual framework and the subsequent more refined one, and it also explains how it was applied to design the research instruments and how it influenced the data analysis.

The chapter begins with an explanation of the initial conceptual framework, followed by a discussion of the value of the conceptual framework, connections between the concepts within the framework, and how the framework and related concepts were applied in the study in order better to understand quality of livelihood and SoL, equity and (in)equality issues related to tourism development processes in the case study areas. Thus, it describes the main concepts applied in the study and their empirical application. The discussion of the conceptual framework considers the overall principles behind it and then the more specific elements within it. Thus, it examines the political ecology of tourism, the political economy of tourism, actor relations, the practices of justice and equity, and socially constructed discourses related to the SoL,(in)equality, capabilities and environmental justice. Finally, the chapter explains how the conceptual framework was applied to the study, such as to assist in organising the study findings.

The key concepts of political ecology, environmental justice, an actor-oriented approach, SoL, equity and (in)equality, and the capability approach in relation to tourism development have already been discussed in the literature review. The current

chapter adds conceptual clarity to that discussion, it explores the interconnections between the concepts as they are explored in the study, and it also adds insights into how the framework was used empirically. Most notably it integrates the separate concepts within the overall conceptual framework – with the framework making a new contribution as it has not been applied in tourism studies previously. Each key concept in the framework was evaluated empirically in relation to other elements of the framework in the subsequent case study applications. In particular, the concepts were considered in relation to the environmental, economic and social contexts of tourism development in the case study areas. This was a relational approach that considered the inter-relationships within society, economy, governance and environment. The application of the concepts within the case study fieldwork in the selected case study areas of Mongolia involved simplifying the concepts for the interviews into everyday language that was meaningful to the respondents.

3.2. THE INITIAL CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

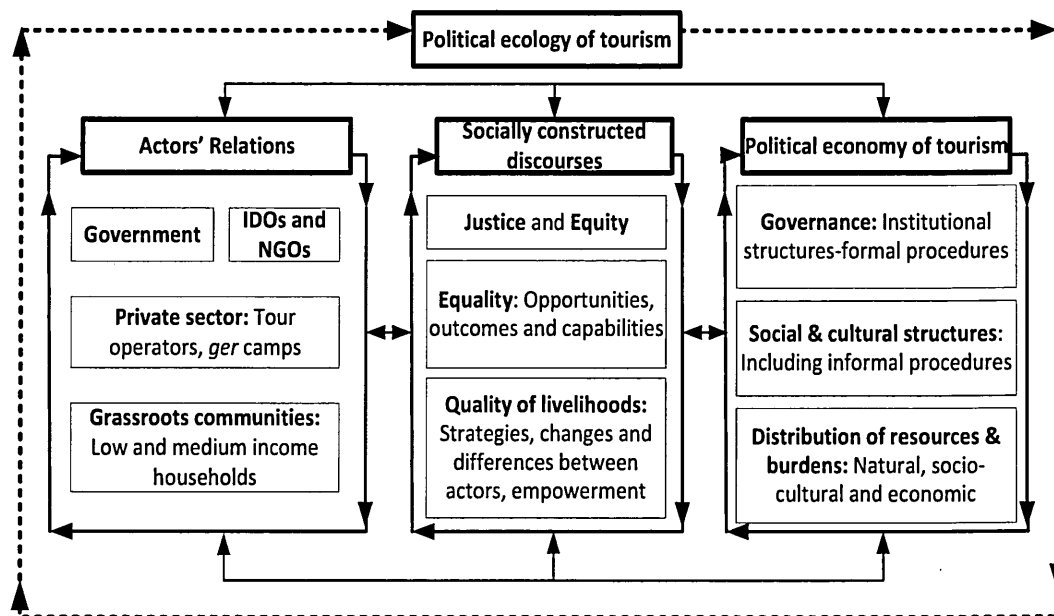
A conceptual framework can be described as an explanation of the main focus and processes within a study, which is illustrated graphically and also through an accompanying narrative (Maxwell, 2005). The research focus and processes here concerned the key elements and constructs which required understanding and their presumed interrelations (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Maxwell (2005) argues that a conceptual framework consists of concepts (i.e. represented by boxes in the diagram used in this study) and the relationships amongst those concepts (i.e. the arrows connecting the concepts in the diagram used in this study) (Maxwell, 2005). Therefore, the conceptual framework may be seen as a visual representation of the operation and explanation of a study, achieved by pulling together and making visible concepts and relations and by clarifying existing theory. This representation helps the researcher to see the implications of their theory, concepts and presumed connections, as well as their limitations, and their relevance to practical assessments (Maxwell, 2005).

As discussed in the earlier literature review, a key overall principle behind the conceptual framework used in the study was a political ecology approach. That in turn was underpinned by political economic principles and by a concern with environmental and socio-cultural issues (Gössling, 2003). Figure 1 shows the initial conceptual framework for the research that was developed prior to the commencement of the fieldwork. It reflects the researcher's view that tourism development is a nexus of

economic, political, social and environmental matters. It is also premised on the view that the outcomes from tourism development are not always positive, and that the complex relationships around tourism development processes are in need of detailed examination in relation to the resulting impacts on quality of livelihoods and SoL of local grassroots people and also in relation to their responses to this. This initial conceptual framework was strongly influenced by the review of literature, careful conceptual development based on that literature review, and familiarity with the case study areas prior to the in-depth field research.

The conceptual framework was developed prior to the commencement of the empirical fieldwork in order to understand the SoL and inequality issues related to tourism development processes in the case study areas is shown in Figure 3.1. The 'political ecology of tourism' is the overall principle behind the framework and it is shown in the top box which encompasses the other relationships being explored. As discussed in the literature review, it provides a broad and holistic approach to understanding tourism development processes and the associated SoL and equity issues. Within Figure 3.1 there are interacting relationships between the three broad boxes, which represent: the actors' relationships (notably between the government, IDOs, NGOs, the private sector and grassroots communities), the political economy of tourism (i.e. the processes of governance, the social and cultural structures, and the distribution of resources and burdens in society), and the socially constructed discourses of justice and equity, equality and of the quality of livelihoods. Each box is related to the others in recursive, dialectical and reciprocal interactions. Thus, underpinning the socially constructed discourses box are the other two broad themes of the 'political economy of tourism' box and of the 'actor relations' box. The relations between these elements are dynamic, complex, interconnected, multidirectional and dialectical, and these are expressed by the two-way connecting arrows in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1 Conceptual framework developed by the author before the field study



Within the 'socially constructed discourses' box, there are socially-constructed views about the concepts of 'justice' and 'equity', and about 'equality', such as equality of opportunities, outcomes and capabilities. Differing and shared views about the concepts of justice and equity are a focus within this study, and these ideas are explained more fully later in this chapter. Another key focus of the study is on opinions about the concept of 'quality of livelihoods', with increasing numbers of studies in the development literature focused on local perspectives on livelihoods (Scoones, 2009), as discussed in the literature review. Chambers and Conway (1992:5) suggest that people tend to have various livelihoods, which are defined here as '*...the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living*'. Livelihood is regarded as involving the various activities required to make one's living, and these involve a variety of paid and unpaid labour and social interactions. Livelihood perspectives in research on the rural context tend to focus on well-being in a rather more holistic way, and this tends to expand on the more traditional income measure of livelihoods. It further includes other dimensions of well-being, including security, social exclusion, access to physical and other assets, vulnerability and policy participation, and it tends to stress the importance of a participatory approach to decision-making that affects well-being (Ashley and Hussein, 2009). Views about the related concept of 'SoL' are also explored in this study, and again that concept is explained more fully later in the study.

Yet Scoones (2009) identifies a number of failings of livelihood perspectives that are increasingly popular in development studies research. Firstly, it is suggested that they tend to overemphasise a local level of analysis that can ignore broad and sometimes external structural forces of class and capital, these being forces that may be better understood through the use of political economic perspectives. Secondly, power and politics in relation to livelihoods and associated governance issues are sometimes neglected in many of the livelihood perspectives. Thirdly, in the context of the importance of issues of global climate change, understanding knowledge and capacities at the local geographical scale seems to be a key challenge in order to understand how best to respond locally to the changing global climate. Yet that knowledge and capacity is not always considered in the livelihoods research. Fourthly, livelihoods studies can fail to discuss the long-term shifts in rural economies and in agrarian change, shifts that have profound consequences for livelihoods but may best be understood from broad historical and political economy perspectives.

Also, livelihood perspectives have been criticised by Small (2007) as being focused on micro- issues and on very local views and perspectives that can fail adequately to link with broad theories and interpretations of social and economic change. Also, livelihood perspectives often rely on current and highly specific international concepts and debates about the merits of participation, empowerment and equality. Thus, these concepts are treated separately and they are not integrated within consistent and holistic interpretive theoretical frameworks. By contrast, Small (2007) attempts to conceptualise livelihood perspectives under Long's more holistic theoretical framework of an actor-oriented approach, an approach that was discussed in detail in Chapter 2 and that also informs the present study and its conceptual framework.

Indeed, in this study Long's ideas about the importance of the actor and of the actor's perspective on society and social relations, which is one view of political ecology, also underpins the overall conceptual framework shown in Figure 3.1. Thus, the macro-level of the 'political economy of tourism' (the right-hand box in Figure 3.1), including governance, institutional structures and social and cultural structures, and the specific issue of the distribution of resources and burdens, affect the context within which individual actors operate. Those actors in turn affect the societal structures and processes in a dialectical fashion. The relations between the macro-level and micro-level, for example, are evident in the 'actors' relations' box, where individuals and

organisations, including government, IDOs and NGOs, private sector tourism businesses, and grassroots communities all make day-to-day, yet important, decisions in the context of macro-structural constraints.

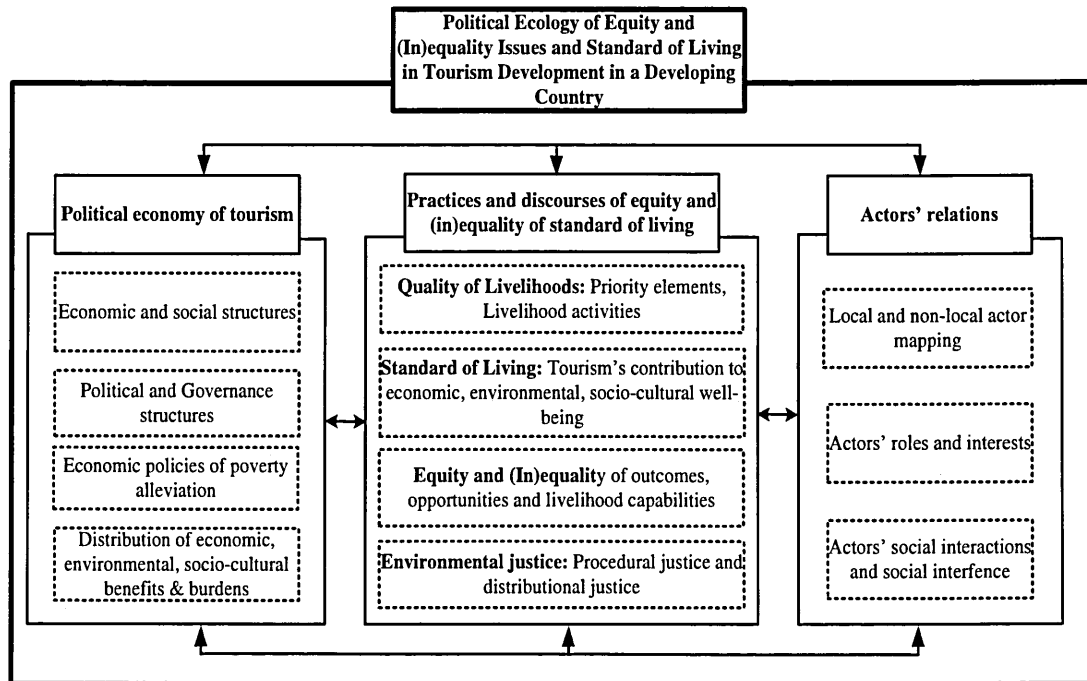
This initial conceptual framework underpinned the early design of the research instruments used in the study to collect data, as is explained in Chapter 4 on Research Methodology. It guided the study's focus on quality of livelihoods, SoL, and equity and (in)equality issues with respect to tourism development in the case study areas in Mongolia. The conceptual framework evolved, however, through an iterative process based on the experiences of applying the ideas in the framework in the fieldwork in the case study areas. The framework was always broad and loose and it was intended it should be applied flexibly and with openness to emerging concepts from the empirical study findings. The framework also had to be flexible because a political ecology approach combined with an actor perspective has not been applied previously to the issues of quality of livelihoods and SoL, equity and equality issues in tourism studies. Maxwell (2005) similarly advocates that conceptual frameworks should be allowed to evolve as a research study progresses.

3.3. THE SECOND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework was further elaborated and refined after a subsequent review of the literature and during the empirical fieldwork for the study. The elaboration includes improved logical coherence, clarification of the concepts within a more detailed specification, and the introduction of additional concepts. However, the initial framework remained largely the same because it retains its initial focus on a holistic approach and with the overall connections and relationships between concepts presented in boxes and multidirectional arrows in Figure 3.2. It, thus, maintains its concern to see political, economic, social and environmental issues as interrelated and intertwined, with these complex relations necessarily having to be simplified in the diagram by artificially dividing the issues and topics into specific boxes in order to illustrate the underpinning principles. It remains a generalised and broadly conceived generic framework that is intended potentially to be applicable for the study of quality of livelihoods, SoL, equity and equality issues associated with tourism development in any developing world context.

The overall focus of the conceptual framework is now clarified in the second conceptual framework, with the over-arching box at the top, previously simply labelled as ‘Political ecology of tourism’, now being labelled as ‘Political Ecology of Equity and (In)equality Issues and Standard of Living in Tourism Development in a Developing Country’.

Figure 3.2 The second conceptual framework developed by the author during the fieldwork



The second conceptual framework importantly adds the concept of SoL to that of quality of livelihoods. As the study evolved and the fieldwork was underway it seemed that the conceptual framework needed to be revised in order to add SoL alongside that of quality of livelihoods, as it was considered to offer a fuller picture of a person's living beyond that of livelihoods. This is because SoL extends beyond income also to include opportunities and capabilities (Sen, 1984, Sen, 1992, Stiglitz, et al., 2009). Within neo-liberal circles in the political economy, SoL is often defined within the idea of the utilities (or desire fulfilment) of that people have used or consumed and opulence (or income). But the current research emphasises the capabilities that people have to supplement their SoL and their freedom of choice in relation to available opportunities. It was evident from the fieldwork in the case study areas that the nature of the way of living, culture and livelihood among grassroots people evolved in relation to their wider environment, including where they lived and its resources and sacred sites, while these natural and cultural resources simultaneously offered economic

values. In tourism the resources tended to attract both domestic and international investors in tourism businesses who expected to gain surplus accumulation from the domestic and international tourism market. All of these aspects are interconnected and potentially in the nexus of conflicts of interests and of related social and political tensions. Thus, the conceptual framework adds SoL, capabilities and environmental aspects, but it does so without losing its focus on macro political economic principles and on their interconnections with micro level relations among actors, as shown in Figure 3.2.

Another modification of the previous conceptual framework is that the overall sequence of the boxes is reversed from the previous sequence from left to right of actor relations, socially constructed discourses, and the political economy of tourism. This is due to evidence during the fieldwork of the major significance of Mongolia's political, economic and social context for the relationships being studied. Mongolia's on-going political and economic transition, for example, can be regarded as the consequence of the macro context of the collapse of the communist regime in the former USSR and in Eastern Europe. Although Mongolia's democratic revolution in 1990 was initiated by Mongolian youth movements, it first started outside Mongolia, or by actors who were studying in the former socialist countries (Chapter 5 discusses in detail). Therefore, this is considered helpful to place the macro political economic context before the micro-level, everyday issues, and that is also the sequence in which these issues are explored in the study's results chapters. This does not mean that the study's focus on individual actor perspectives is diminished, rather the macro and micro are seen as dialectically related and inseparable, with actors creating societal features and those features also helping to shape the individuals views and actions. Thus, the new order in the conceptual framework does not assume that macro-structures determine micro-processes, only that it is believed to be helpful to consider the macro-context before examining small-scale, practical processes, with these processes in turn affecting the large-scale political ecology.

A further amendment between the first and second conceptual framework is that the issues examined in the important central box were expanded from socially constructed discourses, notably discourses about equity and (in)equality issues, to also include the lived practices of equality issues. It was increasingly recognized during the fieldwork that the study should examine not only the relevant discourses but also the related actual lived practices. These practices relevant to the study are diverse and

important. In Mongolia, for example, people have tended to adopt various livelihood strategies in order to cope with daily hardships, notably during the severe economic recession until 2000. These livelihood strategies have remained significant despite advances in terms of increasing political freedoms. Actor relations at different scales emerge from the fieldwork to be important for understanding both the practices and the discourses associated with the issues of SoL, equity, (in)equality of outcomes, opportunities and capabilities, and environmental justice in tourism. Each of these concepts is defined later in the chapter. It was felt that discourses around these issues were affected by actor's interests and roles, values and attitudes, and by their authority and power in social interactions at various social interfaces. Therefore, actor relations were recognized as a key factor affecting the practices and discourses of equity and (in)equality issues and SoL. The central box has consequently been re-labelled as 'practices and discourses of equity and equality of standard of living' in Figure 3.2 as the follows. The next section explains and elaborates on each of the boxes in turn, starting with the first box on the left side of the diagram.

3.3.1. Political economy of tourism

The 'Political economy of tourism' box in Figure 3.2 concerns the underpinning principles of political economy combined with political ecology, with these divided into four elements in the box, with the principles and elements explained next. The notion of political economy concerns the macro-level economic and social structures and the relationships between politics, economics, environment and society. In political economy these features of political, economic and social life and their interactions with the environment are considered to be intimately interrelated but in constant tension and struggle, often due to underlying power relations in society (Harvey, 1996). It is recognized that tourism development and its ecological impacts needs to be studied in relation to such wider contexts. Thus, it is central to the application of this framework that full consideration is given to the political economic context of Mongolia. Recognition must be given to this country experiencing a profound political and economic transition from 1990, shifting from a communist government with a centrally planned economy to a more democratic pattern of governance within a market economy system. This transition is often seen partially as a consequence of a wider international political economy of the collapse of former socialist countries.

Within the 'Political structures and governance', governance is seen as a process of administrating the daily affairs of a state and of implementing government policy,

with this process resting either within formal government organisations or being more dispersed in informal arrangements outside of the formal government structures. One relevant issue in the political and governance structures is the structural adjustment programmes that have been advocated by IDOs, and which have greatly affected Mongolia's economic and governance policies. In this research the specific tourism-related institutions and their decision-making processes are seen as a part of the processes of governance. In relation to the 'economic policies of poverty alleviation', policies for the tourism industry tend to comply with the neo-liberal rhetoric of encouraging economic diversification and of expecting trickle-down benefits to reach the less-well-off. Thus, tourism is often seen as a means to generate employment and hard currency, with the expected benefits of a further economic trickle down to the poor and to alleviate poverty. But it is also important to consider how the macro economy can have wider distributional implications for society – for all groups and not just for the very marginal and poorest – and also how those members of society have differential abilities to benefit from the economic opportunities that arise. Consequently, here the conceptual framework covers the 'distribution of economic, environmental and socio-cultural benefits and burdens'. This distribution can often appear to be unfair to people in society. It is also depicted here as the outcome of interactions between macro- and micro- level processes. Further, it is suggested here that any discussion of tourism-related equality issues needs to move beyond a narrow consideration of economic returns – even if they are perceived as very important – to also including the potentially important issues of opportunities, capabilities and environmental justice. The transition from socialism to more democratic governance and the use of structural adjustment programs can result in varying patterns in the resulting 'distribution of resources and burdens', including environmental outcomes. In order to understand these issues in relation to tourism, the study examines both government and governance, and economic policies in relation to the wider actor relations associated with tourism development.

3.3.2. Actors' relations

The 'Actors' relations' box in Figure 3.2 is an important part of the conceptual framework because tourism development is related to and affected by a complex nexus of relations between actors in society, with those relations related to society, economy, politics and environment and also occurring at a variety of spatial or geographic scales. Further, these actor relationships bring together macro- and micro-level processes. Although macro-level political and economic structures tend to have profound

implications for how society organises its everyday life at the micro-level, simultaneously at the micro-level the actor relations seem to have an equally influential role and influence on the macro-structural forces through actors' agencies (Long, 2001). In developing countries, grassroots people's lives often rely on natural resources, which seem to be at the nexus of many potential tensions and conflicts, and here many macro-political and economic interests are involved. These tensions around natural resources are often a central feature and consequence of tourism development. In this context, the research adapts Long's actor-oriented perspective that explores *"how social actors (both 'local' and 'external' to particular arenas) are locked into a series of intertwined battles over resources, meanings and institutional legitimacy and control"* (Long, 2001:1). Therefore, the study identifies the actors, both local and non-local, that are important to tourism development and its consequences in the case study areas. Further, their interests and roles are evaluated, together with their power relations and the many processes affecting and involved in the actor interactions.

The 'Actors' relations' box in Figure 3.2 is divided into a number of connected elements. Firstly, actor mapping refers to the process of identifying local and non-local actors – including individuals, communities, the public sector and private sector organisations, and international bodies – which are involved in tourism development and its consequences at differing scales, both directly and indirectly. Identifying the relevant actors underpins any analysis and discussion of their relations. As Long (2001) argues, actors tend to have differing reactions to an opportunity. Social actions also take place *'within network of relations ... bounded by certain social conventions, values and power relations'* (Long, 2001:50), and it is important to evaluate people's individual actions within these broad social values and patterns. It is necessary to understand *'actors' roles and interests' which could reveal actors' values and attitudes in relation to tourism development in the case study areas. These roles, interests, values and attitudes are deeply involved in the character of the evolving 'actors' social interactions'*.

The actor interactions in society also involve their differing power relations, and these interactions occur at particular circumstances around a particular issue. That combination of interactions at a particular place and time around a specific issue or activity represents what Long (2001) calls a 'social interface' which is explained later.

Thus, actors' power relations and social interface is identified in the 'actors' social interactions and social interface' box in the conceptual framework.

According to Foucault (1982:786), power indicates a '*relationship between partners*', whereby a set of actions by an actor or some actors induces others to respond and react and a relationship of power emerges through that process. As West (1994) argues, power seems to be associated with the imposing of one's will or advancing his/her interest over that of others. Therefore, Foucault argues that power is not possessed, and instead it is actively exercised in social relations: '*the exercise of power is not simply a relationship between actors; it is a way in which certain actions modify others ...power exists only when it is put into action*' (Foucault, 1982:788). Power relations can only be articulated when there is an interactive relationship of power (Foucault, 1982). In the present study, it was important to reveal the nuances of actor relations through careful analysis of the power relations between actors, the ways in which actors gain power, and how actors exercise their power in order to achieve their interests in the economic processes of tourism development. The power relations around tourism development also have political and ecological implications for grassroots peoples' lives.

Long's (2001:50) concept of 'social interface' is useful to examine social relations between actors, *which explores how discrepancies of social interest, cultural interpretation, knowledge and power are mediated and perpetuated or transformed at critical points of linkage or confrontation*'. Such social interfaces occur throughout the study, so the concept is explained here. In one sense, the notion of social interface suggests a rather simple boundary of two bodies: '*social interface situations are more complex and multiple in nature, containing within them many different interests, relationships and modes of rationality and power. While the analysis focuses on points of confrontation and social difference, it must situate these within broader institutional and knowledge/power domains*' (Long, 2001: 66). Thus, an actor may have varying interests, relationships and views on life due to their circumstances as individuals and community members and those affect how they interact with others in social interactions around specific issues at a particular conjuncture in time. This plurality of human interest affects how they interact socially with others, and thus, attention needs to be directed to this plurality of interests and perspectives when examining a specific

issue or activity. Thus, social interface analysis tends to focus on the linkages and networks of actor relations that are established between different actors and parties around a particular issue. It further leads to *'the development of boundaries and shared expectations that shape the interaction of the participants so that over time the interface itself becomes an organised entity of interlocking relationships and intentionalities'* (Long, 2001: 69).

Because particular issues or activities bring people together in social interactions there will be certain common interests among them, but there can also be very different interests, perceptions and discourses associated with that. *'Although interface interactions presuppose some degree of common interest, they also have a propensity to generate conflict due to contradictory interests and objectives or unequal power relations. Negotiations at the interface are sometimes carried out by individuals who represent particular constituencies, groups or organisations. Their position is inevitably ambivalent since they must respond to the demands of their own groups as well as to the expectations of those with whom they must negotiate'* (Long, 2001: 69-70). In such social interfaces actors' differing views and indeed confrontations can be based on their distinctive interpretations of the particular issue and its associated discourses, with those interpretations evolving through their experiences and social interactions and constant interpretation of meanings and discourses. Discourses retain a prominence in the second conceptual framework due to their importance in how people conceive or frame their ways of seeing issues, such as tourism development and its consequences for people's SoL and inequalities, which explains its continued position as the central box in Figure 3.2, as discussed next.

3.3.3. Practices and discourses of equity and (in)equality of standards of living

The third and central box in Figure 3.2, labelled 'Practices and discourses of equity and (in)equality of SoL', concerns the importance of both practices and discourses for how people relate to and understand their surroundings in their everyday life, and in this instance to how people relate to tourism development in the two case study rural areas and its consequences for equity and (in)equality in people's SoL. People in the modern world seem to think they are in charge of their lives and make meanings and reflect upon them through their learning and development. However, as

Foucault argues, individuals are probably more significantly influenced by the socially constructed discourses in society when they establish their own personal meanings, express themselves to others through discourses, and act upon those meanings. Discourses are expressed by individual peoples' language and statements, the resulting actions are seen as the tenets of social relations, and they can be seen as a window by which people look at the world. Discourses are further formed, reformed and deformed at individual and institutional levels, and they reinforce and establish social norms, rights and wrongs, and beliefs about what is true and false in society (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2000).

Although discourses are prominent in research on political ecology, they are rather ignored in some tourism research. This present research also gives prominence to the practical relations associated with equity and equality of SoL associated with tourism development and its consequences. While perceptions and discourses about these issues are important, the responses are much influenced by the actual relationships that are involved.

In this study the concept of 'Equity' is seen as an underpinning principle behind people's views about development in democratic societies, with this being somewhat different from 'equality' (Espinoza, 2007). The former – equity – is seen as a fundamental principle of justice that relates to fairness, or to judgements about the qualities of fairness, whereas the latter – 'equality' – refers to an even distribution and to sameness (Lee and Jamal, 2008).

Further, the approach adopted in the study sees development to a large extent as improvements in 'SoL'. This focus on SoL in the second conceptual framework emerged from the initial focus on a livelihoods perspective, but it was felt that the initial focus on livelihoods was rather narrow on its own as it is too focused on the means of making a living rather than on a broader view. Sen uses the concept of SoL and quality of life interchangeably, and this study also adopts a broad view of SoL (Nussbaum, 2000). The concept of quality of life is broad and comprehensive, as it is '*a complex, multifaceted construct that requires multiple approaches from different theoretical angles*' (Diener and Suh, 1997). The study's assessment of 'SoL' includes tourism's contributions to economic, environmental and socio-cultural well-being in the case

study areas, with that involving consideration of people's livelihood practices and their values and aspirations.

The SoL is sustained through people's livelihoods and the specific level of provision necessary to match their capabilities (abilities and skills). Sen (1984) distinguishes between three rather different notions of SoL. First, a utility notion, which is based on the SoL concerns around material prosperity of fulfilling one's satisfaction. Second, SoL as opulence, which is based on the supply of necessities and conveniences that are often evaluated by real income indicators (i.e. GDP) and the indexing of commodity bundles (i.e. key commodity prices) (Sen, 1984). The third approach to the SoL stresses freedom, in which the capability to live well is valued as a freedom.

The study combines this focus on SoL with the more conventional focus on 'livelihoods'. In this study, people's livelihoods are taken to comprise of people's capabilities, activities that sustain a means of making a living, assets to make a living (both material and social) (Chambers and Conway, 1992; Scoones, 2009), income (in cash and in kind), social institutions (alike kin, family, community), gender relations, and property rights that are required to sustain a given SoL (Ellis, 1998). For Long, *'Livelihood best expresses the idea of individuals and groups striving to make a living, attempting to meet their various consumption and economic necessities, coping with uncertainties, responding to new opportunities, and choosing between different value positions'* (2001:54). Thus, the quality of a person's livelihood depends on a range of components that affect their ability to make a living. In assessing quality of livelihoods the study explores its 'priority elements' and the appropriateness of the 'livelihood activities', which can include such traditional activities as animal husbandry as well as tourism-related livelihood activities.

The market economy is widely advocated as an engine of economic development which can increase people's utilities, but it also tends to result in inequalities in people's SoL. Nowadays, income distribution, one of the main concerns of the political economy literature concerning poverty, tends to be used as the measure of SoL. However, the present study has a focus on equity issues and the SoL in tourism development processes, and it explores this through the subjective views of actors in relation to the capability approach. This focus on exploring grassroots views is combined with consideration of the views about their lives and livelihoods because the

intention is to explore real world experiences through local minds rather than through the opinions of foreign experts (Tao and Wall, 2008).

3.3.4. Equality and capabilities

An associated set of concepts are valuable for this study. First, there is the concept of ‘equality of outcome’, which suggests a relative degree of equality in the result or distribution of something. The current study is particularly concerned with the degree of equality of outcome in terms of the grassroots people's material wealth (i.e. the number of livestock and income). This measure allows for some objective comparison of SoL.

There are different types of equality of outcomes. These include utilitarian equality (which concerns equality in the distribution of pure resources, including income), total utility equality (which concerns equality in the satisfaction of various types of utility, such as happiness), and Rawlsian equality (which concerns equality in the distribution of primary social goods, including rights, liberties, opportunities, income and wealth, and the social bases of self-respect) (Sen, 1980). Sen criticises the advocacy of equality in the distribution of primary social goods (other than rights, liberties and opportunities). One reason is that people tend to have varying needs, including their body size, for example, which leads to different requirements for food intake and clothes. Thus, Rawlsian equality of primary goods seems to neglect the relation between persons and goods through using primary goods as an ends rather than a means. Thus, Sen (1980) advocates the use of a basic ‘equality of capability’, with this capability approach explained next.

The capability approach is especially valuable for assessments of SoL, and this is shown as an element in the ‘Practices and Discourses of Equity and (In)equality of Standard of Living’ box in Figure 3.2. This approach conceives of a higher SoL in terms of ‘*the freedom people have to enjoy valuable activities and states*’ (Alkire, 2008: 5). It argues that SoL should be measured in terms of ‘functionings’ and capabilities, instead of resources and utility. As discussed above and in Chapter 2, functionings are beings and doings that people value and have reason to value (i.e. being literate and well-nourished). Such functionings ‘*are incommensurable in the sense that no permanent priority or relative weight can be associated with them*’ (Alkire, 2008:5). Therefore, individuals seem to make value judgement about how much they value a

particular functioning. *'Given n different types of functionings, an " n -tuple" of functionings represents a person's standard of living'* (Sen, 1990:113-4). Here, its n components can be the extent of the achievement of a particular functioning (i.e. being literate or being able to communicate efficiently).

Two concepts are often given prominence in the capability approach: 'equality of opportunities', which involves equality of access to such things as information, tourism-related training, and the pursuit of traditional livelihood activities, and 'equality of capabilities', which involves equality of personal abilities and skills. These terms are included in the 'Practices and Discourses of Equity and (In)equality of Standard of Living' box in Figure 3.2. It is argued here that SoL may depend on available opportunities and also on people's capabilities to be able to convert the available opportunities into a certain SoL. Thus, capabilities in the tourism context could be associated with the abilities and skills required for individuals to choose tourism-related opportunities based on the values they prefer. Therefore, it is important to identify the required abilities and skills that will allow people to pursue their living and also to provide them with opportunities to acquire those abilities and skills. It may be important for people to have equal opportunities to achieve the life they would like to pursue, but based on an acceptance that individuals need to have a minimum required set of capabilities in order to achieve that.

This context-specific approach to capabilities, as distinct from a ubiquitous or standard list approach, is adopted in the present research. Thus, the study here aims to let people in the case study contexts express what they believe are the important capabilities for their lives, based on the assumption that they can be the best judges of their own SoL. This differs from the approach where it is believed that capabilities can be uncovered based on a priori assumption about what people do or should value - with lists of universal human rights and the MDGs being such approaches that have achieved some degree of political legitimacy. Instead, this researcher favours the periodic use of surveys and participatory processes in order to establish what people value as important, based on their own beliefs and perspectives (Alkire, 2008). This present study puts much emphasis on the specificities of the case study contexts, and thus, it connects together the specific local human and environmental issues within those contexts, based on a political ecology approach. It also focuses on local people's views on capabilities, SoL and on the distribution of environmental benefits and burdens.

3.3.5. Environmental justice

Another important concept within the 'Practices and discourses of equity and (in)equality of standard of living' box in Figure 3.2 is that of 'environmental justice'. The study's political ecology approach emphasises environmental justices covering areas of 'procedural justice' and 'distributional justice' in relation to the environmental burdens and benefits associated with tourism development.

First, 'procedural justice' concerns fairness in the decision processes involved, such as the degree to which there is broad participation. It relates to fairness in all aspects of the decision-making processes, such as around decision to access natural resources, and the extent and intensity of involvement of the various actors involved at the associated social interface. This may include decision-making procedures within government institutions and the level of participation of grassroots people and extent to which this reflects their aspirations. Procedural justice is important around access to natural resources in many rural areas in developing countries because this can have critical consequences for people's SoL.

Second, 'distributional justice' concerns the resulting distribution of environmental burdens and benefits, in this case those associated with tourism development. Thus, the study explores the views of actors living in the case study areas about distribution of tourism's environmental burdens and benefits, and about how it relates to their livelihoods and SoL. These are remote rural regions well away from the country's main economic hubs, with the isolation greater because of the underdeveloped transport infrastructure, and therefore the people are often reliant on subsistence living through farming and livestock keeping. This makes the distribution of environmental burdens and benefits very important for people.

3.4. APPLICATION OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework evolved from the first to the second form as the research moved from desk research to the fieldwork. Both conceptual frameworks were highly significant for this research as it aided the researcher to more clearly identify the study's approach and focus (Miles and Huberman, 1994). It helped to identify an overall approach, to establish key concepts, to establish the connections between the concepts, and to apply these ideas in the empirical research. The both conceptual frameworks were developed on the basis of the literature review, conceptual thinking,

and increasing familiarity with the case study areas. The conceptual framework also assisted the researcher in designing the research instruments so that they related to the study's research aims, approach and key concepts, and the framework also helped in the identification of themes and codes in the data analysis. However, the researcher was anxious to avoid the conceptual frameworks being rigid and static, and instead the categories were broad and open and very generic rather than place-specific. The intention was that the framework was relatively flexible and open to adaption and alterations based on unforeseen evidence and trends emerging from the in-depth data collection and subsequent data analysis. Thus, some of the research questions, which were based on the initial conceptual framework as shown in Figure 3.1, were subsequently elaborated and given added depth in certain areas during the fieldwork data collection. This was because it was felt that the research questions needed to probe certain issues in more depth, especially concerning the themes that are given more prominence in the second conceptual framework. Although the conceptual framework was largely designed prior to the field study, subsequent adaptation of the conceptual framework was made during the field work.

The conceptual framework in Figure 3.2 examines the political ecology of equity and (in)equality issues in tourism development in a holistic manner but based on the three core themes (and boxes in the diagram) of: the political economy of tourism, actors' relations, and practices and discourses of equity and (in)equality of SoL. This framework of three core themes was applied to the organisation of the study's four results chapters. It can be seen that the conceptual framework acts as a middle ground between the underpinning theory and the empirical results of study. It helped to organise the structure of the thesis, with, for example, Chapter 5 focusing on the macro level political, economic, social context of Mongolia, including macro-level context to tourism development, and that is based on the 'Political economy of tourism' box in Figure 3.2.

Further, Chapter 6 is structured on the basis of the 'Actors' relations' box in Figure 3.2, which identifies local and non-local actors through the use of actor mapping, and also considers the actors' roles, interests, and social interactions as well as the authority and power of the actors. In that context, too, the conceptual framework had helped in establishing boundaries in the selection of the actors for the interviews. The 'Practices and discourses of equity and (in)equality of standard of living' box in Figure

3.2 underpinned Chapter 7. For instance, Chapter 7 discusses the practices and discourses about SoL, and tourism's contribution to SoL and issues of equality of outcomes, opportunities, capabilities, and environmental justice.

3.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter explained the study's conceptual framework and its development. This framework was based on a political ecology approach underpinned by political economy principles, and it considers actor relations, the practices of justice and equity, socially constructed discourses on SoL, capabilities, and environmental justice. Use of this approach and some of these concepts were limited in tourism studies. The political ecology approach based on political economy, and combined with an actor-oriented approach, is the overarching basis behind the study. The study seeks to examine SoL beyond income (or opulence) and desire fulfilment (or utility) measures, doing so through the use of a capability approach, consideration of environmental justice, and through evaluation of socially constructed discourses. The conceptual framework is intended to be generic for studies of tourism development and SoL, equity and equality issues in developing countries. In this study the framework is applied to the case of Mongolia.

Studies of the practices and discourses of inequality are uncommon in tourism studies. The subjective views of those who have been affected by tourism and their dialectical basis in lived practices and the wider socio-economic and political context are much less common. The study also uses a capability approach which focuses on the tenets of human functionings (of doing and being) and the freedom of individual choices of functionings to achieve the SoL that they value. Operationalization of the capability approach here in the study is based on a context-specific approach (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi, 2009). Thus, the present study is designed to let local people explain what they value in their lives regarding tourism development in their areas.

Finally, the conceptual framework helped to establish and map key concepts and their interconnections, and the framework underpinned the development of the research methodology, and in establishing overall themes in the results chapters.

Chapter 4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the methodological issues and approaches used in the present study. It covers the study's research philosophy, research design, research techniques, and its interpretation and presentation of the research findings. It begins by reviewing some key ontological and epistemological stances in the social sciences, including positivism and social constructionism. That is followed by discussion of critical realism as a key research philosophy and rationale for the present research.

The discussion continues next with an explanation of the methodological choices in the study, covering the case study approach and the use of various qualitative instruments of data collection, notably semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. A rationale is provided for a case study approach with qualitative survey instruments, with these selected mainly because of the study's aim of exploring practices and discursive expressions (based on perceptions, opinions and values) among different actors about equity, equality issues and the quality of livelihoods associated with tourism development processes in two rural areas in Mongolia. It was apparent that a wide range of actors had to be contacted and interviewed in order to understand the study topic. Towards the end of the chapter, the data interpretation and analysis technique of framework analysis is explained, together with how it was used for the study.

4.2. RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

4.2.1. Ontology and Epistemology

The philosophical stance of a researcher plays an important role in scientific enquiry, and in this enquiry two key concepts need to be reviewed: 'ontology' and 'epistemology'. The former concerns beliefs about '*what there is to know about the world*', or the question of what reality is; whereas the latter concerns '*the ways of knowing and learning*' about what exists out there (Ritchie and Lewis, 2006: 13). There are at least three rather distinct ontological positions, which are realism, materialism and idealism. The first, realism, asserts that reality exists independent of the human mind, and that human interpretations are distinct from what exists in reality. Materialism shares a similar stance of reality with realism, but it claims that values, beliefs or

experiences arise from the material world but do not shape it. Idealism, on the other hand, claims that reality is socially constructed, and therefore it is knowable only through the human mind (Ritchie and Lewis, 2006). However, there is no rigid division between these three concepts, and various forms of overlap occur between them, with subtle differences existing, and debates are on-going.

4.2.2. Positivism and Social Constructionism

The epistemological stance of the researcher clarifies his/her stance on how he/she may know about reality and what is the basis of his/her knowledge (Ritchie and Lewis, 2006). These questions lead to the three aspects of (i) relations between the researcher and the researched; (ii) truth claims, and (iii) the way in which knowledge is acquired. There are many potential epistemological stances, including positivism and social constructionism, and these two stances are explained next.

Positivism asserts the independent nature of reality, unaffected by the researcher (Blaikie, 1995). Thus, facts and values are distinct, and there is value-free inquiry, and the facts can be established through objective methods. Therefore, the methods of empirical research can be applied to the study of social phenomena based on an assumption that human behaviour is governed by law-like regularities. In other words, reality is external and objective, and therefore the observer must be independent from what is being observed or researched (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Jackson, 2008). Thus, an objective criterion underpins what to study and how to study.

Positivist research seeks causal explanations and it seeks fundamental laws to explain human social behaviour (Johnson, and Duberley, 2000). This requires the researcher to operationalize these concepts and to measure the simplest possible elements of reality, and to do so quantitatively. Thus, human and social behaviour can be generalised as long as sufficiently large samples are used that can represent the wider population (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson, 2008). Given the nature of positivist research, it relies on quantitative methods, it tends to aim at discovery via hypothesis formulation and experimental measures in order to verify or falsify hypotheses, and it uses these techniques to discover causal links. It is often regarded as a fast and economical approach, often with direct relevance for policy making, although it depends on aggregation from large statistical samples (Johnson, and Duberley, 2000). However, it tends to lack flexibility and it is criticised as artificial and not very effective

for understanding processes or for theorising them because it tends to answer rather descriptive “what” questions. It is less effective at answering the questions of “why” or at providing a deep understanding of the studied phenomena (Robson, 1993).

In contrast, social constructionism argues that reality is neither objective nor exterior, rather it is socially constructed and people give meaning to objects and social phenomena (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson, 2008). Therefore, social constructionism accepts mutual impacts between the researcher and the researched, and also that facts and values are almost impossible to separate. Further, it suggests that objective and value-free research is hardly possible unless the researcher's assumptions are fully transparent (Ritchie and Lewis, 2006). Therefore, Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson (2008:5) argue that social scientists should look for people's '*different constructs and meanings*' about their experiences. It suggests that external events do not tend to determine human action, and instead it is usually the result of people's understandings of different situations (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson, 2008). Thus, individual and collective feeling and views and the verbal and non-verbal ways of their communications are emphasised. In a way, social constructionism does not look for external causes or fundamental laws in order to explain behaviour. Instead, its strength lies in capturing processes over time, understanding meanings, adjusting to emerging issues and ideas, and further contributing to new theories (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson, 2008). The data in this approach are appraised as natural rather than artificial. Yet, its weaknesses are that it takes a great deal of time and resources to undertake this type of research. Data analysis and interpretation are often regarded as difficult and subjective in nature, entailing a process which is untidy and difficult to control in terms of pace, progress and end points (Ritchie and Lewis, 2006).

The researcher was aware of the above differences in epistemological stances. However, none of these stances suited the present research. This was because the researcher believed that there was a reality beyond the human mind, yet he also believed that the only way to recognise that reality was through the social constructions of that external reality through human interpretation and reinterpretation. Thus, the researcher's philosophical stance is closer to critical realism, which is discussed in the next section.

4.2.3. Critical Realism

Critical realists argue that *'an external reality exists independently of our beliefs and understanding'*, and therefore *'reality is only knowable through the human mind and socially constructed meanings'* (Ritchie and Lewis, 2006: 16).

Critical realists tend to give more credence to a relativist position which does *'not deny the existence of a material reality but questions the possibility that we can directly know it and certainly finds problematic the idea that reality is somehow reflected in our talk and other symbolic systems'* (Burr, 2003:102). However, critical realists conceptualise *'the relationship between reality, knowledge and language'* and they accept *'a structural reality to the world'* in which power relations tends to underlie and generate our ways of *'understanding and talking about it'* (Burr, 2003: 102).

In other words, 'the real' for critical realists seems to have two sides. Firstly, the real is whatever exists in nature and in society, including the physical objects and the social, like bureaucracies (Sayer, 2000) which are intransitive or existing independently of humans (Bhaskar, cited in Mingers, 2000). Secondly, the real is stratified and *'the realm of objects, their structures and powers'*, including both natural and social reality, which have *'certain structures and causal powers'* that have capacities to result in certain changes and events (Sayer, 2000:11). As Mingers (2000:220) argues, stratification has two forms. First, between structures and their associated mechanisms. These are known as the domain of the real (i.e. mechanisms, events, and experiences of the whole of reality), the actual and the empirical (i.e. events that do (and do not occur), and it includes the observed or experienced events). Second, there is stratification within the realm of the objects themselves where causal processes at one level can be seen as generated by causal processes at a lower level. Thus, *'the reality seems one of complex interactions between dynamic, open, stratified systems, both material and non-material, where particular structures give rise to certain causal powers, tendencies or ways of acting'*.

Mingers (2000:222) further argues that critical realist ontology in the social sciences stresses how social structures *'do not exist independently of the activities they govern'* and *'social structures enable social activities and through that activity are themselves reproduced or transformed'*. In other words, the social structures and social activities may be seen as both sides of the same coin, in which they cannot exist without

one another. Social structures are localised in both space and time, unlike natural laws that are generally universal. Epistemologically, social systems are complex, interactive and open, in which theory testing is almost impossible. Therefore, critical realism tends to rely on a theory's explanatory power rather than on its predictive power. It is hardly possible to conduct measurement and comparison of social phenomena, and instead they are understood and described (Mingers, 2000).

Having recognised the intransitive nature of an object, it seems unavoidable to recognise the transitive dimension. As a result a relativist epistemology is admitted in which knowledge is historically and socially constructed without losing the ontological realism (Mingers, 2000). Therefore, meanings in social phenomena cannot be measured or counted, rather they are interpreted (Sayer, 2000). This is particularly of relevance to the present study because the study aimed to understand and explain the views and aspirations of various actors about tourism and the quality of livelihoods, SoL, poverty and inequality, and environmental justice issues in a rural context in a developing country. Such complex relations may be best understood in the real world social context through multiple interpretations of the study subject. The next section further discusses how critical realist philosophy shapes the present study.

4.2.4. Application of critical realism as a research philosophy

The review of ontological and epistemological stances discussed here led the researcher to accept a critical realist position which is underpinned by a realist ontology suggested by Bhaskar and also an interpretive thread (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson, 2008:62). The researcher asserts that reality is independent of his understanding and that it is possible to understand that reality through human interpretation and reinterpretation, and this position underpins the study. However, the researcher took a rather critical stance to reality via reflecting on the transitive nature of reality where social structure and power relations tend to affect the discursive interpretation. The interpretive thread in the study tends to be associated with social constructionism. The researcher avoids a purely structuralist stance, similar to the position adopted by Giddens (1979: 66), who argues that *'a social system and its structural properties are produced and reproduced in and through the interaction of social actors, who apply different generative rules and resources while acting in a context of unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences'* (cited in Torfing, 1999: 146-7). This stance was discussed in Chapter 2. In other words, actors and their

actions are not determined by overarching structural forces as simultaneously actors can also be capable of affecting the wider structures.

Long's actor-oriented approach is to a great extent based on Giddens's work (discussed in Chapter 2), and he argues that diverse actors in society have self-transforming qualities through their interrelated actions and perceptions their social world can be shaped and reshaped. These processes are complex, uncertain and conditional relative to different social settings and involved in networks of relations, resources, and meanings at different scales (Long, 2001).

Thus, Long argues that *'no sociological or historical study of change could be complete without: (1) a concern for the ways in which different social actors manage and interpret new elements in their lifeworlds (2) an analysis of how particular groups or individuals attempt to create space for themselves in order to pursue their own "projects" that may run parallel to, or perhaps challenge, government programmes or the interests of other intervening parties; and (3) an attempt to show how these organisational, strategic and interpretive processes can influence (and themselves be influenced by) the broader context of power and social action'* (Long, 2001:24).

Therefore, the researcher was interested in analysing the heterogeneous social and discursive practices enacted and interpreted by social actors in the making and remaking of their lives and those of others, particularly in relation to grassroots people's livelihoods in the selected case study areas during the processes of tourism development. Long's approach underpinned the conceptual and methodological framework adopted in the present study. In order to reflect the views of the actors involved in the tourism development process, the study aimed to include actors from international, national and local scales. An actor-oriented perspective offers *'valuable insights into these processes of social construction and reconstruction. It also enables one to conceptualise how small-scale interactional settings or locales interlock with wider frameworks, resource fields and networks of relations, thus facilitating a re-thinking of key concepts such as "constraints", "structure" and "micro-macro" relations'* (Long, 2001:309).

Overall, the study applies to the research a belief in critical-realist ontology together with a constructionist epistemology. The critical realist ontology recognises a

transcendental reality or a reality beyond human cognition, a reality that can only be recognised, interpreted and reinterpreted by members in society or by actors discursively. Thus, in order to understand and explain the study subject, a constructionist epistemology is applied in which discourses are prominent and discursive communication is formed, transferred and reformed in social relations. It is these discourses and their basis in reality that the researcher is interested in exploring in great detail. Although discourses are important, the present study also recognised the importance of practices, and this is because critical realism recognises reality beyond human interpretation.

4.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

4.3.1. Case Study Approach

A case study approach with qualitative methods of enquiry was applied to the research. Prior to discussing the case study approach, a clarification of terminology may be required, followed by an explanation as to why this approach is appropriate for the present study. Case study design is often misunderstood simply as a research method, yet this a distinctive research strategy for doing research '*which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life context using multiple sources of evidence*' (Yin, 1994). As Robson (2002) further comments, it is a strategy or approach rather than a method (i.e. observation and interviews). It relies on empirical findings, with its focus on investigating phenomenon in their real life or own situation or context (Yin, 1994).

According to Creswell (2007), there are a number of points that a researcher may need to consider prior to choosing a case study approach, which are all relevant to the present study. The appropriateness of a case study approach obviously should be considered. The case study design used here broadly applies a qualitative approach to enquiry which is '*an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world*' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:3). The 'what, how and why' questions are the main 'tools' used to gather data in this approach. Therefore, the case study approach used is comprehensive and contextualised. The complex inter-relations between elements of society are perhaps best understood through a focus on the connections found in specific cases. The case or cases here refer to the case in the situation, individual, group, organization (Robson, 2002). Thus, it is believed that investigating what happens in society in its full

richness is best suited to a case study approach. Along with cases, Robson (2002) emphasises the importance of the social and physical context or setting within which a case occurs. Therefore, it seems hardly possible to study a case separately from its context and setting.

The aim of the study was to explore discursive expressions (perceptions, opinions, views, values) among different actors related to tourism and development associated with quality of livelihoods, SoL, equity, and equality issues during tourism development in two rural areas in Mongolia. The study particularly focuses on why, how and to what extent the differing local and non-local actors perceive tourism's contribution to the grassroots people's quality of livelihoods and SoL in relation to their economic, environmental and socio-cultural well-being, equality in outcomes, opportunities and capabilities in tourism development processes.

Researchers next need to identify their case and cases (Creswell, 2007). Three different cases are identified by Creswell (2007:74): '*the single instrumental case study, the collective or multiple case study, and the intrinsic case study*'. In the single instrumental case, an issue and concern is emphasised by a researcher, which leads him/her to select one case that can reflect the research issue. In a collective or multiple case study the chosen issue and research concern is investigated based on multiple cases that illustrate the issue or concern. In such collective case studies the researcher can select multiple cases to illustrate the issue. In an intrinsic case study, the focus is on the case itself, which represents a unique or unusual event or phenomenon.

The present study applied a collective or multiple case study concerning the chosen research topic, using two different regions in Mongolia, namely (i) the Lake Hovsgol NP in Hovsgol province (Figure 4.1. p.78), and (ii) the Govi Gurvan Saihan NP in Umnugovi province (Figure 4.2. p.79). Although a third case study area was also selected, eventually this third area was rejected due to the limited level of tourism development found there, and details of this are given in a later section. The selection of more than one case study area was to enhance research credibility via covering two different environmental settings rather than one. The current study undertook both within-case and cross-case analysis in relation to the two case study areas. However, the study looked at the different issues and different interactions found in the two case study areas rather than comparing and contrasting the two case study areas.

4.3.2. Data collection

Multiple sources of data collection and methods were collected in the case study, such as documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation, physical artefacts and even modern-folk and rap songs of Mongolia, in order to provide internal validity of the research data through data triangulation. Tharenou, Donohue and Cooper (2007) argue that research reliability and validity of research is crucial. Research reliability refers to the accuracy of the collected information. Tharenou, Donohue and Cooper (2007) argue that multiple sources of information and techniques improve reliability and allow the researcher to cross-check the information. Also Yin (2009) recommends the application of as many sources as possible to conduct a good case study through multiple sources of evidence. This diversity of sources also complemented the research approach, the intention of the researcher, and actual sources of the data relevant to the research.

Research data were collected between 29 May and 17 November 2009, during which three field trips to the case study areas were conducted, including (i) to the Lake Hovsgol NP area in Hovsgol province between 14-25 June; (ii) to the Govi Gurvan Saihan NP area in Umnugovi province in the Gobi Desert between 6-16 September; and (iii) to Hanbogd area of Umnugovi province in the eastern part of the Gobi Desert between 2-5 October. In between the field trips, interviews were undertaken with government officials, IDOs and NGOs, private sector actors in tourism, and academics mainly in Ulaanbaatar and London. The researcher did know the case study areas, other than the Hanbogd area of Umnugovi province, from his previous work-related visits. He previously worked as a tour guide since 2003 and often visited both areas with international tourists. He also conducted his Master's study in the Gobi Desert in 2005 and got to know the area in some real depth. Brief information about the selected two case study areas is summarised in Table 4.1 and the geographic locations are shown in Figures 4.1 and 4.2. The selection of research settings and participants were both purposive or criterion based. First, the following criteria were set for the selection of the two case study areas.

Criterion 1: level of tourism development. Tourism development had penetrated both areas relatively earlier than in other parts of Mongolia. Therefore, the people in both areas may have had substantial awareness of tourism development and its consequences. Because the study aimed to explore the practices and discourses about

tourism's contribution to grassroots people's livelihoods and SoL, inequality and environmental justice issues, it was vital to choose areas which had experienced tourism earlier than other parts of the country.

Table 4.1 A brief outline of the two case study areas

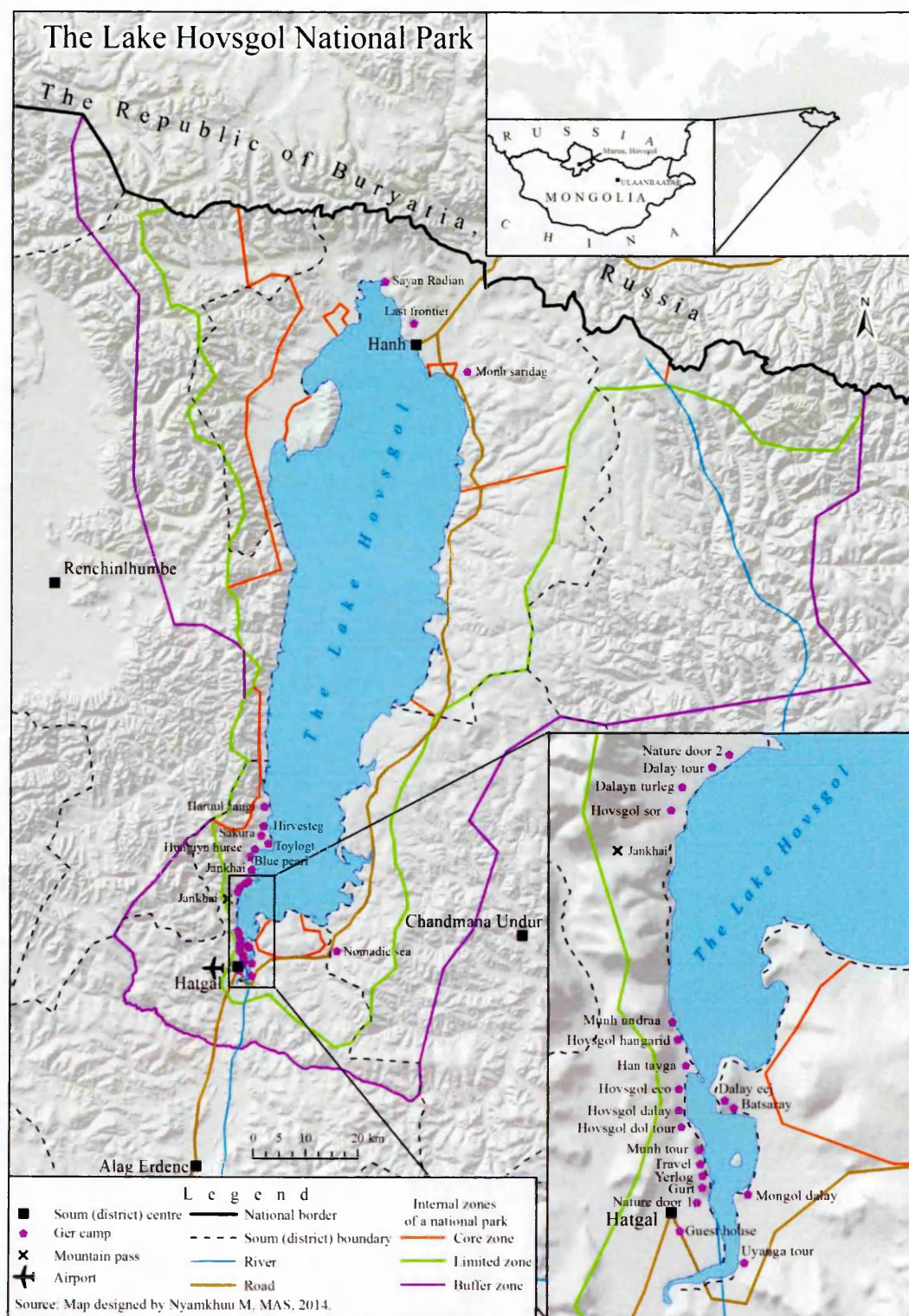
Main information	Provinces	
Name of provinces	Umnugovi	Hovsgol
Population (MNSO, 2010)	61,314	114,926
Landscape	Arid Gobi Desert	Wooded alpine mountains
Main natural resources for tourism development	Wildlife in the Gobi Gurvan Saihan NP	Wildlife in the Lake Hovsgol NP
Number of <i>ger</i> camps in the case study areas Source: Field study, 2009	22 <i>ger</i> camps	52 <i>ger</i> camps
Annual number of international and domestic tourists Source: Field study, 2009	13,000 (approximately)	11,987 (approximately)
Human development index (HDI), (UNDP, 2011) 2007 2010	0.725 0.774	0.643 0.685
Composite of animal husbandry	Mainly camel, sheep and goat herding. Some horse and cattle herding.	Yak (cattle), horse and goat herding dominate. A small amount of reindeer herding.

Criterion 2: Landscape contrasts. The case study areas in Mongolia represented contrasting landscapes of the country, including the Gobi Desert region in the south and the wooded alpine mountains of the Lake Hovsgol region in the north. As a consequence, the areas had rather distinctive livestock keeping practices, composition of livestock, and landscape-specific nomadic cultures. Thus, the grassroots people's involvements in tourism development tend to depend on animal husbandry adapted in the landscape.

Criterion 3: Tourism development in contrasting landscapes. These two case study areas were chosen to reflect tourism development in two different landscapes, because the environment is not only important for the people in rural Mongolia but also for tourism development due to its outstanding natural beauty. The areas are respectively the second and third most popular international tourist destinations within Mongolia in terms of the number of international tourists and there is the related development of tourism infrastructures.

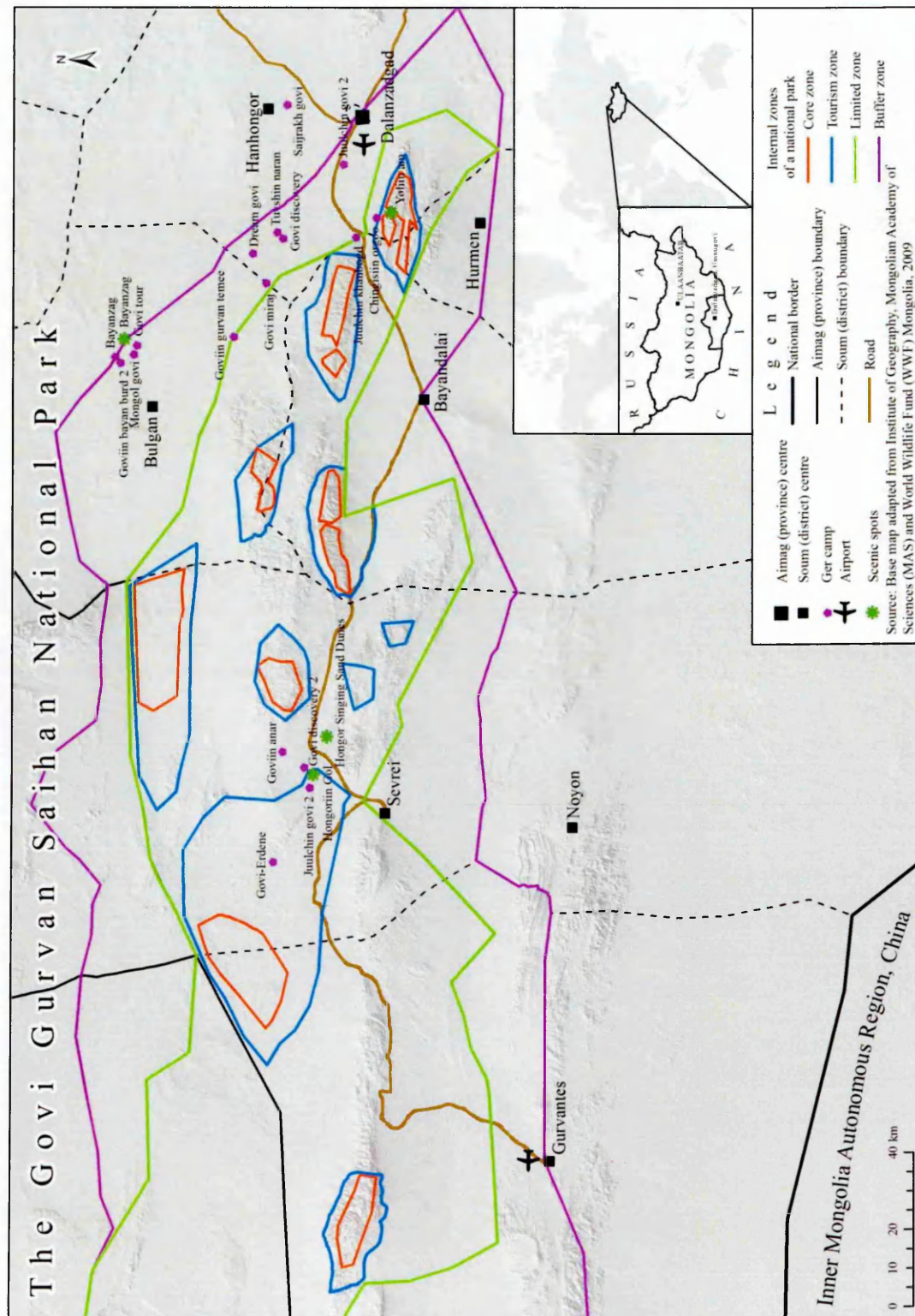
These differing natural landscapes resulted in distinctive environmental and socio-economic implications.

Figure 4.1 Map of the Lake Hovsgol NP in Hovsgol province, Mongolia



Source: Nyamkhuu (2014a).

Figure 4.2 Map of the Govi Gurvan Saihan NP in Umnugovi province, Mongolia



Source: Nyamkhuu (2014b)

Also the third case study area of Hanbogd district in the eastern part of Umnugovi province in the Gobi Desert was considered for expanding the research, but eventually the area was rejected. Initially the researcher had been told during the field trip to the Gobi Desert in September 2009 that the Hanbogd area had experienced growing domestic tourism. Then he visited the third case study area as part of a domestic tour group between 2-5 October 2009 and he conducted interviews with three local people at the major tourist site of the Demchig Monastery and the village of Hanbogd. However, it turned out that the area had only very recently experienced growth in domestic tourism due to the restoration of a former Buddhist monastery and a related religious tour. Given the limited scale of the tourism development and its recent emergence, it became obvious to the researcher that the people in the area could offer only a limited value to the study in terms of exploring the study topic.

Research validity comprises of both internal and external validity. Internal validity refers to *'the extent to which the correct cause-and-effect relationships have been established'* (Tharenou, Donohue and Cooper, 2007:81). The researcher's interpretation of data could affect the internal validity of the research in a case study approach due to his/her own biases and assumption. Therefore, multiple sources of data and techniques are applied to triangulate the data. External validity refers to *'the extent to which findings drawn from one group are generalisable or applicable to other groups or settings'* (Tharenou, Donohue and Cooper, 2007:82). Although the case study approach is regarded as difficult for subsequent generalization, the use of multiple case studies enhanced the case study's wider geographic relevance. The resulting detailed understanding of the processes and their context may allow the researcher to specify behaviours that occur in certain conditions. This is because generalisation in case study approaches *'has to do with extrapolation to theoretical propositions and not to populations'* (Tharenou, Donohue and Cooper, 2007:82).

The data analysis in a case study can be holistic, looking at the entire case and through it being embedded into the specific aspects of the case (Yin, 2009). Yin suggests an analytical strategy that identifies issues within the case and looks for common or emerging themes from the case, called a within-case analysis. In a multi-case study, each case is thoroughly described and themes within the case are identified, which are followed by *'a cross-case analysis'* in which a thematic analysis is undertaken across the multiple cases (Creswell, 2007:75). Finally, in the interpretive

phase, the meaning of the case and its interpretations are reported in which interpretation could either emerge from learning about the issues of the case or learning about an unusual situation. Research participants' interpretations of the study subject are stressed along with researcher's own interpretations. Because the constructionist epistemology was adopted for the research, it was important to explore the interpretations of the research participants and the underlying reasons for such interpretations.

4.4. RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

As previously mentioned, the data collection in case study research can be derived from extensive multiple sources. However, much of the primary data were collected through qualitative interviews (i.e. semi-structured individual and group interviews) and participant observation, complemented with document analysis and photographs. The study's multiple research techniques and data sources were collected for the purpose of research technique triangulation and data source triangulation. This was because each of the research techniques and data sources may have had limitations in terms of uncovering the details of the study subject area, and multiple research techniques could complement each other and add insightful information for the study.

The following section discusses each of research techniques and data sources, and how it assisted to meet the research objectives. First, there is discussion of the research technique of semi-structured interviews followed by observation techniques. Second, other data sources for the research are explained, including ordinary conversations between locals and hosts observed by the researcher, observation, photographs, hand drawings, local Resident Committee meeting minutes, the local governor's office information pack, government and IDO reports, travel company's leaflets and brochures and newspaper reports.

4.4.1. Semi-structured interviews

Interviews are often conducted one-to-one and face-to-face, but they can also be undertaken among a group of participants. An interview is regarded as a flexible and adaptable way of enquiry. Individual interviews are a widely applied research method in qualitative research, during which the researcher asks questions of the interviewees with the hope of receiving answers (Robson, 1993).

Two common types of qualitative interviews are unstructured and semi-structured, the latter being selected for this study, for reasons explained next. In unstructured interviews, the researcher has general areas of interest and concern, and an informal conversation develops within the researcher's area of concern. Semi-structured interviews proceed according to predetermined questions, but the order is flexible and it can be adapted as circumstances arise during the interview process. The question order and wording can be modified if necessary depending on the appropriateness of the questions to the interviewees and the course of the interview (Robson, 1993). In order to explore the study subject, the researcher developed a list of questions to ensure they were not forgotten during the interview and to ensure the interview addressed the researcher's areas of research interest. Therefore, the list of questions was used as a guide for interviews, and the researcher often carried out interviews as an ordinary conversations about the study topic, starting with simple questions and the covered questions on the list were marked as covered as the conversation evolved.

Interviews are most appropriate when a focus of a study is the meaning of a particular phenomenon to the participant. According to Byrne (2004: 182), *'qualitative interviewing is particularly useful as a research method for accessing individuals' attitudes and values - things that cannot necessarily be observed or accommodated in a formal questionnaire. Open-ended and flexible questions are likely to get a more considered response than closed questions, and therefore provide better access to interviewees' views, interpretation of events, understandings, experiences and opinions'* (cited in Silverman, 2006:114). In particular, interviewing can allow the researcher to make sure that the right questions are asked and are also probed through further questions if necessary. Also the researcher can ask the interviewees for detailed explanations of the particular phenomenon if it is necessary, and that is often difficult in a survey technique. The present study aimed to explore discursive information about the study subject. Therefore, interviewing could allow the interviewees to reflect upon, and discuss, the issues relevant to the present study.

Data collection went through four stages based on gaining an understanding of people's views about tourism and their livelihoods. Firstly, main and secondary actors were identified derived from the conceptual framework and from studying Mongolia's tourism context. Here the study's conceptual framework helped to identify international, national and local actors in the tourism development processes in Mongolia's context. Secondly, key themes (i.e. livelihood strategies, changes, and differences between

actors) were set out based on the conceptual framework, and these further structured the research instruments, notably the interview questions. Interview questions, based on the research themes, were developed, but with slightly different wording for the three main groups of interviewees including (i) grassroots people; (ii) tourism businesses; and (iii) government officials, IDOs and NGOs due to their different levels and types of involvement in tourism development and policy making (see Appendixes 4 to 6).

Thirdly, based upon the research themes the interview questions were refined through discussion with people from the tourism sector (i.e. directors and managers of tour operator and *ger* camps) and with local Mongolians. People who the researcher knew through his professional links agreed to be probed on the clarity of the translation of the questions and its logical sequence. Thus, the questions were further adapted and elaborated. The main purpose of this probing was to check the clarity of the questions, appropriateness of the language used, to identify ambiguity, to assess the logical order of the questions, and to test the approximate duration of the interviews. Such probing enormously helped the researcher to clarify the translation of the concepts in the questions from English to Mongolian. Prior to interviewing, each interviewee was informed about the purpose of the study, assurance was given about confidentiality, and they were asked for their consent via signing a consent form (see Appendixes III to IV). At the start of the interview a brief survey was conducted which was designed for each of interviewees' groups – grassroots people (Appendixes V) government organisations, the owners and managers in the tourism industry (Appendix-VI), and IDOs and NGOs (Appendix-VII) – and it was filled in by the researcher in order to learn more about interviewees' background (i.e. their education, employment, family members, and household assets). This was another aspect of the data triangulation.

Finally, individual face-to-face (44 interviews) and focus group (8 interviews) semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted. Individual face-to-face interviews involved one interviewee and they were carried out according to the pre-defined list of questions in a neutral environment without any people around so as to avoid disturbance and to keep an area where the interviewee felt comfortable unless it was a focus group interview. Certain key informants (refer Table 4.3-4.6) based on their experience and level of influence in the community or in tourism development were identified by the referral of other interviewees, and they were invited for semi-structured in-depth interviews. Interviews were carried out in various places, including outdoors, in the

street of a village, outside of guest houses, in *gers* of a tourist *ger* camp, in a van, in office meeting rooms, in a private *ger* and in houses, and in restaurants.

In some cases, focus group interviews were undertaken to generate reflection, and draw on a variety of opinion, with the hope of collecting insightful data. Focus group interviews were carried out if there was more than one person willing to participate to the interview. The researcher aimed to include people from a similar background in each focus group interview in order to create an environment where the participants felt comfortable and to encourage more equal voices among the participants in a focus group. Also the researcher sought to get all participants to speak for each of the key questions.

As Table 4.2 shows, 52 interviews (including 8 focus group interviews) were conducted covering 61 interviewees, and the recorded interviews were subject to subsequent data analysis. There were three groups of interviewees identified purposively to reflect the range of perspectives on the issues of interest for the study. Interviewees from each group were listed in Tables 4.3 to 4.5, along with the selection criteria for the individual. There were government officials from different administrative levels (6 interviewees), officers from IDOs (3 interviewees), academics (2 interviewees), staff of NGOs involved in tourism and capacity building and poverty alleviation projects (6 interviewees), staff from the private sector in tourism (8 interviewees from tour operators and *ger* camps), and grassroots people (36 interviewees from households in three different categories of SoL).

The allocation of the number of interviewees for each actor group was based on the following rationale. In terms of government officials from different government tiers, this reflected Mongolia's administrative division of three tiers: province, district and parish. There was a total of 6 officers who were responsible for tourism-related issues, with two from each of the three tiers of Mongolia's administration levels in the two case study areas. They were selected in order to reflect the voices of public sector workers on the tourism development and administration issues in their areas.

Table 4.2 List of actor groups, and number of interviews and interviewees

ACTOR GROUPS	Number of interviews conducted	Number of interviewees
1 Government officials from:		
Ministry	1	1
Province	2	2
District	1	1
NP	2	2
Subtotal	6	6
2 International Development Organisations & Academics:		
World Bank	1	1
Asian Development Bank	1	1
GTZ	1	1
Academic institutions	2	2
Subtotal	5	5
3 NGOs:		
Involved in tourism (national& local)	3	3
Involved in capacity building & poverty alleviation	3	3
Subtotal	6	6
4 Private sector in tourism:		
Tour operator managers & directors	3	3
Ger camp operators	5	5
Subtotal	8	8
5 Grassroots people with:		
Modest SoL		9
Average SoL		19
Well-off SoL		8
Subtotal	27	36
TOTAL	52	61

Also Mongolia's development and some tourism development projects have been supported by IDOs. Thus, there was one interviewee from each of the World Bank, Asian Development Bank and GTZ. This was because the World Bank has advocated various development policies in Mongolia, while the Asian Development Bank has supported some tourism related projects in Mongolia via the Mercy Corps International NGO. GTZ is Germany's development organisation which has funded and implemented tourism-related projects in Mongolia since 1994.

There were two academics among the interviewees. One academic was from National University of Mongolia. The institution developed Mongolia's first

undergraduate and postgraduate tourism courses in 1993. One freelance academic was also selected and he is also well-known in Mongolia's tourism sector. Including academics among the interviewees was to reflect their position as relatively neutral, independent and impartial voices, and they also have expertise and insights on the issues, but do not belong to any of the other actor groups.

There were 6 interviewees from NGOs, with three from national and local scale tourism NGOs and three from the NGOs involved in capacity building and poverty alleviation projects. Overall, the researcher aimed to reflect a range of NGO voices, with respondents involved in not only national and local scale tourism development but also Mongolia's development issues associated with capacity building and poverty alleviation.

Due to the nature of tourism business, which is carried out largely by private sector companies, 8 people were interviewed from the private sector, including 3 people working for tour operators, and 5 *ger* camp operators, which were located in the two case study areas. Selection of the tour operators covered a foreign funded company, and two of the largest national tour operators in Mongolia. The researcher aimed to reflect the voices of both influential international and national tour operators.

There were 36 interviewees from grassroots people in the two case study areas. The study aimed to explore the views, values, and aspirations of these grassroots people, particularly about their quality of livelihoods and SoL, and about equity and inequality issues during the tourism development process in the case study areas. Thus, people from various demographic and socio-economic backgrounds were included, from modest (9 interviewees), average (19 interviewees) and well-off (8 interviewees) households. These interviewees experienced their daily life in the context of tourism development processes in the rural context. Thus, they were well placed to comment on the issues in their daily life in the rural areas and to offer insights about the issues around poverty, equity, inequality and distributional justice during tourism development during Mongolia's political and economic transition since 1990.

The semi-structured interviews were undertaken after the researcher introducing the purpose of the study and the consent form had been signed, and the interviews were tape-recorded and lasted approximately 1.5 hours. In some cases, however, it was longer or shorter depending on the coverage of the intended questions and the level of

willingness of the interviewees. Interview techniques varied between those used for individuals and those used for the focus groups, depending on the circumstances. Most respondents were interviewed face-to-face in in-depth interviews. However, in order to encourage reflection and discussion among some respondents on some themes, then focus group interviews were administered. However, if a theme could not be discussed in a focus group interview, then there were some follow-up interviews after the focus-group interviews. Due to the holistic and flexible nature of the study, actors were selected for interview to reflect voices from among international, national and local actors, as shown in Table 4.2. The broad groups were identified prior to the field work, which helped the researcher to identify the research boundary and the variety of voices that needed to be included.

4.4.2. Research sampling

Qualitative research is sometimes criticised as subjective, meaningless and sometimes unreliable and inappropriate for generalisations. However, qualitative research can generate valid and rigorous data, such as by carefully selecting the sample, drawing on a range of sources, and by triangulation. Small numbers in a sample are often appropriate for qualitative research because qualitative data is rich and exploratory. Due to the nature of the subjects studied and with some people being hard to approach, then various sampling approaches can be applied. Thus, in this study this included non-probability quota sampling along with snowball sampling, which were administered for selecting the interviewees. In non-probability samples, the interviewees are deliberately chosen to reflect specific features or groups within the sampled population. This approach to sampling is well suited to small-scale, in-depth research that does not necessarily need to be statistically representative (Ritchie and Lewis, 2006).

Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, and Jackson (2008) argue that quota sampling ensures that the sample corresponds with the population of interest in terms of its specific characteristics (i.e. people with different SoL, in local, national and international scales of government organisations, IDOs and NGOs). The research explored complex tourism development processes. Thus, key actors from various backgrounds were selected, including government officials, staff in IDOs and academics, staff in NGOs, tourism industry representatives, and grassroots people (see Table 4.2) in order to reflect a broad range of actors' views. The actors identified here began to emerge during the

literature review of the tourism development context in Mongolia and when developing the conceptual framework. A vital task was to define the sample frame and the appropriate information sources from which the interviewees were selected. These sources included administrative records (records at governors' offices in villages and reports from IDOs), and websites of the organisations targeted. In addition to the initial sampling frame and snowballing were applied in the sampling. Snowballing is a technique whereby the researcher finds interviewees by asking people who have already been interviewed to identify other people they know who fit the selection criteria. Ritchie and Lewis (2006) suggest that there may be a risk of losing sample diversity, and this may be avoided through asking interviewees to identify people who fit the selection criteria but are dissimilar to them (non-friends or non-family members).

Then researcher visits families and finds potential participants and invites them for an interview. During the field work, the researcher first approached government officials and tourism industry people at the province, district and village levels, who provided information about the residents in the area. Also village administrative offices hold low income household information for charity purposes which was used to identify some families selected for interview in the first round. Again these people informed the researcher about other potential interviewees. The researcher also visited local families and found potential participants. When households were selected, the researcher also aimed to reflect voices from all socio-economic backgrounds because of the research aims and objectives of exploring issues around quality of livelihoods, SoL, and inequality issues during the tourism development process. The researcher asked interviewees to suggest potential participants other than their family members and friends who are from modest, average and well-off backgrounds, given the respondents were further assured of their confidentiality. The researcher aimed to balance the number of participants from each of the socio-economic backgrounds and actor groups to reflect a more balanced view and to prevent potential bias.

Table 4.3 Interviews with the grassroots people in Hovsgol province

Grassroots people (G1)	Occupation	Sex	Hovsgol	Reason why selected
G1-1	Handicraft maker and seller	F	Hatgal	Arrived at a local guest house to sell handicrafts
G1-2	Herder	F	Hatgal	Herder who does not get involved in

				tourism and lived outside NP boundary
G1-3	Herder and guest house operator	F	Jankhai	The only reindeer family in Jankhai area, who is believed to attract many visitors
G1-4	Herder	M	Jankhai	Came across him during a visit to the largest ger camp in the NP in a family
G1-5	Fish seller	F	Hatgal	Chosen from a group of women during an informal conversation at a local fish and meat selling stall in Hatgal village, who was rather modest and less revealing of her opinion
G1-6	Herder and horse wrangler	M	Jankhai	Horse wranglers who happened to have finished their trip by staying in a local guest house G1-12
	Herder and horse wrangler	M	Hatgal	
	Herder and horse wrangler	M	Hatgal	
G1-7	Fish & meat seller, handicraft maker	F	Hatgal	Chosen from a group of women during a informal conversation at a local fish and meat selling stall in Hatgal village. She was the dominant voice in the group.
G1-8	Guest house operator, retired	F	Hatgal	Stayed in a local guest house and invited the owner for the interview, who was originally from the area but had just returned to operate the guest house temporarily from another area
	Guest house operator, public worker	F	Hatgal	
G1-9	Herder & pensioner	F	Jankhai	A guest house operator on the main travel route
G1-10	Herder & pensioner	M	Jankhai	A couple and their neighbour who live near a <i>ger</i> camp
	Herder & pensioner	M	Jankhai	
	Herder	F	Jankhai	
G1-11	Herder	F	Hatgal	A herder family who did not get involved in tourism
G1-12	Guest house operator	F	Hatgal	Referred as influential in the village by G3-7
Total - 12	17	M - 6 F - 11		

Table 4.4 Interviews with the grassroots people in Umnugovi province

Grassroots people (G1)	Occupation	Sex	Umnugovi	Reason why selected
G1-13	Village shop keeper	M	Bulgan	Village centre
G1-14	Unemployed	M	Bulgan	Referred by G1-13 as a poor family
	Unemployed	F	Bulgan	
G1-15	Herder	F	Bayanzag	Referred by a <i>ger</i> camp staff
G1-16	Herder	M	Bayanzag	Main camel hirer, referred by G1-7
	Herder	F	Bayanzag	
G1-17	Guest house operator	M	Bulgan	Referred by G3-2
G1-18	Unemployed	F	Bulgan	Voluntary, came across during G1-14 interview
	Unemployed	M	Bulgan	
G1-19	Public servant	M	Bulgan	G1-5 referred as a public worker
G1-20	Herder and guest house operator	M	Hongoriingol	One of the main guest houses located near main attraction and well-known as rich in the area
G1-21	Herder, tea maker and camel wrangler	F	Hanhongor	Came across during donor-funded local food festival
G1-22	Herder and <i>ger</i> camp security person	M	Hongoriingol	Referred by G3
G1-23	Herder	M	Bayanzag	Located near Bayanzag, one of the key guest houses
G1-24	Herder and horse wrangler	F	Yoliin am	Horse-wrangler in Yoliin Am, main attraction and interviewed previously during my master's research
	Herder and horse wrangler	F	Yoliin am	Invited to attend to organise focus group interview
G1-25	Farmer and herder	F	Bayanzag	Farmer who lived near <i>ger</i> camp
G1-26	Herder and guest house operator	F	Hanhongor	Came across during donor-funded food festival and referred by G1-9
G1-27	Tourist driver	M	Dalanzadgad	Known him through tour guiding and he is the head of the tourist driver association in the area
Total - 15	19	M-10 F-9		

Table 4.5 Interviews with Government officials, IDOs, academics and NGOs

The public sector IDOs and NGOs (G2)	Position, Occupation	Sex	Scale	Reason why selected
G2-1	Consultant, ADB and Mercy Cor	M	International	Tourism consultant on donor-funded tourism project
G2-2	Director, Mongolian Tourism NGO	M	National	Recommended by G2-1 as an influential figure in Mongolia's tourism
G2-3	Environmental Coordinator, the World Bank	M	International	Recommended by USAID consultant who refused to be interviewed
G2-4	Director, NP	M	National and Local	Head of NP
G2-5	Head, Mongolian Tourism NGO	F	National	Had experience with IDO and believed to be a significantly influential person
G2-6	Officer, GTZ	F	International	An organisation which was extensively involved in technical assistance in tourism
G2-7	Head, People centred conservation NGO	F	National	Had experience with CBT with IDO
	Officer, People centred conservation NGO	F		
G2-8	Vice director, Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism	M	National	Main policy and planning and implementation in tourism
G2-9	Tourism Specialist, Umnugovi Province	F	Provincial	Tourism official, responsible for entire province
G2-10	Manager, Local Governor's office	F	Local	Someone who had insights into public policy and livelihoods in the district
G2-11	Head, Local NGO	M	Local	Referred by G1-12 as local activist through NGO
G2-12	Academic, National University of Mongolia	F	National	A tourism lecturer for one of the principal universities in

				Mongolia
G2-13	Academic, Freelance researcher	M	National	Recommended by G2-2 as one of the key tourism academics
G2-14	Director, Development Policy Unit	M	Provincial	Someone who was involved in tourism master planning
G2-15	Officer, NP	F	Provincial	Had a track record of tourism policy implementation
G2-16	Head, NGO	M	Local	Involved in project supported by IDO
Total - 16	17	M-11 F-6		

Table 4.6 Interviews with actors from the private sector in tourism

Private sector (G3)	Position, Occupation	Sex	Scale	Reason why selected
G3-1	Manager, <i>Ger</i> Camp	M	Local	Someone well-respected and believed to be the most experienced and influential in tourism in the region
G3-2	Director, <i>Ger</i> Camp	F	Local	Local and successful business in the area, influential person
G3-3	Director, Tour Operator	M	International	International experience in tourism consultancy and successful tour operator
G3-4	Director, Tour Operator	M	National	Former vice-minister responsible for tourism and one of the major Mongolian tour operators
G3-5	Director, <i>Ger</i> camp	M	Local	Local <i>ger</i> camp owner
G3-6	Director, Tour Operator	M	National	Director of Mongolia's largest tour operator
G3-7	Director, <i>Ger</i> camp	F	Local	One of the first <i>ger</i> camps in the area
G3-8	Manager, <i>Ger</i> camp	F	Local	One of the largest <i>ger</i> camps (in bed capacity)
Total - 8	8	M-5 F-3		

There was an initial plan for 45 semi-structured interviews in the two case study areas covering 55 interviewees from different actor groups, and with the hope of conducting some focus group interviews. Due to the research focus on the discursive

views of the grassroots people, the number of people from this group was higher than other groups. The total number of 45 semi-structured interviews was decided upon based on the practical issues of the researcher's available time and budget. Also this may be a feasible figure in order to gather sufficient data concerning the study topic. However, if necessary, the researcher was prepared to undertake additional interviews during the field work. The practicality of this research design is also based on the researcher's experience in conducting face-to-face and focus group interviews in one of the case study areas for his Masters dissertation, and based on his personal experiences of living and working in these areas (i.e. through being a tour guide there). However, the actual number of interviews and interviewees eventually was more than initially planned.

Table 4.7 Informal interviews and conversations

Respondent Group	Position, Organisation	Sex	Scale	Type of communication
G1-29	Security personal, Guest house	M	Local	Informal conversation
G1-30	Fish sellers, various	F	Local	Informal conversation
G1-31	Horse wrangler, Herder	M	Local	Informal conversation
G2-17	Academic, National University of Mongolia	F	Ulaanbaatar	Probed the clarity of the list of questions
G3-9	Director, Tour operator	F	Ulaanbaatar	Probed the clarity of the list of questions
Total- 5	Total-5	M-3 F-3		

In total 4 interviews were rejected for data analysis due to their low quality, as shown in Appendix-XI and 5 interviewees either refused or absent and without response to take part to the interview as shown in Appendix-XII. Given the study's time and budget constraints, it was sufficient to explore the study subject with reasonable depth given the chosen number of interviews, although a smaller number of interviews may have allowed more detailed information to be collected. However, the level of detail in the present study generated satisfactory data, with some valuable insights into the study's topic. The study took place during Mongolia's presidential election. Thus, there may possibly have been some political bias in the sampling of the interviewees and responses due to that, but it is difficult to determine if that was the case.

4.4.3. Interview themes

Interview questions were developed based on the conceptual framework and the associated broad themes related to the study's aim and objectives, and these were constructed under four broad themes and 11 associated sub-themes, as shown in Tables 4.8 to 4.10. Each of tables corresponds to one of the study objectives. As far as possible the interview themes, and even the wording of the questions, were the same for all respondents, to allow for direct comparison of responses between individuals and groups: these relate to the ideas about poverty, equity, inequality, appropriate livelihoods, SoL and the other key ideas within the study's conceptual framework and study objectives. The study themes and questions were strongly linked to the conceptual framework. Tables 4.8 to 4.10 show the questions derived from the conceptual framework regarding study's themes and sub-themes. Next, each of the study themes and related questions are explained.

Table 4.8 shows the sub-themes and associated questions, in this case related to the theme of the relevant actors and actors' relations in the tourism development process. This themes and the related questions allowed the researcher to meet the study's Objective 4 to map the actors related to tourism development in the two case study areas and to evaluate the actors' roles and interests and their social relationships in the tourism development processes. The associated sub-themes of actor mapping, actors' roles and interests, and actors' social interactions were explored among the four target groups of actors, including government officials, IDOs and NGOs, the private sector in tourism and the grassroots people in the two case study areas.

Table 4.9-4.10 provide sub themes and a list of questions utilised to collect data to meet the study's Objective 5 to examine practices and discourses associated with the quality of livelihoods, SoL inequality and environmental justice related to the tourism development among various social actors in the two areas. The sub-themes included the ways of making a living, the changes to the ways of making a living, tourism's contribution to the quality of livelihoods and SoL. Understanding the ways of making a living among grassroots people allowed the interviewees to then prepare for the coming questions about reflecting on the changes in their livelihoods, and in tourism's contribution to their livelihoods in comparison with other livelihood activities. These themes further prepared them to reflect on tourism's contribution to their SoL in relation to wider aspects of economic, environmental and socio-cultural issues, which is

compatible with the holistic and integrative approach adopted by the researcher in this study.

In Tables 4.8 to 4.10, each question bears a code of ‘a’, ‘b’, ‘c’ and ‘d’ in front. Each letter represents a particular group, whom the questions are designed as the follows: (a) government officials; (b) IDOs and NGOs; (c) tourism industry people; (d) grassroots people.

Table 4.8 Sub-themes and questions within the theme of actors and actors’ relations in tourism development

Sub-themes		Questions
Actor mapping	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government (a) • IDOs and NGOs(b) • Tourism Industry(c) • Grassroots people (d) 	6.2 (a, b, c, d) Who are the main participants in tourism development, policy making and implementation in?
Roles and Interests	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Involvement and roles or responsibilities in tourism development (activities) • Interests and needs of actors in tourism development (activities) • Power exercised in tourism development 	<p>6.3.1 (a,b,c,d) What is your involvement in tourism development and its policy making and implementation in?</p> <p>6.3.2 (a,b,c,d) What are your needs behind being involved in tourism related activities?</p> <p>6.3.3 (a,b,c,d) Which organisations or individuals have most influence on tourism development and its policy making and implementation in.....? Why?</p>

Actors' social interactions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public policy and public service delivery • Community and political representation • Business interactions • Issue networks: voluntary associations and activities 	<p>6.4.1 (a,b,c,d) Do you feel involved in how decisions are made about how tourism development takes place in your area?</p> <p>6.4.2 (a,b,c,d) Do you feel you are consulted about the way tourism development takes place in your area?</p> <p>Does the government or any other agencies provide you with support or assistance around the development of tourism in your area over the last 10 years?</p> <p>6.4.3 (a,b,c,d) What are your views about how tourism businesses work with local people in.....?(e.g. are they collaborative or unhelpful towards each other)</p> <p>6.4.4 (a,b,c,d) Do you work with other people or organisations in order to get benefits from the development of tourism in your area?</p>
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Table 4.9 Sub-themes and questions on the theme of practices and discourses about the quality of livelihoods associated with tourism development

	Sub-themes	Questions
Ways of making a living	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Priority elements for the quality of livelihoods • Appropriateness of traditional activities • Appropriateness of tourism activities • Appropriateness of mixed activities 	<p>7.2.1-7.2.4</p> <p>(a,b,c) What are the most important activities for local people in your area to make their living? Do these activities meet all their needs? If not, why?</p> <p>d) What are the most important activities you are involved in to make your living? Do these activities meet your needs? If not, why?</p> <p>Do you feel that tourism is too important or not important enough as a way of making a living in your area?</p> <p>Does tourism support or undermine the way of living that you lead and would like to lead?</p>
Changes to the ways of making a living	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pressures and external factors • Social changes 	<p>7.3.1 (a,b,c,d) What are the changes people living in your area have experienced over the last 10-15 years in terms of how they make their living? What factors have led to these changes?</p> <p>Have the changes in ways of making a living been a good thing or a bad thing?</p> <p>7.3.2 (a,b,c,d) Have the changes in the ways in which people make their living altered their relationships with others or your sense of community?</p>

<p>Tourism's contribution to the quality of livelihoods</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic well-being • Environmental well-being • Sociocultural well-being 	<p>7.4.1 and 7.4.3 (a,b,c)Has tourism affected people's economic well-being in your area for the better or for the worse? Has tourism affected the quality of environment in your area for the better or for the worse? How? Has tourism affected the quality of your community life and society, such as how you get on with others, for the better or for the worse? (d) How important are tourism related activities to your livelihoods and well-being? Are you willing to continue to be involved in the activities in the future? If not why? or Do tourism businesses contribute to the well-being of rural peoples? What are the important events that had significant contribution to people's ways of living better or worse for last 15 years?</p>
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Informed by the conceptual framework, there were sub-themes of various equality and inequality issues in tourism development. They comprised of: equality of outcomes, opportunities and capabilities. The study applied Sen's (1984) capability approach as discussed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Also sub-theme of distributional justice in tourism development includes social justice and environmental justice issues. Thus, the study covered the questions about how environmental resources are distributed and the processes of accessing natural resources during the tourism development processes.

Table 4.10 Sub-themes and related questions within the theme of discourses about equality and inequality, and distributional justice associated with tourism development

Sub-themes		Questions
Discourses about equality and inequality in tourism development	Equality of ability and skills <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability and skills to make a satisfactory living • Ability and skills to secure tourism-related opportunities 	8.2.1.1-8.2.1.2 (a,b,c,d) What are the most important skills needed to benefit from tourism-related activities? How do rural people obtain these skills? Do local people have the same skills and abilities to be able to make a good living? If not, why not? Do local people have the same skills and abilities to be able to make a good living from tourism? If not, why not?
	Equality of opportunities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information sources • Ways of gaining access to resources 	8.2.2.1 (a,b,c,d) Do all local people have equal access to information about opportunities to make a living from tourism? 8.2.2.2 (a,b,c,d) Do local people have equal opportunities to use land, water and forest resources in order to make a living from tourism? If yes, how? If not, why? How do you feel about the ways travel businesses access land and other natural resources in the NP?

	<p>Equality of outcomes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distribution of material wealth: income and assets • People's attitudes towards the existence of inequality • Winners and losers in tourism development • Social capital and networking 	<p>8.2.3.1-8.2.3.2 (a,b,c,d) What is your feeling towards the changes on the level of income inequality and living standards among rural people over the last 10-15 years? What are the reasons for those changes?</p> <p>Is SoL in the local area adequate, or is there a need for much higher income levels for local people? Why?</p> <p>Is the income of local people about equal or is it quite unequal?</p> <p>8.2.3.3 Has the growth of tourism in the local area led to the income of the local people being more equal or less equal?</p> <p>Who has benefited most from the development of tourism in your area?</p> <p>Who has benefited least from the development of tourism in your local area?</p> <p>(a,b,c,d) What is your feeling towards the level of benefit to their inputs or contributions to tourism-related activities (in terms of initiative, labour and time)?</p> <p>(a,b,c,d) What are the benefits of the protection of natural resources via establishing the NP?</p> <p>8.2.3.4 (a,b,c,d) What kind of people's surroundings and relations do the most benefited ones have? Do these relations help them to gain the benefits from the tourism development process?</p>
<p>Distributional justice in tourism development</p>	<p>Social justice</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fair outcomes from tourism development • Fair processes in tourism development 	<p>8.3.1.1 (a,b,c,d) What is your feeling towards the level of wages or incentives for rural peoples in.....?</p> <p>8.3.1.2 (a,b,c,d) Does government reflect the voices from different actors equally into its tourism development policy?</p> <p>How can tourism development make a positive contribution to rural peoples' livelihoods?</p>

	Environmental justice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fair outcomes for the natural resources and the impacts • Fair processes for accessing resources 	8.3.2.1 (a,b,c,d) Do you feel that government policy on the protection of and access to land, its resources (water, forest and pasture) is appropriate and fair? Why? 8.3.2.2 (a,b,c,d) How should people and organisations in the tourism development process have access to natural resources?
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Table 4.11 shows the sub-themes and related questions aimed at addressing Objective 3 to evaluate the study findings and tourism development in Mongolia in relation to the government's wider development strategies and policies advocated by IDOs and NGOs. The main sub-themes were the socio-economic structure and governance processes, people's aspirations for the policies affecting tourism and development and resource distribution and outcomes. Again the study is informed by a political ecology approach in which macro-level political-economic issues, including national development policies and governance, are founding concerns. Looking at such macro-level development policy, and whether these policies and governance processes reflected grassroots people's aspirations, seemed to reveal valuable insights about tourism development policies in relation to the macro-level development policies in Mongolia.

Table 4.11 Sub-themes and related questions for the theme of the political economy of tourism development in Mongolia

Sub-themes		Questions
Social-economic structure and governance processes	<p>Socio-economic structures and changes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emergence of the market economy and tourism development • Wider implications for the economy and livelihoods • Changes in society and cultural norms and values • Government policies, planning and implementation • Legislation and development strategies • Effectiveness of development strategies 	<p>9.2.1.1 (a,b,c,d) What are the implications of the market economic transition after the 1990s for tourism development?</p> <p>9.2.1.2 (a,b,c,d) What are the implications of the market economic transition for rural people's lives in(area name)?</p> <p>9.2.1.3 (a,b,c,d) What are the changes in rural peoples' values and cultural norms since the 1990s in(area name)?</p>
	<p>Priorities for the policies affecting people's lives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policies and appropriate livelihoods • Expectations for the policies 	<p>9.2.2.1(a,b,c,d) What is the newly introduced legislation that has a wider importance for rural people's lives in(area name)?</p> <p>9.2.2.2 (a,b,c,d) How effective were the government's rural development policies for rural development for the last 10-15 years in(area name)?</p> <p>9.3.1 (a,b,c,d) What are the priority issues to tackle for rural people's lives in(area name)?</p> <p>9.3.2 (a,b,c,d) What are the opportunities that rural people see which may be in need of policy support from the government?</p> <p>9.3.3 (a,b,d) What are the development policies that rural peoples expect from the government?</p>
People's aspirations for the policies affecting tourism and development		

Resource distributions and outcomes	Use of natural, socio-cultural and economic resources <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructure development and priorities • Balance of costs and benefits • Policy implications for rural livelihoods 	9.4.1 (a,b,c,d) How do rural people want to use natural, human and economic resources in the tourism development process? 9.4.2 (a,b,c,d) What are the priority infrastructure developments for rural peoples and the tourism industry? 9.4.3 (a,b,c,d) What is your feeling towards the balance of benefits and burdens of tourism development in(area name)? 9.4.4 (a,b,c,d) How should the government policy implementation operate to develop a tourism industry that underpins fair support to rural livelihoods in(area name)?
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4.4.4. Participant observation

Participant observation is an activity where researchers seek to become a part of the observed group via their physical presence and a sharing of life experiences to learn about their '*social conventions and habits, use their language and non-verbal communication*' (Robson, 1993:314). Participant observation was conducted during the present study not only during the interviews, but also prior to the field study during previous visits when the researcher worked as a tour guide between 2002-2008 and also as a researcher during his Master's study in 2005. Observation had also been undertaken in everyday life and through casual conversations with interviewees and others (i.e. with residents in the villages). One of the key reasons for undertaking participant observation was to facilitate triangulation with the in-depth interviews and to get insights into the research subject matter, while reducing research bias. This observation can give additional useful information to the researcher (Yin, 1994). For example, the interviewees' actions in reality can have some level of discrepancy with their verbal expressions or speech about their own actions. Moreover, observations can note real actions that are hardly possible to identify by other techniques (Robson, 2002).

The researcher undertook generic observations during the field work to document three areas. Firstly, the researcher undertook general observation on such things as the geographic setting of the areas, the level of tourism infrastructure development and their location, the level of development changes in the area by

comparison with the researcher's previous visits, and the ways of people's living. Such observation allowed the researcher to get familiar with the area in detail and to update his knowledge about the area and the people living there.

Secondly, the researcher aimed to observe the interactions between actors, while they were involved in tourism-related activities (i.e. handicraft selling and guiding horse and camel riders). Finally, the researcher intended to document how tourism-related activities proceeded in the natural and social environment and to see their various impacts on host and visitor interactions, on interactions among the grassroots people, and environment. The observation data were documented by note-taking, taking photographs and hand drawings, such as by drawing the layout of the *ger* camp settings and the migration routes of nomadic families.

4.4.5. Secondary sources for data: document information

In order to see issues from multiple sources of data using multiple survey data, secondary data were collected from a variety of sources, including government and IDO reports on Mongolia's poverty and inequality issues, environmental degradation, governance, and corruption, along with tourism master plans, and the minutes from annual meetings about community-based tourism in the case study areas. Some of these reports were collected during the field trips in the case study areas, and some were provided by the interviewees as the researcher enquired of them about whether there were any relevant documents. Internet sources were often prime sources for finding relevant reports and information about major IDOs and NGOs and for contact details. These documents were searched online prior to the development of the conceptual framework and also during the field study in Mongolia between May and October 2009. However, regular literature searches were also carried out throughout the study period in order to update the research with the latest publications in relation to the study's topic, usually using key words. Examples of key words included 'standard of living', 'poverty', 'inequality', 'Gini index', 'human development index', 'corruption' and 'Mongolia's tourism master plan' on www.google.mn.

Key media websites from Mongolian and international sources included Mongolia's daily newspapers (i.e. www.news.mn, www.mongolnews.mn, www.baabar.mn, www.sonin.mn and <http://ubpost.mongolnews.mn/>). International media sources included the BBC (www.bbc.co.uk) and ALJAZEERA (www.aljazeera.com). Social media emerged as a prominent source during the research,

with live updates on the issues from the case study areas (i.e. on www.facebook.com/pages/Hatgal-Hovsgol, www.facebook.com/umnugovi) and for protected areas (i.e. <https://www.facebook.com/TusgaiHamgaalalttaiNutgiinSuljee>).

4.5. INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The results chapters (Chapters 5 to 7) for the research report on the study's findings. To develop the arguments for these chapters, the meaning, salience and connections of each recorded interview were analysed using the 'framework' approach, an approach which involves a systematic process of five analytical steps: '*familiarisation, identifying a thematic framework, indexing, charting, mapping and interpretation*' (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994:178), along with discourse analysis. The next section explains each of the interpretative stages of this 'framework' approach.

Familiarization is the initial stage of the analysis. Here the researcher takes a general overview of the collected materials before selecting themes for further discussion. It involves immersion in the data: listening to the recorded interviews, reading the transcripts and studying the observation notes before the data is sifted for further examination. The material selection depends on the data collection features, which includes the diversity of people and their individual circumstances and the relevance of the material to the research topic and agenda (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994).

To organise interview transcripts, the researcher used codes for each respondent group: 'G1' refers to grassroots people; 'G2' refers to officials, IDOs and NGOs; 'G3' refers to tourism businesses. For example, 'Respondent G2-22', where the first capital letter refers to one of three respondent groups, and the second number indicates a particular interview. A combination of a letter and numbers provides a distinct reference code for each respondent.

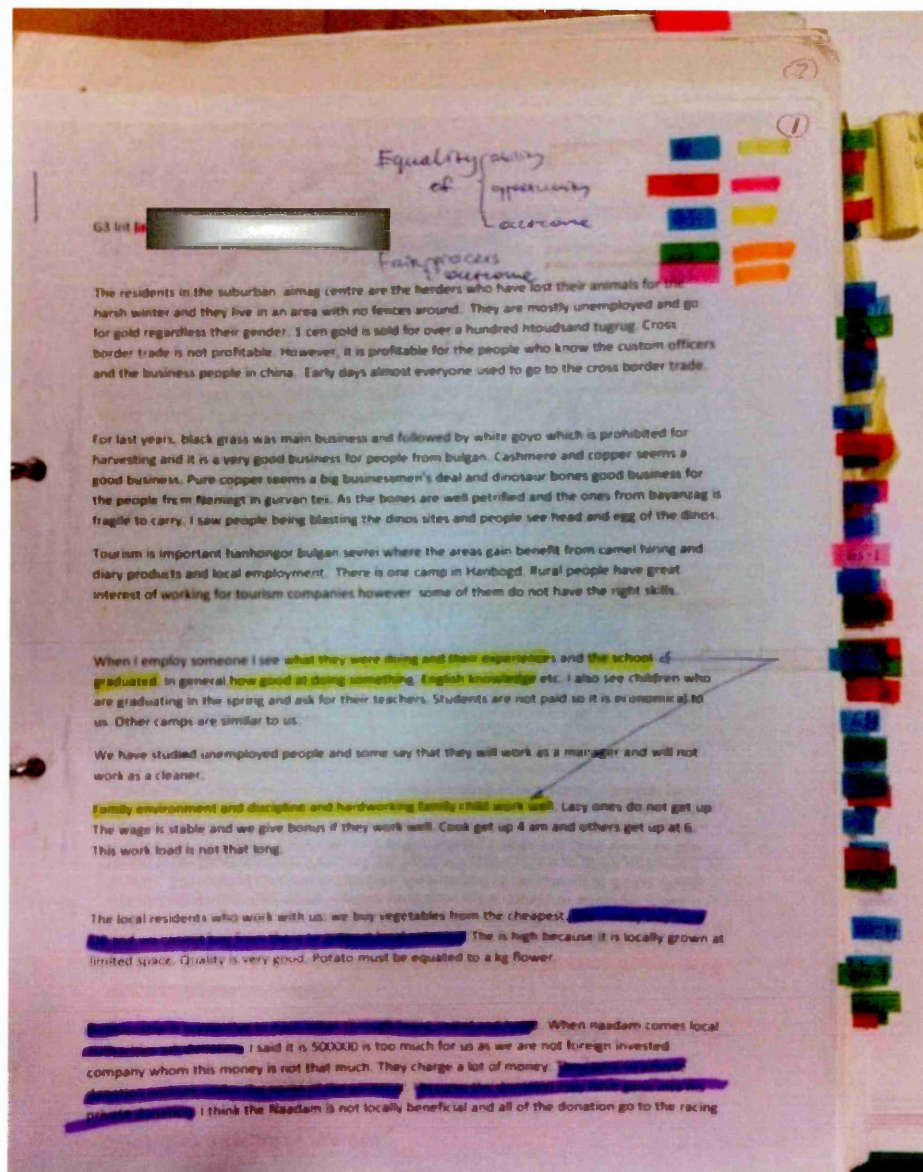
Identifying a thematic framework occurs after obtaining an overview of the data, including of its diversity, abstraction and conceptualisation (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). The responses to the interview questions and repeated views are recorded, together with the emergent themes, during repeated reviews of the materials. Once the material is selected and obtained from the overview, the core issues, concepts and themes are identified, according to which '*the data can be examined and referenced*'

(Ritchie and Spencer, 1994:180). This is a thematic framework within which the transcripts can be sifted and sorted.

Transcripts of each respondent group were marked with colour stickers for the selected texts for data analysis. Key themes were represented by a colour, such as orange for the study theme of 'fairness' (which was marked with an orange sticker) with numbers which refer to 'the thematic framework or index', as shown in Figure 4.3. To create the thematic framework, the researcher identifies, firstly, 'priority issues' that are the responses to the questions posed by the researcher; and, secondly, 'emergent issues' which are identified by the interviewees; and thirdly, the 'analytical themes' derived from the repeated views and experiences. Identifying the thematic framework is the initial stage and the basis for indexing. Thus, a logical judgement can be made about data relevance, importance and about uncovered links, and thus, the data is processed for indexing (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994).

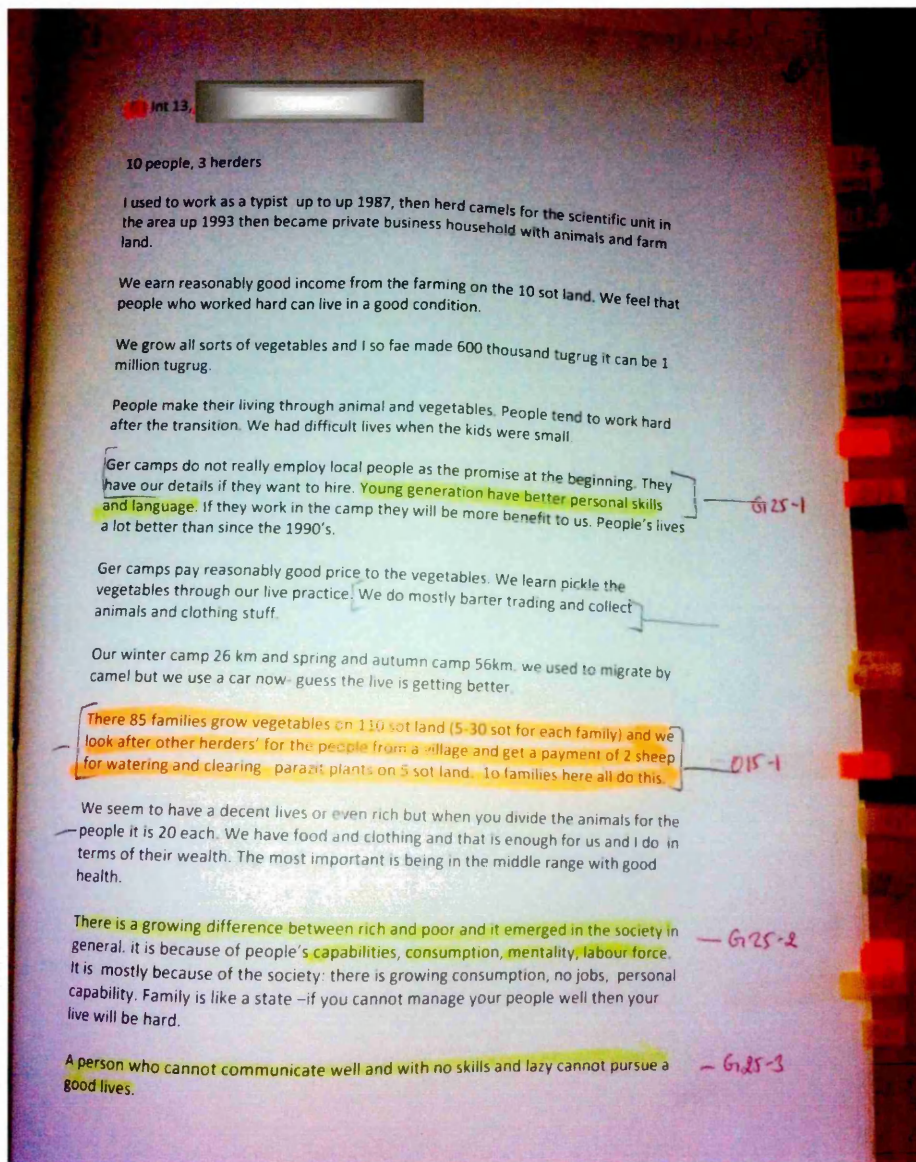
Indexing, as shown in Figure 4.4, is a process of making short and concise verbatim or numerical references or indexes in the interview transcripts. The references indicate the core meaning of the data and they can be categorized or filed under the thematic headings. The indexing is a careful selective procedure based on logical judgements that take account of either the meaning of single words or of ideas 'as it stands and in the context of the interview as a whole'. This is not manual work, and instead it is a logical refining and selection process. As a result of the indexing, it is common for several different groups of indexes to appear on one page. That is one of the advantages of indexing – it can show the interrelated links among the different major topics (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994:182). Each theme was also given a code starting with 'O1-1', where O refers to the orange colour assigned to the theme, and 'the number' refers to the index of a particular theme occurring in the transcripts.

Figure 4.3 Initial stage of data analysis: the selection of themes by colour coding and indexing.



Source: Author

Figure 4.4 Data indexing on interview transcripts



Source: Author

Charting is a process of sifting the data from the original context to be rearranged according to the appropriate thematic reference in order to obtain an overall picture of the different data (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). As shown in Figure 4.5, first, tables are created, which are titled by themes (i.e. Equality and Inequality in Hovsgol) and subthemes (i.e. opportunities, capabilities and outcomes), which further divides into sections (i.e. P, NEU and N). These letters, for example, denote positive, neutral and negative views of the respondents about the 'thematic frameworks' related to the prior research questions, which the researcher proposed to investigate.

Figure 4.5 Charting: text was sifted and placed under analytic themes.

Equality and Inequality in HOWSGOI								
Opportunities			Capabilities			Outcomes		
P	NEU	N	P	NEU	N	P	NEU	N
Democracy gave us all opportunities. We can earn animals and have own rights to pursue our own lives. Our lives have improved significantly and I have many animals now. (G4-1)	We are always busy and not very sure about the events and things take place here. (G7-1) We may earn roughly 50% of overall revenue. Mine is slightly less than these two. The competition is getting tougher. People ride motorcycle or bike and sell things. Because of the competition, product quality and design is getting better with more varieties (G13-3) There should be more employment opportunities and	People do not see opportunities to gain benefit from tourism (1-3) Local people seem not to suit ger camp vacancies and urban and pretty staff are looked for. (2-4) Local people have limited participation to tourism policy making (2-5) Families with limited capital may find it difficult to run a guest house (G3-3) For new wranglers may be not hire the horses and difficult to enter	There is a growing difference between low and high income people. It helps knowing who in tourism. I.e. translators prefer to travel the wranglers whom they travelled before. (G6-1) You need right skills to earn from tourism. People who cannot earn in tourism also may have (G10-1) Otherwise almost everyone can do the things we do if someone teach them. (G10-1) We have worked for long time and have some ideas of how to grow the income for this year from how many products. (G13-1)	There is a growing difference between low and high income people. It helps knowing who in tourism. I.e. translators prefer to travel the wranglers whom they travelled before. (G6-1) You need right skills to earn from tourism. People who cannot earn in tourism also may have (G10-1) Otherwise almost everyone can do the things we do if someone teach them. (G10-1) We have worked for long time and have some ideas of how to grow the income for this year from how many products. (G13-1)	There is a growing difference between low and high income people. It helps knowing who in tourism. I.e. translators prefer to travel the wranglers whom they travelled before. (G6-1) You need right skills to earn from tourism. People who cannot earn in tourism also may have (G10-1) Otherwise almost everyone can do the things we do if someone teach them. (G10-1) We have worked for long time and have some ideas of how to grow the income for this year from how many products. (G13-1)	Ger camps and horse guides, shops are the ones who gain the most benefit. (G2-1) Very poor means a family with no animals or cannot work. Very poor people are shifting to average now. (G2-3) Extreme poor do not exist here. There was a lady, she was too lazy and	Low income group may not receive great benefit and reason for that is they do not work (1-4) People's lives are in general at average. Shop keepers may have better lives. Average means we have no sustainable income. Sometimes we earn a lot and	There is bad side is more than the good ones. It seem we have mobile phone, power, road and internet. But it is not great development. We are losing our humanity. And losing the virgin nature (1-1) Inequality is bad and it's because the leaders are only considering their supporters or surroundings. All projects or loans do not reach to the ones whom it is desperately needed. (G3-1) Foreign project money make leaders' people rich. The ones who have relatives or siblings in the government office are close to new coming opportunities (G3-2) some got really rich and the growing difference is no good. (G4-2) Tourism seems to bring loads of money but we do not see that. People above seem to have all that money and power. (G4-3) road seemed to bring

The table is designed for each subject area, and several responses about the same issue were placed in the table. In general this is a process of abstraction and synthesis. The original text has a unique reference number (i.e. G7-1), and therefore it can also be traced and examined in its original context. In this stage, the study's conceptual framework also guided the themes and subthemes in the study. Along with themes and sub-themes from the conceptual framework, the study was open to emergent themes, and this is important to enable the empirical evidence to challenge the framework when appropriate.

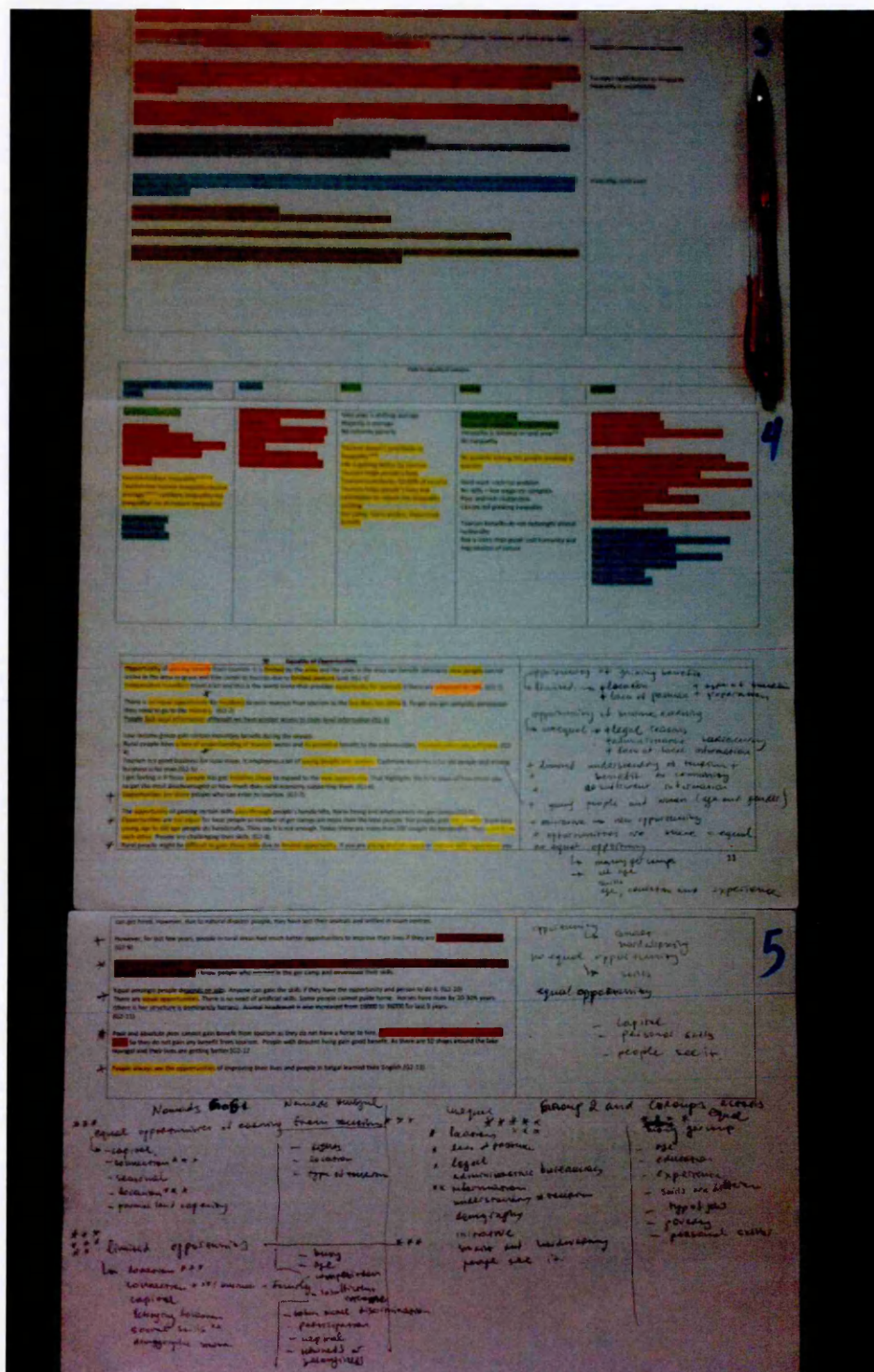
Mapping and interpretation is a detection process based on reviewing the tables and research notes (as shown in Figure 4.6). The process includes:

- (i) **Mapping the nature of the phenomenon:** it shapes the form of the phenomenon and draws out the contrasts between individuals and between group perceptions, opinions, and experiences. For example, in Chapters 7 the concepts of SoL, equality of outcomes, opportunities, capabilities and distributional justice are discussed based on individual actors' views and also by different group of actors, such as by government officials, staff of IDOs and NGOs, private sector actors in tourism, and grassroots people.
- (ii) **Creating typologies:** the known dimensions or characteristics of social phenomenon are brought together in order to create typologies. An example can

be seen in Chapter 7 where grassroots people's SoL is categorised as below average, average and above average. Such typologies emerged based on the interpretation of the grassroots people's interpretation of SoL in the case study areas.

- (iii) ***Finding associations:*** this is the process of investigating the links between the responses of interviewees and their motivations, such as whether it is caused by personal beliefs and behaviour or the outcome of other influences. Again in Chapters 6 to 7 often the views of actors were treated with extra caution in order to understand the reasons why people held certain opinions. This is also linked to the researcher's critical realist and constructionist philosophy.
- (iv) ***Providing explanations:*** this is the key objective of the research, which seeks to understand the social and material worlds and the interrelations between them. In Chapters 6 to 7 the study's themes are explained on the basis of the views of the interviewees about the practices and discourses in rural society in Mongolia.
- (v) ***Developing strategies:*** the final stage of the investigation was to create strategies for confronting issues and to influence changes in response to the issues. In other words, this is the process of proposing key techniques to solve issues raised by the research (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994:186-93). This stage is linked to the Chapter 8 Conclusion, where research recommendations are made for tourism policy making in Mongolia and for dealing with issues around tourism and inequality, equality of opportunities, equality of outcomes, and equality of capabilities.

Figure 4.6 Interpretation: frequent themes are counted, ordered and assigned meaning.



Source: Author

4.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter has clarified the researcher's philosophical stance. This was achieved in part by reviewing major philosophical and methodological stances for research. Here a review of positivism and constructionism allowed the researcher to reflect on his own stance. A critical realist stance was adopted throughout the study - from the first research step of identifying the research aim and objectives through to the data analysis and the interpretation of the research findings. The researcher's philosophical stance was based on the view that social reality exists independent of human understanding and subjective interpretation. However, it was also believed that these realities are interpreted by the interviewees, which the researcher then also interprets.

The study aimed to understand to what extent, and why, the respondents held differing views on the issues related to equity, equality, and SoL in tourism development processes in the two case study areas since the major political and economic transition which began in 1990. The study also seeks to reflect the variety of voices among international, national and local actors about the study topic.

A case study approach with qualitative research instruments was employed, involving such instruments as semi-structured, in-depth interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. These approaches were considered best suited to understand the issues given the researcher's philosophical position and research skills and also the nature of the study topic. This chapter also explained the framework analysis approach used for the organisation and interpretation of the study findings.

The next chapter is the first of the three results chapters. It outlines the study context of Mongolia through outlining the country's macro-political and economic environment and through identifying the actors relevant to the study.

Chapter 5 POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TOURISM

DEVELOPMENT AND EQUITY ISSUES IN MONGOLIA

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the research context of political economy of tourism development in Mongolia and how it relates to equity issues in line with the study's Objective 3 to evaluate the study findings on tourism development in Mongolia in relation to the government's wider development strategies and also the policies advocated by IDOs and other NGOs.

This chapter discusses research findings at a macro-level and how government development policy relates to poverty and equity issues and tourism development in rural parts of Mongolia since the country's political and economic transition began in 1990. It evaluates the study findings on tourism development in Mongolia in relation to the government's wider development strategies and also the policies advocated by IDOs and NGO. Discussing a macro level political economy of tourism development lays a contextual foundation for the other three results chapters: Chapter 6- Chapter 8. This chapter, in contrast to the other two results chapters is based mostly on secondary sources.

The chapter is structured in seven parts. The first part outlines the political context of Mongolia since 1990. It introduces how political power is shared and exercised in Mongolia- a newly democratic country that emerged from a totalitarian regime in 1990. This part further discusses how such a structural political change has affected the lives of Mongolia's public, especially in terms of power struggles. The second part introduces the economic context of Mongolia and discusses 'shock therapy' in transition economies and associated neo-liberal policies. The third part discusses the outcome of neo-liberal economic policies and the emergence of poverty and inequality issues. It considers how Mongolia's society has adapted to such events. The fourth part discusses Mongolia's poverty alleviation policies in relation to a neo-liberal orthodox supported by the donor organisations.

The fifth part introduces tourism as an economic sector and livelihood activity in rural Mongolia. The sixth part discusses tourism development policies and strategies,

the results and relative public response of these since 1990. The final part outlines the aspirations of grassroots people in relation to tourism development.

5.2. MONGOLIA'S POLITICAL CONTEXT SINCE 1990

This part discusses the political context of Mongolia after the democratic revolution in 1990. Along with democratic movements in 1990, human rights and freedom of speech were protected under the newly drafted constitution in 1992 (Kaplonski, 2010). As a result of greater freedom, the general public started practising its full political rights through participating in democratic parliamentary and presidential elections. Democratic revolution allowed Mongolians to choose their leaders themselves rather than by the Communist Party who tended to be obedient to the instructions of Moscow.

Under the new constitution (Mongolian Constitution, 1992 at <http://www.legalinfo.mn/law/details/367>), Mongolia's governing power is divided among executive, legislative and judicial organs. *The State Great Hural* (Mongolia's parliament) consists of 76 members who are elected by the electorate for four year terms. *The State Great Hural* is the supreme organ to enact and amend laws, determine domestic and foreign policies, and to ratify international agreements. The President is also elected by a popular vote for a four year term of office and is limited to two terms. The President is the Head of State, the Chief Commander of the armed forces and the Head of the National Security Council. The President is also empowered to nominate the Prime Minister and to veto legislature (*the State Great Hural* can override the veto with a two third majority). The government of Mongolia is a major executive organ headed by the Prime Minister who appoints a cabinet with the approval of *the State Great Hural*. Judicial power is vested in an independent system of court: the Supreme Court is headed by the Chief Judge, province courts, and district courts. There is an independent Constitutional Court in charge of the interpretation of constitution (Rossabi, 2005).

Fair and free election has become part of the political process in Mongolia since 1992. A multiparty system emerged in 1990, though two main parties, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) and the Democratic Party (DP), are vested on its majority seats in the parliament since 1992 (as shown in Table 5.1). MPRP, the former Communist Party, won the majority of the seats in four out of six parliamentary elections between 1992-1996 and 2000-2008 defeating the DP. The DP was in power

between 1996 and 2000. The DP and the MPRP established a coalition government after the election in 2008 (NSOM, 2009). The DP won 33 seats for the current parliament during the last election in 2012. As a result the DP formed a coalition government with the Justice Coalition' of Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Mongolian National Democratic Party and Civil Will Green Party (*the State Great Hural* (Parliament) of Mongolia, 2014)

Table 5.1 Election results for *the State Great Hural* (Parliament) since 1992

Year	Election results
1992-1996	Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) (70)+ Union of MDP, MNDP, MGP (4)+ MSDP (1)
1996-2000	Democratic Party (DP)(50) vs MPRP (25)+(2)
2000-2004	MPRP (72) vs Other(4)+ Independents (1)
2004-2008	MPRP (37) vs Democratic Party (35)+Independents(4)
2008-2012	MPRP (46) vs Democratic Party (28) [coalition government]
2012-present	Democratic Party (33) + 'Justice Coalition' of Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Mongolian National Democratic Party(11)+ Civil Will Green Party (2) [coalition government] vs Mongolian People's party (former MPRP) (25)+ Independents(3), [vacant 2]

Source: NSOM(2009); Note: the number in the brackets represents number of seats in the parliament; *The State Great Hural* (Parliament) of Mongolia (2013).

The MPRP ruled Mongolia for 70 years until the democratic revolution in 1990. In 2012, the MPRP changed its name to the Mongolian People's Party (MPP). However, those minorities who opposed the party leaders' decision of changing of the name remained loyal to the name of the MPRP and formed a separate party under the name of the MPRP. The MPP portrays itself as a social democratic organization. Social democracy tends to be regarded as a political ideology of the political left and central-left on the classical political spectrum advocating a peaceful, evolutionary transition of society from capitalism to socialism using established political processes. Although social democracy shares common ideological roots with communism it dismisses militancy and totalitarianism (Britannica, 2010).

The Democratic Party (DP) in Mongolia has taken a role of opposition since the democratic movements in 1990. The DP were the ruling coalition parties from 1996-2000, when they held 50 of the 76 seats in *the State Great Hural* (Kaplonski, 2010) (Table 5.1). The DP supports libertarian political ideology which tends to be considered as centrist or central-left.

The parties in power in Mongolia's parliament tend to be widely criticised for their lack of leadership on tackling corruption and persistent poverty in Mongolia. According to Transparency International (2011) the corruption ranking of Mongolia compared to other countries moved back from 84 to 116 during the period of 2004 and 2010. In 2012, the corruption index of Mongolia got better and placed at the 94th with score of 36 out of 174 countries when Denmark is the least corrupt country with the score of 90 and Somalia is the most corrupt country with score of 8 (Transparency International, 2012). Over the period of 14 years between 1996-2010, Mongolia's poverty headcount remained at over one third of the population while the lowest level of poverty headcount was 32.2 % in 2006 and this increased to 39.2 % in 2010 (Asian Development Bank, 2011).

Minimal progress on the reduction of corruption and poverty may also be reflected in the political movement. The 2008 parliamentary election in Mongolia resulted in demonstration by the opposition party (the DP) and civil movements at Sukhbaatar Square in the capital city of Ulaanbaatar on 1 July 2008. This was also the site of a peaceful democratic revolution in 1990. Demonstrators blamed the winning MPRP for fraudulent activities during the election and disagreed with the election results. Eventually, a violent crowd set a fire in the head office of the MPRP, which also spread into the Mongolia's Modern Art Gallery near the Sukhbaatar Square. The President, Nambariin Enkhbayar, declared a four-day state of emergency for the first time in Mongolia's history at midnight on 1 July 2008. Military forces armed with tanks assisted police forces to dissolve the violent crowd (Delapalace, Kaplonski and Sneath, 2008). Television channels except the state run Mongolian National Broadcasting, were stopped from broadcasting. During the clash between government troops, police and the demonstrators, five people were shot dead and police detained many demonstrators. It seems that the election system in Mongolia was loosely organised and that fraudulent activities were likely to occur. The Economist (2008) reported on its website that '*The DP is calling for a recounting in several*

constituencies... International observers may have approved of the conduct of the polls, but it is not clear whether they have endorsed the ballot-counting stage-which is when the alleged fraud occurred, according to the DP'. Among the general public, rumours were spread about transferring voters on a bus from one region to another to vote for a particular candidate. Fraudulent activities, including the distribution of cash in hand and gifts were also observed (the researcher himself witnessed gifts being given to pensioners in the local citizen meeting in Ulaanbaatar in 2004 and 2008).

5.3. MONGOLIA'S ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT POLICIES SINCE 1990

This section outlines the context of Mongolia's economy and strategies between 1990 and 2009. This is the period from the beginning of Mongolia's political and economic transition in 1990 to the field work of the research was conducted in 2009. Developments relating to the economy of Mongolia underlie the discussion of the other results chapters presented in this thesis - Chapters 6 and 7.

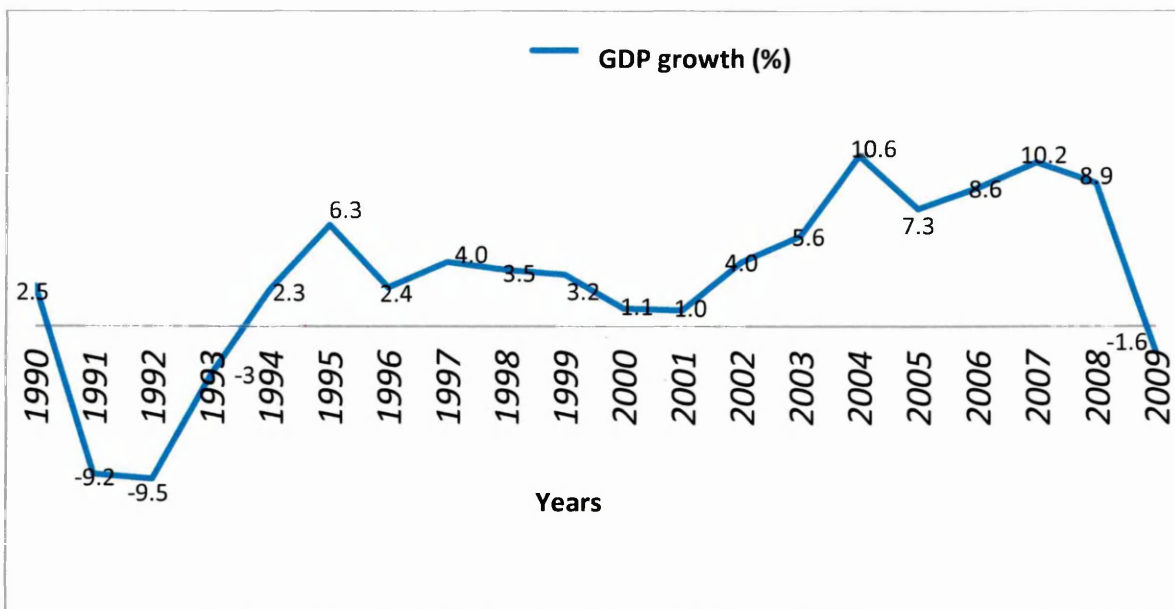
Mongolia's government advocated a widely known transitional strategy of 'shock therapy' after 1990. This included: rapidly liberalised prices; elimination of restrictions and flows on international trade and foreign capital; privatisation of animal husbandry; a reduction in the number of *negdels*¹ (co-operatives) and state-owned enterprises; cessation of free distribution of vouchers to the entire population; and later through direct sales to domestic and foreign buyers, the size of the government activities was greatly reduced (Griffin, 2003, Rossabi, 2005). Animal husbandry was privatised to members of the *negdels* and public sector workers. Each member of a *negdel* and his or her family members were entitled to 10 animals (equivalent to sheep headcount) per person while public sector workers (i.e. teachers and doctors) were entitled to 10 animals and her or his family members were excluded from this entitlement. Non-herder members of *negdels* (i.e. *negdel's* drivers, builders and veterinarians) were also entitled to privatise the respective assets of the *negdels* (i.e. drivers privatising the vehicles that they were driving) with advantages in comparison to

¹ *Negdels* (co-operatives) were being established in the mid 1950s in each district in Mongolia when animals were collectivised. *Negdels*, before the 1990s, chaired by district and *negdel* chair person, comprised its members including (herders and non-herder members). Under supervision of Department of Agriculture of each province), *negdels* were responsible for welfare of its members and logistics of supplying of hay and fodder to the herders, collecting and transporting animal products (personal communication, 2009)

non-members of the *negdel*, who were excluded from such a free entitlement of *negdel*'s assets (Rossabi, 2005 and personal communication, 2009).

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) backed Mongolia's economic liberalisation policies (Rossabi, 2005, Economist, 2000). Since the transition began, Mongolia went through its worst economic crisis (as reflected through: the evolution of real output or gross domestic products (GDP); per capita income; and rate of inflation). Real economic output, after adjusting for domestic inflation, fell by 22 % between 1989 and 1993. It then began a slow but steady increase, averaging an annual growth rate of less than 3.3 % until 2003 (Figure 5.1). However, the GDP was still lower than it had been a decade earlier. In other words, the growth rate was almost zero during the transition period. Griffin (2003:3) argued that '*after a decade of sacrifice, the economic reforms had failed to produce the promised improvement in the standard of living*'.

Figure 5.1 Annual growth of real GDP of Mongolia during 1990-2009



Source: Asian Development Bank (2011)

A rapid price liberalisation at the beginning of the transition period led to rapid price inflation (Griffin, 2003). At its peak in 1992, the rate of the inflation was 325 % a year. This was seen as a threat to undermine the creation of an efficient market economy. It required the government of Mongolia to stabilise prices urgently and by 1995 inflation fell to below 20 % and further reduced to 8.1 % in 2000 due to tighter monetary policy (Griffin, 2003). However, tighter monetary policy then restricted the availability of credit as high interest rates discouraged domestic investment.

Subsequently, this reduced the overall economic growth rate and made it more difficult to reduce poverty. Although the interest rate did ease in 2000 it remained significantly high to borrowers. Due to an absence of competition in the financial sector in Mongolia, the interest rate was significantly high. For instance, the Agricultural Bank of Mongolia had a 60 % lending rate per annum and its deposit rate was 4.8 %. This made it virtually impossible for businesses to secure reasonable earnings after paying their bank loans (Griffin, 2003). However, as UNDP (2001) cautioned, economic growth does not tend to follow trade liberalisation in the early stage of reforms. In particular, rapid growth is often supported by receiving foreign aid instead it can be achieved through raising domestically financed investment and institutional reforms (UNDP, 2001). A large influx of foreign aid inflates exchange rates. An appreciation of the exchange rate, in turn, makes exports less competitive in world markets and goods produced for the domestic market become less competitive than imported goods. Griffin (2003) argued that IMF-supported monetary policy in Mongolia has destroyed Mongolia's industrial sector by making domestic investment impossible. This has resulted in Mongolia becoming reliant on foreign capital to finance virtually all fixed investment and aid dependence has become an inevitable outcome.

Despite this, according to USAID (2010), Mongolia has made tremendous progress in its transition from a state-led, command economy to a democratic, market economy. In 2010, the private sector accounted for over 70 % of the national economy, up from only 4 % in 1990. Per capita GDP has increased nearly 5 fold from US\$ 450 in 2002 to US\$ 2,008 in 2010. Mongolia's per capita GDP reached US\$ 4,346 in 2014 (Unuudur, 2014). Economic activity in Mongolia is traditionally based on herding and agriculture, which in 2010 made up about 21.1 % of GDP, while 'services' and 'industry' contributed 39.2 % GDP and 39.8% GDP respectively (USAID, 2010).

Mongolia's GDP growth averaged nearly 9 % a year from 2004 to 2008, largely due to high copper prices and new gold production (Asian Development Bank, 2011). In 2008, Mongolia experienced a soaring inflation rate with year-on-year inflation reaching nearly 30 %, the highest inflation rate in over a decade. Immediately upon experiencing double digit inflation, the global economic crisis hit Mongolia hard. In 2009, the Mongolian economy contracted by 1.6 % due to a combination of factors: the global economic downturn; falling commodity prices (copper prices decreased by 65 % in one year); a decrease in demand for Mongolian exports; a domestic banking crisis;

and a slowdown in construction (USAID, 2010). The crisis hit Mongolia harder than other mineral rich nations due to Mongolia's fiscal reliance on minerals, a lack of adequate savings during boom years, and overheating of the banking sector (where loans outpaced deposits) (USAID, 2010).

5.4. EMERGENCE OF POVERTY AND INEQUALITY, RESPONSE OF MONGOLIAN SOCIETY

The focus now shifts to social responses to the aforementioned political and economic changes and the implications of a transitional economy for Mongolian society. In particular, the discussion is concerned with how the general public adapted to structural aspects of the transition to a market economy. As a result of transition, Mongolian society experienced tremendous changes in the way they were able to make their living while a greater level of unemployment, poverty, income inequality, and decreased birth rates increased migration from rural to urban areas and out-migration from Mongolia (World Bank et al., 2002). People started to use many new survival strategies when once guaranteed state employment was lost or the level of wage significantly decreased. Increased freedom of travel abroad including visa- free travel to neighbouring Russia and China encouraged Mongolian people to leave jobs and relocate in border areas that provided opportunities to earn extra income because of liberalised border trading (Griffin, 2003).

The concept of poverty seems to have emerged in Mongolia alongside the introduction of transitional economic policies. Although poverty is a contested concept internationally, the NSOM has been defining and publishing the 'Minimum subsistence level of population' by region since 1998. This is apparent in Article 5 of the Law on defining minimum subsistence level of population (dated on January 8, 1998) of Mongolia (NSOM, 2009). As stated in the article 3 of the Law on defining minimum subsistence level of population of Mongolia, *'the minimum subsistence level refers a minimum consumption level expressed in monetary value; and minimum consumption level refers a scientific estimation on quantity of consumption to satisfy basic survival requirement defined by food and non-food consumption basket'* (based on NSOM, 2009:295). Based on diagnoses of poverty, the government of Mongolia has implemented a series of policy reforms oriented to enhance economic growth and reduce poverty. These have had a pro-poor focus and have included private sector-led

economic growth through the stabilization of macro-economy, low and stable inflation, development of free market competition, and appropriate monetary, credit and tax policies. These have been intended to raise the living standards of the population (Government of Mongolia, 2003). However, economic growth indicators like GDP growth may not alone be effective as indicators of development. Economic growth does not necessarily result in poverty reduction (Ravallion, 2004).

Despite substantial donor support aimed at poverty alleviation, rural development programmes and continued GDP growth, Mongolia's poverty rate still includes over one third of the population. A Living Standards Measurement Survey in 1998 concluded that 35.6 % of the total population of Mongolia was living in poverty while 39.4% of the urban population and 32.6 % of the rural population were poor. Over a decade since the start of transition, there seems to be no significant progress on poverty reduction in rural parts of Mongolia. In 2010, the national average poverty level (including urban and rural population) was 39.2 % of Mongolia's total population. Urban residents were slightly better-off than the rural counterparts with a poverty level of 32.2 % in urban areas and 47.8 % in rural areas (see Table 5.2). Meanwhile, as it can be seen in Figure 5.2, Mongolia's GDP growth accelerated with an average of 7.8 % from 2002 to 2008. This suggests that economic growth in Mongolia does not appear to contribute to poverty reduction in rural areas of the country (and poverty in these areas affects the overall poverty rate of the country). According to the leader of Mongolia's opposition, Civil Will Party, macro-economic statistics show some progress in the country but the real benefit on people's lives has not progressed (Oyun, 2011).

Table 5.2 Poverty statistics for Mongolia between 2002 and 2010

	Poverty headcount			Poverty Gap (P1)			Poverty severity (P2)		
	2002 /3*	2006 **	2009 ***	2002 /3*	2006 **	2009 ***	2002 /3*	2006 **	2009 ***
National Average	36.1	32.2	38.7 [+20.1%]	11.0	10.1	10.6 [+4.9%]	4.7	4.5	4.1 [-8.8%]
Urban	30.3	27.9	30.6 [+9.6%]	9.2	8.5	7.8 [-8.2%]	4.0	3.8	2.9 [-23%]
Rural	43.4	37.0	49.6 [+34 %]	13.2	11.9	14.4 [+21%]	5.6	5.3	5.6 [+5.6]

Source: * and **National Statistical Office (2004),***NSOM(2010). (Change on previous survey in parenthesis, note that a positive change (+) represents deterioration)

The Participatory Living Standards Assessment (PLSA), a survey by the NSOM (2001), supplements the findings of the two Living Standard Measurement Survey reports by focusing on a broader, more capability-based approach to poverty using multi-dimensional criteria of well-being, based on a combination of economic, social, health, physical and mental status. The PLSA indicates that *‘[b]etween 1992 and 1995, people identified a general decline in the share of the medium households [among population], and a corresponding rise in the share of the poor and very poor, suggesting that many households fell into poverty over this period. Over 1995-2000, the increase in the proportion of poor and very poor households was even more marked’* (NSOM, 2001:11). According to the PLSA, livelihoods became vulnerable to multiple, interlocking forms of insecurity. Economic insecurity seem to arise primarily from a decreased opportunity to be employed in combination with environmental insecurity; a decline in public action to reduce risks in animal husbandry. The PLSA also highlights growing social insecurity due to weakening kinship networks. Households were also subject to increases in physical insecurities such as alcohol abuse, domestic violence and marital breakdown (NSOM, 2001). Participants in these surveys indicated that loss of employment was the most frequent initial trigger for impoverishment, followed by illness and the associated costs of medical treatment (NSOM, 2001). Rapidly escalating education costs were also noted, especially for households of medium well-income. Deepening income poverty was accompanied by the growth of other insecurities, including poor access to institutions, weak governance and corruption. Social safety nets have been weakened and the achievements of the socialist era in education and health are being compromised as the poor find access to these services is increasingly based on the ability to pay (Rossabi, 2005).

Along with a growing poverty headcount in Mongolia, income disparity has increased since the transition began in 1990 (NSOM, 2010). Yet the government seems less concerned with equitable distribution of economic gains and the overall poverty headcount and income inequality have scarcely changed. Income equality, a part of equality of outcome, is a component the Human Development Index (HDI) under the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Income inequality is frequently cited as an indicator of SoL (Kuklys, 2005). According to UNDP, greater inequality

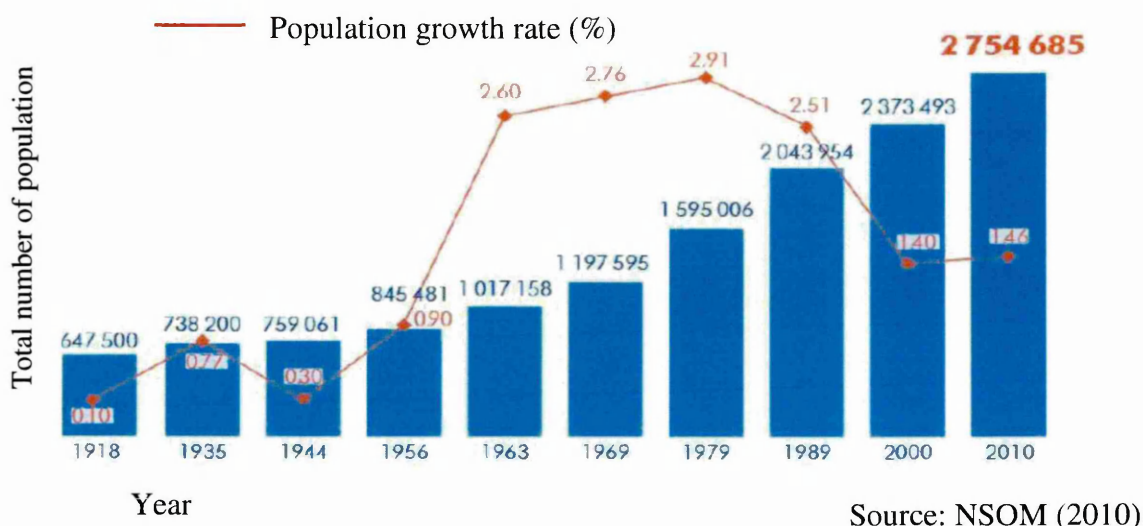
leads to a deteriorated SoL. Negative consequences of income inequality include ‘*stigma associated with and the absence of choice*’ (Platt, 2012: 132). A lack of income tends to prevent many people from exercising their abilities and skills. Also, income appears to be one of the main factors, for some, enabling a range of forms of activities including providing personal or household needs (i.e. food, shelter and clothing), social interaction and/or avoidance of unhealthy and dangerous environment (Platt, 2011).

According to a number of surveys conducted by the National Statistical Office of Mongolia, with support of the World Bank and UNDP, income inequality is increasing in Mongolia since the 1990s (Nixon and Walters, 2004). A widely applied numeric measure of inequality is a Gini coefficient that is a descriptive approach to measure of statistical dispersion of household income, developed by Gini in 1912 (FAOUN, 2006) (see Chapter 2).

Public responses to growing poverty and inequality may be reflected in demographic trends. It may be seen that actors are not just obedient to structural forces rather they adapt strategies and manoeuvre within the structural constraints (Long, 2001). Notable changes have occurred on the growth rate of the population since the transition began. According to the latest population census in 2010, the population of Mongolia is 2.75 million of which 2.63 million people reside in Mongolia and 0.12 million people reside abroad. Figure 5.2 illustrates a sharp decline in the birth rate from 2.5 % to 1.4 % (almost a 55.8 % decline on crude birth rate) between 1989 and 2000. This decline was believed to be associated with deterioration in living standards and transitional economic hardship (Rossabi, 2005). Population growth has occurred since 2005 and stood at 1.46 % in 2010 which may correspond with a period of economic recovery in Mongolia (Figure 5.3).

A part of the shock therapy, privatisation of the agricultural sector and state industries may seem to have resulted in inter-related social consequences too. When animal husbandry was privatised in 1990, Mongolia had 225 *negdels* (collectives) that were responsible for 25 million animals. Yet within 2 years, in 1991 and 1992, 224 joint stock companies emerged from 225 *negdels*. Under collectives, the herders used to get paid a wage and were entitled to free health services. Also the state was responsible for providing water wells, hay and fodder through its distribution centres.

Figure 5.2 Average annual population growth of Mongolia



However, as transition began, herders started working for themselves akin to family entrepreneurs without the old assistance from the stat. Increased unemployment in urban areas tended to result in many people choosing to migrate to rural areas to herd animals until 2000. A herder population in 1990 that amounted to 147,508 had almost tripled by 1999 reaching 417,743 (National Statistics Office, 1999; Griffin, 2003). The gap between the rich and the poor widened in the 1990s in terms of the number of animals that households owned. In 2002, over 68 % of 243,000 households had less than 100 animals in sheep headcount, a figure that was barely self-sufficient and not commercially viable while 601 households (0.27% of total number of herders) owned more than 1,000 animals. Thus, there was a growing disparity in terms of animal ownership. By the mid-1990s, one third of herding families were living below the poverty line (Rossabi, 2005).

Mongolia experienced consecutive harsh winters and droughts in 1999, 2000 and 2001. During the harsh winters, herders lost over 10 million animals and the number of herders decreased by nearly 30 thousand in 2002 and further by 68.4 thousand in 2009 (see Table 5.3). With an absence of the state funded assistance to herders tended to migrate to urban areas mostly to gain a better life and employment opportunities (Rossabi, 2005). Also with an absence of state support for the arrangement of transport and collection of animal products, middlemen started to travel

around the country to buy herders' animals products at their (the middlemen's) chosen price. Herders often were disadvantaged because of the distance to market which was further hampered by poor infrastructure and a lack of market information. Thus, many herders also started moving closer to urban areas with higher populations in order to access markets (Rossabi, 2005).

Table 5.3 Animal husbandry in Mongolia

	1990	1996	1999	2009
Number of herders (thousand)	147.5	395.4	417.7	349.3
Total number of animals (million)	25.9	29.3	33.6	44.0
Horse	2,262.0	2,770.5	3,163.5	2,221.3
Sheep	15,083.0	13,560.6	15,191.3	19,274.7
Goat	5,125.0	9,134.8	11,033.9	19,651.5

Source: NSOM (2009)

The population in Ulaanbaatar (as shown in Table 5.4) increased by 31.39 % between 2002 and 2009 while the more rural East region and West region of Mongolia experienced a decline of -1.3 % and -2.48 % on population numbers respectively. The two regions of Khangai and Central (more urbanised) had a tiny decrease and growth in population numbers, - 1.14 % and 0.2 % respectively. Population growth in Ulaanbaatar may seem to reflect a mechanic growth of migration from other regions within Mongolia. This may reflect limited livelihood opportunities for herders who had lost their animals and for non-herder populations. Due to intensified migration, Mongolia's urban population had risen continually since the 1990s and towards the second half of the 2000s over 60 % of Mongolia's population resided in cities and the towns of provinces (NSOM, 2010).

According to Tsogtsaihkhon (2008) more men were found to migrate for economic reasons in order to get a job while women were more motivated by family reasons, such as, the need to stay closer to relatives. As extended family networks tends to important for the people from rural parts of Mongolia and often siblings and relatives tend to be close and supportive to each other.

Table 5.4 Population in the regions of Mongolia

Population	2002	2009	Change compare to 2002/9
Total	2,475.4	2,735.8	+10.51%
Urban/rural ratio (%)	57.4/42.6	62.6/37.4	
Ulaanbaatar	846.5	1,112.3	+31.39%
West region	418.3	407.9	-2.48%
Khangai region	558.5	564.9	+1.14%
Central Region	449.3	450.6	+0.2%
East region	202.8	200.1	-1.3%

Source: NSOM (2010)

Urban populations tended to remain in the towns and cities, seeking livelihoods in the urban informal sector, estimated to provide around 20-40 % of total employment in Ulaanbaatar (Griffin, 2003). As Griffin (2003:12) described '*unlike the informal sector in many developing countries...the informal sector in Mongolia contains large numbers of people that are literate, numerate, well-educated and highly skilled*'. Some people petty small traders joined in long distance trading between Mongolia and other countries including Russia, China and Eastern European countries.

Towards the end of the 1990s many Mongolians started emigrating to South Korea, Japan, USA , Germany, the UK, Kazakhstan and other countries mostly because of a desire to earn better income opportunities. This was one of the many survival strategies during the transition period. Tsogtsaikhan (2008) argues that there are over 130,000 Mongolians working and studying abroad of whom a substantial number of people work illegally. As the USSR disintegrated, many Kazakhs living in Mongolia emigrated to the newly independent Kazakhstan. Since the 1990s some 100,000 Kazakhs moved from Mongolia to Kazakhstan but 60,000 Kazakhs had returned to Mongolia. Tsogtsaikhan (2008) claimed that many Mongolians remained in developed countries to escape from poverty and unemployment. Also some people chose to remain in developed countries for access to better education and health systems (personal observation, 2009). Thus, remittance to Mongolia tends to play a substantial role for

livelihoods in Mongolia. According to the NSOM (2006) the amount of remittance to Mongolia through official channels was estimated to be US\$ 153.6 million.

5.5. POVERTY ALLEVIATION POLICIES OF MONGOLIA

This section discusses poverty alleviation policies of Mongolia including the Economic Growth Support Poverty Reduction Strategy (EGSPRS) paper. This is a strategy paper which presents the main policy directions of the government of Mongolia on economic growth and poverty alleviation (Government of Mongolia, 2004). The section further discusses perceptions among the general public based in the case study areas about development strategies advocated by IDOs. The study findings may not reflect the whole country, but may reveal insights into how government policy affects the lives of people in rural areas during the transition period. The discussion focuses on two case study areas in Mongolia where tourism is being promoted as an important component of the government's development strategy.

In 1994, the Government of Mongolia adopted Mongolia's six years National Poverty Alleviation Programme (NPAP) with broad national and targeted local policies financed primarily by international donors. In practice, the programme became a set of local, targeted interventions (UNDP, 2001). By 2000, Multilateral Institutions (World Bank, UNDP and ADB) provided 67.1 % of funding for the NPAP, Bilateral Donors (Sweden, Netherlands, Japan and others) provided 22.9 %, NGOs/Private sector provided 7 % while the Government of Mongolia provided 3 % (Poverty Alleviation Programme Office, NPAP based on UNDP, 2001).

The Mongolian Government's development policies tend to be framed within the MDGs by the United Nations since 2000. The MDGs are eight development goals that were established following the Millennium Summit of the United Nations in September 2000 and overall 189 nations agreed on a vision for the future (United Nations, 2012). In 2005, the Parliament of Mongolia adopted the MDGs through a resolution and added a country-specific MDG9 to "Foster Democratic Governance and Strengthen Human Rights". In meeting its national MDGs, Mongolia faces unique challenges that require context-specific initiatives reflecting the distinctive nature of Mongolia's cultural, social, economic, environmental and governmental landscape within three principal areas. The first area relates to Democratic Governance and Human rights – UNDP provides its support to the country's ongoing democratic

consolidation through promoting greater participation of men and women at all levels of governance. The second area relates to Human Development and Poverty Reduction – It involves a range of initiatives aimed at promoting integration of poverty reduction and human development into macroeconomic policies and strategies, strengthening capacity of local communities, bridging the growing gap between the rich and poor, and increasing the country's trade potential to help end Mongolia's high aid-dependency and widen the existing narrow economic base. The third area relates to Sustainable Natural Resource Management – It concerns achieving a balance between environmental protection and economic development, given the fragility of Mongolia's environment and high dependence of people's livelihoods on nature and natural resources (Informest, 2008).

The Mongolian Parliament adopted and has been implementing the following documents: 'Concepts of Mongolian Regional Development' from 2001, 'Mid-term Strategy for Regional Development until 2010' from 2003, 'Law on Management and Coordination of Regional Development' from 2003 (USAID, 2010 and <http://www.legalinfo.mn/annex/details/3282?lawid=7045>).

Some reports suggest that there are numerous separate poverty alleviation programmes in Mongolia - each donor with a different agenda or they are uncoordinated and unlinked (UNDP, 2001). Consequently, this seems to lead to confusion, mismanagement and inefficiency and to further weaken the state. UNDP (2001) criticises Mongolia's lack of commitment on poverty reduction. During the 1990s, only about 5% of all international development assistance was allocated to 'Agricultural Development' while 'Economic Management' and 'Physical Infrastructure' were allocated 24 % and 37 % respectively, much of which did not benefit rural areas. During 1995-2000, when the National Poverty Alleviation Programme was in operation, the amount allocated to the programme was only 1.2% of total aid (UNDP, 2001).

UNDP argued that *'Ulaanbaatar is buzzing with activity. Much of this activity, unfortunately, is parasitical on foreign aid. Non-governmental organizations are financed by aid; the city buses are financed by aid; the hotels are full of people attending conferences financed by aid. How much of this aid money eventually leaves the country is anybody's guess, but the outflow of capital surely is significant'* (UNDP, 2001:107). It seems that IDOs little care about how the country spends technical assistance and grants. In sum, foreign aid to Mongolia by donor organisations failed to

reduce the poverty in Mongolia simply due to mismanagement of grant spending by the state or overlapping projects by IDOs (Hashchuluun, 2014). This indicates weak governance and inefficiency in aid distribution to the country. The tourism sector is only briefly mentioned in the Mongolian government's 'Economic Growth Support Poverty Reduction Strategy' with no focus on how the tourism sector could contribute to poverty reduction in Mongolia. It indicates that the government does not seem to recognise the potential contribution of tourism to poverty reduction nor its potential contribution to raising living standards in rural areas.

Other way of considering genuine progress on the effectiveness of development strategies may relate to the living standards of a country's people. According to interviewees in the case study areas, development strategies seem to be less acknowledged by the grassroots people. They perceived that the effectiveness of a local governor's office may represent wider reviews about the effectiveness of governance and development strategies in rural parts of Mongolia. A World Bank officer in Mongolia argued that *'we're not satisfied with all of the projects in Mongolia but is going to right direction. There may have a very good policy and lousy weak execution...'* (Respondent G2-3). This suggests that Mongolia may be recognised to have some good policies but the execution is regarded as weak which may indicate a degree of ineffectiveness in the development strategies of the country.

International multilateral organisations including UNDP have argued that there is a need for stronger implementation strategy. UNDP (2001:107) commented that, *'If Mongolia is serious about reducing poverty significantly, and there is no reason to doubt the intentions of the government, much greater emphasis will have to be placed on domestic resource mobilization to finance investment-led pro-poor growth. In addition, much greater emphasis will have to be placed on local government, local initiative and grassroots participation by the poor in identifying and implementing projects of direct benefit to themselves and their communities'*. This clearly suggests the importance of taking account of grassroots people's aspirations and empowering local government in order to tackle poverty. This also suggests the importance of actors agency on poverty alleviation. However, how tourism can interlink with development and poverty reduction is discussed in the following section.

5.6. THE TOURISM SECTOR CONTEXT IN MONGOLIA

This section discusses the tourism sector as an economic sector of Mongolia, a focus that underpins subsequent parts of this chapter. The tourism sector emerged as one of the main economic sectors in Mongolia in the middle of the 1990s. In 2013, Mongolia received 417,815 international tourists which is -12.2 % less than the previous year (NSOM, 2014). In 2005, at its peak, the income from the tourism sector was estimated at US\$ 181million, accounting for 10 % of Mongolia's GDP (Ministry of Road, Transport and Tourism, 2005). In 2011, the income from tourism reached US\$ 239.61 million or 3.4 % of the country's GDP (Oxford Business Group, 2013). Although, the share of GDP has decreased due to the growth of other sectors in the economy (i.e. mining), overall revenue from the tourism sector has increased.

At a policy making level, tourism development seems to be measured only in numeric terms, paying little attention to tourism's contribution to SoL in rural areas of the country. For instance, the government of Mongolia identifies tourism to be an important sector for the country's socio-economic development. A senior official from the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism argued that '*the number of travellers to Mongolia increased three fold [from 138,000 in 2002 to 450,000 in 2008] , this can be seen as a tourism sector development*' (Respondent G2-8). This view may reflect common attitudes from the central government towards tourism development. The amount of income in the economy and the number of tourists in the country, however, may be insufficient to measure the level of development of the tourism sector. Perhaps of greater importance in the context of measuring the level of tourism development is how these economic benefits are distributed and what other contributions are made to society from the tourism sector.

Tourism sector statistics for Mongolia show that there are 18,000 personnel employed by the tourism sector (National Statistical Office, 2010). However, the people who are involved in tourism activities to supplement their primary sources of income seem to be unrecorded in the official tourism statistics mainly due to underdeveloped tourism statistical recording mechanisms in Mongolia. Therefore, it appears to be difficult to measure accurately how much tourism contributes to rural livelihoods in Mongolia.

5.7. TOURISM DEVELOPMENT POLICIES AND STRATEGIES, AND GRASSROOTS ASPIRATION

This part discusses discourses about the Mongolian government's tourism policies and the implementation of those policies based on official reports by the government of Mongolia and IDOs. It considers how these policies differ from the aspirations of the grassroots people in the case study areas. The previous section of this chapter discussed Mongolia's political and economic transition and its implications for Mongolian society. Those issues underpin the political and economic context behind the tourism policy of the government of Mongolia. Thus, this part first discusses overall tourism strategy of the government of Mongolia followed by discussing how the grassroots people see these policies and their views on and experiences of whether these policies have worked.

The government of Mongolia started seeing the importance of the tourism sector and formulated tourism development policies and strategies, and the implementation of institutional arrangements towards the end of the 1990s. A number of IDOs have assisted Mongolia in the development of tourism and its policies and among them major organisations were the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA); the Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS) programme (Saffery, 2000); and the German Organisation for Technical Cooperation (GTZ); United States Aid for International Development (USAID); and the World Bank.

As previously discussed, Mongolia was largely dependent on grants and technical assistance by donor countries and organisations during much of the transition period in the 1990s (UNDP, 2001). The government was exploring all possible approaches to the country's economic development and the focus included the tourism sector. The Government of Mongolia stressed the importance of the tourism sector as '*one of the engines of economic development*' that led to the preparation of a tourism master plan and requested Technical Assistance from the Government of Japan in 1996 (JICA, 1999a:11). Yet equitable economic development was lacking which is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

In 1999, two tourism development plans were commissioned by the Government of Mongolia - the Master Plan on National Tourism Development (developed by JICA) and the Strategic Tourism Development Plan for Mongolia to offer strategic action plan for implementing tourism development for the period 2000 -2005 (provided by TACIS). It may

be recognised that the implementation of the ‘Development of Tourism for Mongolia’ project during 1998-1999 by the TACIS programme resulted in the initiation of restructuring efforts for the tourism sector (TACIS, 1999). It facilitated the formation of a legal framework for the development of the tourism industry in Mongolia. Additionally, the development vision and strategies of the tourism sector up to the year 2015 were formulated, and the specific priority programmes and projects (i.e. promotion of cultural tourism, expansion and strengthening of tourism products, institutional strengthening of tourism sector, human resource development, environmental protection, improvement of services and infrastructure) were identified based on the “the Master Plan on National Tourism Development in Mongolia” by JICA.

A review of the tourism policy papers, funded by donor organizations, revealed common similarities. These planning measures seem to pay little attention to the circumstances of a society that is in transition. In particular, political environment, power distribution among tourism actors and human resources may greatly affect the execution of the planned policies. For Mongolia, there may be relative immaturity in terms of democratic governance and market economic system, and the effects of a command driven political and economic system may still be in evidence and affect public mentality. This might at least partly help to explain a lack of involvement of Mongolian people on the government policy and planning, including tourism’s policy development in Mongolia.

The Master Plan on National Tourism Development in Mongolia aimed, first, to formulate a national tourism development master plan which covers a policy for tourism development and its implementation until 2015 which consists of short (until 2005), and medium and long term (until 2015) programmes. Second, the master plan formulated tourism development plans for selected model areas including Mongolia’s major international tourism destinations such as Ulaanbaatar, Umnugovi and Kharkhorin and other areas and a feasibility study for priority projects with the target year 2005 (JICA, 1999a: 12). The JICA team proposed the master plan in relation to the forecast of international tourism demand to Mongolia.

According to JICA (1999a), the Master Plan on National Tourism Development in Mongolia considered all possible development aspects of tourism in the country including administration, socio-economic impacts and detailed implementation plans. The prime focus of the master plan seems to be tourism contribution to the GDP growth of

Mongolia rather than how tourism development and its economic benefit is targeted to reduce growing poverty and inequality in Mongolia. Tourism contribution to the SoL in Mongolia, particularly the grassroots people in the rural areas, is hardly mentioned in tourism policy documents. To some extent, the policy seems to be based on elitist views rather than considering the views of the grassroots people in rural Mongolia. In the tourism policy documents, the traditional nomadic culture and landscape of Mongolia are treated as assets and how it can be marketed as a tourism product rather than concerning the SoL of these people which largely rely on their surrounding environment. In particular, the country-specific socio-cultural context seem to be little considered, a key part of which involves the nature of society in transition from a centrally planned political and economic system to a system of democratic governance and market economy. For instance, the Government Resolution No.167 issued on September 11, 1995 stated that the objective of developing tourism in Mongolia is to contribute to the development of the economy under market conditions. These conditions included: growth of GDP; increase foreign exchange earnings; creation of employment opportunities; increased tax revenue for the government; and increased levels of investment - while making sure that the development is sustainable (based on JICA, 1999b:105).

However, tourism development policy and strategies proposed by JICA and TACIS for the government of Mongolia resulted in mixed responses in Mongolia. Institutional rearrangements of the tourism sector and donor interventions seem to have adversely affected the development of the tourism sector in Mongolia. This is in terms of relatively weak execution of tourism policies with a lack of leadership and human resources and the absence of reflection of grassroots voices (Batbayar, 2013).

The importance of the tourism sector in Mongolia at a government policy level increased in 2000 yet its policy formulation and execution do not seem to bring the government's desired outcomes. The Mongolian government's initial commitment to develop a tourism sector can be seen from a number of actions. Most importantly, in 2000, the Tourism Law of Mongolia was enacted for the first time since the country's transition to a market-oriented economy. Its purpose is to regulate all relationships occurring between the state, private citizens and economic entities engaged in tourism business (Tourism Law, 2000). The law outlines the definition for tourism, responsibilities and obligations of the state, tourism organizations, as well as the rights and responsibilities of

state administration, overseas activities for tourism sector, arrangements for the development of tourism-related infrastructure and penalties in case of violation of this law. There are several other laws containing regulations regarding tourism. These include the Law on Environmental Protection which established a fund for fees collected from pollution fines, hunting and tourism permits and donations (the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism, 2009).

In order to encourage tourism's development, the Department of Tourism of the Ministry of the Infrastructure and Development was rearranged at a ministry level. Forming a designated ministry for the tourism sector suggests the Mongolian government's commitment to developing tourism. The Ministry of Infrastructure and Tourism (2000-2004) was responsible for the tourism sector policy planning and execution. However, at institutional level, tourism sector was administered within a part of different ministries thereafter as follows:

- The Ministry of Infrastructure Development and Tourism, 2000-2004;
- The Ministry of Road, Transport and Tourism, 2004-2008;
- The Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism, 2008-2012;
- The Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, 2012- to date [2014].

As it can be seen from the institutional arrangements, ministries of infrastructure, road and transport, nature and environment, and culture and sports were co-administering the tourism sector. Such a frequent shift was criticised as one of main weaknesses of less successful tourism policy implementation (Batbayar, 2013). Supporting this argument Nara from Juulchin World Tours commented that *'The very fact that Tourism is clubbed with the Ministry of Nature and Environment and before with the Ministry of Infrastructure Development is a sign that Tourism isn't a very big focus of the government'* (cited in Jacob, 2013, n.p.). Although tourism sector have been encouraged since early 2000, the subsequent moves of the Mongolian government in relation to the sector suggest that tourism seems less important than it was previously. This was felt to be the case by the private sector due to such frequent changes at ministry level.

At provincial level, a Tourism Unit was created as a part of the Development Policy Unit, which is responsible for tourism promotion in the provinces and only one member of staff was assigned. According to Tourism Law (2000), if it is necessary the vice district governor is responsible for tourism-related administration in the rural areas

along with the protected area administration in areas where tourism development has intensified.

Overall, in the case of Mongolia, the outcome of tourism development policies and strategies do not proceed as they were planned. A number of donor supported projects implemented in the tourism sector in Mongolia between 1999 and 2009 and it can be seen substantial support given that Mongolia has a good tourism potential. Yet donor assistance resulted in mixed views among the tourism actors. In 1999, the JICA team stressed the pressing issues of a lack of human resources and expertise in tourism at an administrative level within the context of a policy execution framework. Yet it was still the same case after 10 years in 2009 as many interviewees express similar issues. It seems that there may be a lack of continuity in tourism policies in Mongolia or foreign aid may seem to less considerate about how these policies can be executed in practice. This can be supported by an interview with a World Bank officer in Mongolia who said that *'There may have been a very good policy and lousy weak execution. i.e. Bogd Uul is UNESCO world heritage site. Inside this world's oldest natural reserve you can see supermarkets, street lights and houses'* (Respondent G2-3). An example could be illustrated by this case of the world's first protected area of Bogd Uul, located adjacent to Mongolia's capital city of Ulaanbaatar. As the interviewee suggests the NP protected by UNESCO experienced unplanned activities of development, suggesting weak execution of actual plans. It also suggests that the policy execution in Mongolia seems mismatched with actual planning.

The Master Plan on National Tourism Development in Mongolia suggests what the intended administrative function of tourism department should be: *'with the birth of Tourism Department in local government, Tourism Department in the central government should take stronger leadership than before. Regular meetings, for example, should be held to get mutual understanding on tourism policy for its complete implementation. Tourism Department in central government also should give various supports to local government, such as staff training to bring up tourism experts, which is currently the most urgent necessity in local government'* (JICA, 1999a:12-8).

Although policy documents outline how tourism institutions may operate, the execution of the policy seems to be rather weak. In particular, one person may struggle to run a tourism department (involving multitasks) in an entire province in Mongolia, where a distance between provincial centre and a village can reach up to 380 km. This was the

case in both case study areas in 2009 after 10 years of the proposed tourism master plan in Mongolia. For instance, a tourism officer of the Hovsgol province revealed that *'it is difficult to work on my own and cannot handle all the jobs... If there were at least two or three people, it could have been a lot better'* (Respondent G2-9). It seems that tourism administration of policy making and policy executions seem to be understaffed. Therefore, a lack of achievement on the planned tourism policies since 1999 may be due to inefficient allocation of human resources without taking account of the extent of tourism development in a geographically large administrative region of Mongolia.

Also a lack of central leadership may also be the reason behind underperformance of the planned execution of tourism policies. The same tourism officer in Hovsgol province argued that *'I don't have instruction from the ministry how to do my job... For six months, I have not been invited to any meeting or training by the ministry'* (Respondent G2-9). It seems that the tourism officer in the rural province does not work under defined guidance by the respective tourism ministry in Mongolia. For the newly appointed tourism officer, it appears a substantially long period of time to work without clear instruction by her peers. This also suggests the government already lost more than a half of a year without efficient public sector operation in tourism in this area.

The JICA team identified issues at the administrative organisations of tourism sector in Mongolia as *'There is little division of labo[u]r with the same person handling policy making functions and policy implementation functions at the same time. This not only prevents a person from accumulating experience and building up expertise but also makes the operation inefficient. It is better to separate policy making functions from policy implementation functions'* (JICA, 1999b:62). These overlapping responsibilities and lack of skilled experts may have undermined the successful tourism policy execution. This issue seems to exist at provincial administrative level.

Also frequent shifts in the location of the tourism department between different ministries may have negatively affected the execution of tourism policy. The tourism officer from Hovsgol province suggested that *'Tourism ministry is being shifted frequently between infrastructure and environmental ministries. ... There may have discontinuity of the policies due to the changes made at the ministry level'* (Respondent G2-9). This is a common perception among the people who are involved in

the tourism sector. As a result of such frequent administrative alterations at ministry level, the tourism policy focus may have been blurred.

Further effectiveness of Mongolia's tourism policy was criticised by USAID *'The tourism sector, perhaps given its cross-cutting nature across many other sectors, the egos in play, personal agendas, and the political appointment of mid-level government officials, has not been an easy one for any donor to work in. There have been numerous changes in the past 10 years to the structure of the public sector institutions and significant growth in the number of associations and NGOs working in tourism'* (USAID, 2010:106). As it can be seen, some donor agencies like USAID seem to confront issues that may be common in the developing world including highly politicised appointments of mid-level government officials. That may depend on what party the official belongs to or whom they know. This may be an example of weak political institutional development where individual players exert agency to be the key players because of their personal agendas. A weak legislative framework on the principles behind appointment of the government officials may have barred the progress in tourism sector policy development and execution. It can be seen that within structural constraints of political and economy an individual with his/her own agenda can exert agency and further it may be capable of diminishing the development of a particular sector.

Comparison between the tourism sector challenges identified in the Master Plan on National Tourism Development in Mongolia and the study findings suggest that institutional arrangements and division of responsibilities at central government and the rural provinces are still vague. For instance USAID argued that *'Although... donor support has been provided to the sector, many of the challenges identified 10 years ago remain. They are particularly evident in the public sector and include regular changes in institutional structure, the political appointment of civil servants in tourism departments, limited promotional funding and a restrictive air transport policy. Private sector enterprises and associations have continued to develop. However, public sector management of tourism development hinders their progress'* (USAID, 2010: 108). This suggests that the public sector management of tourism institutions results in a lack of progress on tourism development. Frequent institutional changes, namely shifting tourism's administration into different ministries after election, may make policy execution and tourism development rather slow. As USAID suggests political

appointment can be seen as a key challenge as such appointments do not tend to consider tourism proficiency and individuals with relevant expertise at key positions which seem to result in a lack of progress in the tourism sector.

Interviews with academics, officials, and NGOs revealed mixed views about the involvement of donor agencies in tourism development in Mongolia. Some criticised aid organisations for prescribing a standard policy model that seems to be 'a copy and paste' from elsewhere, paying little attention to country specific contexts. One head of Mongolia's tourism NGO, who has experience of working for an IDO, argued that *'IDO trainings have no positive outcomes as it is a kind of mild version of money laundering. IDOs come with a previous study of the implemented projects in the past ...In 2004, there was a model for each country with different name which has often no effects in Mongolia'* (Respondent G2-5). As she argued international donor assistance does not seem to solve issues in the country where donors are operating. It suggests that each country requires policy implementation to be adapted to local needs in order to achieve what is planned in the policies. She further argued that *'international organisations earn 2.6 % of their international staff wage which goes to their account. Thus, they prefer to hire a foreign person with a high salary'* (Respondent G2-5). So it seems that non-local experts are sought by IDOs and this may further result in a lack of local knowledge and unsuccessful international technical assistance to a country. As discussed in the previous section on the inefficiency of this international aid on poverty alleviation programmes in Mongolia in general also seems to be reflected in tourism sector.

Donor funded projects seem to lack sufficient investment in time and brief visits and short period of field work seem to be one reason behind unsuccessful execution of policies. As the Vice Director of the Agency of Environment and Tourism at the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism argued that *'JICA cannot make [tourism] sector planning and policy as they have travelled just once in Mongolia and it did not flourish in our soil'* (Respondent G2-8). This reveals that how international aid funded projects tend to be quickly done and may lack with country expert knowledge. Eventually this limited country experience appears to affect the success of project execution.

Also tourism related technical assistance seems to be treated like an appendix, as one part of a bigger project. Thus, tourism related policy seem to lack with sharp focus.

A head of well-known tourism NGO in Mongolia argued that *'There's a project garbage in Mongolia: JICA, TACIS and GTZ. Most of tourism projects are appendixes or components to the other projects in environment and natural resource management and livelihoods support etc.... Most of the project funding (60%) returns to the project initiated country or the expenses of the experts... In reality things remain as they were'* (Respondent G2-2). As he argued, international technical assistance in tourism sector in Mongolia seems to have many overlaps. Tourism may be treated with less importance and often included a part of international projects. As a result there seems less attention on the tourism sector by the government. A similar tendency can be observed with respect for other rural development projects in Mongolia. As the World Bank supported project report stated that *'Lack of sustainable and long-term development strategies contribute to the unsustainability and discontinuity of government policy priorities, erode the trust of the public and the international donor community in government policies and decreases the effectiveness of resources used. Problem solving is dominated by "extinguishing fires afterwards" and the government efforts often deal with symptoms rather than root causes'* (World Bank, 2002:14). As the report revealed, there seems to be a lack of coordination and collaboration between donor supported assistances. This suggests that government policy making seems to focus only on specific issues rather than taking a holistic approach, and seeing tourism in more integrated way as a part of wider poverty reduction strategies.

It seems that tourism planning and policy documents do not tend to get implemented because of a lack of specialised human resources in the tourism sector. Also it seems that policies drafted at the government level tend to lack with the voices from grassroots people and tourism specialists. A consultant on tourism project from an IDO in Mongolia stated that *'The government doesn't seem to know what tourism policy is. It seems like tourism is a good thing. Let get lots of it. It has not got clear objectives. They lack a strategic sharp focus with the key things being supported rural economy'* (Respondent G2-1). As the interviewee argued the head of Mongolia's tourism policy making seems to lack sharp focus. People who are not specialised in tourism seem to make tourism development policy. As a result both foreign technical assistance and planned policy in tourism may not be executed as was originally planned.

It can be further expressed by a well-recognised freelance academic in tourism who has drafted the tourism law in Mongolia that *'Mongolia's government tourism*

policy implementation mechanism is underdeveloped. As rural government officials are unstable, tourism policy doesn't come to politics. No specialised tourism experts or the ones don't work permanently at policy level' (Respondent G2-13). As he suggested, a frequent change among public sector workers occurs following every parliament election and rearrangements of the ministries. Thus, the tourism sector does seem to be unrecognised as an important sector from which the country could benefit. So it can be seen that there is a weak mechanism for policy execution in the tourism sector in Mongolia. He further suggested that *'policy must have its continuity regardless who are in charge of the policy. Since 2000, we went to right direction after JICA projects with strategy and action plans. There was no implementation in reality'* (Respondent G2-13). He suggested more structural reasons that result in a lack of implementation of tourism policy and planning. This is how the ministry level tourism policy has been executed. It suggests that there was a policy and direction to lead but implementation did not work.

These policy documents tend to concern overall economic gains while little is mentioned about contribution to SoL in rural areas when reducing poverty and inequality and reflecting the views of the grassroots people. Tourism policy and planning seem to prioritise the needs of the private sector rather than addressing the needs of the grassroots people. The centralisation of power in governance may halt the voices of grassroots people in policy making. Thus, international donor initiatives may be less beneficial to grassroots people. Mongolia's poverty indicator and levels of growing income disparity may be indicative of the inefficiency of international aid in the country. Thus, some MDGs may be far from being achieved.

Some IDOs (i.e. GTZ and the World Bank) commenced community based tourism (CBT) initiatives in the Gobi Desert Region and the Lake Hovsgol region in Mongolia in 1993. However, these initiatives seem to have varying records of success. In the Gobi Desert, CBT was rather slow and less progressive when GTZ aid stopped. For instance, during the researcher's previous visit to the Gobi Desert in 2005, there were number of community cooperatives who were involved in tourism. Yet, when the researcher returned in 2009 some of the households had given up their tourism activities and started a café in Dalanzadgad in the central town Umnugovi province. Also an officer from Govi Gurvansaihan NP commented that *'When GTZ used to support, we used to organise regular meeting, child eco tours etc. 40 or 50 % of collectives are working actively. The ones who aren't doing community conservation activities are*

involved in illegal gold mining, which is the main problem in the NP' (Respondent G2-15). Her comment suggests that once donor support disappears, almost 60 % of those who have been involved in community-centred conservation activities disappeared. In the Lake Hovsgol region, CBT is rather successful and there is a presence of Altay Sayan, the World Bank backed conservation project, in place. Another CBT project, Ger2Ger, has been initiated by the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation in Mongolia. The project is up and running as of 2014.

Some tour operators in Mongolia were critical about CBT initiatives supported by IDOs. A director of a foreign invested tour operator in Mongolia argued that *'Donor projects are counterproductive. It is better if they don't do anything unless they hire real tourism advisors... Market [tourism] is not perfect, it creates market failure. In order to function market economy properly you need the ownership. Ger2Ger is one of the donor supported inappropriate intervention. We cannot compete with donors'* (Respondent G3-3). This suggests that IDO backed initiatives are perceived to create unfair competition with the private sector in the case of rural parts of Mongolia. As a start, many community-run *ger* camps tend to offer cheaper price that lead other *ger* camps to reduce their prices which further results in reduced profits. In some cases, businesses may close their doors threatening true free competition in the market.

However, the director of another tour operator argued that *'To support rural lives, there should be CBT, Ger2Ger models or conservation cooperatives and there should be a centre and unification among people where they offer horse riding, felt making and dairy product at one place instead of visiting individual households.'* (Respondent G3-6). It suggests that CBT may be more beneficial to wider local populations than tour operator centred all inclusive tours. However, an interview with an officer from a German government funded community and conservation project revealed that *'CBT is first represented by GTZ and supported by UNDP. Mongolians could not continue the CBT. Donors must follow many years to succeed CBT...'* (Respondent G2-6). CBT seems to require time and efforts from the donor organisation to succeed in the long run. This time and effort seems to be less difficult for local operators to sustain once donor support disappears. However, in the Lake Hovsgol region, CBT seems to be progressive activity with four series of annual meetings being held on CBT development, supported by Altai Sayan - the World Bank supported conservation project between 2007 and 2009.

5.8. PEOPLE'S ASPIRATION FOR THE POLICIES AFFECTING TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT

This is the final part of this chapter discussing aspirations of grassroots people on the policies affecting their livelihoods. A key focus of any government policy may be delivering the policies that meet its people's aspirations (Hall, 1994). The section explores people's views based on the responses of the interviewees in the case study areas on the priority elements for people's lives and policies for appropriate livelihoods. Mongolia's development strategies seem to be committed on reducing poverty, better governance and provide environmental sustainability within neo-liberal development strategies. As previously discussed, GDP growth does not necessarily lead to poverty reduction (Ravallion, 2004). Thus, grassroots people's aspirations and their participation in need to be reflected in national development policies. This is particularly important since the very meaning of development may be translated as improvement of SoL of the citizens of a country.

5.8.1. Priorities for people's lives

In rural parts of Mongolia, many grassroots people seem to look for employment opportunities with fair wages, fair access to natural resources, environmental sustainability, and participatory policy making that all appear to contribute to people's SoL. The government of Mongolia tends to be persistent about the trickle down effects of neo-liberal economic policy; hoping economic benefits can reach to the people from modest backgrounds and reduce poverty. This seems to be illustrated in government policy of Mongolia since the 1990s and IDOs also advocated this policy (UNDP, 2001). The tourism strategy of the government of Mongolia seems to encourage private businesses in the tourism sector and the growth in the number of international tourists. However, in practice, the tourism sector seems to experience rather different outcomes. Employment opportunities appear to be reported as limited among the grassroots people (a detailed discussion is provided in Chapter 7).

5.8.2. Policies for appropriate livelihoods

Both case study areas have prioritised tourism development since transition in the 1990s. Tourism can be one of the main livelihoods for the grassroots people in these areas because of the areas' scenic places and remote location from the main urban centres in Mongolia. The level of tourism development seems to vary in intensity

between two regions. In remote places, tourists who are in love with scenic untouched wilderness landscapes (i.e. eco-tourists or adventure tourists) may be beneficial to local people and local development because such tourism may be able to generate a degree of economic and other benefits for the remote host destinations.

Tourism statistics reveal that a large majority of international tourists visit Mongolia to experience natural scenery (78 %) and Mongolian traditional culture (60%) (USAID, 2005). Along with landscape, the nomadic herders in the rural areas who pursue their traditional ways of living can be an inseparable and important part of tourism development and its policy making in Mongolia. They can be recognised as assets.

However, tourism infrastructure development seems to affect ecotourism activities in the Lake Hovsgol area due to with a lack of consideration of the views of the grassroots people. For instance, a local guest house operator said ‘...*the investment on road and establishment of ger camps destroy ecotourism. Ger camps have almost no marketing and compete with their price ... Few herders hire horse and sell their dairy. People don't come to Hovsgol to see a big investment*’ (Respondent G1-12). As he suggested, the Lake Hovsgol region is a destination that tends to attract travellers who favour outdoor activities and scenic nature rather than excessive development.

However, recent road construction and increased numbers of *ger* camp establishments along the west coast of the lake seem to damage these tourism opportunities. This can also be documented by photos from the region which illustrate dust and visual pollution of scenery in the area due to road and *ger* camp development on the west coast of the Lake Hovsgol area (Figure 5.3 and Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.3 A newly built gravel road along the west coast of the Lake Hovsgol in 2009.



Source: Author

Figure 5.4 *Ger* camp development on the west coast of the Lake Hovsgol in 2009.



Source: Author

5.9. CONCLUSION

This chapter introduced the political and economic context of Mongolia in order to discuss one of the study aims of discussing tourism development in Mongolia concerning the government's wider development strategies and poverty alleviation policies advocated by IDOs within the context of political economy of tourism

development. The chapter outlined division of political power and political struggle within Mongolia briefly followed by discussion of economic transitional strategy - 'shock therapy' within a neo-liberal orthodox. As a consequence, poverty and inequality seems inevitable and this further seems to affect the demography of Mongolia and its economic composition through changes in animal husbandry. Mongolian society in transition has adapted various survival strategies including migration between rural and urban areas and out-migration for employment opportunities, to escape from deteriorating living standards and for better health and education services. Although the government of Mongolia has taken some measures on poverty reduction, there has been limited attention paid to the equitable economic development.

Tourism as an economic sector has been promoted within neo-liberal policies. As the study illustrates tourism seems a global industry, which develop at the nexus of multi-layered context. Tourism tends to be regarded as a panacea for many development issues (i.e. poverty) but what has been less discussed in academic circles is how equitable the economic gains can be in the developing world in term of the contribution to people's SoL. Developing world appears to be in need of IDO assistance and policy advocacy on tourism development. In the case of Mongolia, IDO's technical assistance seems less efficient on rural development, poverty reduction and tourism development since the 1990s largely due to absence of experience on handling shock therapy in a country in transition and possibly a lack of tourism experience in IDOs and administrative errors during policy executions.

Macroeconomic statistics and field work in the two case study areas appear to reveal slow progress on the reduction of poverty and inequality rates, and suggest inefficiency of government development strategies in the country. Multifactor seem to be behind less successful IDO interventions in Mongolia, including the usage of development models adopted from elsewhere with less consideration of the local context and human resource expertise. Some respondents in case study areas regarded IDO intervention '*a mild version of money laundering*' (Respondent G2-5) that has limited effectiveness in the host country. Also multiple number of foreign aid overlaps with similar activities. Sometimes host country alike Mongolia appears to use IDO funded projects for their private needs due to its corrupt system. Many grassroots people see IDO intervention as officials '*nicking the money*' (Respondent G1-11).

In the tourism sector in Mongolia, many IDO supported initiatives have been implemented. A common discourse was a less successful outcome and a lack of grassroots voices. The main perceived failure of tourism development strategy effectiveness in Mongolia tends to be related to structural reasons. Officials tend to see development as a quantifiable measure (i.e. GDP growth) yet in reality these measures do not reflect the progress on SoL and equitable distribution of economic gains at a local level. Development strategies seem to in need of adopting and integrating SoL more vigorously. In the tourism sector, mere numeric indicators (i.e. tourists arrivals and tourism revenues) may not be regarded as development. Tourism development strategies that reflect local people's aspiration in a host destination and their local expertise and public and private partnership may result in lasting positive outcome. Most fundamentally, tourism is a part of a political economic process, thus, governance structural elements seem to play vital role for the successful tourism development strategy.

Chapter 6 ACTORS' RELATIONS IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter discussed the macro-level structural political and economic context of Mongolia. The discussion now moves on to micro level relations between various actors during tourism development in Mongolia. In particular, tourism development is seen as the nexus of diverse actors' involvements such as public and private sectors and civil society which are identified in the subsequent sections. This chapter contributes to research on understanding intertwined relations among diverse actors in tourism development processes by applying an actor perspective (Long, 2001). This recognizes not only the fundamental importance of structural forces, such as political and economic transition in Mongolia (discussed in Chapter 5), but also rejects the argument that tourism development is almost exclusively led by these external factors. The chapter directly relates to research objective 4 of the thesis: to map the actors related to tourism development in the two case study areas and to evaluate the actors' roles and interests and their social relationships in the tourism development processes.

The researcher's assumption is based on Long's actor-oriented approach (Long, 2001) in which the views of actors about particular a subject, for instance, SoL and inequality issues in tourism development in Mongolia is formed and reformed through people's interactions and their influence to each other. This may affect their views about particular aspects of life, including SoL and inequality issues. Therefore, it is vital to identify the actors and analyse their interests, roles, and interactions in the case study areas. This chapter, thus, focuses on the level of operating or acting units at the micro level. It also pays detailed attention to the differential responses of actors to structural conditions. The discussion focuses on how these actors interact and seek to influence policies. Based on an analysis of actors' views (Long, 2001), the chapter identifies differing actors and discusses their interests, roles and interactions in tourism development within Mongolia.

The chapter, firstly, uses actor mapping to describe each actor, their interests and roles. Secondly, the chapter analyses the practices and discourses about interactions between actors. Exploring actors' roles, interests, and interactions facilitates understanding of practices and discourses about the key concepts of equality and

inequality issues and SoL, and distributional justice in tourism development processes in Mongolia. These are discussed in the subsequent results chapter (Chapter 7).

6.2. ACTOR MAPPING

Actor mapping is a technique that is applied to understand the dynamics in the society within the framework of an actor-oriented approach (Long, 2001). An actor-oriented approach does not reject the idea of social regulation at macro level, by which people's life worlds are intervened, affected and even transformed. Yet, Long (2001:13) argues '*the precise paths of change and their significance for those involved cannot be imposed from outside, nor can they be explained in terms of their work in out of some inexorable structural logic*'. Actors, here, include individuals, informal groups, and organisations whose interests are similar in their interactions with others (Bramwell, 2006).

Actor mapping involves identifying roles, interests, and interactions among different actors. The interviewees were asked about their participation in tourism-related activities, including: policy making; the reasons behind their participation; influential people and organisations; and their roles and interactions in tourism development policy making in the case study areas in Mongolia. Actors here include: (i) the grassroots people, who live in the case study areas and make their living through tourism and other livelihood sources, and (ii) tourism business people, (iii) government organisations that are involved in tourism development processes in province and district levels, including officers from the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism, and its rural representatives, (iv) IDOs and NGOs (at international, national and local levels). These actors were selected to be interviewed in order to understand the level of participation of each actor in tourism development processes and how actors interact with each other around tourism policy and planning, and the implementation of policy. In order to make judgements to help to define the importance of the expressed opinions by the actors, the following criteria were set. Firstly, the frequently expressed opinions of actors were weighted more than the least mentioned ones. Secondly, actor statements were searched for in terms of contradictions in order to reveal the consistency of the actors' opinions. Thirdly, each actor's interest was considered equally without favouring one or another. Fourthly, differing power and influence over each other was considered as worthy of investigation in order to understand equality issues in tourism development in Mongolia. So the levels of actor influence as described by the

interviewees or mentioned as the interviewees talk were noted as a means of identifying influential actors.

Analytical categories of (i) actors, (ii) actors' roles and interests, and (iii) actors' interactions in tourism development in Mongolia are outlined in Table 6.1. The table is organised from top to bottom according to the sequence of the discussion in the chapter. The analytical categories were based on the literature relating to an actor-oriented approach and also emerged from the field studies. Actor mapping of the tourism sector in Mongolia identified differing actors from scales of global to the peripheral regions of the case study areas and related issues as can be seen in Table 6.1. The actors in relation to the case study areas refer to diverse individuals, informal groups, and public organisations. These include: the government of Mongolia comprising its different components (i.e. the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism, governor's offices of province and district, NPs' authorities; IDOs, NGOs (international, national and local); the private sector in tourism (i.e. tour operators, *ger* camps, guest houses); the grassroots people in the case study areas; the mining industry; and political parties (Table 6.1).

Analytical categories of actors' roles and interests arise from the field study in the case study areas. These are briefly summarised according to each actor's case followed by actors' interactions among the government institutions, IDOs and NGOs (international national and local), tourism businesses and the grassroots people (Table 6.1). The key arguments relative to both analytical categories of actors' roles and interests and actors interactions are outlined.

Table 6.1 Actor mapping: actors, actors' roles, interests, and actors' interactions in tourism development in Mongolia

I. Actors
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The government of Mongolia: the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism; NPs' authorities; governor's offices of provinces and districts; • International Development Organisations (IDOs); • NGOs (international, national and local); • Private sector in tourism: tour operators, <i>ger</i> camps, guest houses; • The grassroots people in the case study areas; • Mining industry; • Political parties;
II. Actors' roles and interests

- **Government:** Tourism is a development tool, growth of number of international tourists, employment, foreign exchange revenue; Tourism policy planning and implementation; Promotion of government policies and laws; Poverty reduction; Destination marketing
- **IDO and NGOs:** Policy advocacy; Funding; Technical assistance
- **Tourism businesses:** Public service provision by the government; Greater rights protection; Business profit making; Operation of tourism businesses; Representation of their group interests
- **NP authorities:** Conservation and research; Livelihood improvement training;
- **The grassroots people:** Source of income; Tourism that is beneficial to the residents; To get their voices heard; Hosts, labour and cultural resources
- **Mining industry:** Competition for natural and human resources; Providers of infrastructure

III. Actors' interactions

- **Government institutions:** Centralised governance with limited power in rural areas; Policy discontinuity; Less transparent budgeting; Unfair treatment of tourism businesses; Politicised society with implications for public service delivery
- **Government institutions and the grassroots people:** Weak connections between government and grassroots people; Top-down approach;
- **Interactions in relation to IDOs and NGOs:** Ineffective outcomes and failure of long term success; Overlaps on operation
- **Tourism businesses, government institutions and the grassroots people:** Business culture with political links; Less partnership among tourism businesses; Emerging interests of partnership; Emergence of voluntary associations
- **Political parties and their implications for tourism development:** Politicised public service delivery with knock- on effects on tourism
- **Voluntary associations in tourism development process:** Protection of rights and social bonds

Source: based on empirical findings

The actors in the case study areas can be divided into main actors and secondary actors due to their differing roles of direct and indirect involvement in multi-level activities at international, national, provincial and district levels (Table 6.2). For instance, the operational scale of the public sector including the government of Mongolia, can be reflected through one of its executive organisations like the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism which operated at international, national, provincial and district levels through its branches in each level of administrative

division. Also inspection and monitoring is executed by another public sector organisation of the Specialised Inspection Agency at a national scale. Some international NGOs have a broad network in the provinces of Mongolia and work with local NGOs on mainly a community-based tourism, environmental conservation and livelihood improvement projects.

The private sector in tourism such as some international tour operators (mainly foreign invested) and airlines also operate at all three levels due to the nature of tourism business. However, some tour operators (mainly domestic ones) are active within Mongolia, whereas the guest houses run by the grassroots families only operate at district level. The grassroots people, here, refer to the residents from various income backgrounds (high, medium and low), who live in the case study areas permanently and temporarily. These people rely on multiple livelihood sources, including animal herding, farming, and tourism related employment.

Secondary actors, here, refer to the ones involved in non-tourism activities, which potentially have immediate implications or direct implications for the tourism development in the case study areas. These include mining companies, political parties and people (Table 6.2). Each actor group is described, in turn, in the next section.

6.3. ACTORS' ROLES AND INTERESTS IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The next section discusses the practices and discourses about actors' roles and interests in tourism development processes in the case study areas. The discussion describes the interests of each actor and how they exert agency; influence each other to satisfy their individual interests. The pursuit of certain tourism policies by the policy makers seems to be based on value choices. The values are *'ends, goals, interests, beliefs, ethics, biases, attitudes, traditions, morals and objectives that change with human perception and with time, and that have a significant influence on power conflicts relating to policy'* (Henning, 1975:15 cited in Hall, 1994). Tourism seems to be an arena where international companies tend to dominate and control most areas of tourism development at global scale. Such international companies are criticised for being profit hungry operations (Sobinia, 1999 based on Scheyvens, 2002). However, tourism tends to be promoted as a path to economic development in the developing world within a neo-liberal ideal, which is driven by the idea of tourism's benefits trickling down to grassroots people (Schilcher, 2007).

Long's actor-oriented approach underpins the analysis of actor roles and interest. The approach emphasises discourses and knowledge frameworks in society and their relations to social interactions. Long (2001) identifies discourses as verbal, textual, visual representations of a particular 'truth' about objects, persons and events. Therefore discourses can be written and unwritten meanings or images of certain things. Thus, individuals hold a particular form of truth or knowledge which is based on 'scientific' or 'non-scientific' grounds '*cognitively, emotionally and organisationally*' (Long, 2001:242). Knowledge frameworks tend to be constructed and emergent through a range of processes of social interactions, understanding, questioning and conceptualisation (Bramwell, 2006).

In relation to the research, the actors tend hold certain forms of 'true' information acquired from various encounters: meeting with different people including tourists; attending local resident meetings; radio and television broadcasts; or even from rumours in the area. The information may cover: tourism development; the power and influence of actors; how actors access resources, including land; how the government operates and its implications for people's lives and tourism development in the area; how different people influence tourism development policy and so forth. Some people appeared to be guessing based on how things generally work in the case study areas during the interviews (Personal Observation). For example, a head of a local NGO in the Lake Hovsgol area (Respondent G2-11) and the director of the Lake Hovsgol NP (Respondent G2-4) gave estimations of tourism's contribution to the local livelihoods and both estimates were much lower than the estimation of the local people who are involved in tourism. Such information is still a part of their construction of a particular discourse of truth and the researcher explores such discourses to analyse their actual roles, interests and power in the case study areas.

Table 6.2 Actors in tourism development in Mongolia

Category of actors	SCALE OF OPERATION		
	International or National state	Province	District
	I. MAIN ACTORS		
The public sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Development Policy Unit; The Specialised Inspection Agency; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local governor's office; Resident Representative Committee; NPs;
Private sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tour operators; Guest Houses; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tour operators; Guest Houses; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Community Run Guest Houses; Ger camps;
Grassroots people	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resident in the case study areas (permanent or temporary) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wranglers, Handicraft makers and sellers, Drivers, Fishermen, Ger camp staff Shop keepers; 	
IDO and NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The World Bank Asian Development Bank Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ); United States Aid for International Development (USAID); Mercy Corpus NGO; The Mongolian Tourism Association NGO; The Sustainable Tourism Development Centre NGO; The Mongolian National Tourism Organization NGO; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ); Mercy Corpus NGO; The Mongolian Tourism Association NGO; The Sustainable Tourism Development Centre NGO; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ); Mercy Corpus NGO; The Sustainable Tourism Development Centre NGO; The Wonderful Gobi NGO; The Hovsgol Dalai NGO;
	II. SECONDARY ACTORS		
Public sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political parties; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political parties; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political parties;
Private sector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mining companies; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mining companies; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mining companies; Artisanal mining;

Identifying and exploring the roles and interests of the actors may help to understand their intertwined relationships in tourism development processes. Actors have a capability of influencing each other and processing social experiences and seek ways to solve problems. Therefore, looking at how people are acting may be important. In the case of Mongolia, although, an external macro level, political economic transition since the 1990s may have had a great influence on society, micro level actors interactions with each other are equally important. These help to construct the macro-level political and economic context through their agency (Lister, 2004).

6.3.1. Actors' roles and interests in tourism development in Mongolia

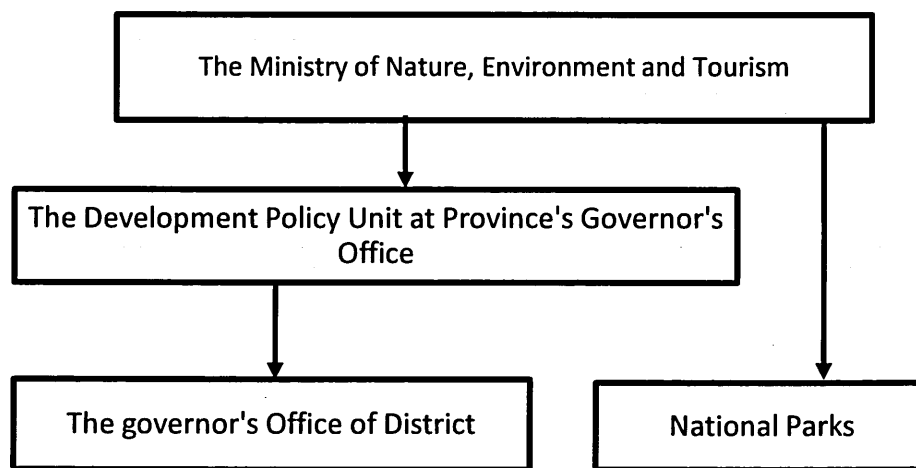
According to the majority of the interviewees, the government of Mongolia is one of the main actors in tourism development processes. Modern tourism development in Mongolia may be recognised to have begun since in 1954 by the establishment of Mongolia's first state run tourism corporation of Juulchin (Juulchin, 2013). However, tourism has only been recognised as one of the country's promising economic sectors since the mid-1990s via the establishment of the first Tourism Department in Mongolia within the Office of President in 1993 in order to develop tourism policy and planning (discussed in Chapter 5).

The Tourism Department was given further higher status via including 'tourism' in the title of a ministry since 1997 that clearly signifies the importance of an emerging tourism sector in Mongolia. As of 2009, the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism was responsible for tourism policy implementation in the country which was reorganised into the Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism from 2012 to date [2014].

The responsibilities and operation of the ministry are distributed through a hierarchical structure with three tiers at the time of field study in 2009 (illustrated in Figure 6.1). The ministry, at the top, as a regulating body of institution, governs overall tourism development policies and implementation in Mongolia through the Development Policy Unit at province's governor office, in the middle, under which the governor's office of districts operate. NPs operate under the direct leadership of the relative ministry at national-level (which was the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism in 2009- at the time of the fieldwork) (Figure 6.1). The arrows in the diagram indicate the direction of operation from responsible organisations on tourism related issues and the arrows indicate a uni-directional relationship.

In 2009, tourism units at province level were collated into a tourism department within the Development Policy Unit at the governor's office of province, which was assigned more responsibilities (Respondent G3-8). Thus, tourism development policy in the case study areas was administered by province's tourism specialist at Development Policy Unit. At province level one tourism officer is responsible for the tourism's policy promotion and implementation, research in the tourism sector and coordination for the entire province (Respondent G3-9). At a district level, one member of staff from a local governor's offices is responsible for tourism-related affairs in the area, along with his/her other tasks. A tourism specialist of a NP is also responsible for the tourism development issues in the NP territories yet he/she is managed directly by the relative ministry rather than a local governor's office.

Figure 6.1 Structure and operation in relation to tourism development policy governance and operation in Mongolia, 2009



Source: Developed by Author

To a certain extent, the government of Mongolia regards tourism as a generator of employment and foreign exchange revenues. It accords different types of tourism development and a degree of priority. This can be seen from the government of Mongolia's efforts in terms of the commissioning of the Master Plan on the National Tourism Development in Mongolia by JICA (1999a) and the Strategic Tourism Development Plan for Mongolia by TACIS (1999)(see Chapter 5). Also, the tourism sector was listed as one of the main economic sectors in Mongolian in 1999. As tourism was prioritised at a national government level, actors in the private sector showed a varying degree of interest in developing different types of tourism in the country.

Examples here include independent backpacking which, in Mongolia, is mainly centred around visiting rural guest houses and is, often initiated within community-based tourism, and all inclusive organised tours, undertaken by both Mongolian and foreign tour operators which mainly rely on *ger* camps in the countryside (Observation, 2009).

For the government, both types of tourism may appear to meet its interests either in terms of generating fiscal revenues from tourism businesses, or by contributing to the livelihoods of the grassroots people and other local spending. However, the Vice Director of one tourism department under the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism stated that *'community-based tourism can be developed outside the main tourist destinations rather than in the main tourism destinations. As there are private businesses, which have invested in a large amount in the areas, where cheap, low quality community-based tourism won't deliver quality services. Tourism is a sector with high risks and we have to protect the investors and reduce the risks that may bankrupt the tourism businesses'* (Respondent G2-8). As the tourism official suggests, in terms of tourism development implementation, tourism authorities seem to encourage organised tours in order to protect the interests of private investors in the tourism sector and there is discouragement from prioritising budget service provision to independent backpackers.

One head of a tourism NGO in Mongolia argued that *'Local people do some unethical things. As ger camps have invested enormous money. But local people build up a ger with no minimal hygienic standard and with no good service, and serve for backpackers which paint the destinations "black". They don't see a macro level outcome and they see very immediate future'* (Respondent G2-5). This suggests that the tourism services provided by local people may affect the destination image and mitigate the long term prospect of the area as a tourist destination, which could put private investment in tourism at risk.

Academic literature also supports such hostility towards budget backpackers, who tend to consume relatively cheap tourist services provided by rural communities (Baum and Thompson, 2007). The researcher also witnessed a budget traveller experience in both case study areas where Ulaanbaatar-based guest houses organise cheap tours for backpackers to visit and stay in community run guest houses. During this experience, a guest house owner in the Gobi Desert noted that *'we work with companies based in Ulaanbaatar rather than local companies, such as Ideree's guest*

house and Altangovi [guest house]' (Respondent G1-16). His comment about 'the companies based in Ulaanbaatar' refers to guest house operators in the capital city of Ulaanbaatar who sign a contract with local herder households, who host visitors at their *ger* guest houses rather than tour operators (Figure 6.2). As can be seen in the photograph, the herder households in the Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert assemble a couple of *gers* which are used as guest accommodation for budget travellers at a low financial rate. A herdsman who operated a *ger* guest house in the Hongoriingol area in the Gobi Desert gave their average charges for '*a guest house with no meals and bedding 2,000-10,000 tugrug or [USD 2-10] per night [per guest]*' (Respondent G1-20). This is a significantly cheap price rate in comparison to *ger* camps (some are run by tour operators) who charge a 10 times higher price rate than these community run guest houses. The community run guest house charges are almost at the same rate in both case study areas. Such cheap services may be seen as a threat to some *ger* camp operators. Therefore, as mentioned previously by the government's tourism officer, it seems the government's best interest could possibly be protecting tour operators' investment via limiting budget community run guest houses.

Figure 6.2 A guest house, run by a herder family in the Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert, 2007.



Source: Author

Also, in the case study areas, the province and district governor's offices collect land and water taxes from tourism businesses to the local administrative accounts rather than to the state central treasury (Respondent, G3-1). Therefore, the officials perhaps favour having more *ger* camps on their territories (Respondent G2-6). It seemed that the government hoped that tourism's benefits would trickle down to the grassroots people

via the employment generated by the tourism businesses, whether that business is generated through external tour operator activities or through CBT initiatives (Respondent G2-6).

A government exercises its authority, controls and administers public policy and the actions of its members (Samuels, 1989). As an actor, the role of government in tourism seems to be varied according to '*politico-economic-constitutional system, socioeconomic-development and degree of tourism development*' (Hall 1991: 23). In particular, the political form of the state largely defines the role of the government in tourism. Hall (1991) states that tourism planning and promotion are largely controlled by central government in countries with unitary governmental systems. He further identifies seven functions the government could fulfil including coordination, planning, legislation and regulation, government as entrepreneur, stimulation, social tourism, and interest protector.

The responsibilities of the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism were described by a senior official from the ministry as '*promotion for foreign [tourism] market, improvements of [tourism] products and services, collaboration with government agencies, [IDOs] and NGOs... and give policy direction to its regional entities*' (Respondent G2-8). He further described the role of the ministry, as '*development of industry standards of hotel and ger camps*' (Respondent G2-8). The tourism official's comments, suggest that the ministry is responsible for tourism in Mongolia takes diverse responsibilities and roles. According to the Law on Tourism (Appendix-XIV), other roles of the ministry include implementing tourism law and policy, including tourism infrastructure development, destination marketing, tourism market research, annual tourism events, protecting and supporting tourism businesses in Mongolia.

One of the roles of the government seems to be coordinating the tourism industry through policy implementation. Government policies seem to be rather vague and unfulfilled in the case of Mongolia. The Vice Director of the Tourism Department of the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism stated that '*...provinces implement tourism policy, which is compatible with a regional tourism policy. Currently, the ministry direct the tourism's policy...*' (Respondent G2-8). This suggests that the government's tourism policy at a regional level is in line with the planned regional

tourism policy. Policy execution seems one of the main roles of the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism in Mongolia.

However, a Tourism Officer in the Hovsgol province revealed a rather different story, *'I don't get any instruction from the ministry on what to do. A further work can be planned with the basic research. Also it's difficult to work on my own and cannot handle all the work loads. If there were at least two three people it could have been a lot better'* (Respondent G2-9). So it appears that tourism policy implementation seem to be loosely coordinated. A province's Tourism Officer seems to be the one who coordinates tourism's policy implementation in the region. Yet, it appears that at an province level, there seems to be a lack of tourism specialists to coordinate tourism policy implementation in geographically distant districts. Although districts are legally entitled to employ one tourism specialist, this role is often transferred to an officer with other administrative responsibilities (aside from tourism).

An officer from the Mongolian National Tourism Organisation, for instance, argued that *'governors [in rural areas] have no knowledge about tourism and give permission of establishing ger camps at tourist attractions. We need education elements'* (Respondent G2-5). The government role in tourism seems to be underrepresented and affected by a lack of leadership and a lack of skilled tourism professionals at province and district levels. Supporting this argument, one Director of a foreign invested tour operator revealed that *'a district should plan [tourism development]... District officers have high legal power but they don't have right educational level and they aren't specialised tourism advisers'* (Respondent G3-3). So tourism policy implementation in the case study areas appears to be handicapped by a lack of expertise and knowledge about tourism development in rural areas. Therefore, this suggests that even the rural administrative units are provided legal power of implementing tourism policies. This legal power seems to be less fully exercised in rural regions due to a lack of appropriate level of knowledge of tourism development. Another example supporting this was provided by a provincial Tourism Officer in the Gobi Desert region as *'we make tourism policy through our practices...'* (Respondent G2-14). This suggests that people without tourism qualification in charge of the tourism development policy. Thus, the structure of the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism and human resource capacity seem to limit the ministry's tourism policy executions. Although the ministry has legal power, allocation of responsibilities of its

staff appears to mismatch the needs of the rural areas. The latter lack experienced and professional tourism specialists with expertise on tourism development in rural regions.

Also, a lack of stability in tourism's ministerial home in Mongolia was criticised by some tourism businesses and NGOs. This was identified to be contributory to weak policy implementation: *'for last 10 years, there was almost no tourism policy. Tourism's development plan by JICA and TACIS were not get implemented. As there were frequent changes on dedicated specialists at the ministry. The officer who is assigned at the position had no tourism qualification. The ministry is supposed to be making policy rather than daily business tasks of organising [tourist] event'* (Respondent G3-6). As he comments, tourism authorities seem to be involved in other roles or performing alternative functions to what is defined as their responsibilities under tourism law. These functions tend to be much less strategic, such as daily business tasks for organising tourist event. Thus, it seems that planned tourism policies were not executed by the ministry.

A former Director of the Tourism Department at the Ministry of Infrastructure and Tourism revealed that *'There's no continuity of a tourism policy. Nothing, Nothing. This was devastated'* (Respondent G3-4). This suggests that tourism policies lack continuity and as a result there are no good outcomes. It may further strengthen the discourse about unsuccessful tourism policy execution by the tourism's respective ministry on tourism development. Also a Director of one tour operator stated that *'tourism institutions are weak. People from the ministry think tourism development is mostly doing marketing'* (Respondent G3-3). His comment suggests that tourism authorities often focus on tourism marketing rather than policy coordination in the country. It may be that, due to a loosely structured tourism administration from the ministry level to rural regions, policy coordination becomes lost. Tourism authorities tend to focus on marketing rather than development issues which possibly due to the lobbies of tourism's private businesses.

6.3.2. Actors' roles and interests of IDOs and NGOs in tourism development

The next section discusses the interests and roles of IDOs and NGOs in tourism development processes in Mongolia. The IDOs have been involved in various development aspects in Mongolia since the 1990s including: human resource

development; poverty alleviation; environmental conservation; along with tourism development. It can be seen that the main roles of IDOs have been, firstly, to facilitate the government of Mongolia on its development of macro-economic policies, secondly, to finance development, poverty alleviation and environmental conservation projects and, thirdly, to provide technical assistance (such as training, consulting and offer expertise for development). A World Bank Officer in Mongolia noted that *'we deal a whole range of sectors- infrastructure, transport, environment, rural development and agriculture. We meet with the government; define what the priority areas are... It is constant'* (Respondent G2-3). It suggests that IDOs have a wide-ranging presence in different sectors in Mongolia and such extensive operations seem to be required on an ongoing basis.

In the tourism sector, IDOs are involved in working alongside the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism and NGOs. The major activities include: developing tourism master plans; consultancy on tourism legislation; supporting destination marketing at international travel and tourism fairs; assisting the development of community-based tourism; and instigating tourism partnership projects. TACIS (a European Union funded project) and the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA), for instance, cooperated with the government of Mongolia on an international tourism survey and the development of a tourism master plan between 1993 and 1998 (discussed in Chapter 5). GTZ and USAID are implementation agencies for development and technical assistance funded by the public funds from Germany and USA respectively (Respondents G2-6; G2-5). These organisations have representative offices in the provinces of Mongolia which tend to coordinate- projects and consult with NGOs in the rural regions of Mongolia. At the time of fieldwork, Mercy Corpus, for instance, had 11 offices throughout Mongolia, including the Gobi Desert region (Respondent G2-1). USAID and the government of Mongolia have co-funded 'the Grassroots' project in the Gobi Desert region to facilitate the grassroots people to improve their livelihoods through operating small and medium enterprises. They helped the grassroots people to gain business skills and helped with the drafting of their business plans, which seemed to help many grassroots people to learn new skills and to improve their livelihoods (Respondents G1-14).

International NGOs often work with Mongolian NGOs. In 2010, there were 42 NGOs linked to the tourism sector in Mongolia, yet only a handful were national in

scope and representative of the sector (Oxford Business Group, 2013). The Mongolian Tourism Association, an umbrella organisation since 1992, had 279 members including: tour operators; Tourism Camp Association; Hotel Association; Mongolian Tour Guide Association; Tourism Teachers Association; hotels; restaurants; insurance; fashion salons; airlines and railway operators (Mongolian Tourism Association, 2014). The Mongolian Tourism Association member tour operators handle 80 % of the leisure tourists and its member *ger* camps provide services to 90 % of the leisure tourists to Mongolia (Mongolian Tourism Association, 2014).

The Mongolian Tourism Association (2014, n.p.) states that the organisation '*serves and represents our members. The Mongolian Tourism Association is a professional industry association and it is the first and the biggest Non-Governmental Organization in Mongolian tourism industry*'. The Mongolian Tourism Association aims to undertake a number of activities including: Mongolia's tourism marketing; improving online and offline tourism publications and their distribution; undertaking market research; and human resource development in the sector. Also it is involved in: tourism policy making and coordination; improvement of the legal environment; allocation of foreign investment in the sector; and investment security in the sector (in infrastructure) (Mongolian Tourism Association, 2014). From January 2009, the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism passed on three main roles to the Mongolian Tourism Association: organizing and participating in international and domestic exhibitions; development and re-training of human resources; and standardization and accreditation of the tourism service sector. According to the agreement with the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism, the Mongolian Tourism Association is in charge of organizing participation in international tourism exhibitions and fairs such as the ITB in Berlin, JATA in Tokyo, and the WTM in London (Mongolian Tourism Association, 2014).

Other influential organisations may include the Sustainable Tourism Development Centre and the Mongolian National Tourism Organisation, which both had been initiated by influential individuals. The former was chaired by a Director of one of the large tour operators and the latter chaired by a person, who had worked for USAID. These NGOs often rely on the funding by IDOs.

The Sustainable Tourism Development Centre operates at national scale via implementing the projects on Community Based Tourism and conservation. Some of

the projects included the establishment of local NGOs in rural parts of Mongolia such as the Lake Hovsgol- My Homeland NGO and the Wonderful Gobi NGO, both operate in the Lake Hovsgol and the Gobi Desert region respectively (Respondent G2-14). These local NGOs promote environmental sustainability in tourism operations and increase awareness of environmental degradation and educate local residents and tourism business on nature-friendly tourism.

The Mongolian National Tourism Organization established on 26 June 2007 had 36 members including tour operators, *ger* camps, individuals and two other NGOs. The organisation aims to establish a business-to-business platform in Mongolia (Respondent G2-5). The organisation is run by 4 staff who collectively are Japanese, German and English speaking. As of 2009, the organisation was one of the five actively operating NGOs in tourism in Mongolia.

6.3.3. The roles and interests of tourism businesses in tourism development in Mongolia

The next discussion explores the roles and interests of tourism businesses in tourism development in the case study areas in Mongolia. Tourism businesses in the case study areas comprise mostly *ger* camps, guest houses and tour operators. In the first case study area, the Lake Hovsgol NP, there were 52 *ger* camps and guest houses at the district governor's record in 2009. However, there were only 22 *ger* camps operating in 2009 (Hatgal, 2009). The rest of the *ger* camps were not operating and the reasons were unknown. Except for two foreign invested *ger* camps, the majority of the *ger* camps were owned by people from outside Hatgal village. Interviewees identified 'outsiders' as people who are from outside their district such as Murun, the province, centre, neighbouring district and Mongolia's capital city of Ulaanbaatar. Hatgal village, the second largest settlement after the provincial centre town of Murun in Hovsgol province is located within the territory of the NP. More recently, some mining companies and big business consortiums diversified their business to the tourism sector via establishing *ger* camps in the Lake Hovsgol region. A development plan for a large holiday resort in the Lake Hovsgol NP was opposed by local people, which is discussed in a later section in this chapter. There had been a holiday camp in the Lake Hovsgol region since the socialist era until 1990, which made the area a popular holiday destination for domestic travellers.

In the second case study area, the Gobi Desert region, there were 24 *ger* camps and 6 community operated budget guest houses in 2009 (Respondent G2-15). In comparison with the Lake Hovsgol region, the *ger* camps were scattered across the region with long distances between them. Mongolia's first *ger* camp was established in the Gobi Desert in 1963 (Citizens' Representatives' Committee of Umnugovi Province et al., (2008). Since the 1990s, the number of *ger* camps had increased, some of which were owned by tour operators based in the Mongolia's capital city of Ulaanbaatar, large corporations, while many had been invested in by foreign companies. There were a number of foreign invested tour operators operating in Mongolia, including Nomadic Expeditions Mongolia (American), Nomadic Journeys (Swedish), Nomads Expeditions and Tours (German) along with Mongolian companies invested in by the people from the Gobi Desert and the other parts of Mongolia. There were a number of people from the Gobi Desert region, mostly from the provincial centre town of Dalanzadgad, who had established *ger* camps in the case study areas. The *ger* camps tended to diversify their businesses to other sectors in tourism including tour operating (Respondent G3-1). Nomadic Expeditions Mongolia had been operating Mongolia's top luxury *ger* camp 'Three Camel Lodge' in the Gobi Desert since 2002 (Oxford Business group, 2013).

Discourses around the interests of tourism businesses seem to relate to multiple purposes, including the provision of public services and the protection of businesses' rights by the government, elimination of pressures for their business operations and profit making. In relation to the first, around public services, some interviewees reported that the public services provided by the government seemed to be inefficient. A *ger* camp operator in the Lake Hovsgol, for example, argued that *'the service speed of the ministry is very slow and irresponsible. They got lost our documents three times [documents for the extension of land leasing]'* (Respondents G3-2). This indicates perceived inefficient public services provided at the government's ministry level. At a local level, a head of a *ger* camp in the Lake Hovsgol area argued that *'local administrations do not cooperate with us and they claim that our contribution to the benefits in the area is not great. They treat us as rich companies and ask for donations'* (Respondent G3-7). As she argues the public sector that represents the government does not seem to have a collaborative relationship with the tourism companies, which operate in the area. The administrative section approach of requesting a 'donation' may suggest that tourism business have not been offered support from the government

representatives in rural regions, instead they may be seen to feel under pressure to provide donation requests.

A similar situation was observed in the Gobi Desert region, where a *ger* camp operator argued that ‘*the governor’s office asked donation for funding of the prize draw of the local Naadam Festival and provided private bank account rather than the account of the governor’s office*’ (Respondent G3-5). It seems that requests for donations from tourism businesses may be a common of the local governor’s office. This further suggests that the public sector tended to focus on requesting financial support rather than providing what the tourism businesses perceived to be necessary public services. Thus, the private sector in tourism showed a degree of discomfort towards the governor’s office in the area where they operate.

Another concern among *ger* camp operators in the case study areas was about pressure for business operations to be in line with state standards which were sometimes impractical to achieve concerning local conditions, and which seemed likely to pave corruption. Tourism businesses complained about inappropriate standards, including ‘*a sign with flashing lights of a ger camp*’ and ‘*a bedside lamp for every guest*’ as requirements in an area where no permanent electricity is available (Respondent G3-2). According to the Mongolian Agency for Standardization and Metrology (2002:2) a road sign, which directs towards a tourist camp must comply with ‘*Traffic signs. General technical requirements MNS 4597:2003*’, which states that ‘*signs must have a light reflecting surface or led by internal or external light*’ (Mongolian Traffic Research Institute, 2003:1). This was a difficult standard for the *ger* camps to comply with a remote regions where no permanent electricity or production of road signs was available.

However, in accordance with the basic requirement and service quality qualification of the tourist camp it was officially stated that ‘*in remote regions with/without own electric sources, can use candle*’ (Mongolian Agency for Standardization and Metrology, 2002:6). This differs from the *ger* camp owner statement (Respondent G3-2). It suggests that either the interviewee may have exaggerated the reality or the inspector may have misinterpreted the state standards. Both are possible yet the next quote may suggest that is more likely that the inspector may have misinterpreted the standards. The *ger* camp owner cited earlier, for instance, complained that ‘*there’s regular checks from the Specialized Inspection Agency and*

always threaten to close down the camp regardless any shortcomings' (Respondent G3-2). As she suggests, the state inspectors may exercise their power for their private gains by threatening to close down local businesses. She further stated that *'detergent and washing liquids are, sometimes the most environmentally unfriendly ones have been recommended to ger camps by [inspector from] the Specialised Inspection Agency which are supplied by their friends'* (Respondent G3-2). This suggests that an inspector may support his/her friends or people related to them. A similar case became public in Mongolian news website when inspectors unlawfully prohibited selling a yogurt manufacturer's products in response to their disobedience of the inspectors' demand of having a 10 litre of milk for free of charge. Subsequently, one of the inspectors stated during the Anti-Corruption Agency trial as *'...My director told me "distribute this prohibition act of selling [the yogurt producer's products] to the retailers...They [yogurt producer] will understand the consequences of breaking out with us. They'll come to beg for us" ...'* (Medee, 2013, n.p.). This illustrates how people can exert agency for their own private interests. There is a common perception among the public that state inspectors tend to be corrupt and tend to harden private business operations when they feel something is wrong with business (Medee, 2013).

Another director of a *ger* camp in the Lake Hovsgol region revealed that *'local people talk about the organisations, which discharge their disposal [to the soil]... inspections by the government organisations are very fake... our sewage container was buried after the state inspection but they now require us to dig it out and lay cement underneath'* (Respondent G3:7). As the interviewee suggested, a state inspection of standards was able to proceed in accordance with the inspector's own interests of private gain. In particular, overly-strict standards in comparison to legal standards appear to facilitate corruption and unfair competition among tourism businesses.

The second discourse is about the protection of land leasing rights of tourism businesses in the case study areas. Due to growing importance of the mining sector, tourism businesses seemed to require greater protection of their rights by the government. A director of a *ger* camp in the Jankhai area of the Lake Hovsgol NP was concerned *'if there is increased mining activity, tourism won't develop. People won't visit here and we cannot invest much. If there are no tourists, we will lose our business. I feel insecure if one day the state doesn't let us operate on this land. So we need such a long term land security.'* (Respondent G3-2). It appears that long term land leasing may

secure vital resources, including land, for the travel companies to operate their businesses.

Another *ger* camp operator in the Lake Hovsgol NP also commented that '*land is given by [the authorities of] the NP, district and the ministry. So it results in complication. Every small piece of land is tried to be taken... Tourism law states that the distance between ger camps must be 10km, but there are eight ger camps within 6km*' (Respondent G3-7). Such unplanned land leasing permission seems to result in a struggle over land resources. Although the official standard states as '*the distance between ger camps must be no less than 10km*' in accordance with Mongolian Agency for Standardization and Metrology (2002:5), this may be impractical to achieve in the case of the Lake Hovsgol NP. There were 32 *ger* camps (Hatgal, 2009) along approximately 50km shore of the southern part of the Lake Hovsgol, almost one *ger* camp in every 1.6km on average. Scenic spots along the alpine lake surrounded by tall mountains may not always be suitable for the *ger* camp establishments because of natural barriers. Thus, the areas of Dood Modot Bulan, Jankhai and Har Tolgoi appear more appropriate areas for a concentration of *ger* camp developments.

Some *ger* camps were just 300-500m away from each other as can be seen in Figure 6.3, where 'white arrows' point the locations of *ger* camps. It appears that there have been concerns among tourism businesses in the case study areas about the future sustainability of the tourism industry because of the adverse impacts of unregulated land leasing such as visual pollution, disturbance of noise and potential threats from mining industries. These could also be related to both artisanal and large scale mining. These concerns over land degradation and pollution were linked to concerns over a potentially negative image of the area for international tourism markets and are the likely loss of destination appeal and lowered business profit for tourism companies. Overall, the mining sector tends to affect the aesthetic quality of the environment negatively because of associated air pollution, dust and soil degradation. In particular, underdevelopment of a judicial system of regulating the relations and rights of benefactors from natural resources seems to be a key reason for a reported complexity in accessing land based resources.

Figure 6.3 *Ger* camp locations along the west coast of the Lake Hovsgol: the areas of Dood Modot Bulan, 2009.



Source: Author

The third discourse is about the profit making potential of tourism businesses. *Ger* camps in the case study areas seem to attempt to choose better value when they purchase provisions for their operations or offer their staff wages, and design the services provided by the grassroots people. A *ger* camp operator in the Bayanzag area of the Gobi Desert revealed that *'we usually buy vegetables from Ulaanbaatar as we cannot buy from local producers to support them. As the price is high, although [products'] quality is almost the same'* (Respondents G3-5). It appears that economic savings are priorities for tourism businesses rather than the encouragement of the consumption of locally produced products. In the case above, for example, the interviewee indicated that the provision of their vegetable supply came from the capital city of Ulaanbaatar, over 500km away and this decision appears to be rooted in financial capability.

A similar picture was provided by a manager of a *ger* camp in the Lake Hovsgol NP, *'we provide our meat provisions from Murun as it is cheaper than here [Hatgal]'* (Respondent G3-8). This case also suggests that the *ger* camp preferred to buy their meat from a provincial centre town, located over 100 km rather than from local producers because of the high prices associated with the latter. Also, the *ger* camps tended to hire students, specialising in tourism and hospitality as a part of their internship programme, mostly with low wages or without wages sometimes rather than local people. It appears that tourism businesses, in general, prioritise business profits

over acting beneficially to the communities surrounding them (Respondent G1-12). The businesses possibly work on low economic margins which may put pressure on them to reduce their operational costs. This can also be seen as tourism businesses manoeuvre within the structural constraints.

The roles and interests of private tourism businesses seem to be diverse and immense in scope and tend to be important in tourism development via their multiple roles associated with influencing the government's tourism policies and generating employment and tax contributions to the country's economy. In Mongolia, a private sector in tourism seems to carry out important operational aspects of the tourism industry according to many interviewees including officials from the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism, tour operators and NGOs (Respondents G2-8, G3-6 and G2-2). At the ministry level, tourism businesses tended to influence the tourism sector's policy through the NGOs that they formed. According to an officer from the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism, few NGOs in the tourism sector played a major role in the country (Respondent G2-8). As he commented '*the ministry [the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism] cannot work with all companies and individuals therefore NGOs are the best to represent and deliver voice of tourism businesses*' (Respondent G2-8). This suggests that the roles of tourism businesses may be represented by the national NGOs, which often comprises the voices of many tourism businesses. However, there were, additionally, a few powerful businesses that seemed to be play an important role individually as one influential freelance academic argued that '*the tourism sector is dominated by a strong private sector*' (Respondent G2-13). Specific examples of this are some of Mongolia's major new tourism events: Mongolia's Camel Festival, the Ice Festival and the Golden Eagle Festival which all began with the initiatives of private tour operators and *ger* camps. This also illustrate a single company can be an influential at national scale exercising their agency.

6.3.4. The roles and interests of NP authorities in tourism development

There are two NPs in the case study areas, which include the Lake Hovsgol NP in Hovsgol province and the Govi Gurvan Saikhan NP in Umnugovi province. Both NPs operate officially for the conservation and of and research and monitoring of biodiversity and environment. More recently, community based conservation practices have become a part of their responsibilities. A GTZ officer commented that '*International trend is not to protect the landscape from the residents rather it is*

protected by the residents' (Respondent G2-6). This illustrates that a people centred conservation practice was introduced by IDOs and this approach was intended to protect the area with the involvement of the people living near the NP, mainly in response to previous inefficient practices of conservation.

To a certain extent, NPs seem to be significant territories in the tourism development of Mongolia due to scenic landscape, flora and fauna. NP administrations in the case study areas, which operate under direct supervision of the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism, are responsible for not only conservation of the ecosystem and but also the promotion of legal enforcements of environmental protection and conducting surveys in the area (Respondent G2-15 and G2-4). There were two main discourses around NPs that emerged during the field work: Firstly, a degree of appropriateness of the administration of the NP; Secondly, a degree of differing restrictions of accessing to natural resources by the actors in the tourism sector.

According to the Law on Protected Areas in Mongolia, enacted 1994 (the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism, 2009:38), the administration of the NP is entitled '*to mark routes, directions of tours, create parking space*' (Clause 6.30.6) and '*to decide the types and numbers of animals in designated areas or to allocate locations of land to be utilized by individuals and enterprises*' (Clause 6.30.10). This suggests that the NPs were expected to make decisions on land use permissions in NP territory in relation to tourism under the legislation.

However, this regulation seems to have been contested by some. For example, a leader of a local NGO in Hatgal village in the Lake Hovsgol NP complained that '*natural resources must be under public decision and state control. Now the NP director decides who should build a ger camp and where in the NP, which is unlawful. Residents must decide where to allocate these ger camps. In democratic society, the decision must be based on the residents' aspirations.*' (Respondent G2-11). Such centralised administration of the NP seems to affect the efficiency of NP operations and increased difficulties among rural residents in relation to access to natural resources in their areas. It may lead to inefficient conservation practices via restricting residents' access to natural resources. Instead, people-centred conservation with limited acceptable utilization of the natural resources may be a more efficient-approach as the respondent suggested.

Also the residents in rural areas seemed to have a long wait to receive a decision made by the ministry or they to travel to the capital city of Ulaanbaatar just to get land permission for their guest house operations from the ministry. A reindeer herder woman, for instance, revealed that *'I have got the permission of land leasing from the Ministry of Nature and Environment in the capital'* (Respondent G1-3). Her comments suggest that she went to the capital city of Ulaanbaatar to get a certificate of land leasing to set up her *ger* camp business. However, looking at the practical side, this seems to be a rather impractical procedure for residents in remote places which are some 800 km away from the decision makers in the capital city. It appears that NPs may have a strong legal power but the grassroots people's responses to their operations are rather negative and less favoured. So the degree of efficiency of NP operations appears to be dubious.

6.3.5. The roles and interests of the people in tourism development

The grassroots people are a part of diverse groups of actors in the study in terms of their composition and livelihood sources. These people comprise both villagers and nomadic herders whose livelihoods rely on combinations of informal employment (i.e. animal herding, handicraft making), and formal employment (shop keepers, builders, housekeepers). The case study areas are peripheral regions of Mongolia are located within 550-770 km distances from the capital city of Ulaanbaatar. Due to limited employment opportunities, grassroots people seem to perform various casual and seasonal jobs. There were 24 interviews conducted among the grassroots people from the two case study areas. These were split between the case study locations.

The interests of the grassroots people seem to relate to tourism development that is beneficial to residents and provides reliable and permanent sources of income. Grassroots people are keen to get their voices heard by the policy makers primarily concerning land use policy. Rural regions tend to have limited ways of enabling grassroots people to earn income. So, tourism seems to attract a significant level of interest from the grassroots people due to its potential for income generation. The grassroots people may be often willing to participate in tourism related activities in order to get economic benefits. This idea was supported by interviews with the grassroots people in the case study areas. A herdsman who run a *ger*-guest house in the Gobi Desert said that *'I managed to send my five children out of eight to universities without any external support because of tourism'* (Respondent G1-8). This may be

recognised to be a significant economic contribution as education costs tend to be a heavy burden for some rural grassroots people in Mongolia. In the case of the herdsman, his clients had been mostly independent travellers, who had arranged their trip in Mongolia often through guest houses based in Ulaanbaatar.

Independent travellers tended to travel through community run guest houses and camping sites in the NPs. Therefore, the grassroots people often favoured independent travellers. In relation to tourism businesses, the grassroots people in the case study areas expected '*more local employment from tourism industry and fair wage*' (Respondent G1-5 and G1-3). The grassroots people tended to support the type of tourism which could generate reasonable benefits to the community. In the case study areas, International NGOs support for community-based tourism initiatives which was seen as important.

In relation to public policy, the grassroots people in the case study area expressed their distaste about unequal application of law by the government institutions on its citizens. A common feeling expressed by herders in the Lake Hovsgol NP as '*the law doesn't apply to the people with money. Every citizen of Mongolia has right to own land and our children cannot pursue this rights because the land here is already were allocated to someone at the ministry level. Officials don't hear what we think and discuss what is going to be done in this area with us*' (Respondent G1-10). So voices often seemed to be unheard by the officials, possibly because of a lack of grassroots participation in policy making. People in the case study areas expressed their interest in being heard by the officials, who make the policies affecting their everyday lives they seem to struggle to be heard. It appears that local governor's offices were significantly influential due to their legal power.

The role of grassroots people in tourism development appeared to be active on a daily basis. Yet the grassroots people's power seemed to be weaker than other actors (i.e. tourism businesses) in the case study areas in Mongolia. The grassroots people could act as a labour force for the tourism sector simultaneously tourism resources due to their cultural heritages. In particular, elements of the traditional nomadic culture (i.e. festivals, horse and camel races) often seen as significant parts of the packages which tour operators were selling to an international market. Some scholars describe it as a cultural landscape which is '*an area where the landforms have been created by human culture as well as by nature; human culture has been created by the landscape as well*

as the people; and each now depends upon and continues to exist because of the other' (Buckley, Ollenburg and Zhong, 2008:48). Natural resources of water and land seem to be inseparable elements from a Mongolian nomadic herder's way of living.

Herders in Mongolia can get a certificate of possession of their spring/winter camps, issued by the district governors (Endicott, 2012: 143). However, increased mining and tourism activities tend to affect their way of living. Debate over land resource issues often appear in Mongolia's press. A number of opposition groups are vocal through such media as a means to protect their rights. Oyun-Erdene (2012) argues *'herders' certificate of possession, which protects their rights to use their grazing land and winter/spring camps is weaker document than a mining license'*. In a judicial framework, mining companies have licenses for the natural resources located below ground level whereas the herders certificates only guarantee rights to the grazing land above soil. Thus, the herder's certificates for their campsites and grazing land seems to be weaker protection against mining licenses. Also an academic at National University of Mongolia argued *'rural people must take part to tourism policy as they know tourism resources much better than anyone else although they may not know about management and marketing... People in rural regions do not participate to tourism as proper entrepreneurs. Since tourism [businesses] operates under a game rule of a few companies'* (Respondent G2-13). This suggests an insignificance in terms of the grassroots people's roles may be not because of their lack of interest in tourism, rather multiple factors may discourage their participation, including overall tourism policy, macro level political-economic policy procedures and power struggles in Mongolia. The research also suggested that there existed a degree of interest in participating in tourism-related policy making and tourism activities grassroots people within their territories, including NP areas.

6.3.6. The roles and interests of secondary actors to tourism development in Mongolia

Secondary actors to tourism development in Mongolia seem to be the actors in a mining sector. They were identified based on how interviewees perceived certain actors to be affecting tourism development in the area.

The mining sector seems to relate to tourism, and includes mining companies and artisanal miners, who increasingly affect the tourism sector through their industrial

operations. In 2008, the mining sector accounted for 28% of GDP (was 10.4% in 1996) and 84% of Mongolia's export revenue (compared to 50.2% in 1992) (Erdenebat, 2009). In particular, the discovery of gold, copper and coal deposits in the Gobi Desert region and phosphorus deposit in the Lake Hovsgol area of Mongolia required the tourism sector to adjust itself to a changing political-economic environment.

The impacts of Mongolia's mining sector seem to be eminent. Endicott (2012:143) describes it as '*a brewing conflict of interest over land use*' between herders, miners and tourism industry. The Gobi Desert holds one of the largest untapped copper and gold reservoirs, where Rio Tinto, London based Anglo-American mining giant, and the government of Mongolia jointly invested on Oyu Tolgoi project (Bowler, 2013). '*Under a 2009 agreement, the government holds a 34 % stake in Oyu Tolgoi*' (Wall Street Journal, 2013). When it reaches full production in 2018, it is predicted be a top ten copper producer and one of the world's biggest gold producers (Rio Tinto, 2013).

Along with official mining projects, as of 2009, illegal mining conducted by artisanal miners have become common in Umnugovi province. Monitoring performance of illegal mining is often impossible, as there are no permanent work sites. Labour forces also often do not include local citizens, so no mining licenses and/or operational reports exist. A survey result shows that 11 % of all families in the Umnugovi province were involved in illegal gold mining (Citizens' Representatives' Committee of Umnugovi Province et al., 2008:543).

In Umnugovi province in the Gobi Desert, due to emerging mining companies '*the role of tourism in the Gobi Desert seem to be decreasing*' (Respondent G3-1). The mining seems to be overtaking tourism and other industries in terms of economic significance. Yet, the implications of a growing mining sector for tourism seem to be less obvious. Brunnschweiler and Bulte argue that an economy which is heavily reliant on the extraction of natural resources diminishes the growth of other industries (cited in Erdenebat, 2009). So the tourism sector may have to compete for natural and human resources in order to sustain its development in the longer term. Due to artisanal gold mining in the Gobi Desert and the Lake Hovsgol areas, the desired image of a pristine Mongolia to international tourism markets may also be affected.

However, there is also some positive discourse about the synergy of the development of the mining with tourism development in the Gobi Desert. One of the

recognised benefits relates to the development of infrastructure (i.e. modern hotels and airports) in the Gobi Desert region. Between 2006 and 2009, two new airports were opened in the Gobi Desert region to provide the needs of the mining companies. A new international airport was established in the provincial centre town of Dalanzadgad. People in the region perceived that the mining industry could provide good employment opportunities for the rural unemployed (Respondents G3-1, G2-2 and G1-16). Also, due to an influx of migrant workers, the demand of meat and dairy products seemed to be growing, which herders may be able to supply. So mining, indirectly, might sustain nomadic culture, which appears to be an important aspect of Mongolia's tourism development. The increased number of people in the region also seems to generate domestic tourism demand. A local horseman in the Gobi Desert revealed that '*mining industry brings more domestic tourists*' (Respondent G1-12). This suggests that there has been already a notable presence of domestic travellers in the area due to the mining sector.

Discussion of the interests of the actors in the case study areas can be summarised. The tourism authorities seemed to be interested in increasing fiscal revenues and the creation of employment to protect the interests of tourism businesses. Yet, the private sector identified a need to eliminate the obstacles and pressures to their business. The tourism businesses expected fast, fair and efficient public services and greater protection of their rights by the government. However, the government's expectation of trickle-down effects from tourism's benefits to the grassroots people seemed to be frustrated by the encouragement of top-end tourism in rural areas, which, in turn , encouraged profit seeking tourism business. Consequently, the grassroots people appeared to be favour independent travellers, who tended to generate lighter direct benefits to the community. The grassroots people also seemed to expect fair representation of their voices in public policy making. There were some tensions relating to economic goals and the potential for these to be achieved from different types of tourism with various levels of economic impact to actors.

6.4. ACTORS' INTERACTIONS WITHIN MONGOLIA

After identifying actors' interest and roles in tourism development in the case study areas, the next section discusses interactions between these actors. Actors' interactions seem to take place at different levels with varying implications for tourism development in the case study areas. Firstly about government institutions, the main

discourses are about interaction within government institutions and the grassroots people's responses to the state fiscal policy in tourism development in the case study areas. Secondly, concerning interactions between the government and the grassroots people, the main discourses are about unbalanced governance in the case study areas with a degree of insignificant involvement by rural residents on tourism-related policy making. Thirdly, discourses about travel businesses and their relations with government institutions demonstrate how political links affect business success in a market economy. Discourses around tourism businesses and the grassroots people illustrate a power struggle centred around different types of tourism development in the case study areas. Fourthly, political party-related discourses in tourism and their implications for wider public policy in the case study areas are discussed. Finally, the role of voluntary associations in the case study areas is explored.

6.4.1. Interactions between the government institutions

The next section discusses the discourses about interactions between government institutions at a ministry, province and district level concerning tourism development. The main discourses concern the structure of the institutions and division of responsibilities between the institutions and the state fiscal policy structure of tourism. In the case study areas, there appear to be overlapped responsibilities between province and district institutions and NP. The district governor's office appears to be responsible for allowing the utilisation of natural resources for industrial purposes(i.e. tourism) in their entity. However, the creation of NP relocates these responsibilities from district level to a NP administration under the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism. Thus, '*any permitted activities at the NP must be reported to the ministry to get permission*' (Respondent G3-8).

A lack of interaction within government institutions seems to result in a lack of attention to the consideration of grassroots people's interests, particularly within a NP designation. Rural residents are perhaps less fulfilled from the spending of tourism's tax revenue in their areas, (i.e. the entrance tax from a NP). The NPs in the case study areas charge an entrance tax, which is estimated to be '*approximately 31-45 million tugrugs or USD 24,000-36,000 from 8, 000-12, 000 visitors a year*' (Respondent G2-15). However, the entrance tax is collected directly by the state treasury. Therefore, the local area tends not to gain sufficient monetary benefit from tourism. An officer from the Govi Gurvan Saihan NP in the Gobi Desert said '*the entrance tax is spent on*

administrative costs of staff salary, national insurance and transport. The rest of the revenues go to the state treasury and get reallocated to us. So we cannot spend money to tourism itself' (Respondent G2-15). Due to such a tax collection structure, local residents in the case study areas seem to underestimate tourism's net benefits in their areas. Tourism businesses also expressed their interests in spending the revenues from the NP entrance tax locally (Respondent G3-1). Consequently, they expect investment in local tourism product development which could sustain the tourism development in the area. A World Bank officer argued that *'creating a NP is a wonderful start to protect the landscape and it has to evolve.'* (Respondent G2-3). This suggests that the creation of a NP was perceived to be a good start for conservation but there was an expectation that has to reflect the needs for ever changing human and natural environment. A way to progress could be through better financial management for the NPs as mentioned above.

Local economic benefits from tourism are not limited by the sole case of a NP's entrance tax. Tax income from tourism businesses is also collected by the central state treasury. According to the taxation law of Mongolia, all tax revenues are collected by the state treasury and redistributed to the provinces and the districts (see Chapter 7). The governor's offices of each administrative unit are authorised to collect various taxes in their entities and spend these locally. Thus, the tax revenues are collected from the utilizations of natural resources in the area, including land, water, logging and fishing. In relation to tourism, a *ger* camp pays land and water tax to a district, whereas corporate taxes are collected at the tax office where the businesses initially registered, and employees' income taxes are collected at the tax office of the province. So out of three different kinds of tax (tax on the utilization of natural resources, corporate and income taxes), a destination appears to benefit only from the former. Thus, some grassroots people and some officials tend to see tourism's benefits through the tax paid to the local entity. They tend to claim that *'the tourism sector is not locally beneficial due to no tax income to a local area'* (Respondent G3-7). Overall, the net benefit of the tourism sector in the case study areas might have been much greater than the current level, but the institutional structure makes it less beneficial directly to the areas where the main tourism activities take place. Due to not only a lack of interactions within the government institutions but also a lack of tourism knowledge at government institution level, people in the case study areas tended to underestimate tourism's economic benefits to the destination.

The second set of discourses is about the influence of the Specialised Inspection Agency, which is an independent agency, located outside of the government's cabinet. The Specialised Inspection Agency carries out regular inspections of the standards of various sectors in Mongolia, including the service industry (including *ger* camps, hotels and restaurants). Some tourism businesses expressed their dissatisfaction with '*the unnecessary repetitive inspections*' (Respondent G3-2) that '*fail to reveal real fault of standards of some ger camps*' (Respondent G3-7) in the case study areas. Thus, the reputation of the Specialised Inspection Agency's inspection among tourism businesses seems rather dubious. Also the people who work for the public sector are often criticised as being '*bureaucratic and corrupt*' (Respondent G3-2 and G1-3). As the wage levels for public organisations tend to be relatively low, this sometimes encouraged public sector employees to seek an alternative income source. Supporting that USAID (2005:24) reports that '*interviewees frequently reported that the allocation of land use licenses is a key venue for corruption at the grand and administrative levels...*'. This further tends to complicate the existence of or notion of a freely operating tourism business sector which was discussed in the tourism business interaction section.

6.4.2. Interactions between government institutions and the grassroots people

The next section discusses the interactions between government institutions and the grassroots people in the case study areas. The grassroots people appear to feel that the government institutions, including local administrative organisations, tend to have limited connections with the grassroots people. Therefore, development policies in rural regions sometimes lack the voices of local residents. One head of a local NGO in the Lake Hovsgol area reported that '*the government offer great incentives to the people who work for the public sector. They earn salary throughout a year, which may account for 10 % of village population. The rest of the population work hard to have a regular income to run their daily lives. But the government don't support these hard working people...*' (Respondent G2-11). This suggests that the grassroots people seem to be less supported by the government. In rural areas, few people work for public organisations, including schools, hospitals and district government offices. A large majority of people are either self-employed, unemployed or work for a private sector business. When the public sector wage increases, it tends to affect the inflation that perhaps makes the lives of other people harder.

In relation to tourism, a head of Mongolian National Tourism Organisation (MNTTO) revealed that *'province governors and local atamans [influential people] have greater influence on tourism policy making, while there's no involvements of local peoples. The governance in Mongolia is like an upside down pyramid'* (Respondent G2-5). She suggests that greater power is concentrated at the policy making level higher up in the government while the grassroots people seem to be less acknowledged by the officials. The argument was further supported by Mongolian NGO, *'rural officials only listen to their residents when election gets nearer. Local officials'* approach is top down and they do not wish to change it. Local people and officials relations are as it used to be like a director and staff (Respondent G2-7). This may suggest that a bottom-up approach to policy and planning in Mongolia is less practiced and the concept seems to be used as an election winning tactic rather than as a genuine response to the opinions of the grassroots people.

The performance of government institutions may reflect the degree of citizens' trust about these institutions. The Survey for Developing Democratic Governance Criteria, conducted by the Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of the Mongolian Academy of Science in 2005, used a questionnaire to identify public confidence in the administrative capacity of local government. According to the survey results, 33.5 % of respondents thought that the performance of the Citizens' Representatives' Councils was low or unsatisfactory and 31.5 % had the same opinion with regard to local governors and their offices. Consequently, it appears that one-third of local community members do not have confidence that local government has the capacity to perform well (cited in Citizens' Representatives' Committee of Umnugovi Province et al., 2008). The results of surveys carried out by the Sant Maral Foundation in 2003-2005 also showed that people did not have confidence in local authorities. Even the %age of those who had less and no confidence increased from about 43 % in 2003 and 2004 to 55 % in 2005 (Sant Maral, 2005). It seems that there is a perception amongst local people that government institutions tend to take a tokenistic approach towards its residents and its policy. There seemed to be limited bottom-up communication in the case study areas and that may contribute to some of the unsuccessful policy implementation of tourism development strategies (as disclosed by many actors) (discussed in Chapter 5 section 5.7). Although some officials recognise a bottom-up participation by the local people on government policies, there seems to have wider implication, particularly, for tourism

development in terms of limitations around support and initiatives aimed at rural communities.

6.4.3. Interactions in relation to IDOs and NGOs

In relation to the IDOs, the effectiveness and long term success of their initiatives in tourism development were criticised by actors. Firstly, the projects initiated by IDOs were often considered to be inefficient by many actors, including tour operators. Tourism businesses, for instance, tended to disfavour IDOs' initiatives and claimed that *'all donor interventions aren't worked with tour operators. Donor agencies don't ask where ger camps are needed, what kind of services we can buy there. Donors should talk to us before doing any projects. Donor aid is not efficient for last 10 years'* (Respondent G3-3). This suggests that one reason for IDOs' interventions being considered to be inappropriate was due to a lack of consultation and collaboration with existing tourism businesses. Tour operators complained that *'we cannot compete against donor supported organisations'* (Respondent G3-3). IDO initiatives were often perceived to create unfair competition between tourism businesses and disorientation of or intervention within a market economy.

The head of the Sustainable Tourism Development Centre argued that *'During the [IDO] project implementation period, the things seem to get better. In reality, things remain as they were.... The issues [that] rural people face aren't solved'* (Respondent G2-2). His comments suggest that IDO support offer a limited long term effects on the problems which it was initially focused. One possible reason for this may relate to the comment from a World Bank specialist in Mongolia, *'tourism related projects are off from their attention and it sometimes get implemented as a part of conservation or poverty alleviation initiatives'* (Respondent G2-3). The way in which IDOs tend to implement tourism-related projects as an appendix to rather than as a focus of their projects appears to be relevant here.

Also a limited knowledge of IDOs about the context of rural Mongolia may seem to discourage IDOs from supporting tourism-related initiatives. The head of the Mongolian National Tourism Organisation NGO also stated that *' IDOs tend to believe that local people don't support the idea of tourism development. However, IDOs don't see the underpinning conditions (i.e. local people are less informed [about tourism]) that leads to them say 'no' tourism related initiatives... So projects with big goals may*

not be get implemented because of a limited participation by Mongolians’ (Respondent G2-5). It appears that, within their own organisations, IDOs tend to lack expertise about the context of rural regions in Mongolia. This lack of knowledge might lead to less attention being placed upon tourism development and might contribute to ineffective outcomes, from the perspective of actors based in the local rural areas.

An expert from the World Bank in Mongolia argued, *‘we’re not satisfied with all of the projects in Mongolia but they are going to right direction’* (Respondent G2-3). This suggests that there did exist some optimism from the IDOs. However, these positive views were often accompanied by negative comments. One person who worked for the United States Aid for International Development (USAID) argued that *‘IDOs are a mild version of money laundering with limited positive outcomes’* (Respondent G2-5). She further elaborated, *‘international organisations add 2.6 % overhead on their staff wages, which go to their account. Thus, they prefer to hire a foreign national with a high salary. In 2004, there were models for each country with different names, which had often no effects in Mongolia’*. As she argued one reason for unsuccessful projects might relate to IDO prioritisation of benefits rather than expected outcomes from their development projects. It seems that the projects in Mongolia tend to be almost *‘a paste and copy version of previous models in other countries’* that had varying success tracks (Respondent, G2-5). A similar view was expressed by the head of the Sustainable Tourism Development Centre who argued that *‘There’s project garbage in Mongolia. Most of the project funding (may be 60 %) returns to the project initiated country or the expenses of the international experts’* (Respondent G2-2). The actual spending of IDO’s funding and, the expenses of experts, lacking in local, contextual knowledge was raised as a contentious issue.

IDO supported projects in tourism in Mongolia tends to be less positive. In the case study areas, GTZ had implemented community-based conservation and tourism projects in the Gobi Desert for 12 years between 1994 and 2006. An officer from the Govi Gurvan Saihan NP in the Gobi Desert said *‘during GTZ’s support, we used to organise regular meetings, child eco tours etc. At the moment, 40- 50 % of collectives are operating actively. The ones, who aren’t doing community conservation activities, do illegal gold mining, which is the main problem in the NP’*. These collectives are households who aimed to increase their income through the conservation and community activities of based tourism collectively. However, without GTZ support,

these collectives became less active and could not sustain their operations by themselves. Thus, some of the households switched their involvement to artisanal gold mining rather than eco-tourism.

Some reasons behind a less successful outcome of the IDO supported community-based tourism were provided by the head of Tourism NGO, '*one of the mistakes of the donor agencies is that they bypass tour operators and approach local communities. GTZ, for example, sets up price for the trips and services by visiting nomadic families and a day trip prices in the Gobi [Desert]. It is not their work. So tourism has become much disorganised*' (Respondent G2-2).

In the Lake Hovsgol area, a similar project was initiated by the United Nations Development Programme in 2006 (UNDP, 2006). The project cooperates with local residents in the NP on conservation and community-based tourism via establishing eco-*ger* camps. During the field work, the residents in both case study areas tended to favour the initiatives of community-based tourism funded by IDOs (Researcher's observation, 2009). It can be summarised that the IDO supported projects in the tourism sector seemed to have limited long term success and that they were initiated regardless of resentment from some of the tour operators. A tour operator business that emerged from a community-based tourism initiative (in central Mongolia) by USAID appeared to cause envy amongst other tour operator businesses.

Another set of observable interactions were those between national tourism NGOs in Mongolia. The tourism NGOs seemed to be less collaborative and often competed against each other over funding for destination marketing and representation of tourism's private sector in Mongolia. The Mongolia Tourism Association was criticised by another NGO as '*having no appropriate policy and they only serve for oligopoly*' (Respondent 2-5). This suggests that the Mongolian Tourism Association was seen to represent a limited number of well-established companies in tourism. It suggests that national NGOs in tourism in Mongolia seemed to receive low levels of support from each other.

6.4.4. Interactions between tourism businesses, government institutions and people.

This section discusses the interactions between tourism businesses, government institutions and the grassroots people in the case study areas. Tourism businesses

appeared to be involved in various interactions, including competing, collaborating or, in extreme cases, antagonising each other and other actors (i.e. government institutions and grassroots people) in relation to issues such as: natural resources (land and space); human resources (i.e. labour), quality of products and services; and efficiency of operations. Mongolia is a free market economy where businesses are free to make their own supply decisions and price their products and services in response to market demand (Sloman *et.al.* 2012:19). In Mongolia, tourism businesses tend to have fewer restrictions on start-ups. In rural regions (i.e. in NPs), differing organisations are involved in the establishment of *ger* camps, for example, as described in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3 Actors involved in a *ger* camp establishment in Mongolian NP areas.

Actors	Responsibilities
The Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism	To issue a land leasing permission for <i>ger</i> camps in the designated zones of protected areas on the basis of the evaluation of the information provided by the NP.
Specialised Inspection Agency	To inspect environmental impacts, standards of the tourism business within the environmental, health and safety standards of Mongolia.
Province and district governor's office	To enlist a <i>ger</i> camp for land and VAT tax registration
NP authorities	To propose available land in the area for a <i>ger</i> camp based on the request of the business owner and submits the documents to the ministry.
Tourism businesses	To propose a business plan prior to request a land leasing permission from the NP and the Local Governor's Office.

The present study suggests that having links at governors' offices may seem to be important for the successful tourism business. A *ger* camp operator, for example, in the Gobi Desert area explained, '*I secured the land leasing permission through my friend, who was a governor in the area*' (Respondent G3-5). It appears that operating a tourism business is sometimes easier for people who have prior links with officials. Although the tourism sector is often perceived to be a freely operating private sector, in reality there may be a conflict of interest among the policy makers and tourism businesses. The boundary between the public and private sectors seem to be less clear

and the people who work for the public sector tend to own their own private tourism businesses. To some extent, this questions the level of impartiality in the government institutions and decisions made. Many tourism businesses appeared to distrust government decisions and inspections.

In the case study areas, there were a few *ger* camps, which were owned by the grassroots people, and some of the *ger* camp owners worked for administrative offices in province or district. So they may have managed to get land permissions to establish a *ger* camp in the NP area, possibly through their connections in the local administration. Supporting this USAID (2005: 24) reports ' *land use rights were being allocated in a highly non-transparent manner... Though there are few specific examples, the report points to a general trend of land licenses being provided to individuals with political connections at rates well below those established by the tight real estate market ...* '. This suggests that there exists a corrupt practice over accessing common land based resources in Mongolia.

Other forms of interaction between tourism businesses and the government institutions take place during relevant inspections of certain standards of business operations. Directors of many *ger* camps stated that they had regular 'unnecessary' inspections carried out by the Specialised Inspection Agency even though they felt their businesses operated according to the required standards. In contrast, whereas they felt that some *ger* camps had no such inspections regardless of some obvious breaches of standards (Respondent G3-7). One cited example was the case of a *ger* camp that had discharged their waste into the ground in the Lake Hovsgol area. *Ger* camps that breached the law without any apparent repercussions were often believed by the respondents to have links with authorities.

These relations seem to have wider implications for tourism businesses. Due to a greater concentration of *ger* camps, there seems to be strong price competition, which may further lead to minimal revenues, low quality services and fewer concerns about their environmental impacts and employee well-being. A well respected guest house operator in Hatgal in the Lake Hovsgol area commented that '*ger camps have almost no marketing, and compete with their prices and deteriorate their businesses*' (Respondent G1-12). This suggests that many *ger* camps may work inefficiently. There seemed to have been a lack of partnership and communication amongst tourism businesses, possibly because of their fierce competition.

However, some tourism actors seemed to have realised that a partnership approach may help the long term profit and sustainability of their sector. A joint initiative by the Sustainable Tourism Development Centre, Mercy Corps International NGO, and the Asian Development Bank helped tourism businesses and grassroots people to cooperate to achieve a better business environment in the Gobi Desert. In case of the Lake Hovsgol area, however, some tour operators expressed their unwillingness to send their clients to the lake area due to *'exceeded concentration of ger camps within short distance which [might] spoil the expectation of pristine landscape'* (Respondent G3-3). The implications of this unwillingness of tour operators areas may lead to a reduced net benefit to the people living in the area, such as the grassroots people.

Interactions between tourism businesses and the grassroots people may be recognised to be both formal (i.e. employment) and informal (i.e. purchasing meat and dairy from local producers). Tourism businesses in Mongolia tend to be often small and medium sized enterprises, which tend to operate as family businesses during a shortly spanned tourist season. In Umnugovi province, as of 2008, there were 23 *ger* camps, employing 344 people and, of total employees, 21.5 % were permanent staff (Citizens' Representatives' Committee of Umnugovi Province (CRCUP) et al., 2008: 556). One *ger* camp, owned by a local businessman in the Gobi Desert, for instance, employed 7 full time and 13-14 temporary staff for a *ger* camp with 60 beds (Respondent G3-5). Investors from Dalanzadgad accounted for the majority of these *ger* camps in the region. It was argued that the *'relationship [with local people] is supportive to each other through hiring camels and horses'* (Respondent G3-5). This may indicate a degree of collaboration with local people.

However, with regards to land resources some tensions seemed to exist. A local *ger* camp operator in the Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert said that *'...there's a ger camp in the middle of the protected zone and local people were complaining against the ger camp. Eventually they kept quiet as they are too weak to win them over'* (Respondent G3-5). His comment appears to suggest that tensions arose between tourism businesses and the grassroots people over natural resources. However, the grassroots people may seem to be relatively powerless in comparison to business operators.

Tourism businesses stated that they often encouraged employment opportunities for local people yet, in practice, employment opportunities do not always available for them. In the Lake Hovsgol area, as of 2009, one of the first *ger* camps, which had operated for 13 years, employed only 4 permanent staff and 15-18 temporary staff, of whom only 2-3 were local staff (Respondent G3-7). It would be rather uncommon if all the temporary staff were recruited from the surrounding areas of the *ger* camp due to a number of reasons, mainly a lack of skills (Chapter 8 discusses this in further detail). Another example of low employment of local people was provided by a director of the Lake Hovsgol NP, *'we sign a tripartite agreement with ger camps and district governor. They [ger camps] supposed to be hiring 50 % of their staff from local residents but they don't follow the agreement'*. It seems that *ger* camps generate limited jobs.

However, regardless of a low level of local employment, a *ger* camp operator in the Lake Hovsgol area suggested that there are other ways of supporting local people. She argued that *'ger camps and the residents have various relationships of bad and good. There's a donation from ger camps to local Naadam festival. We support villagers and help students to pay their tuition fee... We had donated some money during the harsh winter disaster in the past'* (Respondent G3-7). Although the amount of local employment is low, some economic benefits seem to be generated in the destination.

Overall, the social interactions between tourism businesses and the grassroots people seemed to be diverse and multifaceted in which different public and private interests interfaced with one another. Various forms of political and social interactions during tourism development reflect actors' diverse interests i.e. making business profits or making a living from tourism through accessing various natural resources. Actors' networks with important officials seemed to make the path to reach actors' goals less difficult during tourism development processes.

6.4.5. Practices and discourses around political parties and their implications for tourism development

This section discusses discourses about political parties which tended to have wider implications for people's SoL and tourism development in the case study areas. Political parties have become influential institutions in Mongolia after the introduction of a multiparty election system since 1992. In rural areas, they compete for seats at the

Resident Representative Committee for four-year terms after the parliament election. The number of seats for the Resident Representative Committee varies between 15-35, relative to the number of residents in the provinces or the districts (Mongolian Parliament Report, 2006). The Resident Representative Committee appoints the governor for province or district and organises a regular resident meeting to reflect the views of local residents and to inform government policies and consider related implications in their constituency.

Although democracy has afforded a freedom of speech and a multi-party system, it seems to affect the efficiency and continuity of rural development policies. As mentioned previously, having political links may be vital for business success in Mongolia. It also tends to affect the tourism sector's development and the grassroots people's SoL in the case study areas. The links between civil servants and business people appear to be connected via the political party.

A head of a national NGO, who worked on community based in Mongolia, argued that '*...party partition among local people make their local affairs and businesses slow and inefficient...*' (Respondent G2-7). This suggests that rural residents may be much politicized (divided into parties that they support or back their party members' agenda). The trend seems to have emerged recently with strong implications for public service delivery and its long term continuity. Parties tend to disfavour each other and neglect the policies pursued by the opposition in order to retain their power rather than paying attention to the matters of the local people in the case study areas.

Supporting this, an interview with a local NGO leader in the Lake Hovsgol area revealed that '*it is important to be a party member. The party in power favour its members to run daily affairs successfully*' (Respondent G2-7). This suggests that some people held a belief that being a member of a political party affects career success. In rural areas, many employment positions seemed to be linked to political party membership rather than merit based. A director of the Development Policy Unit in Umnugovi province in the Gobi Desert, for example, argued that '*I was about to retire but I asked for the governor to assign me on any duty as we were same party members*' (Respondent G1-14). This raises the question whether people might join a political party with the intention of getting hold of a certain public servant position. For instance, the Director of the Lake Hovsgol NP in the case study area was being removed from his position and he personally believed that it was because of his political party

membership rather than his professional performance (Respondent G2-4). Such political party implications could emerge as a knock-on-effect in the case study areas. A Director of the NP who is well experienced may manage the park efficiently with some positive outcomes for both nature conservation and the tourism sector. Removal from role may be due to hidden interests around influencing land leasing and utilisation of other resources within the NP territory. The new Director, has been a member of the Democratic Party (informal conversation between local people in the Lake Hovsgol area). A fuller picture seems to suggest that there exists competition between people's interests from two political parties and this competition affects tourism operations. People seem take advantage of their employment positions, while the party that they support is in power.

6.4.6. Voluntary associations in tourism development

A voluntary association is a group of people or organisation identified by author that includes, firstly, a formal association or a non-governmental organisation of tourism businesses, and secondly, an informal association of the grassroots people in the case study areas. In Mongolia, tourism businesses and the grassroots people tend to form NGOs, often to influence to government policy, protect their rights or, just simply to support each other in their ordinary life settings. In particular, the grassroots people tended to realise that forming a NGO is a way of organising themselves collectively to gain power rather than being on their own when they wish to express their ideas or get their voices heard. A head of a local NGO was in the Lake Hovsgol area, for instance, argued that *'local people have established a NGO in order to solve illegal land leasing for holiday resort developers, which force the local people to get together and demonstrate against the government's decision'* (Respondent G2-11). This suggests that forming a NGO may be an approach to gain empowerment. So it can be seen that the grassroots people revealed their interests in being heard by the policy makers and illustrated how they can get together or collaborate when they perceive that it is needed.

Another form of a intangible voluntary association may be formed amongst the grassroots people. Although they do not work for a particular organisation, they seem to be associated through their informal jobs. For instance, a handicraft maker in Hatgal village in the Lake Hovsgol NP said that *'we celebrate major festivals together and help the ones, who are experiencing hardship, in need of financial help or to get bank loan and so forth'* (Respondent G1-1). This seems to be an invisible social bond that

they have formed themselves. Such community spirit seems to provide much needed help and support. Another example is that a group of horse wranglers in the Gobi Desert had also established a '*wranglers' association*' (Respondent G1-12) and drivers had established a '*drivers' association*' (Respondent G1-15). The formation of these voluntary associations may indicate a strong sense of community developed through close networks with each other and it may have made their social life richer. Supporting this idea a handicraft seller in Hatgal area expressed that '*We ... support each other when someone has faced difficulties. We do parties and opening and farewell party after and before the season... Very informative to each other...*' (Respondent G1-1). This may demonstrate how an invisible voluntary association of the grassroots' people is used to sustain their lives in the case study areas. Such social connections sometimes can be manifested in the ways in which the grassroots people exchange information or tackle hardship that some of their members face.

In particular, souvenir sellers in the Lake Hovsgol area often gathered at the places where tourists visit or stay, such as at the *ger* camps or the encampment of reindeer people where such social interactions seem to take place. Penetration of mobile phone coverage even enabled these people to exchange information easily. The grassroots people often gathered at key tourist locations before the tourists arrived due to the information they gathered from each other over the mobile phone, as network can be seen in Figure 6.4 (Observation, 2009).

Figure 6.4 Souvenir sellers at a reindeer encampment in the Lake Hovsgol NP, 2009.



Source: Author

6.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed actors' roles, interests and interactions in tourism development based on Long's actor-oriented approach in the Lake Hovsgol and the Gobi Desert regions in Mongolia.

The chapter identified each actor, including the tourism authorities-the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism; IDOs and NGOs; tourism businesses; NP authorities; the grassroots people; and secondary actors of the mining sector. The researcher identified actors mainly from interviews in the case study areas and secondary resources. The chapter further discussed the roles and interests of actors concerning tourism-related development processes. This underpins further discussions about equality issues and quality of livelihoods in tourism related development in later chapters. In particular, Chapter 6 looks at the social interactions and exerted agencies between different actors and uncovered intangible relations amongst the actors which might otherwise not be acknowledged. Such intangible relations seem to play a major role during actors' social interfaces where actors can play a degree of different roles.

Actor mapping reveals relatively powerful tourism businesses, who aim to maximize their business profit with fewer costs. In particular, NGOs that represent tourism businesses seem to secure influential roles through having closer links with the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism.

Some tourism businesses were less concerned about the environmental and socio-cultural aspects. Drawing a bigger picture of actor relationships suggested that some of the reasons behind neglected relationship may be due to macro-level structural malfunctions within which actors such as individual organisation or persons find a room for a manoeuvre to achieve their agendas. Structural malfunctions refer here constraints imposed by macro political economy with an unfair business environment, where the businesses with links with officials exert agency and manage to run their businesses smoothly and those without do not. There appears to be an issue of influence and power in the tourism sector that is, at least partially, affected by party politics. There seemed to be unbalanced power relationships which are further intensified by governance. Government officials are regarded as the most influential actors who often have been advocated by IDOs and have influenced the political party interests of other tourism development related actors.

A number of NGOs were operating in Mongolia with the financial support of IDOs. Due to a lack of collaboration, integrity of the tourism sector seemed weak. Although tourism has been prioritised by the government as one of the main economic sectors, the some key tourism actors' (i.e. grassroots people) roles and interests seem to be less acknowledged.

Chapter 7 PRACTICES AND DISCOURSES ABOUT STANDARDS OF LIVING, INEQUALITY AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

7.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses tourism's contribution to the grassroots people's SoL, various inequalities and environmental justice in the case study areas in Mongolia based on the views of interviewees. This chapter meets Objective 5 of the research to examine practices and discourses associated with the quality of livelihoods and SoL, inequality and environmental justice in tourism development among various social actors in the two areas.

The SoL is a broad concept that often depends on many determinants, especially in connection with tourism in peripheral regions. Here SoL is discussed specifically in relation to tourism development. This chapter understands SoL as a subjective concept. Sen's capability approach to measuring SoL stresses the use of a fuller picture of SoL beyond a single income-based approach (opulence) and desire fulfilment (utility), a picture that captures the full range of people's capabilities (abilities and skills) and also how people use their capabilities to achieve their life goals (World Bank, 2006). Tourism is often regarded as more than an economic activity, as it also has environmental and socio-cultural dimensions, and these varying aspects of tourism can deepen our understanding of tourism's contribution to the SoL of grassroots people.

The chapter is structured in three sections of (i) SoL in tourism development; (ii) (in)equalities in tourism development; and (iii) environmental justice in tourism development. The first section discusses the elements of SoL; tourism's contribution to grassroots people's SoL; and the subjective SoL associated with tourism development. The second part discusses (in)equalities of income, opportunities and capabilities and their interrelations. The final section investigates the aspects of environmental justice within distributional justice and procedural justice in the case study areas.

7.2. THE SUBJECTIVE STANDARD OF LIVING

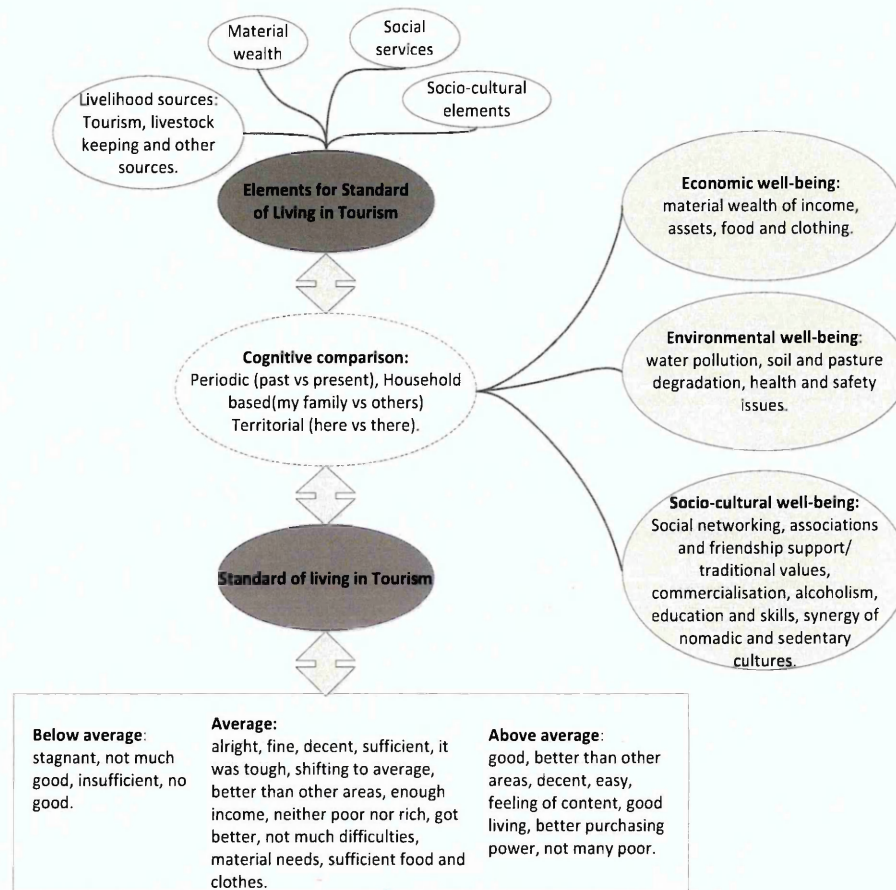
Subjective SoL appears to cover several aspects. Firstly, people's reflections on their life as a whole or of its various parts, such as their family, work, financial conditions, and so forth. This is a process where people may reflect on their SoL on the basis of a cognitive exercise via comparing their past and present living conditions, and their own view of SoL compared with that of others within the same areas or in other areas. Secondly, it covered people's actual feelings (i.e. feelings of stress, worry, pride and pleasure at specific times and in particular environments), related to their view of SoL. Such a broad subjective evaluation is based on their view of the objective conditions (i.e. the economic, environmental and socio-cultural well-being) and of the opportunities available to them (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi, 2009). In order to explore these various aspects of people's view of SoL, the interviewees were asked for their views about their SoL in tourism-related development processes in the case study areas.

The analysis was based on the interviewees' reflections on four elements of SoL: (i) livelihood sources (i.e. informal and formal employment), (ii) material wealth (i.e. number of animals and income), (iii) social services (i.e. education and health services) and (iv) socio-cultural elements (i.e. friendship, networks and living environment). These were touched upon and also probed more fully in the interviews with the researcher, with the interviews following this sequence of questions as much as possible. The interviews often started with questions about the types of livelihood activities that people were involved in, the level of collaboration among the grassroots people and the tourism businesses in the tourism development, their major concerns in relation to tourism, and their views about their current SoL. This sequence allowed them to reflect on their SoL in relation to wider aspects in their lives.

Figure 7.1 illustrates how respondents in the case study areas perceived their SoL based on elements for standards of living (i.e. livelihood sources, material wealth, social services and socio-cultural elements). The researcher categorised grassroots people's SoL into three broad categories of '*below average*', '*average*', '*above average*' in order to simplify the expressions used by the interviewees. These categories were based on the interviewees' perceptions of their SoL with various expressions of '*poor*'; '*below average*'; '*average*'; '*alright*'; '*sufficient*'; '*rich*'; and so forth which derived from respondents' cognitive comparisons (i.e. periodic, household

based and territorial) of their economic, environmental and socio-cultural well-being. As a result, interviewees described

Figure 7.1 Analytical categories for the discourses about tourism's contribution to the grassroots people's SoL



Each of these analytical categories is discussed in turn. Together these analytical categories present a holistic picture of how tourism may contribute to grassroots people's SoL in relation to tourism development, and this is based on the perceptions of the actors as expressed in the interviews and in other data, particularly those involved in tourism. The categories emerged from the academic literature and, very importantly, from the fieldwork evidence.

7.2.1. The Elements of Standards of Living

This section begins by discussing the priority elements of SoL, followed by consideration of the subjective views of various actors about their SoL as a whole in pursuing traditional (i.e. livestock keeping) and tourism-related livelihood activities. The notion of well-being appears as a central part of the SoL, which encompasses SoL

as a whole, positive and negative feelings, achievements, personal relations, freedom, health, and security (Sumner 1992, cited in Hall and Brown, 2006:5, Swarbrooke, 2003).

Based on academic literature and the field work, the priority elements for individuals' lives were identified. The following broad sets of priority elements of SoL were evident: (i) livelihood sources (i.e. formal and informal employment), (ii) material wealth (i.e. assets), (iii) social services (i.e. health, education and security), and (iv) socio-cultural elements (i.e. friendship and community networks, and the living environment).

Thus, the first set of priority elements for the SoL related to livelihood sources such as employment (i.e. formal and informal). Grassroots people stressed the importance of doing various jobs in order to provide for their livelihood needs. Based on their comments, it appeared that the grassroots people's livelihood sources were divided into three major categories in the case study areas. First, 22 people (6%) (out of 36) mentioned that they secured their livelihood through a combination of tourism, traditional livestock keeping and other sources. They are mainly herders, who pursued tourism and non-tourism related livelihood activities (i.e. hiring horses, operating guest houses, and making handicrafts, while some members in the family earned income by working in public and private sector jobs). Second, 4 people (11%)(out of 36) stated that they made their living mainly from tourism. These people had a limited number of animals or some had no animals, and they often relied on making handicrafts and other sales in tourism. Third, 10 people (28%) (out of 36) claimed to make their living from other livelihood activities (i.e. herders, village shopkeepers, farmers and public sector workers) which did not directly related to tourism.

The interviewees suggested that there were limited formal (i.e. with an official employment contract) employment opportunities in the rural areas in Mongolia. Therefore people were quite often involved in more than one livelihood activity to secure earnings. In Hatgal village and its surrounding areas in the Lake Hovsgol region, tourism was one of the main livelihoods for the villagers. But herders perceived both livestock keeping and tourism as the prime source of their livelihoods. In the Gobi Desert region Livestock keeping was practiced by herders predominantly, while tourism and a limited amount of irrigated farming supplemented their livelihoods.

Thus, the study evidence suggests that the grassroots people were involved in various jobs, where every part of their livelihoods seemed to contribute to their incomes. Sometimes these jobs required working for prolonged hours in all weather conditions. It seems, therefore, that the grassroots people tended to use seasonal tourism employment opportunities as much as they could. In the case study areas, jobs appeared to be often seasonal and earnings seemed to be uncertain. A fish seller, for example, in the Lake Hovsgol area explained that *‘people’s lives are in general at an average level. Average means we have no sustainable income. Sometimes we earn a lot and another day we may not. Over the summer, I earn million tugrugs [USD 909] a month, which is used for our living expenses of food and clothing for the rest of a year’* (Respondent G1-5). This suggests that, although her income was sufficient to provide for her needs, its inconsistency was a concern. Her family of six had no livestock, yet she found her SoL was average.

The second set of priority elements in the SoL appeared to be provision for people’s economic needs, which consisted of income and material wealth (i.e. dwellings, livestock, food and clothing). In interviewees’ opinion, material wealth seemed to be widely unrelated to the SoL, although these were mentioned as elements of the SoL. Despite livestock is often used to measure SoL in rural areas, the number of animals per household did not seem to define to their perceptions of how well-off or deprived they were.

The interviewees revealed that the income tended to be generated from various sources in rural areas, and the quality of the income sources seemed to be perceived differently. Regardless a relatively low income from reliable sources perhaps some people felt relatively secure and they may have perceived they had better SoL in comparison with the ones earned occasional high revenues. A souvenir seller, for instance, in the Lake Hovsgol area stated *‘we sell smoked fish and make handicrafts and souvenir items for tourists over the summer. There’s not much to do over the winter. In the spring, we do construction work. We live alright doing these things’* (Respondent, G1-5). This is an example of a family without livestock, but they still considered their life as ‘alright’, which may suggest a reasonably good life through their revenues from tourism-related jobs.

However, a herdsman in the Lake Hovsgol area stated that *‘our lives aren’t sufficient. We don’t beg from the government. We live on a child disability benefit. Our*

pensions aren't great ... 200 animals aren't sufficient for living.... We sell some dairy products to the resort, but it is not that great. Our children work for a ger camp and their wages are just enough for their own needs' (Respondent, G1-10). As his comments may illustrate, his SoL is perhaps '*not sufficient for living*', which the researcher categorised into 'below average SoL' based on his own description. Yet the family owned 201 animals and lived in a rather comfortable dwelling, furnished with TV, a satellite dish and a solar panel. The researcher had been offered bread and traditional butter cream, often considered as a traditional delight in Mongolia (Observation, 2009). Supporting the previous argument, a herdsman in Hongoriingol area in the Gobi Desert, who had 796 animals and operated a guest house and organised camel trekking trips, disagreed about being considered well-off by his community members as '*I am not that rich and am the same as others with cars, TV and a ger*' (Respondent G1-20). This suggests that some people, who were perceived as well-off by their community tended to be rather modest, claiming that their living standard was average. It seems that people tended to prefer to be in the middle of the spectrum of the SoL. It was also rather difficult to make objective assessments of SoL on the basis of the household assets because of these seems to result in rather differing subjective perceptions.

A third set of priority elements of SoL emerged, that of social services (i.e. health and education), and this was affected by changes in the income-based poverty assessment methodology developed by the United Nations. This measure has been expanded to include the wider assessment criterion of the delivery of health, education and social services (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2010). It seems that income may have been insufficient for measuring people's SoL. As Sen (1985:47) argues, '*successes and failures in the standard of living are matters of living conditions not of the gross picture of relative opulence that the GNP tries to capture in one real number*'. Instead, the broader societal elements of health services and education were prioritised for the SoL by the respondents in both case study areas in Mongolia during the field study in 2009.

The interviewees tended to describe a fulfilling life as being in good health, having their children educated, and having less fear. It seemed that the view about having a fulfilling life tended to depend on individual's needs. A herdsman, who classed her family as rich, with 910 animals and farming land, in the Gobi Desert region

described her expectation of good living entailing *'we have food and clothing, which are sufficient for us ... The most important is being [with SoL] in the middle range and with good health...'* (Respondent G1-25). This suggests that being healthy and providing for all their needs may be regarded as a good life. Some other people also stressed income security. As a woman who sold souvenirs and smoked fish in Hatgal village noted, her SoL was *'alright'*, although her family did not have any livestock. She further described *'we have no sustainable income. Sometimes we earn a lot, and another day we may earn nothing'* (Respondent G1-5). This suggests that secure income sources were important, even if occasional income could generate some large sums of money for rural households.

The fourth set of elements of SoL appeared to be socio-cultural (i.e. social networks and cultural bonds with the environment), as previously argued by Jorgensen, Jamieson and Martin (2010). The social networks here refer to a sense of community, and having relatives, friends and colleagues. To some extent it could also include social connections with important officials so as to get their voices heard on tourism-related development, land tenure policies and environmental conservation. In particular, the research findings suggest that having wider social networks in rural areas provided opportunities for people to achieve some of their goals. For example, a woman who sold handicrafts and meat in Hatgal village commented that *'I sometimes use the advantage of my friend, who works for the local governor's house, to obtain information about a bank loan with a low interest rate'* (Respondent, G1-7). This suggests that her social connection could foster her economic well-being. Such connections seem to have been relevant in tourism development. Some respondents were rather disappointed at having been excluded from decision making in relation to their livelihood-related matters. In the Gobi Desert region, for instance, a local villager who made handicrafts expressed *'people need good connections to gain benefits from tourism. People tend to communicate with the people having a good appearance [being well dressed], with money or status'* (Respondent G1-18). This may suggest that for some people a fulfilling life required holding some relative power in aspects of their life.

7.2.2. Livelihood sources: Mobile livestock keeping

This next section discusses the nature of Livestock keeping in relation to sustaining the needs of nomadic households in Mongolia's contemporary political, economic and environmental conditions. Livestock keeping in Mongolia continues to

rely on seasonal migrations between winter, spring, summer and autumn grazing areas, and it varies by the composition of herds (Upton, 2010) and the migration distance also tends to be vary regionally. Pasture land is common property, although the 2002 Land Laws permits exclusive rights of winter and spring shelter to herding households via a '*ezemshighchyn gerchilgee*' or certificate of possession (Sneath, 2010).

Although Livestock keeping is one of the most widely pursued livelihood activities among grassroots people in the case study areas, significant weaknesses have been noticed, as highlighted by the severe natural disasters of severe winters in 1999-2002 and 2010. Thus, many families lost the main livelihood resource of their livestock and they have been left impoverished.

In the Gobi Desert, as of 2009, animal husbandry was the prime source for nomadic herders' livelihoods, while small-scale irrigated farming had been practiced by some people in Bulgan district since the socialist period (Respondent, G1-17). Nomadic livestock-keeping often relies on year-round grazing, with good pasture being a vital source of animal fodder. Yet mobile livestock-keeping appears to be a vulnerable livelihood source because of low prices paid for animal products, in barter trading due to the large distances from major urban markets and the underdeveloped infrastructure. Bedunah and Schmidt (2004) argue that 56 % (total of 73) of herders in the Gobi Desert did barter trading with mobile traders in their area, and they found that the herders were often dissatisfied with the low prices they received by comparison with the market prices in the capital city of Ulaanbaatar, which were often broadcast in radio reports.

The privatisation of livestock in the state collectives after the collapse of the command economy in 1991 and 1992 (see Chapter 5 for detail) coincided with severe economic recession, and the privatisation allowed a significant number of villagers and urban families to resume livestock keeping as their main livelihood (Rossabi, 2005, Sneath, 2003). For example, until 1990 the main livelihood activities in Hatgal village in the Lake Hovsgol NP had been work in sewing factories, wool-washing, water transport and border trading with Russia, so that animal husbandry accounted for a relatively low share of livelihood activities. During the market economic transition since 1990, industrial output had declined, and as a consequence privatised sewing factories and other industries were often bankrupted and this resulted in souring unemployment in Hatgal village (Respondent G2-10). In 1975, Hatgal village was a town with 7,000 residents and over 30 factories, whereas, by 2003, the population had

declined to 2,792, the main factories had disappeared (Hatgal Governor's Office, 2009b), and many residents had migrated to urban and rural areas. As of 2009, 42 % of the population in Hatgal area were herders, some of whom had got their animals due to the livestock privatisation.

The benefits of animal husbandry, however, have been greatly hampered by natural disasters, including the *zud* (cold, snowy winters), droughts and the impacts on water and grazing areas due to mining activities. Between 1970 and 2007, 887 springs and rivers, 2,096 streams, and 1,666 ponds and lakes had dried up in Mongolia, according to the Metrological Agency of Mongolia (Unuudur, 2010). River Ongi, for instance, flows out of the Khangai Mountain Range in Central Mongolia, and this used to reach the Lake Ulaan in the Gobi Desert, but as of 2009, the river flows only half-way due to gold mining operations at the watershed. As a consequence, many herders have suffered in the Gobi Desert due to a lack of water (Personal Communication, 2007). Owing to such environmental impacts of industrial operations, mobile livestock-keeping is under growing pressure as a result of the deteriorating quality of the grazing land and the reduction of water sources. The changing nature of the global climate, and the associated lack of rain and increased frequency of natural disasters, along with industrial impacts, seems to have made the lives of rural herders particularly difficult.

The natural disasters seem to have resulted in the severe socio-economic consequences of increased unemployment and poverty, as well as migration to urban settlements (i.e. Ulaanbaatar and Darkhan) and sometimes to foreign countries (i.e. Japan, South Korea and the USA) as legal or illegal migrant workers. Eventually, the new migrant residents in Mongolia's large cities have had to confront a lack of health and education services, including growing school drop outs (Algaa, 2007). Some people have found mobile livestock-keeping to be insufficient to have a fulfilling life, often because of climate change and the desertification of their grazing land. A herdsman in Hongoriingol area in the Gobi Desert, for example, commented how '*the carrying capacity of the pasture is becoming a difficult issue in Hongoriingol. We cannot prepare any hay due to the increased number of animals*' (Respondent, G1-20). This indicates that the growing number of animals has tended to exceed the capacity of the pastures. Some have blamed a growing number of goats, which have being favoured by herders due to its cashmere value, for the deterioration of the pastures. An officer from the Ministry of Nature Environment Tourism, for instance, argued that there has

been *'soil is degraded by goats rather than by tourists'* (Respondent, G2-8). Because a goat pulls out a plant's roots when she feeds it is believed that this stops any further growth of that plant.

As of 2009, 58.2 % of households had private livestock in the Hatgal area (Hatgal Governor's Office, 2009b). It can be seen therefore that the majority of households who lived in Hatgal have benefitted from animal husbandry. Thus, livestock-keeping appears to be an important livelihood source for some people in the rural parts of Mongolia. It often generates its benefits immediately via providing the herders with meat and dairy products. Therefore, animal husbandry appears to be favoured by many herders given the grazing land and water sources are sufficient. A woman, who herded livestock and grew vegetables in the Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert said *'difficulties for our livelihoods are drought and zud and the insufficiently good pasture for animals'* (Respondent, G1-25). This suggests animal husbandry is rather fragile in the current climatic conditions due to the lack of precipitation and of grazing pastures. Severe natural disasters have tested the traditional livestock-keeping in Mongolia, as discussed in Chapter 5. Therefore, some grassroots people appear to prefer to diversify their livelihood sources. An example of such practices is a woman who had been classed as from an average SoL, and was from the Gobi Desert, who said that *'a large herd of animals is no good for the owner. People who do something besides their animal husbandry seem to have a good living or are richer, and you feel it when you visit them'* (Respondent, G1-21). This suggests that diversifying livestock-keeping with other livelihood activities can lead to a better SoL. Also, there may be a constant shortage of cash due to the low price paid for animal products, and that seemed to have resulted in a greater interest in diversifying into alternative livelihood activities.

7.2.3. Livelihood sources: Combining tourism with livestock-keeping

The next section discusses grassroots people's perceptions about how tourism was being integrated into traditional livelihood activities in Mongolia. Tourism was seen as an appropriate livelihood activity by some people, but others seemed to consider tourism as economic exploitation because it was felt to offer insufficient wage for the intense labour required of its workers. Thus, the study found these mixed and co-existing views among the grassroots people in the case study areas.

Although animal husbandry appeared to be a prime livelihood source for the majority of rural households, many families had sought additional livelihood sources in cash scarce communities. Therefore, tourism emerged as an additional livelihood source for some people in the case study areas, which had valued natural and cultural resources for tourism. Mongolia's political and economic transition may have resulted in the deterioration of people's SoL because of increased unemployment due to the collapse of the state industries (discussed in Chapter 5). However, democracy and a market economy provided individuals with more freedom to pursue their own lives. Many families had, thus, diversified their livelihoods via the privatisation of state livestock and other sources into such activities as tourism.

The herders appear to earn main cash income periodically. This occurs, firstly, in the spring (between March and April) when the goats' cashmere became loose and ready to be combed. The second period for major revenues is at the beginning of the winter (between November and December), when the animals had gained their maximum weight. However, grassroots people's major spending tend to occur (i) during the autumn (August and September) when the new academic year begins simultaneously children's study costs and students' tuition fees are due; (ii) during the festive season of the Lunar New Year Festival in the spring (dates vary between January to March) (personal observation).

As can be seen, therefore, there was almost a 6-months gap between herders' major revenues and the major spending time that tended to occur in the interim. Therefore, many herders seemed to seek additional sources of cash income. This seasonal pattern may also have affected their purchasing behaviours, and many families often rely on barter trading, where they borrow their purchased items from their local village shops and then pay them back later when they had earned their seasonal cash revenues from their animals (personal communication, 2009). Such seasonal revenues and the vulnerability of this animal husbandry to natural disasters, seems to have resulted in herders in the case study areas to become much more likely to engage in tourism. It appears that alternative income sources are perhaps vital for grassroots people, especially if they have few livestock.

However, the degradation and desertification of the livestock grazing lands, often believed to be due to global warming, appeared to have resulted in difficulties in finding sufficient grazing areas for herders, especially those with a large number of

animals (Rosales and Livinets, 2010). Thus, having many livestock may be an unreliable income source due to the frequent natural disasters. So it can be seen that an additional livelihood source may reduce the vulnerability of grassroots people's lives. Given the opportunities and resources available, tourism seems to be a good addition to their rural livelihoods. In particular, in the areas with high touristic natural and cultural value, many people could combine their traditional livelihood activities with tourism.

The tourism season in Mongolia is also between June and August, a period when the rural herders tend to lack cash. Thus, this came at a particularly good time for the herders to take part in tourism-related livelihood activities (personal observation, 2009). The households with a small number of animals tend to have less of a workload, and they could thus more easily become involved in tourism-related activities. It appears that the size of the households and the types of animal they herded tend to be an important influence on whether the herder families combined tourism-related jobs with their traditional activities. Families with horses and camels could become involved in horse and camel trekking, or families with cattle could sell their dairy products to *ger* camps. In the case study areas, the majority of tourists were involved in horse and camel trekking trips when tourists also hired local herders with their pack horses, camels or yaks. Tourism was perhaps regarded as a good combination with traditional livelihood activities but it did not seem to be as simple as it first appeared. In the case study areas, for example, the households had to have a certain number of animals, which could be used in tourism-related jobs, and also family members who were available to work.

7.3. TOURISM'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEOPLE'S LIVING STANDARDS

Tourism's contribution to grassroots people's SoL is discussed in relation to three priority elements: economic, environmental and socio-cultural well-being. This section firstly discusses the practices and discourses about tourism's contribution to economic well-being via exploring how tourism business ownership tends to affect tourism's economic benefits for grassroots people and for the quality of their earnings. Secondly, the discourses about environmental well-being are considered. Here it emerges that tourism-related environmental impacts included the degradation of the quality of water and of land that affected the grassroots people's SoL. Thirdly, the practices and discourses about socio-cultural well-being are examined, in which tourism appeared to make the grassroots people's social networks either strong or weak, and that the cultural changes of commercialisation and alcoholism seem to affect the SoL. Also,

traditional nomadic herders and sedentary villagers could work together in the tourism development processes and that could produce an enhanced SoL in the case study areas.

7.3.1. Economic well-being

One of the prime incentives of tourism development for grassroots people seems its potential economic gains. As discussed in the previous section, tourism could be either a prime livelihood or a supplementary livelihood along with other main livelihood sources. Despite tourism companies reported a significant amount of cash spending in the local economy (i.e. wages, the purchase of animal products, various taxes), some of the grassroots people tend to perceive their economic benefits to be limited.

In Hatgal village in the Lake Hovsgol area, the interviewees reported that tourism was one of the main economic activities in the area. Grassroots people tended to be involved in tourism through self-employment and employment by tourism companies. In terms of tourism development, both organised and independent tourists visited the areas. Organised tours seemed predominantly to use the services provided by the *ger* camps, where grassroots people tended to be hired for service jobs. Those who were not employed by the *ger* camps often supply milk and fish to the *ger* camps, or else they sold handicrafts to the tourists who stayed at the *ger* camps.

Self-employed villagers appeared to be pleased about securing their livelihoods from tourism. A handicraft maker in the Lake Hovsgol area commented that *'we're very lucky people who live in Hatgal with such a natural beauty, where tourists come and buy our goods. We would not have done this if we were born in a different place'* (Respondent, G1-1). This suggests tourism is a good income source in the area due to its scenic nature, where they can sell their handicrafts to tourists without travelling to other places, which seem to save their transport costs and time.

The tourism literature also notes that budget travellers tend to spread the monetary benefit through their spending in geographically remote areas where other luxury tourists do not often venture (Loker-Murphy and Pearce, 1995, cited in Scheyvens, 2002:147). According to Polit (1991), independent tourists do not always require a high level of comfort and international standards. Therefore, to a certain extent, the villagers perhaps did not necessarily need to provide a sophisticated service (cited in Scheyvens, 2002:150). Also domestic tourists appear to consume similar types

of food and dairy products, which the rural people produce, so that too boosted the herders' cash revenues (Observation, 2009). In addition to that, there seem to be no communication barrier between the grassroots people and domestic tourists because of their common native language, as opposed to international tourists. Thus, the grassroots people are possibly able to sell their products in favourable conditions and with relatively easy communication.

However, tourism demand was only seasonal in Mongolia. Thus, people, further indicated their willingness to develop more tourism for the possibility of extending tourism's season. This further supports the view that tourism was often seen as an appropriate livelihood activity. An example was provided by a handicraft seller in the Lake Hovsgol area, *'people want to develop tourism more fully than today to extend it into winter tourism. Most of our family's income is from tourism-related jobs – probably 70 %'* (Respondent, G1-5). This suggests that tourism could be a good livelihood as it could provide the majority of a households' revenue, and in an area where few alternatives are available except through the area's natural beauty.

Another view about tourism's fair monetary benefits for local people's livelihood was widely held among *ger* camp operators. This was that while *'tourism only lasts for 3 months, the income earned [from tourism] during this period is being spent on children's study tuition and food'* (Respondent, G3-7). This suggests tourism earnings are often spent on students' tuition fees, one of the major costs for locals, which indicates tourism's significant economic returns despite the short season. A similar view was expressed by a director of a Scandinavian tour operator based in Ulaanbaatar, *'tourism generates [consumer] demand in the rural areas where...any given distance from the market is not profitable. Tourism is the only industry where [customers] come to your area, and buy your products without any transport costs for the locals'* (Respondent G3-3). This stresses how the host communities benefit from tourism as it has few extra costs and it does not require long distance travel in order to sell their local products.

Supporting the preceding argument, the tourism businesses commented that the income generated from tourism in the areas is relatively high regardless of tourism's short season. The grassroots people's wages also appeared to be appropriate to their skills. A *ger* camp operator in the Lake Hovsgol area, for example, argued that *'the wages for the ger camp staff vary. Full-time security staff gets 90,000 [USD 81] tugrugs*

monthly, I pay 160,000 [USD145] tugrugs for the manager monthly. If they think it is low they tell us or they say that they will leave for other jobs. I pay more than other camps pay their staff.’ (Respondent, G3-7). However, this also suggests that the wage of security staff was less than the national minimum wage of 108,000 tugrugs [USD 98].

Another example of the valuable economic contribution of *ger* camps was identified by a former manager of a luxury *ger* camp in the Gobi Desert region, invested by an American, *‘we paid 21 million tugrugs [USD19,090] for land tax, fuel, wage for drivers, local people and temporary staff, spending on meat, milk, vegetables, and mini-Naadam [festivals]. 25 million tugrugs [USD 22,727] for drivers in 2008.... In 2009, we paid 70-80 million tugrugs [USD 63,636-72,727], including individual and company income tax and VAT. All this money must be spent locally’* (Respondent, G3-1). This suggests significant economic benefits generated in the host destination. A similar monetary spending was reported by a *ger* camp operator in the Lake Hovsgol area, *‘we paid 45 million tugrugs [USD 40,909] locally’* (Respondent, G3-7). This spending was perhaps sufficient to pay the monthly minimum wage for 366 people. Tourist drivers, who use their own assets, such as their own private vehicle, for tours, seemed to have a reasonably good SoL in the areas, because they earned a fair wage for their role as a tourist driver.

In contrast, some residents in the Lake Hovsgol area complained insufficient wage level offered by tourism companies relative to their work load, the level of hardship, and long duration of shifts. An example was provided by a local guest house operator in Hatgal village in the Lake Hovsgol area, who complained that *‘when local people work as ger camp staff, they cannot get a fair wage for their labour’* (Respondent G1-12). This suggests that the local people are paid unfair wages to their hard labour. Also, many handicraft sellers commented that they left *ger* camp jobs because of the low wage and hard work. An interview with a group of souvenir sellers in the Lake Hovsgol area told, *‘relative to their [ger camp staff] long working hours (day and night with overtime) their wage is very low’* (Respondent G1-1). This indicates that the wage level earned by grassroots people in tourism jobs appears very low in comparison with the intensity of their work.

The researcher observed during his own work as a tour guide between 2007 and 2009 that the tourists who stayed in the *ger* camps often checked into the camps very late at night (12pm), or they often departed very early (4-5am) in the Lake Hovsgol

area, often due to the difficult road conditions from/to the nearest airport in the town of Murun (it takes 3 to 5 hours or even longer after rain or snow to travel over 100km). Traditional *gers* were adapted as tourist accommodation, with these being warmed by lighting the fire in the stove by *ger* camp staff once every night when temperatures dropped, and that was often between 3am and 4am, a very late hour for workers. In the case of the Lake Hovsgol, even in summer nights it can be very cold due to the Alpine climate at high altitude, which ranged from 1,640 to 3,160m above sea level. Such antisocial working hours and relatively low wages seem to result in grassroots people perceiving the *ger* camps' wages as low and unfair.

Another example of the low wages and poor working conditions in tourism was provided by some herders who lived near a *ger* camp over the summer. They claimed that *'we do this [horse hiring and working for a ger camp] regardless of the low wage because there are no other alternatives. As the horses are ridden for frequent trips and they cannot survive [in the winter], then the earnings from it are no good'* (Respondent, G1-10). This comment may indicate that the income generated from tourism is less than sufficient. Sometimes their horses, which are regularly ridden for trips, are unable to regain sufficient fat and die during the cold winters. In that way, eventually some people lost their horses as an important income source.

It was also suspected that people with fewer assets may have benefited relatively less from the tourism spending by the *ger* camps. Therefore, the grassroots people may prefer independent international or domestic tourists, as opposed to the organised tourists who usually stayed at *ger* camps. Supporting this, a camel wrangler in the Gobi Desert argued that *'I cooperate with 3 ger camps and they don't contribute to my livelihoods. I mostly host backpackers. Ger camps hire camels, except that there's not much benefit from them. There's only a limited benefit to the area'* (Respondent, G1-20). This suggests that herders tended to prefer independent tourists to hire their camels because tourists at the *ger* camps do not seem to generate enough business for the herders. However, for this case, independent backpackers seem to generate key income.

The study findings also provide evidence of another contrast in the views held by grassroots people. This was that tourism businesses operated by local people, who are native to the area, are perceived as more beneficial to the grassroots people than the relatively large and well established companies, which are often operated by people from outside the case study areas. Also, the village residents appear to perform rather

well in tourism businesses. Some grassroots people had started guest house and tour operating business in the case study areas, which usually provided accommodation and food services to independent international and domestic tourists and organise horse and camel trekking trips. These local businesses developed by grassroots people seem to be more supportive and more beneficial to their communities in the same area, by comparison with the tourism business operated by people from other parts of the country.

For example, three women, who sold handicrafts in Hatgal village in the Lake Hovsgol area commented that *'X' has a shop and café, they don't let us sell our products'* (Respondent G1-1). Their comments suggested that the businesses operated by people from other parts of the country do not allow them to sell their handicrafts. Handicraft sellers provided another example of an unsupportive *ger* camp, *"the owner of 'X' ger camp [from Ulaanbaatar] told them to 'go and don't sell things here'"* (Respondent G1-1). Thus, there were comments that the grassroots people were treated with less respect by tourism business operators from outside their communities, and that they were less supportive of these people selling their handicrafts to their clients.

A *ger* camp operator, who was born and brought up in Hatgal village, also claimed, *'I rather prefer to pay a fair wage [to my staff]. If I pay a third of the horse fee which I get from the clients to the herders, they will find it out. [So]I will lose my horse guides'* (Respondent G3-2). This suggests that some tourism companies prefer to pay a fair wage in order to keep their experienced staff. It also may be an indication of her desire to be fair to others from her own community. A similar story was told by another woman, who sold smoked fish and handicrafts in Hatgal village, *'Mr X helped us a lot to find a good idea, and to show us how to benefit from tourism, and he shared his expertise with us. [We should] give away some good land to those who have the heart to help locals in the area'* (Respondent G1-5). Her comments about *'those who have the heart'* suggests that genuine support could be given to them by the locally owned businesses, doing this by supporting and sharing their expertise in tourism with them. This further suggests that this support could encourage them to give away *'some good land'* to local business people. In other words, it appears that the view that land should be leased to the ones who brought most benefits to the local community with a good will.

Another evidence that local business people are more supportive to their community as *'We ask for the local guest houses on the phone [enquiring whether they have tourists]. They [the owners] are from Hatgal, so they are very different and supportive'* (Respondent G1-1). This suggests that the local guest house operators' treatment of these women was *'very different'* and *'supportive'*. In such ways the ger camp operators from other parts of the country seems to be treated less favourably by some grassroots people. In contrast some businesses that had been operated by the locals seem to receive much support from the local people, possibly due to their more respectful and supportive attitudes to grassroots people.

Another woman, who sold handicrafts and smoked fish in the Lake Hovsgol area, commented how the *'ger camps may not provide great support for local people's lives... and so there are no good relations with them. This is because there aren't many local people who work for the ger camps....and their staff are usually from Ulaanbaatar'* (Respondent G1-5). Her comments also indicate that the ger camps tended to employ staff from other parts of the country, often from the capital city of Ulaanbaatar. Due to such limited local support and the low level of employment of local people, the grassroots people often appear to show less respect towards the ger camps. Another example was provided by a local guest house operator in Hatgal village, *'ger camps employ people from Ulaanbaatar, and the local people only work as souvenir sellers and horse wranglers.'* (Respondent G1-12). This suggests that the ger camps tend to provide jobs for people from other parts of the country, and not for the local people.

In summary, tourism appears to contribute significantly to the economic well-being of grassroots people. For some people, however, tourism's potential was limited due to its restricted potential for employment growth and its seasonality, so that tourism development was not seen to provide sufficient livelihood sources for the wider population. An Officer from the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism commented, *'tourism is not the sector which provides jobs for everyone'* (Respondent, G2-8). Yet for those who were involved in tourism, its revenues clearly supplemented the household's livelihoods through, for example, covering the expenses of their immediate needs for food, clothing and education. Although tourism is one of the various livelihood sources for many rural families, it seems to have played a pivotal role for some families in pursuing their livelihoods. Some grassroots people had established

guest houses and *ger* camps, and these are perceived to be more beneficial to the community than the businesses run by the outsiders, which tend to be less considerate about the grassroots people.

7.3.2. Environmental well-being

In this section the discussion moves from the discourses about tourism's contribution to economic well-being to the discourses about environmental well-being. Both traditional animal husbandry and nature-based tourism tend to rely on a pristine environment, which further signifies the importance of the environmental quality or well-being. Having animal husbandry and farming in an unpolluted environment can provide the source of healthy food and simultaneously pristine landscape tend to be attractive destination for tourism. However, the tourism industry can sometimes cause adverse environmental impacts (i.e. pollution for fresh water and soil) that may have negative effects on the host community's SoL. Tourism's environmental impacts have been documented elsewhere by various researchers (Stonich, 1998, Gössling, 2003).

In the case study areas, animal husbandry, tourism and mining industries were competing for natural resources. Both areas have environmentally protected zoning in place within the NPs territory (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2, p.84-85). Each zone has a differing degree of restriction imposed on accessing to its territory and to its natural resources. Tourism activities are permitted in the designated tourism zone of the NPs (Respondent G2-15). Yet many people complained about tourism's environmental impacts in the areas, such as through its degradation of grazing land for livestock, and through water pollution caused by the *ger* camps' discharging of sewage, and by visitors bathing in the lakes and springs. In the Gobi Desert, for example, the arid soil system seemed to be easily degraded by passing vehicles (see Figure 7.2) or by the concentration of the permanent settlements of nomadic herders in a few scenic spots, with these being where they lived, simultaneously they are involved in tourism-related jobs over the summer along with livestock keeping (see Figures 7.3, 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6).

Livestock-keeping tend to rely on fresh pasture with nutritious vegetation and water resources. Thus, animal herding is often involved in seasonal migrations between selected grazing areas in order to avoid over-grazing and to adapt to the extreme seasonal temperature amplitude. This migration has survived for centuries and it is seen as a sustainable practice (Sneath, 2003). A herdsman, who operated a guesthouse in the

Hongoriingol area in the Gobi Desert, reported that *‘More families stay close to water sources in Hongoriingol over the summer. There were 20 families, but now there are almost 30 households for this summer. The pasture’s carrying capacity is becoming a difficult issue in Hongoriingol. We cannot take any hay from there due to the increased number of animals’* (Respondent G1-20). This suggests that the increased number households, near to the water sources, may have resulted in growing pressures on the grazing land. Many of the nomadic families are involved in tourism and they stay permanently in places in order to host tourists. Such tourism-related motives among households appear further degrade the common land through restricting the frequency of migrations of the traditionally livestock-keeping.

Figure 7.2 Vehicles parked outside a *ger* camp in the Hongoriingol area in the Gobi Desert, 2005.



Source: Author

A discourse concerning the degradation of the grazing land was also reported by a herdsman, who owned over 840 animals. He noted how *‘there are 5,000 animals in this area, and the [seasonal] migration is the only way of herding the livestock. So in the summer, they stay here to earn money’* (Respondent G1-22). This suggests that tourism is a prime reason for many nomads to stay to earn cash in the area, and this seem to be associated with negative impacts on the environment and grazing land. Also, the tourists’ vehicles tend to contribute to land degradation. A farmer in the Gobi Desert commented about one *‘negative side of tourism is soil erosion and dust generated by passing cars – 20 cars a day – which affect our farm land’* (Respondent G1-25). This suggests an increased degradation of pasture and farm land associated with tourism. Thus, mobile livestock-keeping may suffer from the reduced fertility of pastoral land,

despite pastoral nomadic livestock-keeping often relies on some good pasture. Degradation of the grazing area may restrict the abundance of fresh pasture for livestock, resulting in a lack of fodder, and starvation of animals during harsh winters. Consequently, the nomadic herders' SoL may deteriorate.

Another example of what was provided by a woman, who lost her livestock during the winter weather disaster in 2002 and who worked as a kitchen assistant for a *ger* camp in Hongoriingol in the Gobi Desert. She commented that *'now [as of 2005], the herders are opposing [the establishment] of ger camps. Just within 100 km, there are many new roads which have led to deteriorating pastures for animals. The locals aren't expressing their anger, though. In reality, the ger camps had been established on the fresh pasture and water sources without listening to the herders' opinions...The ger camps are intensifying the desertification in the Gobi. As a result of the ger camps' consumption of ground water, the oasis and its surrounding landscape is drying up intensively'* (Respondent G1-29). It suggests that the *ger* camp developments in relation to tourism, the dirt roads that lead to the *ger* camps, and their related water consumption have caused soil degradation and have intensified desertification in the Gobi Desert. The researcher also documented the soil degradation in tourist *ger* camp areas, as can be seen in Figure 7.2, where the vegetation is sparse in the Gobi Desert and frequent driving of tourist vehicles may have further reduced the amount of vegetation in the area.

Also, the local herders now seem to settle permanently over the summer in the Hongoriingol area in the Gobi Desert, instead of practicing frequent migrations. This can be seen from the example of two households in Hongoriingol area – see Figures 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, and 7.6. Those households had 5 and 9 *gers* respectively, with their number of *gers* being as many as a small *ger* camp could have. This suggests that hosting tourists was an important livelihood for these nomadic households. However, such changes of traditional migration patterns appear to lead to environmental degradation in the area not only via tourism itself, but also indirectly as tourism motivated the nomadic households' to be concentrated in the campsites.

Another tourism-related problem reported by interviewees was associated with discourses about potentially serious water pollution, possibly caused by sewage from *ger* camps and by tourists' pollution in the areas. An officer from the Governor's Office in Hatgal in the Lake Hovsgol area claimed that *'there's an apparent discharge*

of sewage from the ger camps into the ground... The lake is being polluted at minimal level. However, the lake water is the main source of drinking water. There's an increasing level of lake pollution' (Respondent G2-10). This suggests that the lake has been polluted because of tourism-related activities, including *ger* camps' discharging of sewage. Another *ger* camp operator in the Lake Hovsgol area reported that '*the neighbouring ger camp has no cement layer underneath the sewage container... So local people say that they discharge their sewage to the ground underneath'* (Respondent G3-7). This suggests that the Lake Hovsgol may have been polluted by the misconduct of some tourism businesses.

Figure 7.3 A nomadic family, who hosted independent tourists in the Gobi Desert, 2007



Source: Author

Figure 7.4 A nomadic family, who hosted independent tourists in the Gobi Desert, 2007



Source: Author

Figure 7.5 A nomadic family, who hosted independent tourists the Gobi Desert, 2007



Source: Author

Figure 7.6 A nomadic family, who hosted independent tourists in the Gobi Desert, 2007



Source: Author

Such pollution may have potentially serious human health implications, as can be seen in other countries (see Stonich, 1998). The Lake Hovsgol NP authorities have reported that regular water quality monitoring has proved that the water quality of Lake Hovsgol is ‘*clean*’, but not ‘*very clean*’ (Respondent G2-4). The cleanness in the 1970s has been compared not so favourably with the current level of water quality, although the lake water was still considered safe enough for drinking. However, a fish seller in Hatgal village reported that ‘*there were many children who got Hepatitis-A at school in*

2009. *Consequently, the school dormitory was quarantined*' (Respondent G1-7). Thus, her comments suggest there has been an outbreak of disease associated with unhygienic practices and unclean water. Although there was no evidence that the Hepatitis-A was caused by polluted water, there may be increasing risk factors due to tourism-related pollution.

Another herdsman in the Lake Hovsgol area noted how *'around the ger camps, there are many motor boats that dispose of their fuel on the lake. There are numerous boats in small and large sizes, and fishing nets. Nowadays, the tourists bath with soaps and pollute the lake'* (Respondent G1-10). This indicates that both the tourism industry and tourists pollute the lake. It is possibly that the rural people's strong sense of environmental protection and respect for the purity of lakes and rivers, may have encouraged the perception that tourism-related development is a main pollutant of the lake. In Mongolian tradition, any dirt, including blood and milk, is unacceptable in lakes or rivers. The grassroots people, with such ethical code may thus see tourism activities as the cause of the area's water pollution, and of its potentially negative effect on their SoL. Another example was provided by a herdsman in the Hongoriingol area in the Gobi Desert, who argued that the *'springs are polluted by bathing of tourists, where we take drinking water. There's a risk of diseases from five continents'* (Respondent G1-20). This suggest that rural people are particularly sensitive about water resources because these provide their drinking water, whereas bathing itself may be considered an unhealthy practice which puts people's health at risk because of potential diseases during tourism development.

Mongolia's daily newspaper, Unuudur, reported a growing risk of environmental pollution due to the *ger* camps and boat trips in the Lake Hovsgol area. It described, *'ger camps are becoming one of the sources of the disastrous pollution of the Lake Hovsgol. ... buildings and gers [are] at the sheer edge of the lake...'* and it continued by noting that *'the major concern is the sewage. This is because the permafrost around the lake doesn't allow the absorbed sewage to decay. Thus, human waste is at risk of being discharged into the lake... local people have reported that...[the ger camps] make a hole under the sewage tank. But there is not a single sewage carrying truck in Hatgal. Therefore, the lake's pollution has already began...there are three small-scale carrier boats, 20 motor boats...there is no guarantee that these boats will not discharge gasoline. "Sukhbaatar" ship has no water treatment facilities, and therefore it*

discharges its sewage into the lake' (Baasandorj, 2007.n.p.). This indicates an alarming level of environmental pollution that may have potentially hazardous consequences for residents' SoL, based on the water pollution-related risks (see Stonich (1998) for evidence elsewhere).

Further supporting this discourse, some souvenir sellers in Hatgal village commented, *'we worry about the environment. Nowadays, people wash and pollute the lake... Some tourists generate litter and do their washing in the lake. But washing in the lake is temporary, whereas the ger camps along the lake seem very "interesting"[suspicious]. Building camps on the shore of the lake is dirty'* (Respondent G1-1). Their comments suggest that tourists' bathing and washing pollute the lake, although pollution from tourists' bathing may well be less serious and temporary, whereas the permanent establishment of *ger* camps may be a permanent source of pollution and a major concern for grassroots people, as the respondents suspected.

It appears that tourism may negatively affect water quality in the case study areas, despite tourist water resources also being a main livelihood resource for residents. Although there is no solid evidence to associate tourism-related water pollution with the residents' health, this seems to be a growing risk for people's well-being. In particular, people with a traditionally strong sense of respect for nature do seem to have perceived the tourism-related environmental pollution as a danger and a potential source of deterioration in their SoL.

7.3.3. Socio-cultural well-being

Along with practices and discourses about economic and environmental well-being, tourism was also associated with discourses about socio-cultural well-being. Tourism's potent force for turning subsistence economies into a service industry is noted in the tourism literature (Gössling, 2003), with interactions between hosts and guests tending to result in a degree of change in the society and its culture. The next section discusses discourses about how these changes have affected socio-cultural well-being.

The discussion begins with some rather polarised discourses about social networks, including about (i) emerging community associations among the grassroots people; (ii) the disintegration of communities during the tourism development

processes. Afterwards, the discussion considers the practices and discourses about cultural changes associated with the tourism development processes, and its effects to socio-cultural well-being, the changing traditional values of hospitality through commercialisation, and the consequences of alcoholism. Some positive socio-cultural changes, however, were also observed for the grassroots people's education and self-confidence. Finally, the synergy between the nomadic and sedentary ways of living in relation to tourism development is explored.

Firstly, actors in the case study areas revealed that there had been a degree of social changes. Although social changes tend to be associated with wider political-economic changes, like the broad post-socialist transition in Mongolia (Danzan, n.d), tourism could still be seen as a powerful force for the likely changes in the society (Gössling, 2003). People tend to associate tourism with various social interactions, notably with the need for wide social networks, and that can itself be an important element of their SoL. The collective nature of rural communities often seen as a very traditional relationship in the rural areas that was important for their basic survival. In the case of the Lake Hovsgol area, the grassroots people commented about the value of community support networking among themselves for tourism-related jobs. For example some handicraft makers in Hatgal village, who observed that *'we're very informative to each other and tell each other if some useful items, such as camel wool, are being sold, and then we buy together [in whole]'* (Respondent G1-7). It suggests that their attitudes to each other are mutually supportive via sharing their information and financial burdens. Also these handicraft makers mentioned in their conversation: *'let's collect a few tugrugs and visit [X]'s mom'* (Respondent G1-1). This suggests they show their empathy to help the mother of their handicraft maker friend, who had passed away at a young age. This can be seen as a strong sense of community and a support system amongst these women. Thus, tourism-related activities perhaps broadened some of the grassroots people's social experience via building upon and even creating new and strong social networks. Those who were self-employed in the rural areas seemed to create their own social networks through their livelihood activities, almost like colleagues in an organisation. Having such close networks may have been an important resource for their lives, and it may have significantly enhanced their SoL.

Other forms of social networking were evident among the grassroots people as a result of the tourism development processes, these often being based on helping each

other for mutual and reciprocal benefits. An example was provided by a herdsman in the Gobi Desert as *'People give their gers to X... or to Xx..., to host tourists'* (Respondent G1-22). Here herders rent out their *gers* to other families for hosting tourists, with the former earning rent and thus extra income from their family's *gers*, and both groups mutually benefit from this arrangement. In the Lake Hovsgol area, a local handicraft maker also commented that *'We have established a handicraft [sellers]' association in 2005. There are about 60 people in it, who sell handicrafts, of whom, 30 travel to sell [souvenirs]. I also ask for some people to sell my items and I give [them] commission'* (Respondent G1-7). This suggests that some people earned commission through selling other peoples' handicraft items in different places. These mobile souvenir sellers were often women, who travel on bicycles, motorbikes or by foot, as can be seen in Figures 7.7 and 7.8. This is another example of social networking, where local people help and support each other in one way or another. A similar story was told by a local pensioner, whose daughter made souvenirs, *'she [her daughter] earns over 200,000 tugrugs [or USD 180] [during the tourism season]. Her kidney is not so good, and therefore her friends sell her stuff for her'* (Respondent G1-2). This again suggests that members of the local communities help each other in relation to tourism opportunities, such as by selling their friend's souvenir items while they are ill.

Social networking seems to be extended beyond local communities to rather wider networks due to the nature of tourism businesses. An example was provided by an elderly nomadic couple who operated a guest house in the Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert. They argued that *'...we don't have anything missing, and therefore physiologically we feel content, calm and with no concerns... Having a good relationship with other people, we feel good'* (Respondent G1-16). Their comments suggest that tourism contributed their social needs through it enabling them to have new and wider social networks. They felt 'content' and concern free, helped by their new and broader network of friendship with people beyond their local community. Thus, tourism-related social networks can result in an improved sense of SoL.

By contrast, there was also evidence that tourism-related activities could at times result in a degree of disintegration of community spirit in the rural areas, such as through an intensified competition over tourism-related revenues. In the Gobi Desert, for example, a herdsman commented that *'people's relations are becoming less friendly. Maybe that is because of tourism...and selfishness, which can be seen as a negative side*

of tourism. There were certain frictions and rivalry between families around the camel renting fee for the last 5 or 6 years' (Respondent G1-20). This suggests that tourism can potentially encourage traditional communities to become more individualistic. So it seems that tourism development processes could result in both the building and disintegration of social networks in Mongolia. However, these views are not expressed by many people.

Figure 7.7 Mobile souvenir sellers were often women in the Lake Hovsgol area, 2006



Source: Author

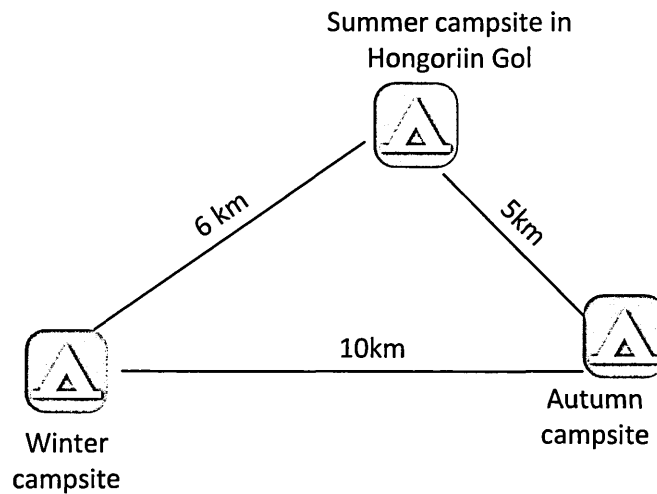
Figure 7.8 Mobile souvenir sellers heading to find tourists in the Lake Hovsgol area, 2009



Source: Author

Secondly, with regard to cultural changes, the nomadic herders were adapting their lives through tourism becoming a part of their livelihoods. In particular, they appeared to alter their traditional seasonal migration routines by staying at specific campsites for longer than usual, as in the case of the Bayanzag and Hongoriingol areas in the Gobi Desert. There the traditional four seasonal campsites had sometimes become just two campsites, and also the distance between these campsites had become much shorter than in other parts of the country. Traditionally, they had migrated in each of the four seasons to a different campsite across relatively long distances. However, a herdsman in Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert commented, *'Our winter campsite is 8km, our autumn and spring ones are 2 km away. We used to live across longer distances [previously]. Our culture is changing'* (Respondent G1-16). This suggests that the distance between nomadic herders' seasonal campsites had indeed significantly shortened. Another example can be seen in Figure 7.9, where the distance shown between seasonal campsites based on a herder's comments about his family's migration routes, which ranged between 5km and 10 km (Respondent G1-20). The distances between the campsites in his family's migration were the longest of all the interviewed herders who were involved in tourism in the Gobi Desert in 2009. Another example was disclosed by a woman, who worked for a *ger* camp in Hongoriingol *'these 10 families should have moved away during such a dry summer, but they are still here. They are only thinking about money and don't care about their camels. They have got only 2 campsites instead of four. The [tourists'] translators say that there's no nomadic way of life now'* (Respondent G1-30). Her comment further acknowledged that tourism-related motives had led some families to stay in one place permanently with their animals in the area. She also recognises the perceptions of some tourist guides that perhaps the nomadic culture is disappearing as a result. Such tourism-related changes in nomads' everyday life are significant cultural changes and they may be seen as destructive of the nomadic way of life, as also suggested in Figures 7.3 and 7.6.

Figure 7.9 Distances between a nomadic herder's seasonal campsites in the Hongoriingol area in the Gobi Desert, 2009.



Source: Developed by author based on Respondent G1-20

However, for some people, such tourism-related cultural changes appeared to undermine traditional values through commercialization. A local guest house operator in Hatgal village expressed his regret that *'people in the main tourist areas don't offer a cup of tea, and almost everything is valued by money'* (Respondent G1-12). It suggests that the traditional norm of an unconditional offer of tea for their guests had disappeared. Such commercialization was often perceived through deterioration in the traditional hospitality toward their guests. A similar view was held by a *ger* camp operator in the Lake Hovsgol area *'people in Jankhai don't show the genuine Mongolian tradition of hospitality. All things are associated with dollars. These are no good'* (Respondent G3-2). This suggests that genuine traditional hospitality had declined due to things increasingly being valued in *'dollars'*, prompted in this case by tourism. Tourism seem to be associated by some with such diminishing cultural values in the case study areas.

There are also negative discourses about alcohol consumption during tourism development, and alcohol seemed to be linked to a diminishing SoL in the case study areas. A report by the Government of Mongolia with UNDP on human development in Mongolia highlighted *'positive correlations between heavy alcohol consumption and unemployment and poverty'*, and alcoholism was considered *'an obstacle to emerge from poverty'* (Government of Mongolia et al., 2007:47). In the tourism context, during

the fieldwork in 2009 an elderly herdsman complained that *'young people rent horses for tourists, but all they earn go to pay off loans at the shops... binge drinking is widespread. We cannot rest at night. Youth's wages "go" to vodka'* (Respondent G1-10). This suggests that the young generation may spend their tourism earnings at local shops, often for vodka. Such drinking habits were described by older generations as 'binge drinking', and it is considered unwelcome as it kept them awake at night, causing discomfort.

Excessive alcohol drinking is practiced not only by the local youth but sometimes also by the tourists, mostly domestic tourists. Such excessive drinking appeared to negatively affect local people's SoL in various ways. In Hatgal village in the Lake Hovsgol area, the researcher observed drunken visitors trying to bargain over the price of smoked fish at a local meat and fish selling stand during an interview with a group of local people on the street of Hatgal village. A local woman had a heated argument with a drunken visitor, and said afterwards *'Life is like this: to earn a few tugrugs, rude Mongolians, who are drunk ...Mongolians are very stressful until they have left. They go drinking all night...They put their loud music on in the car, and they drink and dance all night'* (Respondent G1-7). This suggests that visitors' excessive drinking habits could result in a degree of stress among local residents, affecting their daily work and life, in the Lake Hovsgol area. Drunken locals were also observed during the field work on 17 June, 2009. The researcher was then in the Jankhai area of the Lake Hovsgol, and he came across one of the interviewees in someone's *ger*, and he was only just recovering from his hangover from the previous night. That same evening, the researcher could not continue another interview with a local herdsman because he was too drunk. These incidents may suggest that tourism has been associated with an excessive alcohol consumption by both hosts (often young people) and guests, and this seem to negatively affect the residents' SoL.

The discourses about cultural changes in tourism development processes are not all negative. Many rural people had, for example, gained significant elements of education through tourism. The most widely acknowledged skills that rural people gained from tourism employment were learning foreign languages and communication skills. An example was provided by an officer from Mercy Corpus International NGO, *'children working for the ger camps learn to speak in English. Many Mongolians, who have good jobs now, had developed many skills working as a tour guide: they acquire*

language skills, learn how to work with international people, and how to manage them. It's an intangible benefit of tourism' (Respondent G2-1). This suggests that tourism tended to contribute to some local people's education, which seem to lead to better jobs in the future because of the skills they had acquired. This was a particularly common view held by many staff of tourism businesses and NGOs.

Another gain for the rural people from tourism seem to be enhanced self-confidence and improved communication skills through working in tourism. An officer from a Mongolian NGO argued *'what rural people are aware of is that they realise that tourists come to see their lives and how they live, and their nomadic culture and landscape. Now, the communication between companies and rural people has developed from a less supportive and loose relationship, to the level where they can cooperate together'* (Respondent, G2-7). This is an example of the realization among grassroots people that their own culture and landscape is valued by outsiders, and the related increase in self-confidence appear to encourage them to develop skills through tourism, and this in the long run can greatly enhance people's SoL. It was further acknowledged by a *ger* camp operator in the Lake Hovsgol area that *'relations between tourism companies and residents are getting better. They have started understanding the importance of being employed, which helps their livelihoods'* (Respondent, G3-7). This suggests that through communicating with the tourism industry the grassroots people increasingly appreciate the related economic benefits of tourism-related employment.

Finally, tourism development encouraged an important synergy between the traditional nomadic culture and sedentary village life. Both the nomadic and sedentary cultures appear to mutually supplement each other. In Mongolia, the existence of a traditional nomadic culture is often seen as one of the main attractions for international tourists. The herders appear to be the ones who provide the horses, camels and yaks for trekking trips for tourists. The traditional festivals are still key attractions for tourists. In such ways, there was much potential for the rural herders to benefit from tourism. Although the villages seemed less attractive to tourists, they also benefitted through purchase of the herders and tourists for their consumptions. In the case study areas, the villagers often were the ones who produced the handicrafts, which can provide very convenient jobs for grassroots people. Thus, it appears that rural villages and nomadic herders hardly possible to exist without each other. So the tourism industry seemed to

be based on both cultures, and it contributed to the grassroots people's SoL in rural areas in both contexts. In this sense, the villagers in the tourist destination areas may play a vital role that can be overlooked. Commercialisation and community disintegration seems to be unavoidable during tourism development whilst community integration also emerges due to tourism.

7.4. SUBJECTIVE STANDARDS OF LIVING ASSOCIATED WITH TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

After discussing the elements of SoL and tourism's contribution to the grassroots people's SoL, three broad categories of SoL emerged: (i) average, (ii) below average, and (iii) above average, as shown in Tables 7.1 -7.4 as the researcher identified based on the interviewees' opinions. The next section discusses each of these categories in details. The categories were created based on the various perceptions of the 36 grassroots people from 31 households in the case study areas, based on their views and comments on their SoL, as summarised in Table 7.2. The rationale is based on the principles that individually are the best judges of their own lives.

The '*above average*' category was self-attributed by 8 (22.2 %) respondents, whereas '*average*' and '*below average*' categories were self-attributed by 19 (52.8 %) and 9 (25 %) of the respondents respectively. Thus, a large majority (as many as 27 respondents or 75 %) of the 36 grassroots people perceived their own SoL as '*average*' or '*above average*', whereas only 25 % perceived their SoL as '*below average*'. The households from the '*above average*' category of SoL had livestock herds ranging from 75 to 1,732 animals by the 'sheep head count' method² (or 160 livestock per person), while the households in the '*average*' SoL category had livestock herds ranging from 0 to 528 livestock (an average of 55 animals per person), which is less than one third of the number that the people in the '*above average*' category owned. The households in the '*below average*' SoL category had livestock numbers ranging between 0 and 308 (an average of 19 livestock per person which is 8 times fewer livestock than the '*above average*' category or nearly one third of the livestock that an average household owned (field research, 2009).

² The National Statistical Office of Mongolia uses the following 'sheep head count' equivalents when counting livestock, where 1 camel counts as 5 sheep, 1 horse counts as 7 sheep, 1 cattle counts as 6 sheep, 1 goat counts as 0.9 sheep in terms of market value.

Table 7.1 Summary of the analysis of the grassroots people's SoL in the case study areas

Categories of perceived SoL	Below average	Average	Above average	Total (N)
Total number of households/respondents	6/9	18/19	7/8	N31/36
Share of households/respondents in percent	19.3%/25%	58%/52.8%	22.6%/22.2%	N100%
Range in the number of livestock	0-308	0-528	70-1,732	0-1,732
Average years of education	8 years	11 years	7 years	
Average number of household members	4	4	5	
Average number of livestock, per household	76	219	800	76-800
Average number of livestock, per person	19	55	160	19-160

The respondents from the 'below average' category described their SoL as '*stagnant*', '*not much good*', '*below average*', '*life is not getting better*', '*not sufficient*', as shown in Table 7.2. These households had an average of 4 members in the family and 76 livestock, which was often regarded as an insufficient number to provide for their basic needs. These people regularly explain that because of their insufficient household income they cannot send their children to university and for some, ill health limit their ability to work (Respondent G1-18). These people seem to lack with vital livelihood capabilities. The people from the '*below average*' category are often villagers who have no livestock, and some were herders who had many children but few livestock. Within this category, as many as seven out of nine people (77.7 %) are not involved in tourism and do not receive tourism-related income. Although one respondent is actively engage in horse hiring in the Lake Hovsgol area, his family have only 4 horses and 21 cows, which equate with 154 sheep in the 'sheep head count' (Respondent G1-6). The herdsman described his SoL as '*there's not much good... not much*' (Respondent G1-6). A villager suggested that '*educated people can live much better*' (Respondent G1-18), but it was found that respondents from the 'below average' category had an average of only 8 years of education. This perhaps does suggest that education could be an important influence on having a better SoL.

An 'average' SoL is self-reported by the majority of the respondent (52.8 %), or 58 % of total grassroots households (see Table 7.3). They describe their SoL as 'alright', 'fine', 'decent', 'sufficient', 'better than other areas, enough income', 'neither poor nor rich', 'not much difficulties', 'covers our material needs', 'sufficient food and clothes'. These respondents with 'average' SoL often make comparisons of their SoL from an historical perspective. Thus, a guest house operator in Jankhai in the Lake Hovsgol area noted that the 'Very poor in the village is shifting towards the average', and the '[SoL is] alright, it was tough... but it is getting better... the average is... much better' (Respondent G1-8), and a fish seller in Hatgal in the Lake Hovsgol area commented that the SoL 'got better' (Respondent G1-5). These temporal comparisons may suggest that the SoL has improved by comparison with previous years. Comparisons were also made between the areas with tourism and those without tourism development.

Table 7.2 Profile of the respondents from the 'below average' category of SoL

No	Respondents	Age	Gender	Family members	Education years	Number of Livestock per household	Below Average SoL	Livelihood sources
1	G1-18	48	F	7	10	0	<i>'Our lives are stagnant and we earn occasional good income from gold mining and goyo'</i>	Villager, disabled, artisanal mining
	G1-18	49	M		8			
2	G1-14	40	F	8	8	25	<i>'I can see street children in Ulaanbaatar on TV. Our kids are at home. So we're not poor. However, I am confused whether I am poor or not'</i>	Villager, farming
	G1-14	40	M		8			
3	G1-15	40	F	6	8	75	<i>'My living standard is below average, with many dependants and no constant income'</i>	Farming and Livestock keeping
4	G1-10	58	F	6	8	201	<i>'Life is not sufficient...our SoL is below average' 'Backside of the skirt is taken to be used to cover the</i>	Livestock keeping
	G1-10	55	M		4			

							<i>holes in the front side'</i>	
5	G1-4	29	M	5	8	0	<i>'Tourism helps with my life for 2-3 months...the camps take most of the money, so the herders' life is not getting better'</i>	Tourism
6	G1-6	50	M	4	10	154	<i>'Our SoL is good and bad, but there's not much good... not much'</i>	Tourism (70%) & Livestock keeping
Total/ Average	9	45	F4/ M5	4	8	76		2 households involved in tourism

A tourist driver from Dalanzadgad in the Gobi Desert noted, *'I bought a garage and a car for my wife and myself...I am living in a good condition. People's lives are better here than in the places with no tourism'* (Respondent G1-27). This suggests that purchasing a car was regarded as luxury. Yet, he further commented *'40 % of his earnings come from tourism'* (Respondent G1-27) which suggests that tourism could make substantial contribution to grassroots people's SoL. Another example of a territorial comparison was provided by a guest house operator in the Lake Hovsgol area, *'SoL is better here than in other districts. It is alright [davgui], I am happy, with money and power etc'* (Respondent G1-12). This is comparison of people's SoL between tourist areas and non-tourist areas which indicates a degree of importance of tourism in a tourist area.

The households involved in tourism-related livelihoods reported that tourism's contribution often accounted for 50-70 % of their household's revenues, a highly significant contribution of tourism to grassroots people's SoL. Six out of 15 households (40 %) who pursued their livelihoods from tourism and other activities reported that tourism contributes over 50 % of their household revenues, as shown in Table 7.3. Tourism's contribution was often regarded as meeting the households' needs for food, shelter, clothing and education. A herder woman in the Lake Hovsgol area, for instance, commented how the SoL was, *'alright [gaigui] ... some are as they were... there's no deterioration. There aren't many difficulties here. Life is fine [dundaj]. Almost every family has a TV and mobile phone. There's no need to migrate to*

Ulaanbaatar.’ This assures the perceived importance of material needs for one’s SoL, and this suggests no deterioration of SoL. Yet, a public sector worker in Bulgan area in the Gobi Desert commented *‘have meals every evening without eating twice’* (Respondent G1-19). This suggests he just managed to provide for his needs, although he also perhaps felt his life was in the middle range and without an abundance of material consumption.

Table 7.3 Profile of the respondents from the ‘average’ category of SoL

No	Respondents	Age	Gender	Family members	Education years	Number of Livestock per household	Average SoL	Livelihood sources
1	G1-5	31	F	6	10	0	<i>‘Alright, it has got better...’</i>	Tourism (70%)
2	G1-8	33	F	3	14	0	<i>‘Very poor in the village, shifting to average’</i>	Tourism & the public sector
	G1-8	60	F		10		<i>‘Alright, it was tough, getting better, average, much better...’</i>	
3	G1-12	31	M	3	14	0	<i>‘Better than other districts, Alright’</i>	Tourism (100%)
4	G1-1	42	F	4	10	36	<i>‘average’</i>	Tourism (50%)
5	G1-9	37	F	5	10	110	<i>‘Poor on the record, but a decent living’</i>	Livestock keeping & Tourism
6	G1-26	44	F	5	10	332	<i>‘average’</i>	Tourism (significant) & Livestock keeping
7	G1-10	62	M	6	10	400	<i>‘alright [gaigui] ... ger camp job is an unending job, from dawn to dusk’</i>	Livestock keeping & Tourism
8	G1-11	29	F	1	10	450	<i>‘There aren’t many difficulties here. Life is fine[dundaj]’</i>	Livestock keeping & Tourism
9	G1-7	35	F	4		485	<i>‘Life is no good for some, but we’re alright’</i>	Tourism(majority) & livestock
10	G1-17	55	M	6	16	505	<i>‘Average, it has got better’</i>	Tourism (50%) & farming

								other employment
11	G1-6	51	M	4	10	528	<i>'People's lives are getting better. People do all sorts of things. There are always good and bad aspects everywhere'</i>	Tourism (70%)& Livestock keeping
12	G1-27	35	M	4	10	75	<i>'Good condition, better than other areas...'</i>	Mechanic & Tourist driver (40%)
13	G1-24	40	F	4	10	152	<i>'Got better'</i>	Livestock keeping & tourism
14	G1-6	42	M	8	10	308	<i>'SoL is fine, but for some it is not that good'</i>	Tourism (70%) & Livestock keeping
15	G1-11	26	F	3	8	197	<i>'alright [gaigui] ... some are as they were... there's no deterioration. There aren't many difficulties here. Life is fine [dundaj]. Almost every family has a TV and mobile phone. There's no need to migrate to UB'</i>	Livestock keeping
16	G1-13	36	M	5	8	50	<i>'Enough income for 5, improved SoL, poor and rich is subjective'</i>	Shop keeper
17	G1-2	70	F	5	8	270	<i>'average'</i>	Livestock keeping & handicraft
18	G1-19	49	M	8	14	356	<i>'have meals every evening without eating twice'</i>	public servant
Total/ Average	19	43	F11/ M8	4	10	224		15 households involved in tourism

The 'above average' SoL is described as 'good', 'better than other areas', 'decent', 'feeling of being content', 'good living, better purchasing power', 'having not many poor' as shown in Table 7.4. Those who perceived their SoL to be 'above average' accounted for 22.2 % of the respondents, while they owned an average of 800 livestock per household, which was much higher than for households in the other categories. Four out of 7 households (57 %) who pursued their livelihoods from tourism and other activities reported that tourism contributed more than 50 % of their household revenues, which can be regarded as a major part of their livelihoods.

The provision of material needs from various sources may have allowed them to perceive their SoL as at an '*above average*' level. Herders who operated a guest house in Bayanzag in the Gobi Desert argued that '*we don't have anything missing, and therefore psychologically [setgel sanaa] we feel content, calm and with no concerns*' (Respondent G1-16). Their comments indicate that tourism played a major role for them in feeling content about their SoL.

Overall 23 out of 36 grassroots households were involved in various tourism livelihood activities, which was almost 64 % of the total households interviewed in the case study areas. Among those involved in tourism, 15 households (65 %) stressed that tourism had contributed over 50 % of their household revenues, so it was a very important income source, and in some instances it contributed 70 % of the total household revenues.

Table 7.4 Profile of the respondents from the 'above average' category of SoL

No	Respondents	Age	Gender	Family members	Education	Number of Livestock per household	Above average SoL	Livelihood sources
1	G1-16	65	F	4	4	775	<i>'Life is easy and rich for others'</i>	Tourism (50-60%) & Livestock keeping
	G1-16	65	M		4		<i>'Feeling of content'</i>	Tourism(50-60%) & Livestock keeping
2	G1-21	56	F	3	7	790	<i>'Good, got better, not many poor ...'</i>	Tourism (very important) & animal herding
3	G1-22	31	M	4	10	910	<i>'Good living, better purchasing power. Not many poor'</i>	Tourism(50%) & Livestock keeping
4	G1-20	64	M	6	10	1732	<i>'Alright, a lot of improvement, better than other areas, but no satisfaction... decent condition'</i>	Tourism (important) & Livestock keeping
5	G1-23	52	M	6	10	418	<i>'Decent condition, average, better than other areas'</i>	Tourism (50%) & Livestock keeping
6	G1-25	43	F	10	10	910	<i>'Decent or rich. Prefer to be in the middle with no health issues'</i>	Livestock keeping & farming
7	G1-3	55	F	4	4	70	<i>'Neither poor nor rich'</i>	Livestock keeping & tourism
Total / Average	8	50	F4/M4	5	7	800		7 households involved in tourism

7.5. INEQUALITY OF OUTCOMES, OPPORTUNITIES AND CAPABILITIES FROM TOURISM

This section discusses the multidimensional aspects of tourism and SoL, focusing on how the extent of inequality of outcomes, opportunities and capabilities from tourism development processes are perceived by the different actors in the case study areas in Mongolia. It is theoretically underpinned by Sen's capability approach to measuring SoL, as opposed to a single income-based approach (World Bank, 2006). This capability approach was discussed in detail in the literature review section (Chapter 2) and in the conceptual framework (Chapter 3). Discussing inequalities in different forms in relation to tourism development, based on the views of the people in the case study areas, may deepen our understanding of the intertwined relations between society, inequality and tourism development. Discussing the discourses among different social groups about interrelations between tourism and inequalities relate to SoL makes a valuable contribution in tourism studies and it may deepen our knowledge of tourism and society in the context of rural areas in the developing world.

The themes of the extent of inequality of outcomes, opportunities and capabilities, and also of environmental justice, emerged not only from the theoretical literatures but also from the practical results from the field work in the case study areas in Mongolia. The arguments are distilled from the interviews with four broad categories of actors that include grassroots people, government officials, tourism businesses, IDOs and NGOs in the case study areas.

7.5.1. A degree of income inequality in Mongolia at the national scale

This section discusses practices and discourses about equality of outcomes which mainly concerns the income inequalities that emerged from tourism development in the two case study areas. Three broad discourses about income inequality in relation to tourism emerged from the field study, and each will be discussed in turn. The first discourse was about a growing income inequality in Mongolia. This was seen in the review of previous studies, including numerous reports, along with the views of the interviewees during the field work in the case study areas in Mongolia. The second discourse was about tourism's contribution to the in equality of income in the case study areas framed around comparisons of perceived inequality (i) between grassroots people in the case study areas, (ii) between grassroots people and other people (i.e. business

people, local rich people and officials) in the case study areas and (iii) between people in tourist destinations and the neighbouring areas.

It seems vital to discuss how tourism contributes to income inequalities, particularly during its development in rural regions in the developing world (i.e. Mongolia) through exploring practices and discourses among the different actors. The discussion about income inequality here is based on the views of different actors who are involved directly in tourism development and indirectly in tourism development (i.e. herders who shared their natural resources for their animal husbandry with the tourism industry). Therefore, it appears vital to explore the discourses of how different actors frame income inequalities in relation to tourism development.

Income is widely regarded as a partial measure of the SoL, being the traditional measure of the conceptual idea of welfare before the more multidimensional measures of SoL emerged (Kuklys, 2005). Also, the interviewees in the case study areas in Mongolia tend to report about income equality issues frequently during the field work. Thus, a capability approach was introduced by Sen. This approach emphasises the importance of opportunities and capabilities in life rather than only income (Sen, 1992) (Chapter 3 discusses a capability approach in detail).

Statistics may be of little help in understanding what inequality means to grassroots people in their everyday lives in the rural regions of Mongolia where tourism is being promoted as a mean of development. Interviewees in the case study areas revealed insights into the level of income inequality in their everyday life during the tourism development processes. When the interviewees talk about inequality, their discussions often relate to income inequality, although there seem to be other forms of inequality that is discussed in turn in the later sections. In particular, the interviewees disclose increasing inequalities that seem to reflect a macro-level trend in the country. The ones who perceive this seem to be making these judgements based on their life experiences and the changes in their SoL, including in their household income level. The interviewees compared their SoL during the socialist period before the 1990s and the present democratic system with a market economy (as at 2009 - the period of field work).

It is not clear whether or not the above was a widely held view in the case study areas. But the following cases seem to reflect the increasing inequality in Mongolia. A director of a Mongolian tour operator revealed that *‘during the socialist era all people*

were equal. Now the ones who think well or work hard can live better. So inequality is inevitable' (Respondent G3-4). This suggests that inequality may be unavoidable in a market. As a person who has experienced two different political-economic systems, the respondent may be able to compare the level of inequality between the past and the present. This suggests that there may be a growing income inequality in Mongolia. This was further indicated by a herdsman and guest house operator in the Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert, *'there was a dramatic increase in inequality since the 1990s'* (Respondent G1-22). The respondent also stressed the timeline of increasing inequality as occurring since the 1990s, which coincided with the beginning of the economic and political transition in Mongolia in 1990.

Wider discourses about inequality relate to material wealth. Some grassroots people appear to view material wealth as an indication of better-off people; and with respect to material wealth some people identify a growing difference in material wealth among the people in rural areas. For instance, a public servant in Bulgan village in the Gobi Desert region said that *'there's not much difference between the rich and poor in rural areas. My family is considered average. The rich don't live in a village; a person with a thousand animals is not rich. Rich means they have a house with a value of 20 million tugrugs [USD20, 000] and 2,000-3,000 animals, which are looked after by assistant herders'* (Respondent G1-7). Material wealth here seems to be a measure of SoL, but it is considered to vary very little among rural communities. Thus, it seems that inequality within rural areas perhaps is minimal, whereas there seems much inequality between urban and rural residents. This also supports with the urban (Gini 0.38) and rural (Gini 0.36) inequality index in 2006 provided by the National Statistical Office of Mongolia.

Although the national statistics indicates increasing income inequality across Mongolia, people had differing views on its reasons. A World Bank specialist argued that *'inequality seems to be a result of rich people getting richer, rather than the poor people getting poorer'* (Respondent G2-3). This suggests that income inequality increased because of the better-off people accumulating more wealth than the income of relatively poor people. So those who are considered to have a modest income may have stayed at the same income level.

However, a villager from the Gobi Desert area who was considered very poor by his community argued that *'There's no growing difference between rich and poor. It*

may only exist in Ulaanbaatar where people have expensive cars' (Respondent G1-14). This suggests that inequality may exist in the areas where people have greater wealth (i.e. an expensive car) like in a big city, Ulaanbaatar, rather than in the case study area where he lived. However, the photos taken during the field work in the Gobi Desert region illustrate a degree of material difference in households' wealth. Figure 8.1 shows a farmer household with below average SoL in the Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert which shows a simple housing (i.e. a small traditional dwelling (*ger*) and simple furnishing (i.e. a simple bed and chair).

However, some households with an average SoL in the provincial centre town in the Gobi Desert had a rather affluent SoL with modern appliances (i.e. a microwave, oven and refrigerator) and housing (i.e. a two storey house with a garage) (as shown in Figure 8.2). This demonstrates a degree of differences amongst households with differing level of income within rural regions. It can be seen that there are two opposing discourses on inequality amongst the respondents.

Some considered that there was little inequality among the households in rural areas and greater inequality in urban areas. Yet it appears that inequality in rural areas can be seen in different forms of wealth, including the number of livestock or the size of a *ger*. In the urban areas, these wealth differences could be due to the type of immovable property (i.e. *ger*, flat or house) or type of cars (i.e. cheap or expensive). Also, the statistical figures of the Gini coefficient seem to indicate increasing inequality in Mongolia, both in rural and urban areas.

Figure 7.10 A household from an income group below average in the rural parts of the Gobi Desert



Source: Author

Figure 7.11 Household from an average income group in Dalanzadgad in the Gobi Desert



Source: Author

This section discusses the nature of inequality in detail. Respondents framed tourism's contribution to income inequality at three different levels: (i) between grassroots people in the same tourist areas; (ii) between grassroots people and other people in the same tourist areas, and (iii) between the people in tourist areas and non-tourist areas. Three different discourses (i.e. reduced, constant, and widening inequalities) about tourism's contribution to income inequality in Mongolia were identified by the author based on respondents' views as summarised in Table 8.2.

Table 7.5 Discourses about tourism's contribution to income inequality in Mongolia

	Tourism's contribution to income inequality	Reduced inequality	Constant inequality	Widening inequality
1	Between grassroots people in the same tourist areas	(+)	(+)	(+)
2	grassroots people vs other people in the same tourist areas			(+)
3	Local people in tourist areas vs Local people in non-tourist areas			(+)

Source: Developed by the author based on discourses extracted from the fieldwork. (+) indicates where discourses about income inequality is related.

The first discourse was that tourism may reduce inequality amongst grassroots people in tourist areas. According to some interviewees, due to tourism's multifaceted effects among different social groups, tourism was considered to have reduced the

income inequality and to have prevented many people from falling into absolute poverty. In remote rural parts of the case study areas, tourism-related activities appear to have been an important livelihood source. A horse wrangler who described himself as from a household with average SoL and who had been involved in tourism for 14 years, said '*tourism generates almost 70 % of our [household] income [annually]. So tourism is important for us*' (Respondent, G1-6). This suggests that this person is in the middle income group because of tourism, as it had sustained a significant part of his family income for over 14 years. It indicates that tourism may have prevented him from falling into poverty. Although the interviewee's conclusion was not based on an exact calculation of his household income, '70 %' may be seen as a clearly significant amount.

Another woman, who was considered rich by her communities in the Gobi Desert, stated that '*Tavan Erdene [a community group] comprised from very poor people with a 100 livestock at a maximum. However, most of them are rich now. So tourism is helping to reduce the gap between the rich and poor*' (Respondent G1-21). This suggests that tourism helps poor families with a small number of animals to improve their lives and become better-off. In a way, tourism may have reduced income inequality in the area through it levelling up the gap between low income families who had few animals compared to better-off ones. However, these families seem to have greatly benefited from tourism to achieve a better-off level or the level that other people in the community see as 'wealthy'.

The respondents also disclosed that tourism-related employment generated majority of the family income for some households with average SoL in the case study areas. Thus, tourism seems to contribute to reducing (or at least not increasing) income inequality via preventing them to fall into poverty. For instance, a souvenir maker and a fish seller argued that '*People want to develop tourism greater than today, extending to winter tourism. Most of our family income comes from tourism-related jobs, probably 70 %*' (Respondent G1-5). Her family of 6 members had no livestock, but she considers her family has an average SoL (Fieldwork notes, 2009). This suggests that a tourism-related means of livelihood sustained people's lives at an average level. The tourism industry respondents also stress the importance of tourism's contribution to reducing income inequality. A director of a tour operator argued that '*the people who live near a ger camp with an average standard of living (with few animals) look for an additional*

income source besides their animal husbandry. So tourism has prevented these families with average lives from falling into poverty. We calculated that a person hiring 4 to 5 horses to a ger camp earn up to 2,000,000 tugrugs [USD 2,000] from a ger camp during the tourism season. So tourism must be an important livelihood source for them' (Respondent G3-6). This suggests families that had fewer livestock tend to need additional revenue to provide for their needs in the rural areas. So tourism-related jobs seem to sustain these people's lives above the poverty level. This can be seen a key contribution of tourism in reducing income inequality in rural areas.

The second discourse was held by some people that tourism may not generate a substantial amount of income that is capable of leading to widening inequality in a tourist area. As a chief officer from the Govi Gurvan Saihan NP in the Gobi Desert said *'people won't earn too much income [from tourism]. So tourism won't result in a growing gap ...'* (Respondent G2-15). This suggests that due to the limited amount of income from tourism income inequality is not growing. This view was also supported by a Vice Director of the Agency of Environment and Tourism of the Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism as *'Tourism is not a sector which generates a very big amount of income. So it is unlikely to increase inequality'* (Respondent G2 -8). This suggests that rural household do not earn substantial income which cannot lead to growing inequality.

The third broad discourse was that there is an emerging inequality between grassroots people due to the differing levels of access to tourism. Some interviewees argue that the tourism sector benefits only a few people due to the tourism industry's requirements of assets, human resources and skills. Thus, tourism seems to contribute to income inequality via enabling a few people to gain a disproportionate share of tourism's benefit. Hence, tourism's benefits appear to be hierarchical, while the better-off in society gain the largest share of benefits and the modest families tend to obtain the least benefits. The next section discusses the discourse about tourism's contribution to growing inequality in depth.

One resultant argument is that people who have animals, especially horses and camels, and *ger* camp operators in both case study areas are the largest group of benefactors from tourism because these animals have commodity value. A guest house operator in the Lake Hovsgol area stated that the *'owners of ger camps and shop, horse guides are the ones who gain the most benefits'* (Respondent G1-8). A farmer in the

Gobi Desert also commented '*Ger camp owners and camel hirers may gain the most benefit. They sign a contract with each other. Tourists don't buy the vegetables and meat from us*' (Respondent G1-15). This suggests that people with certain assets (i.e. livestock) that can be used for the tourism appear to gain a relatively large benefit. This also implies that household assets may be important for local people to benefit from tourism. So tourism's benefits seem to depend on household's existing amount of the assets.

Another example was provided by the head of a tourism NGO in Mongolia, '*...companies prefer to work with families with a large herd of horses. So the tour operators' relationship with local people depends on what capital they have... Thus, tourism may cause differences between the poor and the rich. Consequently, inequality is unavoidable...*' (Respondent G2-5). This suggests that tourism businesses favour the people who are able to hire many horses and camels. Thus, families with a certain number of horses and camels were more likely to be involved in tourism-related activities as animals have a commodity value in tourism. Households with limited number of animals may not get much from tourism for their livelihoods.

The grassroots people in the case study areas also described how tourism benefits were distributed among them. A herdsman who ran a guest house in the Gobi Desert commented that '*local people want to make it more beneficial to the wider public rather than just for a few families*' (Respondent G1-23). This reflects how collective benefits are not recognised by the grassroots families. The interviewee felt that tourism seems to benefit only a few families, suggesting that tourism contributed to growing inequality among the grassroots people in the case study areas. Tourism's perceived contribution to inequality is further illustrated by another example. An interviewee who was considered rich by his community in the Gobi Desert claimed that '*tourism is very important for people's lives. We earn 50 to 60 % of our income from tourism*' (Respondent G1-16). This suggests that if the rich could make over half of their family income from tourism, these households could be richer than in previous years. Thus, it appears that inequality can be even greater, and families with large assets can benefit more than households with fewer assets. Thus, tourism may have contributed to the already existing inequalities.

The fourth discourse was about widening inequality between the grassroots people and other people in tourist areas. For instance, a souvenir seller in the Lake

Hovsgol area asserted that *'...the camp owner is from Ulaanbaatar and came to our land. Then she returns with loads of money. Instead of supporting local people, they should not insist on us leaving her ger camp'* (Respondent G1-3). This suggests that the ger camp owner does not allow local people to stay near the ger camp to handcrafts to travellers. Such grassroots people seem to want to have equal access to tourism earnings, but it is restricted due to barriers imposed by the business owner. Thus, the tourism's benefits seem to be accumulated largely by tourism businesses. Also, a pensioner who lived on the shore of the Lake Hovsgol, along the main tourist route, argued that *'tourism seems to bring loads of money, but we don't see that. "The people above" seem to have all that money and power'* (Respondent G1-10). A commonly used metaphor among the respondents concerned 'the people above' who seem to be officials and business people. They were considered as the ones who secured the majority of the benefits. Thus, it seems that some grassroots people did not gain much monetary benefit from tourism.

The fifth discourse was that of tourism's contribution to growing inequality between the grassroots people in tourist areas and non-tourist areas. The concentration of tourism development in certain destinations seem to make people in those areas wealthier than in non-tourists areas. For instance, a herdsman, who worked as security personnel for a ger camp in in the Gobi Desert, explained that *'People [in Hongriingol] have a relatively good standard of living. Although tourism is seasonal, it generates a reasonably good income. People herd animals over the winter and comb the animals in the spring to make felt souvenirs using their sheep and camel wool. Then they sell their souvenirs to tourists. So their living is good... ...Tourism may not lead to inequality in this area. But it could lead someone to be rich. The village shopkeepers say that "people from the singing sand dunes must have money". So tourism is affecting a growing inequality in the region as a whole'* (Respondent G1-10). This suggests that the level of income generated from tourism is reasonably good despite the short tourism season. Families in the area earn sufficient income from tourism with nearby villagers describing them as 'people with money'. So tourism seems to contribute to a moderately good SoL in the region. Due to the concentration of these benefits in tourist destinations, some people seem to feel that tourism's contribution may lead to regional inequalities between places with tourism and places without tourism.

Tourism's contribution to regional income inequality is also illustrated by other respondents. For example, a herdsman who hired horses and sold handicrafts in the Yoliin Am noted that *'people were talking on and on about [economic] crisis. But for the people who "look at the tourists' faces" [to encounter with tourists] during this spring, like us, the crisis wasn't felt greatly. It was rather different here than the other areas where tourism doesn't exist. My friend was left with only 6 camels out of 15. He butchered the camels and had sold the meat at the provincial centre to provide for his household needs. So they felt the crises strongly there. For us, we could have slaughtered only two camels, not as many as my friend did...'* (Respondent G1-12). This suggests that in areas where tourism exist, the household income from tourism protected them from the economic crises. Thus, tourism could prevent families from falling into poverty by it providing an additional income to households, while tourism may also contribute to differences in household incomes between regions.

7.5.2. A Degree of Equality of Opportunities in Tourism

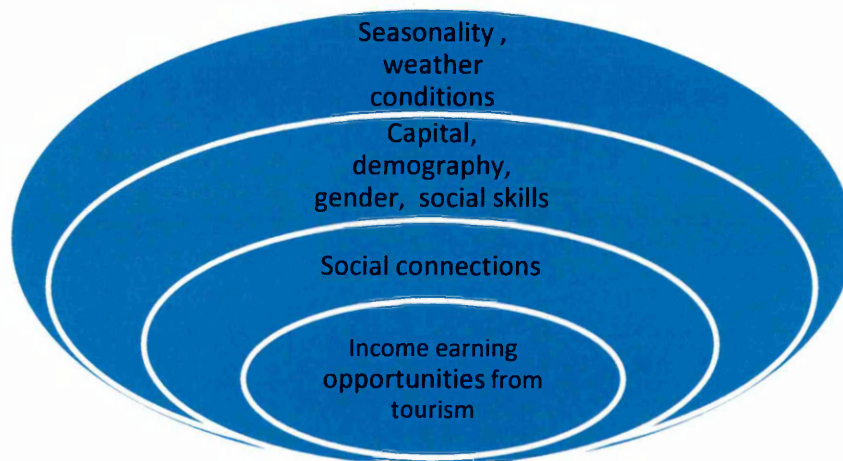
Unequal outcomes from tourism development seemed inevitable due to the mix of opportunities and capabilities held by people in the case study areas. This section discusses the degree of equality of opportunities, and the next section considers a degree of equality of capabilities. Neckerman and Torche (2007) refer to equality of opportunity as *'the freedom to achieve success or individual goals unimpeded by artificial constraints. Equality of opportunity is often used to refer specifically to social mobility-equal chances for those from different backgrounds of ending up in either high or low social positions'* (cited in Platt, 2011:7). Discussion of the degree of equality of opportunities may refine our understanding of the unequal outcomes from tourism and of its benefits to society. Tourism-related livelihood opportunities appear often to be unequal due to people's socio-economic backgrounds, their social connections, their relevant social skills, and their accessibility to information and geographic locations of where people reside. It seems that greater income inequality tends to be associated with unequal opportunities among people.

People in both of the case study areas indicate that there is a degree of unequal opportunities in earnings from tourism. Unequal opportunities for earnings from tourism are mentioned by 14(27.4%) of 51 respondents, while only 7 (14%) of the 51 respondents mentioned equal opportunities among the grassroots people.

According to the respondents, the main income earning opportunities from tourism for grassroots people in the case study areas seem to be associated with both employment and non-employment sources. The first group of earning opportunities is associated with tourism employment and spontaneous encounters with passing travellers through supplying agricultural (poultry and dairy) or other products (notably souvenirs).

The second group of earning opportunities included philanthropic donations, and community income (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). In tourist destinations, income earning opportunities from tourism seem to be often depend on people's social skills and social connections, with a degree of hierarchy as it can be seen in Figure 8.4. Given that income earning opportunities from tourism are at the centre of the hierarchical system, other factors are placed according to their importance to grassroots people in the case study areas. The factors which are closer to the centre of the system have higher importance for grassroots people in terms of securing earnings from tourism in their areas. This include social connections (i.e. relatives and acquaintances), available assets (i.e. horses, camels and cars) and cultural capital (mainly associated with their nomadic life, festivals and ceremonies), the demographic and gender group to which individuals belonged and social skills (including skills in foreign languages and communication). Seasonality and weather conditions are placed in the system's outer circle because these were comparatively less important for grassroots people's earnings from tourism-related opportunities.

Figure 7.12 A hierarchical system of factors that often affected income earning opportunities from tourism in Mongolia.



Source: Developed by the author based on the views of respondents.

The first discourse is about people's social connections that appear to be important factors for grassroots people's earnings from tourism-related opportunities, which tend to limit the spread of tourism's monetary benefits in limited areas within a destination. A couple from a low income family in the Gobi Desert who made handicrafts, commented as *'income earning opportunities from tourism are unequal. The people who come to Bayanzag area [from a different region] to sell their souvenirs seem to be pushed aside by the [local] people from the surrounding area [of Bayanzag]'* (Respondent G1-15). This suggests that integrating into local networks seems to be an important factor for grassroots people's earnings from tourism. Hence, without this, some people may have been treated as less welcome. To avoid such constraints, new comers seem to manoeuvre to integrate into locality through someone who is experienced or through their family connections. Some grassroots people stressed the importance of having family connections near a major tourist attraction in order to earn income from tourism. For instance, a herdsman who ran a community based *ger* camp in the Gobi Desert argued that *'we employ our relatives and herders who are near to us and buy their dairy, and hire their horses'* (Respondent G1-26). This suggests that some people prioritise their own family members for employment in tourism-related jobs. This also suggests that family connections and geographic distance could become perhaps the ways in which some grassroots people access certain income earning opportunities from tourism. As it can be seen, human agency seem to play an important role to gain tourism's benefits. Once Long (2011:49) contends agency as *'... both a certain knowledgeable, whereby experiences and desires are reflexively interpreted and internalised (consciously or otherwise), and the capability to command relevant skills, access to material and non-material resources and engage in particular organising practices'*.

Therefore, opportunities in their own right may be insufficient and cannot generate benefits which may be dependent on other factors like people's abilities and skills. In addition to a social connection, the next important factor to be having a track record of good attitudes and skills. A retired herdsman who operated a guest house for backpackers along with his animal husbandry in the Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert commented that *'local people cannot take tourism opportunities equally... If a new family [arrives in a destination], tour companies won't send their guests unless a member of the new household attempts to sign a contract and work hard... As the tour company doesn't know their attitude [to work] and [the quality of] food [they offer]'*

(Respondent G1-16). As he stresses familiarity, integration into local networks and having a track record of a good attitude all seem to be important.

Some tourism studies report that people with certain types of capital, connections, confidence and foreign language skills tend to gain the greatest benefit from tourism (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010; Zhao and Ritchie, 2007 cited in Sheyvens, 2012:131). This argument is supported by a herdsman who worked as a security person for a *ger* camp in the Gobi Desert, *'My relatives benefit from tourism only through me as they are too quiet and modest pensioners and single mothers. They cannot benefit from tourism in the area although they live within the same distance as me'* (Respondent G1-22). This suggests that despite equal geographic distances of the grassroots people, some people do not seem to benefit from tourism. Hence, the tourism sector appears to require a degree of social connections and social skills. However, some pensioners and single mothers seemed to have experience a degree of constraints in accessing opportunities from tourism, possibly due to lack of interpersonal skills. These comments suggest that given the opportunities distributed equally, human capabilities, that convert opportunities to outcomes, vary individually. Some tourism-related jobs may be labour intensive (i.e. long distance horse and camel trekking), which some pensioners and single mothers may not be able to get involved. These people seem to be unable to handle tourism's intense labour in addition to their daily chores of animal husbandry. It appears that other cases support the above argument also. In the Lake Hovsgol area, a herdsman who worked as a wrangler on horse trekking trips for over 10 years commented that *'for new wranglers... difficult to enter to this "circle"'* (Respondent G1-6). This suggests that earning opportunities from tourism seem to belong to the people with experience and skills. The newcomers with less experience appeared to struggle to use tourism-related opportunities. A "circle" here seems to refer to social connections that allow people access to the available income earning opportunities from tourism. These social connections, perhaps based on the kinship aspect of Mongolian culture where family ties and friendship appear to be strong, may influence on providing opportunities between themselves.

Also having social connections seem to enable many people to access information and opportunities. Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) argue that community and equality are mutually reinforcing where social capital and economic equality tend to move in tandem. A woman who ran a guest house in the Lake Hovsgol area argued that

'the money from foreign project make leaders' people rich. The ones who have relatives or siblings in the government administration are close to arising opportunities'

(Respondent G1-8). This suggests that the people with social connections tend to receive vital information first, which may result in relatively advantaged opportunities which perhaps result in the views of others being placed in rather disadvantaged positions.

Opportunities here often relate to accessing of information which largely based on unofficial channels, like word of mouth in rural regions. A manager for the governor office in Hatgal village in the Lake Hovsgol area argued that *'there seem to be a lack of local information. Although residents often watch TV [national channels], it is difficult to broadcast local information. We tested a local FM radio... it seemed to work around the village. So we need to pay attention on distributing information [locally]...'*

(Respondent G2-10). So it appears that rural people tend to lack local information due to unavailability of local media channels while the nationwide news coverage tend to dominate their daily information intake. Although regular village meetings take place in Hatgal village, where local residents can be informed about the activities and livelihood related issues, the attendance of village residents seem to have been low. Thus, some people often unable to obtain local information where they reside. To support that, a herdsman who worked as a horse wrangler in the Lake Hovsgol area argued that *'we're always busy and not very sure about the events and things that take place here'* (Respondent G1-6). This suggests that the people who are busy may have lacked information on the area where they live. The information in the residential area may provide understanding and knowledge about tourism in the area. Thus, some grassroots people in the Lake Hovsgol area seem to lack understanding about tourism-related opportunities in their area. In particular, due to underdeveloped local information transmission channels to the residents in rural Mongolia, people tend to obtain information through their social connections (Mercy Corps, 2007). Therefore, in this situation, it appears that social connections may have proved vital as a means of obtaining information and benefit from the opportunities available in the area.

7.5.3. A Degree of Equality of Capabilities in Tourism

The discussion about (in)equalities moves on to the next section of the practices and discourses about equality of capabilities in relation to tourism, including abilities and skills held by grassroots people. The second part of this section discusses the

interrelationship between three main sections of a degree of equality of outcomes, opportunities and capabilities in tourism development.

Concept of capability is reviewed in Chapter 2 and further discussed on details in Chapter 3. Individuals can use opportunities for the wellness of their life via utilizing their capabilities. Therefore it may be vital to discuss capabilities in relation to SoL in tourism development processes. Capabilities can include abilities and skills that can be acquired by individuals through their family upbringing, education and social relations (i.e. employment and surrounding people).

Tourism seems to require certain social skills and innate aptitudes from its participants who wish to benefit from tourism-related opportunities. Interviewees identify important abilities and skills to benefit from tourism which can be something cumulated through their social life, education or may be something that people naturally have. They stress family discipline and hard work as vital skills, which may be innate, to benefit from tourism in addition to other rather technical skills of communication, foreign language, hospitality, entrepreneurship and knowledge about tourist safety and security and so forth. The tourism literature also stressed the importance of skills and education of the grassroots people to be employed and to take jobs with higher wages in the tourism sector (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010; Scheyvens, 2012).

As the interviewees suggested, family upbringing appears to be the underpinning precondition for individuals to develop abilities and skills. Within the family environment people tend to learn how to communicate with others and develop attitudes towards life and work. The academic literature also documents the importance of family upbringing as well. Johnson and Kossykh (2008) argue that parents' income, socio-economic status and parenting behaviour tend to affect children's cognitive and social abilities that tend to affect outcomes and achievements in later life.

In practice, tourism businesses tend to look for their employees' family background as an important requirement before assigning certain roles in the case study areas. A *ger* camp owner in the Lake Hovsgol region, for instance, argued that *'in order to benefit from tourism, local people must be hard working, initiative and with good communication skills. I employ people with good family track record. If people are from alcoholic or lazy families, I refuse to employ them. If they are such lazy, they will remain at the place where they used to be'* (Respondent G3-2). 'Family track record' in

her comment may refer people's perceptions about how individuals were perceived by their community based on their merits. This seems to be a common approach by tourism businesses when they choose their employees in rural Mongolia. People may develop their qualities of hard work and communication skills in family environment, both appear to be important in the tourism sector as interviewees suggest. The tourism jobs tend to be mostly manual and require less qualification including *ger* attendant, kitchen porter, cleaner, security personnel and horse or camel wrangler (Author's observation, 2009).

The chores of the types of jobs *ger* camps offer appear to involve in multitasking and often without set working hours in various weather conditions (Author's observation, 2009). Some tourism literature also document service industry jobs like in tourism as being long and antisocial in hours with minimal wages paid (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). However, these jobs still require basic tourism safety and security knowledge and communication skills.

The present study in the case study areas reveal that a relatively small number of people appear to be involved in tourism due to their capabilities. Some businessmen argued that the grassroots people are less used to working in a disciplined environment and taking certain responsibilities in the workplace which further seem to lessen the chances of the grassroots people being employed. For instance, a woman who is a director of one of the longest established *ger* camps in the Lake Hovsgol area commented that '*there are many poor people here...These people have a great interest of working for tourism... It is hard for us to employ poor people who cannot take certain responsibilities and we will get to a difficult situation if they got drunk or leave the work place. ...But inequality is unavoidable if people are lazy*' (Respondent G3-7). Her comment suggests that the private sector appears to be reluctant to employ people from modest backgrounds, assuming that these people may be unable to take certain responsibilities. It appears that there is a lack of trust between tourism businesses and grassroots people. It may be because of the level of segregation in the case study area. As Wilkinson and Pickett (2009:54) argued that the level of trust tends to be minimal among the people with less social capital. '*It is inequality that affects trust, not the other way round*'. Income and social differences between the grassroots people and tourism businesses may be great. Therefore, there may be a lack of trust among tourism

businesses to employ the grassroots people. Thus, it suggests that the level of tourism's benefits to grassroots people seem to be only relevant to a fewer number of people.

Tourism's benefits seemed to depend on a number of factors as a farmer who lived near the Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert described *'the ones with potentials can get involved in tourism, not everyone. It's also very difficult because it requires assets and power [man power] and connections behind in order to receive tourists... You have to prepare your decent, fit camels with comfortable saddles...to show foreigners... You need some wealth and investment'* (Respondent G1-25). His comment of 'potentials' of a household seems to include assets (i.e. camels and horses), man power (number of people in the family), connections (i.e. tourism businessmen or foreign investor) in order to gain benefits from tourism in the area. Due to such preconditions, tourism's benefits perhaps restricted to a fewer people.

Also the private sector seems to seek persons with certain capabilities that include someone who is reliable, hardworking and with a responsible attitude towards work. For instance, the director of a *ger* camp in the Bayanzag area in the Gobi Desert, argued that *'...when I employ someone, I look for what they were doing and their experiences and the school graduated. In general, how good at doing something. English language knowledge, family environment and discipline etc... A child of a hardworking family works well'* (Respondent G3-5). This suggests that someone from a hardworking family seems to be favoured in addition to their academic qualification and experience. These seem to be the criteria by which tourism businesses utilize to recruit their staff.

The grassroots people tend to identify important skills for them to benefit from tourism including family discipline, communication skills and hard work. For instance, a man who ran a guest house in the Hongoriingol area in the Gobi Desert argued that *'a family discipline is very important in rural areas for people to pursue their lives and to communicate with others and respect elders. All these family disciplines affect people's relationship with tourists'* (Respondent G1-20). This suggests that the level of tourism's benefits to grassroots people may depend on individuals' communication skills, which may be incubated in a family environment primarily and can be transferred to tourism.

For the self-employed people in tourism, rather different skills seem to be required. Women who made souvenir items and sell in the Lake Hovsgol area expressed

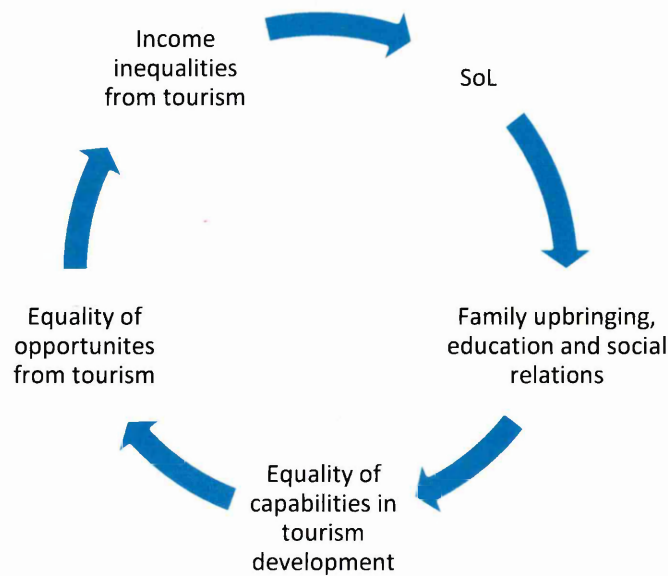
that *'there are people with very hard lives who don't work regardless their young age... People with such difficult lives are lazy and may not know how to get involved in tourism-related jobs... Some people come from faraway places to here to earn money. However, some people don't get feel of earnings from tourism regardless they are close to such opportunities'* (Respondent G1-5). As they argued here, the people with deprived living conditions seem to be prevented from taking part in tourism-related opportunities because they are perceived to be lazy and unaware of income earning opportunities. Thus, one of the main factors for the people to benefit from tourism may be family environment where people appear to learn important skills or aptitudes to benefit from tourism.

According to a number reports and research, people from a deprived family background tend to have low self-esteem and less self-confidence due to their living conditions (World Bank, 2001; Griffin, 2001). Thus, poor people appear to be have limited social connections and awareness of their surrounding opportunities. Their modest personalities and underperformed social skills or lack of aspirations may have prevented them from tourism's benefits. As a group of horse wranglers in the Lake Hovsgol area commented that *'skills are natural and we have learned from our parents or through our own enthusiasm...'* (Respondent G1-6). So people from a deprived family environment may lack these vital skills because of their lack of parental support to transfer these skills.

Also tourism is regarded as relatively new in Mongolia during which tourists seem to carry part of their heritage and culture to a destination area. Thus, some travellers perhaps travel with certain expectations to a destination in terms of the standard of safety, security, food and hygiene. For instance, tourists who had visited community based tourism initiatives in other parts of Mongolia (Khentii and Tuv provinces) expressed their views on how the services provided by the rural communities' guest houses could be improved. These were including *'a variety of food menu with less fat and more spices'*; *'to have salt, pepper and sugar pots'*; *'use a washing liquid when they wash the cutlery'*; *'not to offer a hot food in the morning'* (Hatgal Governor's Office, 2009a). However, traditional communities especially the ones with no tourism experiences may be unaware of these nuances in tourism services which may result in some of their underperformance when they are involved in tourism.

Therefore, grassroots people may need certain basic service skills that can be difficult to deliver unless they are trained.

As it can be seen the application of a capability approach, it enables understanding of the interrelations between inequalities and tourism. The SoL seems to depend on many factors including income, opportunities and capabilities. Income inequalities, tourism-related opportunities and capabilities appear to be part of an interconnected circular system where one is derived from another (Figure 7.13). In this circular system, the SoL may affect individuals' capabilities, which perhaps affect equality of opportunities and income inequalities from tourism. Income further tends to underpin the SoL of an individual and a household. Human capabilities seem to be nurtured in a family environment and through school education. As previously discussed, many grassroots people revealed key social skills (i.e. communication) and cognitive skills (i.e. reading and calculating) that can be developed in a family environment. If people live in deprived conditions, these skills may be underdeveloped. Figure 7.13 Circularity of income inequalities, opportunities and capabilities in tourism.



Source: Developed by Author

People with poor upbringing may drop out of schooling and may under develop their social skills. Studies show that poverty head count tends to be lower among the people with more education attainment in Mongolia (NSOM, 2004). It seems that it may

be family environment that affects the acquisition of vital livelihood skills for some people.

However, a lower SoL may adversely affect development of individuals' abilities and skills. So it seems that deprivation tends to affect development of people's capabilities and it perhaps reduces the level of tourism's benefit. Limited utilization of available opportunities may lower some of the less educated and skilled people's income, which may lead to greater disparities in comparison with educated and skilled people. As a consequence, a lower SoL may be an inevitable outcome. So the SoL itself seems to be a prime condition to develop capabilities that allow individuals to benefit from tourism's opportunities and gain economic benefits from tourism. It can be seen as a system where one derives from another and interrelates to each other. Some academic literatures emphasize the degree of equalities of outcome via correcting the disadvantage and attempting to get rid of disparities in social position (Platt, 2011:8).

However, the research points out the importance of the processes or the cumulative series of actions that leads to certain outcomes. In other words, as long as the processes of reaching certain outcomes are fair and just, it may be less important that there are unequal outcomes (Respondent G1-18). The majority of interviewees reveal that as long as the processes of accessing tourism's benefits are fair then it is unnecessary to argue about the results for some people. Yet, the outcomes are dependent on multiple factors and tend to be the result of process. The next section extends the discussion to consider one of the process factors, focusing on procedural and distributional justices in relation to environmental context.

7.5.4. A Degree of Environmental Justice in Tourism

The preceding sections discussed constitutional elements of SoL, including inequality of outcomes, opportunities and capabilities in relation to tourism. The discussion moves on to environmental justice from tourism development, equally important to SoL of the grassroots people in rural Mongolia. Because environment appears to be an inseparable part of a safe, healthy and good life for some, while, for others, it can be source of a threat to their well-being and access to vital resources may be limited. This section first discusses a procedural justice that mainly concerns how policies are made in tourism development in Mongolia including the level of participation by different actors and their recognition of tourism policy making

processes. The subsequent discussion moves onto a discourse about distributional justice in environmental issues in tourism development that mainly concerns the consequences of a procedural justice or what burdens and benefits are distributed among the people in the case study areas in Mongolia. Discussion of literature on environmental justice can be found in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3.

7.5.4.1. A degree of procedural justice in tourism

According to Schlosberg (2007:25), procedural justice implies that *'justice is defined as fair and equitable institutional processes of a state'*. Therefore the following section discusses the political and governance system in Mongolia, power and the participation of actors on tourism-related policy making. Political and governance systems appear to be an overarching umbrella over the relations between actors and distributional justice in tourism development. This analogy may help to understand interrelations among different actors over accessing to natural resources in tourism development in Mongolia.

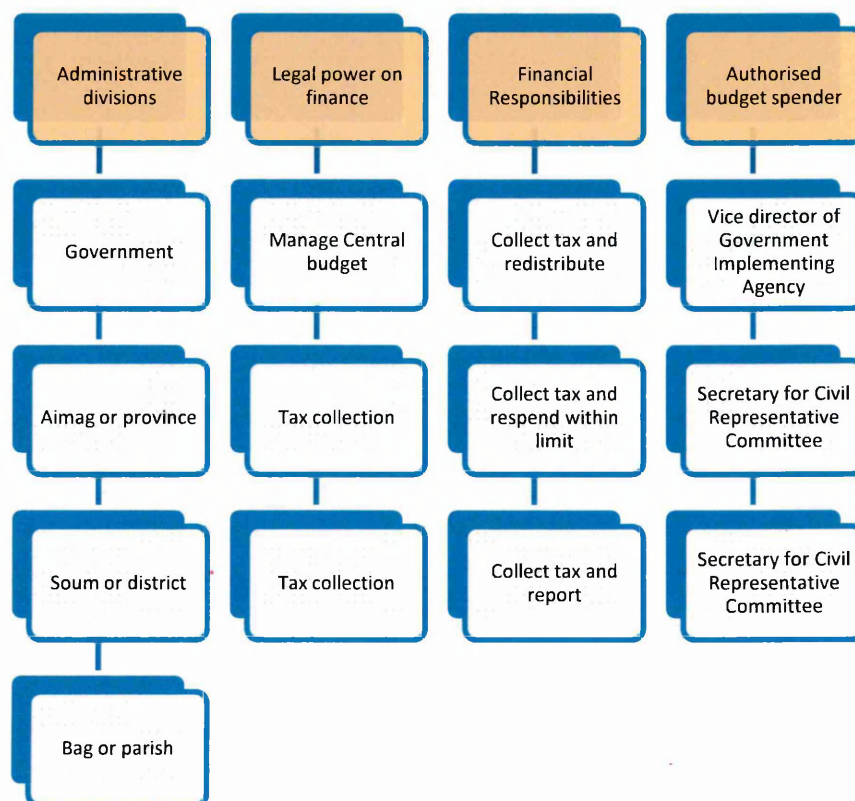
The first discourse is a procedure in relation to tourism, which emerged from the interviews and the reports of various NGOs concerned governance in Mongolia. In the case of Mongolia, bureaucratic governance and conflict of interests at all level of government administration seem to result in greater corruption and exclusion of some members of the public from decision making. Thus, the governance system and corruption seem to allow officials to take advantage of legal loopholes and financial returns for their friends and relatives' private interests. Such procedural injustice in governance and unfairness in the judicial system seem to result in grassroots level issues of distributional injustice in tourism development (USAID, 2005; Transparency International, 2011).

The views of different actors during the field work in Mongolia revealed insights into how the political system and governance operate in the country. Although Mongolia had made significant progress towards a democratic political system with a market economy, governance appeared to be often criticised by some as being too centralised and intransparent. Many sources reported escalating level of corruption in Mongolia (USAID, 2005; Rossabi, 2005; Ganbat, 2008, Ganbat, 2012).

As previously argued, centralised governance can be illustrated via distribution of financial power across administrative divisions. Figure 7.14 illustrates the

distribution of finance and authorisation of spending across administrative divisions in Mongolia including the central government, provinces, districts and parish according to the current legislative environment based on analysis of local administrative budget spending (Open Society, 2009). The first column represents the current administrative divisions while other columns illustrate legal power, financial responsibilities and the authorised budget spender to each administrative division respectively.

Figure 7.14 Financial responsibilities of Mongolia's administrative divisions.



Source: Developed based on Analysis on Local Administrative Budget Spending, Open Society, 2009

In Mongolia, the state budget is collected to the state treasury from all administrative divisions in the country and redistributed to provinces by the central government. All rural affairs often require financial resources, while rural administrative divisions have little power to collect tax and finance the local initiatives in their area (Open Society, 2009). Since, the central government have *'legal power to assign tax, define the amount of tax, levy and free the tax while local administrative divisions are only responsible for collecting tax and reporting to the central government'* (Open Society, 2009:105). As a consequence, within the current legislative

environment, the local (district level) administrative office tends to take less initiative on expanding its tax base.

At district level, tax revenues come from 12 types of sources, of which only four account for the majority of the revenues of the village, including income tax, 10 % of mineral resources tax, fees for a special licence for mineral resources and state stamp fee (Open Society, 2009). In the case study areas, the local government earn tourism-related tax revenues from land leasing, taxes on income, water and mineral springs, game hunting, logging, utilizing natural resources other than mineral resources, ownership of a gun and NP entrance fees. These moneys are collected to the state central treasury and redistributed to the local areas. As a consequence, some people held the view that tourism tax revenues do not seem to get spent locally relative to the amount generated in main tourist destinations, which the local people felt unfair. An executive director for a *ger* camp in the Gobi Desert, for instance, expressed that ‘...we have paid 70-80 million tugrugs [USD 63,600- 72,700] for individual and company income tax and VAT. All these moneys must be spent locally... We have 15,000 tourists a year [in the NP] whom generate 45 million tugrugs [USD 40,900] supposedly. This money should be spent for the NP. All moneys go to the ministry...’ (Respondent G3-1). His comment indicates a belief that the monetary benefit from tourism should be spent in a destination relative to the acquired tourism benefits. A similar view was held by an officer from Ministry of Nature, Environment and Tourism as ‘...tourism may only benefit certain areas in the country. Therefore, tax revenues and other earnings from tourism sector should be encouraged to be credited in the local treasury...’ (Respondent G3-1). The interviewee suggests that tourism revenues should be re-spent locally relative to its benefit to the local economy. However, the legal arrangements do not allow local government bodies to collect and spend tourism related tax revenues locally as it illustrated in Figure 8.6.

Although tourism businesses believe that they have generated certain economic benefits to the local economy, some local people do not tend to see or receive tourism’s economic benefits from tourism businesses. A resident in the Lake Hovsgol area, for instance, commented that ‘...*ger* camp tour operators money go to their pocket... any resources from certain area should benefit its residents.’ (Respondent G2-11). It suggests that revenues from tourism businesses benefit these businesses rather than bring wider benefits to the local economy. Further, it suggests that people believe that

they should gain benefits collectively from their local natural resources in a tourist destination.

So it can be seen that because of the current centralisation of budget, the local administrative divisions may be less proactive to achieve better financial performance. As Open Society (2009:143) reports on Mongolia that *'the responsibility of local administrative divisions is weakening due to centralised budget to the state (since the adoption of the Law on State Organization's Management and Funding in 2002). They are becoming less influential on social aspects and economy in the area...and cannot implement their decision due to lack of finance'*. So the governance power seems to be centralised. It seems that limited financial power in rural areas minimises the motivation of local administrative divisions to increase their tax base in the area. Consequently, tourism-related revenue spending does not seem to be proportionate to the scale of tourism development in a destination. Although tourism business operators generate certain tax revenues from their business, the grassroots people tend to negate these benefits to the local economy. It may be the result of malfunction and inefficiency in governance and its budgeting policy.

The second main argument of procedural justice is about injustice affecting tourism. Government officials and IDOs appear to be reluctant to acknowledge the importance of grassroots people's participation in tourism policy making according to some interviewees. The interests of elite groups of the community or public seem to be often favoured in tourism policy. Vivid examples can be spotted in relation to the land tenure of tourism infrastructure development and distribution of access to other natural resources in the case study areas. Tourism policy making appears to rely on elitist views, paying little attention to the grassroots people's views but the lives of the grassroots people often depend on natural resources and casual employment opportunities from tourism. During the field work in 2009, for instance, a head of tourism NGO in Ulaanbaatar criticised that *'the provincial governor has greater influence on tourism's policy making while the local people have no involvements. Provincial governors and local "atamans" have greater influence. The governance in Mongolia like an upside down pyramid'* (Respondent G2-5). This suggests that governance and its power seem to be allocated to ministries and state agencies at the top while there seem to be limited power allocated to the people in rural areas which can be seen as unequal.

Supporting the preceding argument, a World Bank officer argued that *‘Rural people are in general not get involved in tourism policy planning. The government and donors go out to districts to ask rural people about government policy on tourism: I am not sure that it is necessary thing to do’* (Respondent G2-3). This suggests IDOs seem to be less supportive of consultation with the grassroots people on the government’s policy on tourism. Since the interviewee from the World Bank expresses his reluctance in considering grassroots views in tourism’s policy making.

It seems that rural governance in a transition economy does not seem to be mature enough to prioritise the aspirations of its citizens. It can further be supported by United States Agency for International Development (USAID, 2005:3) report on Mongolia that *‘a lack of transparency and access to information that surrounds many government functions and undermines nearly all aspects of accountability by contributing to an ineffective media and hindering citizen participation in policy discussions and government oversight’*. In such governance, tourism sector policy and planning seems to take place without consideration of the grassroots people’s views. Grassroots people, in particular, the ones from modest backgrounds, seem to have weak voices in tourism policy planning.

The aspirations of the grassroots people on tourism infrastructure development, including their views about a *ger* camp establishment, seem to be less considered by local governors in the case study areas in the Lake Hovsgol region. These problems of procedural injustice seem to affect the distribution of tourism’s benefits. Although there is a legal requirement to gain consensus from local residents on *ger* camp establishment in the areas where they live, this seems to be less practiced in reality. According to Law on Management for Administrative Divisions of Mongolia (Clause 17.1.8) *‘citizens’ representative shall discuss and recommend ...matters of utilising natural resources appropriately in the catchment area’* (www.legalinfo.mn/law/details/343?lawid=343). A farmer near the Bayanzag in the Gobi Desert, for instance, argued that *‘district governor and parish governor seem to decide where to allow ger camp establishment...Residents must not be restricted their access to natural resources whereas people with money took land and established their ger camps. They promise to hire local people but they don’t fulfil their promises’* (Respondent G1-15). His comment illustrates an example of how the private sector tends to obtain common land to establish a *ger* camp and tends to avoid fulfilling the promises made at planning

proposal stage. The grassroots people seem to support a *ger* camp development hoping for employment opportunities become available for the local people. Yet promises made at planning proposal stage do not often appear to be realised. It can further be suggested by a *ger* camp director in the Gobi Desert that *'the Governor of the district was my friend whom helped me to have a permission of the land for my ger camp. It required residents' consensus in the area but it was easy to obtain'* (Respondent G3-5). This suggests that connections in the local administrative office may be important to start a tourism business. Obtaining consensus of local residents seems to be a rhetorical process involving many promises being given by the tourism businesses in order to ease the obtaining of the public consensus. This is an example of how some actors manoeuvre under certain constraints exerting their agency.

As it can be seen from above comments, having a *ger* camp near nomadic herders does not seem to be often beneficial to the local people because of the false promises made by the tourism businesses. In the Lake Hovsgol NP, the head of a local NGO commented that *'NP officials don't listen to us. Tourism policies including NP management, conservation of biological species must be relied on local residents' [opinion] which are considered as good governance. But it is vice versa in the NP'* (Respondent G2-11). This suggests that the views of the residents may be vital to tourism policy making but the views of the grassroots people appear to be ignored. Without such participation of the grassroots people, there may have been unfair outcomes. Above NGO leader also commented that *'a land with size of 13,000 hectar, along 100km coastline of the Lake Hovsgol, was given to a resort development project by a private company by the NP authorities, which had a hidden intention of get privatised the land in the future... So we opposed this decision and got together, to let top officials know. Eventually the ministry, residents and the company agreed to test the initial project in small area of land.'* (Respondent G2-11). As it can be seen from his comment, the exclusion of the local grassroots people in the Lake Hovsgol area on land tenure policy seem to result in unfair policy decisions. It suggests that unless the grassroots people demonstrated, the land could have leased on a large scale to a private company, perhaps restricting the access of many grassroots people as had happened in the case of smaller *ger* camps.

The following section discusses discourses relating to procedural injustice about how the grassroots people feel about the authorities, who deal with the policy making in

the case study areas. Several interviewees suggested that some of the officials have a conflict of interest when their private interests tend to be prioritised over wider public interest. Some of the officials have their own business. A woman in Bulgan village in the Gobi Desert also expressed as *'governors are the ones who have the most power. Citizen's views are less heard by officials. Mr X was a governor and who had access to bank loans, as his wife was a bank director. People need good connections to gain tourism's benefits. People tend to communicate with the people in good appearance or with money or wealth'* (Respondent G1-26). This suggests that there is a blurred border between public and private sector involvement in tourism because local administration employees tend to have their own private businesses in tourism. An independent report by USAID on corruption levels in Mongolia identifies as *'a profound blurring of the lines between the public and private sector brought about by endemic and systemic conflict of interest at nearly all levels'* (USAID, 2005:3). This seems to have negative consequences for the SoL of the grassroots people.

Tourism-related businesses initiatives by the grassroots people do not seem to be supported by the authorities or are at least slow to be realised because they may conflict with officials' private businesses interests. A local herdsman who ran a guest house in the Lake Hovsgol area expressed that *'...local authorities only think themselves. They don't hear us. ...NP authorities don't support us... When we initiate something [a family business] people try to get harder the way it happens. The living standard won't get better if the authorities don't support what the grassroots people have initiated...'* (Respondent G1-3). This suggests that grassroots people seem to experience unprecedented bureaucracy to make their idea grow as a business. She blamed local authorities for their slow progress of her family business. Her comments suggest that local authorities take care of themselves and prioritise improvement of their own lives rather than the lives of residents.

A local herdsman who ran a guest house in the Lake Hovsgol area further argued that *'...I had to travel to the capital city to get land permission from the ministry at the NP...'* (Respondent G1-3). Travelling over 800km from to get a land leasing permission in the NP can only be seen as bureaucracy. This case was also supported by a comment from the head of a local NGO as *'...now the NP director decides who should build a ger camp and where in the NP, which is unlawful. Residents must decide where to allocate these ger camps. So they don't ask for local residents and push them*

from their pastoral land due to unlawful decisions by the officer' (Respondent G2-11).

It suggests that there exists governance malfunction and aspirations of grassroots people are of less concern. Responsibility of the government may be misunderstood by the public sector workers and old communist bureaucracy seems to be persistent despite transition made to democratic governance system. USAID (2005:3) describes this as *'an inadequate civil service system that gives rise to a highly politicized public administration and the existence of a "spoils system"'*. As a consequence the efficiency of governance seems to be questionable in that it may adversely affect the development of tourism and the SoL of the grassroots people. The interviewees seek good governance because they feel it may enhance citizens' lives, under a belief that people will pursue better lives in supportive governance.

Procedural injustice seems to have broader consequences distributive injustice of environmental burdens. A common discourse was that free market competition between tourism businesses seems to be less possible when bribing of public sector workers by some tourism businesses was practised. Some tourism businesses (i.e. *ger* camps) with links with authorities in local administration tend to avoid fines for their failure on service quality monitoring by the State Inspection Agency while, in contrast, the others spend a fair share of their revenues to meet the standards of safety and sanitation. As a consequence, higher risks of environmental pollution and less competitive wages to the grassroots people seem to be the outcomes. In brief, it can be seen that corruption appears to be weakening the efficiency of the market economy and it may further result in deprived SoL among the grassroots people. For example, a *ger* camp operator in the Lake Hovsgol area argued that *'there was rumour among local people about the waste discharge by some enterprise... Inspections by the government agency are very fake. The sewage container from the neighbouring ger camp did not lay cement layer underneath the container but they got the permission whereas our disposal container was buried after their inspections. They require us to dig it out and relay cement beneath it now.... It [inspection] may depend on whom you know and this [the ger camp next to her ger camp] was established by someone who was a minister. Inspection is not equal to everyone. This cause unbalanced relations'* (Respondent G3-7). Failure to meet basic environmental safety measures and unfair treatment of the tourism businesses by the state inspection agency seems to result in unequal competition among supposedly freely operating tourism businesses. Thus, some businesses may be less competitive on the market and reduce wage levels to compensate

the costs spent on the fines or bribing. This may further affect the wage levels of the employees in the area. Unfair treatment of the businesses by the state inspection agency may be seen as procedural injustice which appears to result in distributional injustice or unfair environmental burdens and minimal economic benefits to grassroots people.

7.5.4.2. A degree of distributional justice in tourism

After examining the practices and discourses about procedural justice in tourism development the discussion now moves onto discourses about distributional justice that concerns environmental burdens and benefits distributed among different actors in tourism development processes (Walker, 2012). Thus, this section explores broader issues in tourism development, including both burdens (i.e. waste, pollution and degradation) and benefits (i.e. accessing to water, grazing land and logging). It seems to be difficult to illustrate a degree of environmental injustice in single numbers or indicators because of its complexity and possibly multiple interpretations. The views of those who have been affected by the distribution of environmental burdens and benefits may reveal discourses about distributional injustice.

Tourism development in rural areas seems often to rely on natural resources. Accessing natural resources is frequently noted as an issue for the grassroots people during tourism development. In many cases, tourism tends to be seen as a pathway to development in a destination. However, the local people are perhaps often unaware of the potential benefits and disbenefits of tourism development and the long term consequences of tourism development to their lives without information and knowledge. According to the present study, in the case study areas in Mongolia some grassroots people seem to be excluded from their traditional grazing land as tourism companies with business ideas and money are allowed to operate on their land.

In the Lake Hovsgol area, the local herders complain about unfair distribution of accessing to land in the NP territory. In an interview with a group of nomadic herders, who worked as horse wranglers in the area, one of them argued that ‘...*It is wrong to establish many ger camps in the NP. Land is given to someone by NP authorities, I think. My summer camp in Jankhai is affected by this issue. It may be an area of one square kilometre. There are many leasing permissions for ger camps with fences around. So we have no land to herd animals. NP authorities say that they will take these camps down but it doesn't get implemented. This is a discrimination that might be endemic and cannot be got rid off...*’ (Respondent G1-6). This suggests that the

authorities seem to neglect the grassroots people's aspirations and serve primarily for tourism businesses who appear to displace the animal herding nomadic herders from their traditional grazing land. This can be a sign of unjust distribution of natural resources, suggests that governance is poorly managed by the authorities.

Unjust access to common land was also revealed by a woman, identified as poor in the records of the village's civil registration, who operated a guest house in the Lake Hovsgol area, *'one of the reasons [we] moved down here was that our summer campsite was taken by a ger camp. I was arguing with the NP authorities so they offered us to stay here, a kind of compensation...'* (Respondent G1-9). This suggests that her family is displaced from their summer grazing area because of the NP authorities who seem to negotiate with private businesses over land access without considering their needs. The level of uneven distribution in accessing natural resources can be described as severe, where grassroots people seem to be in physical conflict with developers in some instances: *'...there are over 30 herders whose summer camp areas were taken by the people, who have money and they negotiate "above us" ... I was thinking of shooting the ger camp developers when I felt no other way to go around. A large number of ger camp establishments aren't quite right'* (Respondent G1-9). This suggests that permission of land lease processes seem to take place 'under table' as the respondent describes as 'above us'. Thus, some grassroots people seem to feel powerless and angry about the decisions made in the areas where they live by some of the authorities. It seems that local authorities demonstrate little care about what the grassroots people aspire. The private business people's rights and needs appear to be given greater emphasis in comparison with the grassroots people's rights who seem to be less powerful. The location of this incident was one of the main scenic spots along the western shore of the Lake Hovsgol that was favoured by the tourism businesses.

Similar cases emerge on the other parts of the Gobi Desert. A woman, who was the head of a community-run *ger* camp on the main tourist route in Umnugovi area, argued, *'... Ger camps don't let herders water their animals [from the water-well] but it is wrong to be like that...'* (Respondent G1-26). This suggests the grassroots people oppose tourism companies for limiting herders to access to a water-well near a *ger* camp in the Gobi Desert despite the water-well is being vital to the watering of herders' livestock. The herders felt that this violate their basic rights of pursuing their traditional way of living. The monetary power of the developers is recognised to influence

conflicting access to resources. Overall, the grassroots people seem to be rather modest in their responses against *ger* camp development decisions. It appears that an officer, who supposed to regulate private and public relations in tourism development processes in rural areas, ignore these emerging issues in relation to tourism-related development as the study findings suggest.

Consequences surrounding conflicts in conservation practices may relate to distributional injustice. Tourism-related regulations and conservation practices seem to indirectly influence the SoL of the grassroots people. A herdsman, for example, in the Lake Hovsgol area, argued that *'Big ger camps are influential... There are a lots of things out of regulations at these ger camps. They do illegal logging ... But NP officials try to get fine us in large sum and restrict to graze animals. It seems that we're losing the land where we have being lived. Protection policy of the NP is no good and unjust. You may encounter the logs prepared in the mountains in the protected area'* (Respondent G1-3). This suggests that a ban on local people using natural resources in the NP seems unfair and conservation policy appears to result in various impacts on livelihoods. The *ger* camps can still undertake illegal logging without penalty but the local people appear to be penalised unfairly for allowing livestock grazing in the NP.

Having to be given permission to access natural resources is perceived to be unfair and the process is often depend on personal contacts with the officials. A female souvenir seller in the Lake Hovsgol area, argued that *'we need to get permission from environmental protection unit upon payment of tax of 10,000 tugrugs [USD 10]. Net fishing is mostly available for those who have money. In the spring and autumn people who have money can get 10-20 house logging permissions. But, for us, it takes 5 years to get logging permission for our own house. We requested logging permission in 2005 but still could not get at the moment because of a queue'* (Respondent G1-5). This suggests that there is unfair access to natural resources and people with money seemed to be prioritised. This suggests the existence of corruption in the public sector in relation to accessing natural resources. Although the respondent does not mention monetary bribes, her expression of the “people with money” may indicate financial power possibly being exercised. The NP conservation policy appears to leave grassroots people with the choice of travelling long distances to undertake logging (at a cost to livelihoods) or to act illegally by logging locally in order to save money.

7.6. CONCLUSION

The chapter discussed practices and discourses about grassroots people's SoL associated with tourism development in the two case study areas in Mongolia. The analysis drew on the differing perceptions of the diverse actors, including grassroots people, staff in tourism businesses, government officials, and staff in NGOs.

The SoL seem to be largely dependent on the principal livelihood sources, along with other more societal elements, including access to social services (i.e. education and health services), social connections (i.e. community support and friendship), and other socio-cultural elements. The SoL seem to be perceived based on people's reflection on the various elements in life and the fulfilment of the priority components of those elements in different periods of their life-time. That perspective is described by Sen (1985:40) as a '*self-evaluation*' approach. Grassroots people's self-evaluations of their SoL in a coherent way involved the respondents reflecting on their SoL holistically, taking account of various elements, including their economic, environmental, and socio-cultural well-being in tourism development. The views of the grassroots people were prioritised in this study over the views of other actors as the researcher considered that they can be the best judge of their own SoL. This approach reveals that tourism development has multiple effects, with non-linear association between monetary benefits and a better SoL. Social networks seems to be one of the important elements. However, this self-reflection is limited in this chapter to a consideration of some of the specific elements of SoL.

The grassroots people stress the importance of doing various jobs in order to provide for their livelihoods. A notable trend emerge from the fieldwork in the case study areas, which is that animal husbandry seem no longer to be the sole livelihood activity for some households. The changing political, economic and environmental conditions seem to have led to changes in the society and its culture, in which differing perceptions co-emerged among the grassroots people, including perceptions of increased vulnerability of traditional livestock-keeping due to the frequent natural disasters, and of health concerns as a result of environmental pollution associated with the tourism development processes.

The interviewees often describe a fulfilling living as being in good health, having the basic needs met, and having their children educated and concern free. It may

be misleading to generalise as the grassroots people are inhomogeneous in rural Mongolia in terms of its livelihood sources. The grassroots people vary locally too, as they can be from various education backgrounds, have varied livelihood sources which are often combined through various activities, and they have differing views on their SoL. Thus, their life aspirations tend to be varied, yet income alone do not appear to provide for all their daily needs. Rather, issues such as their social networks, education, and environmental sustainability seemed to be important elements of their SoL, regardless of their levels of income.

Tourism seems to contribute to people's SoL in the case study areas, especially in economic terms. However, some people expressed concerns about the long-term benefits for the rural residents, especially when land and other resources are often controlled by powerful businesses. It seems that tourism's contribution to SoL in rural areas is actually multidimensional and that it could not simply be understood through considering just one of its dominant elements (i.e. effects on economic, environmental, and socio-cultural well-being). Instead, these elements seem to be closely related to one another, and therefore tourism's contribution to grassroots people's SoL seemed to be rather complex. For instance, grassroots people's economic well-being appear to depend on the types of tourism, its seasonality, the types of employment and people's social networks, where local ownership of tourism businesses tended to be more beneficial than if the businesses were owned by outsiders.

With regard to environmental well-being, it appeared that tourism may have negatively affected the quality of water in the case study areas, where the water resources for tourism were also more generally a major livelihood resource for residents in the area. Although there was no solid evidence to correlate tourism-related water pollution with the residents' health in the area, there seem to be a growing risk factor for the rural populations' well-being. In particular, people with a traditionally strong sense of environmental and water protection ethics often perceive tourism-related environmental pollution as a danger and a potential negative influence on their SoL.

Socio-cultural well-being seems to be most diverse influence of all on SoL perceptions. The simultaneous integration and disintegration of communities are seen to have both positive and negative affect one's SoL. Tourism-related commercialisation and alcoholism appear to erode the traditional values. Some respondents reported increased stress because of alcoholism, which appear to affect their SoL negatively.

However, more generally the nomadic culture and scenic landscape allow the villagers to benefit and improve their SoL during the tourism development processes, and thus, they could further appreciate their own culture and local environment.

In sum, the grassroots people's 'self- evaluation' of their SoL provided great insights and details about tourism's contribution to the grassroots people's SoL, based on the researcher's view that individuals can be the best judges of their own lives. Therefore, this approach was fundamentally different to an income-based poverty assessment, which is often instrumentalist, often merely relies on income and poverty measures, can be tokenistic in nature, and may often be imposed by IDOs in the developing world. The SoL can be more than household income and it may often cover such aspects as social connections, the quality of the living environment, and valued socio-cultural elements of life. Although the government statistics for Mongolia showed a poverty rate of 49.6 % in 2009 (see Chapter 5), this study showed that only 25 % of the respondents (19.3% of grassroots households) perceived their SoL to be 'below average' in the case study areas. Although the research findings may be considered non-comparable due to their very different scope and methodology, the study findings provide an indication of the grassroots people's own perceptions of their SoL in relation to tourism development processes. It thus reaches out beyond the usual scope of tourism's impact on economic factors.

This chapter also discussed vital elements for SoL in tourism development in Mongolia via exploring the frameworks of equality of outcomes, opportunities, capabilities and environmental justice. Equality is regarded as a rather descriptive notion and raises questions around equality of what among whom. Within tourism development, equality of outcomes is simplified by the author to focus primarily on income inequalities based on the salient study findings. Income equalities seemed to be a widely recognised notion of everyday life for the interviewees.

Although there seemed to be increasing income inequalities in the case study areas in Mongolia, the perceived outcomes of tourism development appeared to result in three different discourses of reduced, constant and widening income inequalities. The first common discourse was that tourism tended to reduce the increasing income inequalities amongst local populations and was acknowledged to prevent a significant number of people from falling into poverty. In some areas where tourism is

concentrated tourism's effect on income inequalities was perceived positively. Many of the respondents favoured the financial buffer that income from tourism could provide for the grassroots people when economic downturn hit. Secondly, the economic benefits from tourism were unrecognised to have a wider influence on widening inequalities due to its seasonality and geographic constraints. However, this was least frequently occurred discourse.

In contrast, tourism's contribution on widening income inequalities at three levels was held by some interviewees: (i) among the grassroots people and (ii) between grassroots people and other people in the same tourist areas; (iii) between local people in tourist areas and in non-tourist areas. Firstly, interviewees argued that tourism's benefits were relevant to fewer people due to the employment requirements of the tourism industry and participants' required capabilities (i.e. assets, man power and skills) to benefit from tourism-related opportunities. Thus, it may be argued that tourism itself contributed to income inequalities by enabling fewer people to gain a relatively large share of tourism's economic benefits. Socio-economic background, social connections, relevant social skills and accessibility to information of the grassroots people seemed to result in unequal access to tourism-related livelihood opportunities and created social hierarchical divisions. It appears that opportunities may be less useful in the conversion of opportunities to outcomes without human capabilities. This is in relation to gaining economic benefits from tourism.

Tourism seemed to require certain social skills and innate aptitudes from its participants wishing to benefit from tourism-related opportunities. In addition to the innate aptitudes, certain social and technical skills that people can develop during their family upbringing, education and tourism employment were acknowledged. It seems that human capabilities (abilities to achieve) may seem to govern the extent to which opportunities can be turned into outcomes. However, human capabilities seem to be insufficient for a good SoL, these capabilities require certain preconditions to operate or equal opportunities. Also the wider political economic environment seemed to have a greater influence as well. Macro level political economic policies, including privatisation and international aid, and also practices of corruption seem to contribute overall income inequalities in Mongolia. These seem to affect equality issues in relation to tourism as well. It seems human agency seem to play important role for some to benefit from tourism under various constraints.

As it can be seen, differing SoL seemed to underpin people's capabilities via their family upbringing and education attainments. Therefore, people's capabilities are acquired differently relative to their SoL. It is not clear whether the SoL underpins people's capabilities or vice versa. Due to unequal capabilities, people use existing opportunities differently further it leads to differing SoL.

Study also investigated to understand environmental justice aspects of environmental benefits and burdens which appeared to play a significant role for grassroots people's lives in rural areas where main livelihood sources are heavily dependent on environmental resources. Those with financial and social power (i.e. connections with people in authority) appear to have greater influence on natural resource access and decisions made in relation to environmental legislation and enforcement. It must be recognised that unfair processes may result in unfair outcomes and that perceived injustices provoke responses in terms of broadcast opinions and, in extreme cases, aggressive actions (from grassroots people in relation to illegal land leasing and environmental impacts from tourism-related activities) The grassroots people in the case study areas largely noted that the unjust outcomes from tourism-related development tend to be as a result of unjust procedures.

Chapter 8 CONCLUSION

8.1. INTRODUCTION

This study has sought to understand tourism's contribution to grassroots people's SoL and equality issues in relation to income, opportunities and capabilities in the context of tourism development in a developing country. Two areas in Mongolia, the Lake Hovsgol and the Gobi Desert, were chosen for the case studies. Tourism has already been integrated into grassroots people's livelihoods in both regions, which are regarded as important for Mongolia's tourism due to their natural beauty. These case study areas were thus considered highly appropriate to study the relationships between the varied actors (including international, national and local actors) involved in tourism development and also in the related questions around access to land-based resources.

The study findings were discussed in the three results chapters (Chapters 5, 6 and 7), with each chapter concentrating separately on one group of concepts from among other interrelated concepts in order to explore the associated empirical findings in much detail. This final chapter provides an integrative, cross-conceptual synthesis of the empirical findings, and it relates them to the study's conceptual framework. It also assesses the overall value and contribution of this study to the general body of tourism knowledge.

This conclusion chapter begins by reflecting on the study's aims and objectives and on how they were addressed in the thesis. The next section assesses how the theoretical approaches and the conceptual framework were applied in the study. Then it discusses the study's key research findings in relation to the conceptual framework, and it also draws various wider conclusions from the study findings and from the application of the conceptual framework. The key value of this study is its holistic, integrated and interpretive assessment of tourism's contribution to grassroots people's SoL, equity and inequality issues in a developing world context. There is also reflection on the limitations of the study and the challenges faced during the study process. This chapter concludes with personal reflections on the role of the researcher throughout his PhD journey.

8.2. A REVIEW OF THE STUDY OBJECTIVES

The overall aim of the study was to explore the practices and discourses (perceptions, opinions and values) among different actors about the quality of livelihoods, SoL, equity and (in) equality issues as they relate to tourism and development in two rural areas in Mongolia. This was discussed in Chapter 1. In order to achieve the study aim, the following five objectives, as shown in Figure 9.1, were set out and here they are briefly reviewed in turn.

Figure 8.1 The study objectives

- Objective 1. To critically review the academic literature relevant to a political ecology approach to the quality of livelihoods, standard of living, equity, and to (in)equalities, and to a capability approach to tourism development.
- Objective 2. To develop and apply a conceptual framework based on the political ecology approach in order to conduct research about environmental and socio-economic inequality related to tourism development in two geographically distinct rural areas of Mongolia and to evaluate the value of that framework.
- Objective 3. To evaluate the study findings on tourism development in Mongolia in relation to the government's wider development strategies and also the policies advocated by International Development Organisations and other NGOs.
- Objective 4. To map the actors related to tourism development in the two case study areas and to evaluate the actors' roles and interests and their social relationships in the tourism development processes.
- Objective 5. To examine practices and discourses associated with the quality of livelihoods and standards of living, inequalities related to the tourism development processes among various social actors in the two areas.

Objective 1 was addressed in the “Chapter 2 Literature Review”. Undertaking the literature review allowed the researcher to grasp insights from previous research related to the study topic, and also to identify gaps in the literature. Thus, the review covers the areas of the political ecology of tourism (underpinned by the principles of the political economy of tourism), environmental equity issues, quality of livelihoods and SoL, poverty and inequality issues, and pro-poor tourism (PPT) in the tourism development process. The study also reviewed the two key theoretical approaches of an

actor-oriented approach and a capability approach. The researcher spotted a gap in the literature in which quality of livelihoods and SoL had not been approached through a political ecology approach combined with an actor perspective and a capability approach. Equity principles are also seldom researched in tourism studies.

Objective 2 was met in the “Chapter 3 Conceptual Framework” and the present “Chapter 8 Conclusion”. Developing the conceptual framework allowed the researcher to draw a boundary to demarcate what was to be researched and the network of relevant concepts. Thus, the key theoretical concepts can make *‘a synthesis that hasn’t been made before; using already known material but with a new interpretation, bringing new evidence to bear on an old issues ...[and] adding to knowledge in a way that hasn’t been done before’* (Philips and Pugh, 1994:61-2). PhD study is regarded as an apprenticeship prior to admission to a community of scholars. Thus, it seems that this research has been a learning curve that hopefully demonstrates that the researcher is able to undertake research to *‘fully professional standards’* (Philips and Pugh, 1994:20 cited in Silverman, 2013:71). Research methodology, therefore, is a vital part of the study, and the conceptual framework further allowed the researcher to develop his research methodology, methods and analytical themes, which are addressed in “Chapter 4. Methodology”.

Objective 3 was met in the “Chapter 5 Political Economy of Tourism Development and Equity Issues in Mongolia”. The present study required an understanding of the macro-level political and economic context of Mongolia to balance the study’s macro- and micro- levels of analysis. Particularly, the researcher sought to understand how Mongolia’s wider development policies relate to international and domestic political economy and equity issues in the country during its transition. This needed to be appreciated before the researcher undertook further micro-scale analysis.

Objective 4 was addressed in the “Chapter 6 Actors' Relations in Tourism Development”. After examining the macro- and micro-level context, it was important to discuss how the actors involved in tourism relate to each other. Especially, it was necessary to understand how the macro-level political economy intersects with the micro-level actions of actors, and this allowed the researcher to look at the dynamic issues of tourism development in great detail.

Objective 5 was met in the “Chapter 7. Practices and discourses about Standards of Living, inequality and environmental justice in tourism development”. This is a key focus of the study because of tourism’s potential contribution to SoL, and the study explored how this was perceived by various actors involved in tourism. This has seldom been researched before, and it was hoped to reveal new insights into this in the study. This chapter also explored and evaluated the practices and discourses about (in) equality and environmental justice in tourism development in the two areas. Thus, the study also assessed the equity concept and (in)equality issues, considering them in conjunction with the idea of distributional justice. Again, these are less researched areas in tourism, suggesting that there is a need to evaluate them in new research.

8.3. THE THEORETICAL BASIS OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The present study was informed by three broad theoretical approaches, with each having significant value in the development of the conceptual framework. The three theoretical approaches are briefly revisited here to highlight their application to the present study and the value of each.

Firstly, the study applied political ecology's holistic analytical approach via exploring human-environmental interactions, the resulting social and environmental changes, and the various social actors at different scales, on the basis of the theoretical insights of the political and economic contexts and processes (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987, Bryant 1992, Gössling, 2003, Neumann, 2005). Therefore, the analysis emphasised political and economic forces over accessing environmental resources, resulted burdens and benefits in their distribution. Most importantly, the study considered environmental issues as crucially important features of the political ecology in its analytical framework. This is unlike some political economic analysis which tends to underplay the environment and related issues, instead regarding the environment as more than a mere economic means, such as because it can also offer social and cultural values, a source of livelihoods, and also safe and secure living conditions. Political ecology is also concerned with environmental equity and justice concepts, with equity principles applied to the distribution of environmental burdens and benefits, and also questioning any unfair outcomes of power relations.

Despite the potential strength of political ecology as an analytical tool, the application of this approach in tourism studies has been limited, with only a few major studies, notably by Stonich (1998), Gössling (2003) and Cole (2012). Thus, it appeared a rather under-used approach. This gives wider relevance to the present study's application of political ecology, including its specific focus on livelihoods, environment, politics, economic issues and actor relations in the context of tourism development processes.

The political ecology approach provided the study's overarching framework, and that brought together an actor-oriented approach and a capability approach within the study's conceptual framework. It was considered that the political ecology approach can sometimes over-emphasise how the macro-level structural forces affect grassroots level environmental and livelihood issues, including the environmental burdens and benefits. As discussed in the literature review, it was believed that this emphasis on political, economic and social-cultural structural forces can neglect the potential importance of individuals as acting units or actors. Thus, an actor-oriented approach was utilized in conjunction with a political ecology approach.

Therefore, secondly, Long's actor-oriented approach was integrated in this study within a political ecology approach, and this enabled the study also to focus on micro-level actions and interactions, and on how actors' views were formed, considering this to occur simultaneously with the importance of structural forces. Indeed, this multi-scale analysis of political ecology nicely fitted with an actor-oriented approach, with values, interests and power relations being discussed in relation to the study topic.

Actors in the real world can have multiple roles in everyday life due to their social nature and various responsibilities, and the concept of social interfaces is applied to complex relations between different actors. Each actor in society can have various roles in their social relations owing to their different interests, values, interpretations, knowledge and power. Thus, an individual can represent multiple interests and can generate complex social relations. Actor relations in their everyday lives were important to be understood. The combined political ecology and actor-oriented approaches were used to explore the macro- and micro-level environmental and livelihood issues. In other words, actor relations were discussed in relation to many issues, but with some

focus on environmental aspects. This combination of approaches enhanced our understanding of the quality of livelihoods and SoL, also via introducing a capability approach.

Thus, thirdly, Sen's capability approach to measuring the SoL was utilised to explore a fuller picture of SoL beyond a single income-based approach. It involved capturing ones' capabilities (abilities to achieve) and the functioning (achievements) of their life goals. Monetary measures of SoL are often criticised as being arbitrary and neglecting the varied elements of social life and living (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2007). It was valuable to apply a capability approach to the present study because it allowed for an exploration of tourism development beyond mere economic benefits. The capability approach has also been underused in tourism studies, with the only known research to apply the capability concept in tourism studies being by Croes (2012). This approach emphasises the capability set rather than pure monetary benefits. It is argued that human capabilities seemed to play a pivotal role, especially so that people could take advantage of any emerging opportunities, like tourism in rural contexts in developing world countries.

This study explored the livelihood capabilities expressed by actors' subjective interpretations in relation to the SoL, and to poverty and inequality issues, in tourism development processes. Thus, the study focused on the income distribution, income poverty and wider measures of the SoL such as capabilities. It seemed that human capabilities, could be nurtured in various living and educational environments (i.e through people's family upbringing, and school education, as well as through personal experiences and innate talents.

8.4. A REVIEW OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A conceptual framework is an explanation of the main focus and processes within a study, which is often illustrated graphically and also through an accompanying narrative. The research focus and processes here concerned the key elements and constructs which required understanding and their presumed interrelations (Miles and Huberman, 1994). It can be seen that the conceptual framework is a visual representation of the operation and explanation of a study, achieved by pulling together

and making visible concepts and relations and by clarifying existing theory (Maxwell, 2005).

Informed by the critical literature review and the theoretical approaches, the first holistic, integrated and interpretive conceptual framework was developed prior to the field study and further elaborated (Figure 3.1). The first framework was holistic, applying a political ecology approach to tourism (in turn underpinned by political economy) in which relations are considered between and within political, economic and environmental aspects. Actors are a focus of the study, and they often form diverse groups during the tourism development processes. In the first conceptual framework these actors were seen as having social interactions, and they articulated their views and ideas about various aspects of tourism development through various discursive constructs. The main aspects of tourism in the first framework concerned this activity as a source of livelihood and its related justice, equity and (in) equality consequences. Most importantly, the conceptual framework laid out the map of how the research could be conducted and it further underpinned the development of the research instruments for the semi-structured interviews and the associated analytical themes. It also assisted the author to keep track of the study objectives during the data collection and data analysis. Yet, as an intentionally flexible system, the initial conceptual framework was open to potential adaption and amendment as a part of the study's iterative process.

The final version of the conceptual framework (Figure 3.2) illustrated the changes made during the period of field study, it provided increased coherence, and it also clarified the research concepts in relation to the study's aims and objectives. The final framework fully reflected the research design of combining a political ecology, an actor perspectives and a capability approach to study the links between tourism, quality of livelihoods, SoL, equity and (in) equality issues in a rural context of a developing country in political and economic transition. The framework allowed the author to identify details of these complex relationships, and they may add additional clarity in the study subject area, especially as the combined approaches have been unapplied previously in a tourism context.

The study's key political ecology approach is broadly underpinned by political economy, but with priorities also being given to environmental aspects. Thus, the

conceptual framework linked political ecology with the political economy of tourism, which allowed the author to reflect on tourism development in relation to the macro-level, structural aspects of politics, economics and society. The framework further demonstrated the government's economic policies over pressing issues like poverty, and the distribution of economic, environmental and socio-cultural benefits and burdens.

Yet the conceptual framework avoided adapting a purely structuralist conceptualisation, and it was linked to an actor-oriented approach, which then allowed the author to map the international, national and local level actors involved in tourism development in rural regions of the developing world. Mapping the actors allowed the author to set boundaries to the people and organisations to be studied. Thus, the author could also discuss actors' roles and interests in tourism development, and also their social interactions and the ways in which actors exert agency. Thus, the political ecology approach informed by political economy and an actor-oriented approach helped in understanding the actors' interactions at local level and how actors exercise their agency to manoeuvre within the macro level structural constraints (Long, 2001).

Also there was a need for further conceptualisation of the study's specific subject of tourism's contribution to quality of livelihoods and SoL. The capability approach offered specific conceptual insights about tourism's contribution to SoL in relation to wider aspects of material wealth, livelihood capabilities and environmental justice.

8.5. KEY FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The next section discusses the study's key findings from the two case study areas in Mongolia. The study's overarching holistic and flexible conceptual framework allowed the author to have a birds-eye view of the study subject, with each result chapter dealing with particular aspects of the study topic, but the whole picture could only be fully interpreted when these particular aspects are connected with each other and the study's overall approaches. The discussion addressed the macro-level political economic aspects of tourism development in Mongolia, aspects that underpin the discussion of actors' roles, interests and relations. Discussion of the macro-level policy making and actor relations relevant to tourism allowed the researcher to shift the study analysis to the micro-level, everyday living of grassroots people. The study's key

findings were related to tourism's contribution to SoL of the grassroots people and inequalities of outcomes, opportunities and capabilities.

8.5.1. Tourism development policies and integration of grassroots aspirations

One core question behind the study was to assess the extent to which Mongolia's development policies for tourism, which were associated with neo-liberal rhetoric, reflected the aspirations of the grassroots people in rural regions, where the poverty rate was high and the natural resources were abundant. Chapter 5 discussed the political economy of tourism in relation to development, poverty alleviation, and inequality, and it is considered subsequently in relation to the aspirations of the grassroots people for development and tourism development in the two case study areas in Mongolia.

Tourism is often considered to be a panacea for the ills of poverty and inequality in the developing world as a part of economic diversification. In Mongolia during its political and economic transition, the structural political and economic factors tended to affect the choices of neo-liberal rhetoric and the macro-level policies on poverty and inequality reduction in Mongolia. Here tourism development was pursued mainly by the private sector, along with IDO-funded, community-based tourism initiatives. There were only limited aspirations for grassroots improvement as the policy unfocused quality of livelihoods, SoL and equity principles, and instead the priority focus was on monetary benefits. The present study contributed to the current literature as it sheds light on the aspects that hampered the ideals of neo-liberal rhetoric in relation to tourism development in a rural context of a developing country in its political and economic transition.

First, Mongolia's political economic transition can be seen to have reflected the structural force of international political economy and a democratic movement in the country, but the consequences were unforeseen and uneven. As Mongolia's communist government and centrally planned economy begin to change in 1990, the transition tended to result in unforeseen consequences for the society (i.e. economic recession, and associated poverty and inequality) despite Mongolia receiving substantial donor aid. Eventually, the economy gradually recovered, reaching double digit GDP growth; but the inequity issues were much less effectively addressed. The present study argued that, despite the neo-liberal rhetoric, the transition did not tend to offer positive outcomes via

trickle-down effects, this being because of multiple factors arising mainly from context-specific circumstances.

As the present study found in Chapter 6, the society comprised diverse actors who actively engaged in livelihood sustaining activities in order to adapt to the macro-scale structural forces. It appeared that political and economic freedoms had resulted in a significant degree of inequality and the growth of poverty. Politics, party politics, and financial and other resources often seemed to offer the social elites an advantaged position to exercise their power and interests, and also their networks to achieve their goals. By contrast, the least powerful actors in the society sometimes seemed to be victims affected by the powerful actors, and they had the lowest SoL. But despite the unequal power relations, the people with least power could also manoeuvre via forming various informal networks. The economic freedoms do seem to have supported the given political freedom, and fairly good governance is in place.

But the trickle-down effects from tourism businesses do not seem to have reached the grassroots level as had been hoped would occur due to the macro-level structural reforms of public sector policies and of taxation regulation. Thus, tourism's immediate effects on poverty alleviation did seem to be ineffective. Despite the private sector's claims that they generated a fair amount of economic benefits in these tourist destination areas, this was unsupported by the opinions of some grassroots people in the two case study areas.

Second, at the macro-level of the tourism development there was a nexus of actor relations across multi-scale territories. It was often the case that tourism policies and their implementation were hampered by a lack of grassroots participation and by the policies unreflecting grassroots aspirations in the rural areas, despite abundant IDO support and funding. Actors' roles, interests and interactions were multi-directional and intertwined, and that resulted in differing levels of access over natural resources. It also meant they formed various collaborative and competitive interactions, and informal and formal associations, within the macro structure. There seemed to be a vague division between public and private sector interests in tourism because of the actor interface where the interests of those who had a good network and connections seemed to dominate in tourism policy making due to nepotism. Especially, the provision of public

services and those who benefitted from the opportunities arising from IDO initiatives seemed be concentrated on the people with family ties, immediate family members, and friends in the public administrative bodies.

Third, there were a number of IDO-funded initiatives for poverty reduction in Mongolia, initiatives that were associated with the government's neo-liberal policies which were hoped to bring economic benefits because in a freely operating market the benefits were considered likely to trickle down to grassroots level. Yet, the actual outcomes seemed to be less efficient and with many overlaps, and this mixed picture resulted in mixed opinions among the tourism actors in the case study areas. One factor was that the tourism businesses operated within the government's neo-liberal ideals, while the IDOs intervened at the grassroots level through offering community-based tourism initiatives, and the latter initiatives competed with the private sector over tourism resources.

In parallel, the IDO interventions on poverty alleviation and their tourism-related initiatives got implemented with the support of international funding and they often focused on conservation and community-based tourism initiatives. Eventually, however, the IDO-funded projects seemed to compete with the self-invested, private-sector tourism businesses. Yet, the IDO support at grassroots level seemed to be short lived, while the private sector did not seem to be pro-poor in that there was little focus on the efficiency of poverty reduction. The associated discourses suggested that for some the IDO funding had some similarities with money laundering, and there were considered to be significant overlaps, inefficiency in the spending, and elements of fraudulent activities. Although the IDO initiatives may be seen as a good gesture for poverty alleviation, it appears that they probably did not achieve their intended results.

The concept of poverty itself seemed hardly to be questioned by the policy makers, and it was often arbitrarily based on a \$1.25 a day criteria, as suggested by the World Bank, regardless of the multifaceted reality. As poverty rate is persistently high in Mongolia, there seems to be widening inequalities in the country. Differing factors seemed to have contributed to Mongolia's inequality. Particularly, there was the unfair start-up of Mongolia's two-tier privatisation, which allowed advantages to accrue to those who were better informed, and just a few people gained from the privatisation of

these state industries. Thus, small elites seemed to control the majority of the key industries in the country.

8.5.2. Tourism's contribution to the people's living standards

There are a number of academic studies on tourism and quality of life with which the present study shares some similarities, but this does not mean that the present study is about quality of life and tourism. It was considered that quality of life is a rather comprehensive notion, within which tourism can only be one component as a livelihood activity in a destination area. That means it is arguably too broad for studies focused specifically on tourism.

The conceptualisation of quality of life in research is ongoing, and it is often defined as '*the notion of human welfare (well-being) measured by social indicators rather than by 'quantitative' measures of income and production*' (United Nations, n.d.) and tends to be framed in relation to the variety of human needs. Therefore, quality of life is often regarded as equivalent to people's subjective well-being or life satisfaction, taking account of measures other than of income or of the provision of various needs (Hall and Brown, 2006).

In relation to tourism and quality of life, Moscardo (2009) has developed a framework which combines five different types of capital associated with quality of life: social capital, human capital, physical capital, financial capital, and natural capital. These are also identified by Vermuri and Costanza (2006) in three different tourist places, including the tourism generating region, the destination region, and the transit region, as identified by Hall (2005). Moscardo's study concerns how these needs are met during tourism development. Yet, such studies often have insufficient focus on how tourism's contributions to quality of life reach different people or households with varied SoL.

There are two studies concerned with the distributional consequences of the tourism development process. Blake (2008) explores how the tourism sector performs in terms of benefiting poor households by comparison with the performance of other sectors, examining this for the case of East Africa. The study suggests that the lowest income households benefited from tourism less than high income households as tourism

expands. This was affected by increases in the real currency exchange rate, which was followed by a contraction of export industries which offered employment for the poor. He notes that *'hotels and restaurants provide incomes to relatively richer households... More research needed ... whether they have the same skill set as poorer households'* (Blake, 2008:522). But Blake's study does not provide an explanation as to why the low income households benefitted least from tourism. The study also took poverty in terms of an income measure, and thus it neglected other aspects of people's life. By contrast, a study by Rivera et al. (2007) suggests that the lowest income households benefit more than some higher income groups (cited in Croes, 2012:99). Again, this study do not provide explanations as to why low income households tended to gain more benefit from tourism in comparison to higher income groups. It is notable, however, that these studies prioritise a utilitarian conception of income distribution, while ignoring social and cultural aspects of people's living. These studies also lacked much consideration of environmental dimensions.

In the present study, tourism's contribution to grassroots people's quality of livelihoods and SoL was partially informed by the notions of utility (desire fulfilment) and opulence (income and material provision), with both notions underpinning the capability approach to tourism. Thus, interviewees were asked to reveal the priority elements for their livelihoods (i.e. livelihood sources, material wealth, social services and socio-cultural elements), and these are elements which are often covered in the opulence notion.

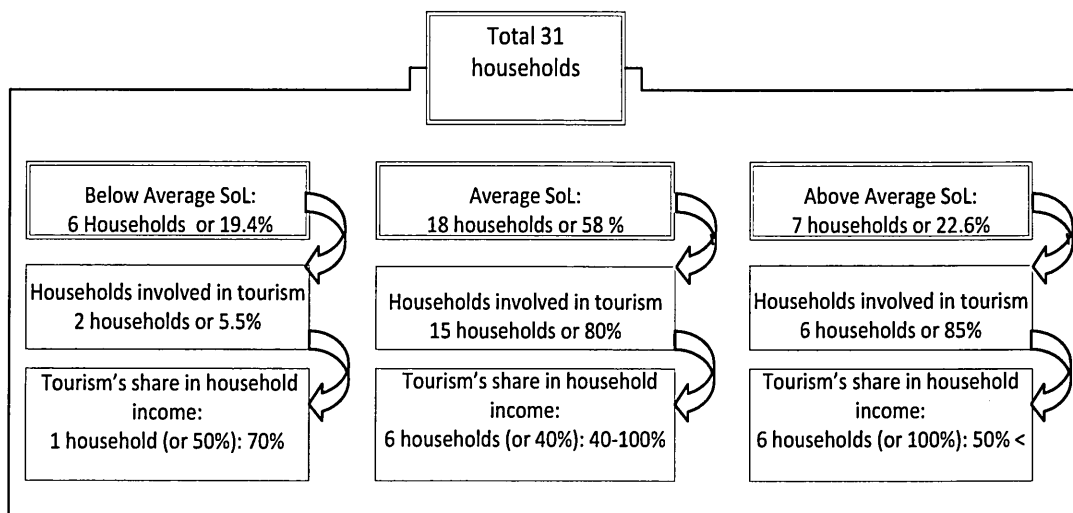
The study revealed a great deal about tourism's contribution to the grassroots people's SoL. First, it showed that people in tourist destinations identified a self-defined SoL, and also that they assessed their households' SoL in relation to tourism's contribution to their household economic, environmental and socio-cultural well-being. These reflections were made based on how satisfied they felt with these elements of their lives, with their lives overall over recent years and time periods (i.e. past vs present), and with their lives compared to others living in other territorial areas (i.e. here vs other areas), all being considered in the context of tourism development. This was a valuable contribution to current tourism studies. This was because there are few studies of such issues around livelihoods and SoL based on the discursive views of those who experience various livelihoods and by those who experience different aspects of the SoL

in their everyday life. This analysis was very fruitful as the respondents revealed many details of their lives discursively. This cognitive exercise was also shown to capture the fluidity of the concepts of SoL during tourism development.

Second, the study found that tourism's contribution to SoL can be more than its economic gains. Although economic gains were the rewards from tourism when the private sector invested, simultaneously the resources of land, pasture and water appeared to be controlled by those who had financial power and were well networked. The concentration of people and animals related to tourism activities could also result in an intensified alteration to the traditional nomadic way of life, and that had the knock-on effects of increased pressure on grazing areas and water resources, and of a reduced frequency of migration by the nomads, and that was followed by alterations of their traditional culture.

The study explored how grassroots people felt about their quality of livelihoods and SoL during tourism development. Here the word “poverty” seemed to be a rather sensitive word among the grassroots people, and instead people often described their SoL as below average, average and above average. The synthesis of the views of the grassroots people is illustrated in Figure 8.1. The figure shows tourism’s contribution to 31 households based on the respondents from 31 households. In the top row, it displays shares of households from below average, average and above average households respectively. The second row shows how many households are involved in tourism either in numbers and percent. The thirds row illustrates tourism’s share in household income in percent.

Figure 8.2 Tourism's contribution to household income in the case of 31 households



Source: Author

The study revealed that 6 (19.3%) out of 31 households had SoL in the below average category, while the majority of the households (58% or 18 households) had an average SoL. Households with an above average SoL accounted for 22.6% (7 households) (Figure 8.2). In contrast, the NSOM (2010) reveals that the poverty rate in rural Mongolia was 49.6 % in 2009. Although this is incomparable with official statistics due to methodological differences, it was a substantial difference. In other words, the official statistics had a 2.5 times higher poverty rate in comparison to the present study's findings. The study also revealed the explanatory responses to reflect what these categories of SoL meant to the respondents.

The ones who perceived their SoL (6 households) to be below average had an average of 8 years of educational attainment and 4 members in the household. They seemed to have either a number of livestock ranging between 25 and 201 or none, while small-scale farming contributed to their livelihoods, except for two (5.5%) households, of which one earned over 70 % of their total household income from tourism. They described their SoL as '*below average, with many dependants and no constant income*' (Respondent G1-15) or '*the backside of the skirt is taken to be used to cover the holes in the front side*' (Respondent G1-10). This indicates that tourism did not seem to be the main livelihood activity for those who had a SoL in the below average category.

By contrast, as many as 15 (80 %) of the 18 households in the average SoL category were involved in tourism, of which 6 (40 %) households earned 50 % to 100 % of their household revenues from tourism. Although tourism seemed to be an important livelihood source, the reasons behind their average SoL could also be because of their educational attainment (an average of 10 years) and wealth (an average of 224 animals per household).

Seven households were from the above average SoL category. Tourism contributed to the livelihoods of 6 (85 %) out of the 7 households. All households earned more than half of their household revenues from tourism, or they reported that tourism was a very important livelihood source. The educational attainment of the respondents was an average of 7 years, less than the below average group, while they had an average of 800 animals per household, significantly higher than other two groups. They described their SoL as *'Decent or even rich. I prefer to be in the middle with no health issues'* (Respondent G1-25), and *'Feeling of contentment'* (Respondent G1-16). *'Alright, a lot of improvement, better than other areas; but no satisfaction... decent condition'* (Respondent G1-20). Here educational attainment did not seem to be a prominent factor, which may be due to their livelihood capabilities developed throughout their lives.

The SoL were perceived differently by grassroots people. They saw income and assets as being vital elements of life, yet these were not seemed to define their SoL fully. One factor here was that some households from all three categories of SoL had approximately the same numbers of animals, and their views about their SoL were different. In relation to tourism, over 80 % of the households from both average and above average SoL categories were involved in tourism as a livelihood activity, whereas tourism did not seem to be a major livelihood component for those households who fell into the category of below average SoL. Yet, if a household from below average category involved in tourism, its contribution to their livelihood seems to be substantial, accounting for over 70% of their household income yet such opportunities seem to be limited (Figure 8.2).

In the case of the households involved in tourism, 40 % of them with an average SoL and all households from the above average category of SoL made more than half of

their income from tourism. Thus, it appeared that tourism benefited the households with average and above average SoL more than it did households in the below average category of SoL. This was one of the key findings of the research based on discursive expressions provided by the grassroots people, rather than through a top-down assessment by IDOs or the government.

A reason for the previously mentioned higher rate of poverty in the official data possibly was explained by macro-scale, structural reasons and by the IDO interventions through poverty reduction programmes. Here having a higher rate of poverty in the rural parts of Mongolia seemed to be politically motivated to attract more funding for poverty alleviation programmes. And in that context, IDO funding could be a source of extra income for those who were in charge of the various IDO-funded projects and for people in public administration. These people were often perceived by the respondents as “thieves” who kept some project money for themselves. Also the word of “poverty” may be over- emphasised as an election slogan, with poverty reduction being an attractive election campaign for politicians. Further, the official definitions of poverty seemed to be rather arbitrary and they tended to ignore aspects other than material wealth and money in one’s life. The underlying reasons behind tourism's disproportionate benefits to better-off groups are provided in the next section.

8.5.3. Contribution to the current debate on tourism’s implications for inequality

Important questions for the researcher were how tourism contributed to (in) equalities of outcome, opportunity and capabilities in the case study areas. Here it is worth recalling how other researchers have approached the related and similar issues of quality of life and well-being in relation to tourism development. This also allows the author to reflect on what are some of the key new contributions of the present study in relation to the existing literature.

The nearest study similar to the present study is by Croes (2012) on “Assessing tourism development from Sen’s capability approach”. Yet, the study took a quantitative approach which lacks insights into the subjective interpretations of grassroots people and of other actors related to tourism. For instance, the study applied the Human Development Index, which is a composite index consisting of educational attainment, health, income and income equality. The HDI, however, does not reflect

people's non-academic skills and social capital, which are vital elements of grassroots people's capabilities. Yet Sen condemns a hard list of capabilities, arguing that capabilities should be context-specific and generated from the bottom rather than from the top.

Although the present study applied the livelihood concept, the use here was different to the livelihoods approach which has often been applied by IDOs and the advocates of PPT. The study by Tao and Wall (2009), for instance, was one of the first studies to apply a sustainable livelihoods approach to tourism and to link it to natural, economic, human, social and other capitals, which are five attributes which can help to assess tourism impacts. However, the livelihoods approach has a number of pitfalls. Firstly, it fails to link the concepts with broader theoretical perspectives. Secondly, it seems to be a top-down assessment which lacks bottom-up explanatory power. And, finally, it does not question the issues around inequality in its analysis.

Further, the present study does not use the label of quality of life due to its extensive scale which is too broad for the present purpose, and also due to the impracticality of fully understanding the wide-ranging elements of the quality of life of the grassroots people in a single study by a single researcher. Instead, the present study focuses only on tourism in relation specifically to quality of livelihoods and SoL, and poverty and inequality. The study's breadth instead comes through its use of a political ecology approach combined with an actor-oriented perspective and a capability approach. The present study offers insights into these issues through qualitative methods and through a holistic approach covering different groups of actors, so as to reflect both grassroots people in remote rural regions and tourism industry people, government officials, IDOs and other NGOs.

It is contended that the study provides a valuable contribution to understanding what grassroots people value in relation to tourism development in terms of their necessary capabilities. The present study first focused on tourism's contribution to (in) equality of income, and it explored this in relation to the aspirations of grassroots people in the case study areas. People with below average SoL seemed to be the ones who benefited the least from tourism, and the underlying reasons seemed to relate to their capabilities.

The present study did not pursue the arbitrary judgement of poverty being based on a \$1.25 a day criteria. Instead, those who were often regarded as poor were asked to comment on poverty in their everyday life. In a way the respondents produced new insights into the conceptualisation of poverty. It revealed that poverty did not seem to be due to a lack of income or provision of human consumption, and instead it seemed to be due to a lack of human capabilities and social connections. Thus, mere income measures of poverty often seemed to lack insights into people's livelihoods and SoL.

The study found four co-existing discourses on income inequality in the case study areas including reduced, widening, constant and accepting inequalities. Firstly, one suggested that tourism's economic contributions prevented a significant number of people from falling into poverty, while simultaneously it seemed to reduce income inequality, or at least it may have prevented a widening of income inequality among grassroots people. In areas with a lack of livelihood opportunities, tourism seems to offer some people the chance to pursue a decent living which seems to have reduced poverty. This is especially the case given that the tourism businesses were largely owned and operated by local people, while non-local business people tended to be less welcomed by the grassroots people from the tourist destination during their engagement in tourism-related livelihood activities.

Secondly, discourses on constant inequalities suggest that amount of income generated from tourism is insufficient to lead to widening inequalities due to its scale, amount of income generated and short seasonality. Yet this was not widely held views among the interviewees. Thirdly, discourses on widening inequalities were frequently mentioned which covered three levels: (i) among grassroots people in tourist areas; (ii) among grassroots people and other people in tourist areas. (iii) tourism was also seen to consolidate inequality between the people in tourist areas and non-tourist areas within the country. This suggested that tourism's economic benefits tended to reach only a rather limited number of people, mainly business people, because of people's unequal capabilities (abilities and skills). There seemed to be an already existing pattern of inequality developed in earlier periods, and subsequently tourism has also tended to consolidate that pattern, through its benefits to already well-off people in the society, and that was seen further to deepen the previous patterns of inequality. Those who lived in tourist areas and were involved in tourism livelihood activities were considered to be better protected against potential risks (i.e. economic crises), largely due to their

portfolio of activities rather than relying on a single livelihood source. In that sense, tourism played an important buffer role for household livelihoods, reducing vulnerability to external shocks.

Fourthly, inequalities were not always criticised by the respondents or more accepting, given that there were fair opportunities in place. For some interviewees, inequality seemed unavoidable due to people's innate differences in abilities and skills, and a feeling that these must exist so as to allow people to progress or achieve more. Indeed, having wealthy people in society was favoured by some because of their entrepreneurship and creation of employment and salaries for relatively modest people. Thus, if inequality was not always seen as bad, one might ask why there should be so much concern about it. But it seemed that people were less concerned about unequal outcomes, in significant measure rather concern about the processes that led to such unequal outcomes. Therefore, it seemed that the process was seen to be more important, although there was recognised to be a degree of hierarchy in terms of people's capabilities. This perspective can be regarded as an important and more nuanced way of understanding tourism development and its contribution to SoL.

The study also found that tourism-related livelihood opportunities tended to be unequal and that inequality was related to hierarchical factors. Individuals tended to have a portfolio of different hierarchical factors. Starting from the most important to least important, these factors included social connections, social skills, available capital, demographic group, and local seasonal and weather conditions. Social connections seemed to be an important aspect of capabilities as it enabled people to utilise the available opportunities, and that further consolidated people's SoL. It was quite difficult to identify the extent to which different factors influenced people's SoL. Thus, tourism-related livelihood outcomes were the results from the available set of opportunities and capabilities, and also from how people utilised these to convert the opportunities into outcomes or SoL. Livelihood opportunities and livelihood capabilities, therefore, tended to go together. Here livelihood capabilities were vital for the conversion of the available opportunities to a given SoL. The livelihood opportunities, however, could not be used by those who had limited livelihood capabilities.

Theoretically informed by Sen's capability approach, the researcher explored how the respondents perceived the capabilities required for tourism-related livelihood

activities. The study suggests that the capabilities (i.e. people's social and technical skills acquired through family upbringing, educational attainment and interpersonal skills) tended to define how much of the tourism-related opportunities could be used by the households.

It was also found that tourism was more than an income generating activity, and that it could have wider effects in society, such as in terms of people's capability development in tourist areas. In particular, tourism's educational element seems to have been hugely important for children's education and for the development of lifelong abilities and skills, with these being vital capabilities for people in order for them to pursue their livelihoods and achieve what they are aiming for. Thus, tourism may have a wide spectrum of influence on other sectors, such as through educating the younger generation via strengthening their skills in foreign languages and communication. Thus, the tourism sector does seem to have been a stepping stone for human resource development, promoting training for people's future careers in other sectors or the pursuit of better education at international universities.

Tourism's benefit also seemed to depend on non-academic skills, with family upbringing seeming to play a pivotal role for people to develop their people skills and various attitudes to their work and life. In particular, people from a family with a good reputation among their communities in terms of character/personality and hard-work seemed to be greatly favoured for employment by tourism businesses. This seemed to be particularly important for the local business operators who were from the tourist areas. Also people with their original qualities and with a less commercial attitude seemed to attract both tourists and tourism businesses to get employed. This may possibly be explained as the tourism sector's own feature of itself seeking authenticity. Thus, the study suggests that it may be vital to pay attention to developing individual capabilities and maintaining the original or traditional characteristics of people during tourism development processes. However, the way tourism development proceeds, it tends to erode such authentic qualities of the people in a destination area, which may be seen as the self-destructive nature of tourism development.

8.5.4. Environmental justice issues in tourism

One key focus in the present study was to explore issues around actor interactions over access to environmental resources, and the related political decision making, and over the related distribution of environmental burdens and benefits during tourism development. This is explored here within a political ecology approach. In particular, the neo-liberal rhetoric within structural adjustment programmes often neglects environmental issues, despite it being an important area to explore due to the character of the living of grassroots people in rural regions of developing countries. In such rural regions the environment can be a source of livelihoods, while it is simultaneously a part of their cultural identity and practices.

One of the common key areas covered in political ecology is the question of distributional justice arguments. This concerns the unequal distribution of the burdens and benefits of environmental changes among actors, resulting in either reduced or increased social and economic inequalities, inequalities that potentially have political implications through altering the power distributions among actors. This perspective helps in appreciating how environmental change and ecological conditions can be associated with complex and dynamic political processes. Political ecologists tend to be very interested in the distribution of the benefits and burdens of environmental degradation, and they often consider these are unequal among actors because the outcomes are often power dependent.

Market-driven capitalist economies often result in environmental burdens, which sometimes affect people disproportionately, and in this the tourism sector is no exception. Yet, there has been only a limited evaluation of political ecology and distributional justice issues in tourism studies. A few studies have considered tourism's environmental impacts within a political ecology approach. As discussed in the literature review, the studies which have applied a political ecology approach in tourism (Stonich, 1998; Gössling, 2003; Cole, 2012) often emphasise a macro-level, structuralist stance, while they tend to lack a detailed, micro-level actor perspective, and they have often focused on coastal and former colonial regions.

The present study extends the discussion in tourism studies; first, by introducing an actor perspective in combination with political ecology. Second, it applied political

ecology perspectives to tourism development in a developing country with political and economic transition. Third, the study explored tourism development in a continental landscape with a pastoral nomadic culture where the environment is regarded as both a resource for livelihoods and also as a part of the native culture and worship.

The present study showed that procedural justice is often taken to be unfair at institutional level often in the public sector, which tends to affect distributional injustice (Schlosberg, 2007). This view, however, adopts a rather macro-level view of procedural justice in relation to distributional justice issues. At this macro-level, the study found that unfairness in the judicial system and in governance often resulted in knock-on effects on distributional injustice at grassroots level during tourism development. It was seen that governance in Mongolia was highly concentrated at central government institutions, while relatively little power was assigned to provincial and district level government institutions. As a result of this inverse governance structure, tax revenues from the utilisation of natural resources by tourism businesses were collected by the state treasury but only a little was returned to the tourist destination areas. One consequence of this was that the grassroots people were less likely to acknowledge tourism's actual economic benefits to their region. Due to state's such unfair policies, the host destination could only gain minimal economic benefit.

Another procedural injustice related to the limited reflection on the aspirations of grassroots people in tourism policy and planning, while financially powerful tourism business and elites were often influential in these policies. Thus, the land resources were often captured in leases held by business elites, while grassroots people were marginalised from their traditional animal grazing land. Although there were legal requirements to reflect the views of local people in relation to the establishment of a new *ger* camp in an area, in reality business people with their networks in local government offices often secured the lease permissions.

Also nepotism seemed to be common, and this appeared to result in long-lasting environmental consequences. It appeared often to have been the case that tourism businesses with networks in the inspection agency managed to avoid fines despite failing to meet environmental safety standards. This seemed to result in two major consequences. First, free market competition was prevented, with other competing tourism businesses being placed in a rather disadvantaged position, and possibly it could

have led to minimal wages and reduced economic benefits for local people. Second, the *ger* camps which discharged sewage into the soil placed the local people at the risk of being affected by this pollution in the long run.

The present study, therefore, revealed the complex interactions of diverse actors associated with some seemingly unjust procedures of the government institutions, with some quite far-reaching unjust distributional outcomes, such as around natural resources and environmental pollution. In particular, the grassroots people in a country undergoing transition seemed to take a disproportionately large share of such adverse tourism consequences as environmental pollution and an associated unfair distribution of natural resources.

8.6. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK CONTRIBUTION

It is argued that the study's conceptual framework makes a significant original contribution to the existing tourism literature. Its originality arises from its holistic approach developed through expanding beyond a narrow focus on tourism's economic contribution through the neo-liberal ideal of a trickle-down effect for development benefits in rural regions. Instead, it engages with political economy to consider the wider environmental and socio-cultural aspects within a political ecology approach combined with an actor perspective and a capability approach. The framework allowed the researcher to gain significant new insights into how tourism contributes to the quality of livelihoods and SoL in rural areas. It successfully balanced its macro-level focus on political, economic and socio-cultural structural elements with a micro-level focus on grassroots actors' roles and interests, and their interactions in relation to nature-based resources and the distribution of environmental burdens and benefits. The conceptual framework also assisted by providing a strong analytical framework for devising the study's research instruments and the analysis of data.

It is contended that the conceptual framework has considerable potential to assist other researchers studying tourism, livelihoods and inequality in the context of the developing world. The study is a new contribution through its application of the holistic, integrative approach of political ecology to the study of tourism, livelihoods and SoL, and also through this being combined with an actor-oriented approach and a capability approach. And this affected the whole of the study's research design. The next section

revisits how the conceptual framework was used and how this facilitated new research findings.

Specific aspects of the conceptual framework which were innovative included its exploration of aspects of environmental justice within a political ecology framework, and its assessment of tourism's contribution to the quality of livelihoods and SoL in rural areas of a developing country. The framework was also original in that it utilising an actor perspective at the micro level, which expanded on the structuralist approach of political ecology without losing its macro-level focus. The reasons why tourism led to unequal income distributions among the households with different SoL are also examined, and this is achieved in new ways by considering livelihood capabilities and sociocultural aspects.

The framework also responded to the lack of attention given to the equity concept in tourism studies. In particular, those who advocate PPT often neglect equity issues, often because they accept the poverty concept as a taken-for-granted notion and without considering the various contextual and non-monetary issues. These studies often advocate poverty reduction through tourism, but they are less concerned about inequality among those who are claimed to be poor. In other words, tourism is advocated as an overall poverty reduction tool, but there is some neglect of how this benefit is distributed among the poor in society. The conceptual framework, however, allowed the researcher to explore this gap in research work, which is important in order to understand the distributional aspects of tourism development.

Finally, the present study generally adopted a qualitative case study approach as opposed to a quantitative approach, with the latter more often applied in similar research, despite its sometimes more limited explanatory power. The study particularly emphasised practices and discourses in relation to the study's subject, and this was reflected in the study's chosen research methodology. The study's methodology combined critical realism with social constructionism, a combination that is new to the study of tourism, livelihoods and SoL. Here the researcher believed that reality is independent of his understanding, but that it is out there and real. At the same time it is recognised that this reality is subject to multiple interpretations and reinterpretations by humans, but these people may not comprehend all aspects of the reality and they may be

wrong. The researcher here sought to consider the multiple interpretations but also to strive to understand the reality. The researcher took a critical stance to that reality, based on the view that the social structure and power relations, and also the subjective views of individuals, affect that reality. Thus, it was important for the researcher to study the views of the various interviewees about tourism's contribution to SoL, poverty and inequality issues in the case study areas, and then to draw on other evidence and also theoretical ideas and frameworks in order to interpret that reality in a critical way.

8.7. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Some of the limitations of the present study are addressed next. In the context of a geographically diverse and large country, for example, the selection of two case study areas involved accessing two dispersed regions, different means of transport and a range of people. The case study areas were located over 1,500 km apart from each other, and also between 550 and 860 km from the capital city of Ulaanbaatar in Mongolia. This remoteness affected the duration of the field study visits and it had substantial financial cost implications for the researcher. If the researcher had had more funding and time, he would have spent rather more time in these areas in order to undertake more participant observation.

Second, due to a holistic and broad approach to the research design, various actors from different backgrounds in terms of jobs, administrative levels and social status needed to be interviewed for the study. Therefore, the study may have lacked some details on the study subject for specific sub-groups. However, the study can provide a direction for future more in-depth research on this subject which takes more account of detailed views among differing groups. Also, accessing information from the many public organisations, public officials, private sector organisations, and IDO-funded tourism projects was sometimes a rather time-consuming and very bureaucratic process, and the associated problems and barriers meant that some government reports could not be obtained.

Being a native to the country and the culture was an invaluable advantage for the researcher in terms of understanding the nuances of the notions and language used by the interviewees and also of making practical arrangements for the research. However, at times it is acknowledged that the researcher may not have understood every minor

nance in the grassroots people's opinions and there was some distance between the researcher and the interviewees as he was a researcher based in the UK. However, the research was fully aware of issues around avoiding potential researcher bias, and he took measures to reduce this potential issue, such as through triangulating the research methods – such as by using semi-structured interviews, observation and secondary sources – and by interviewing a diverse range of respondents.

8.8. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Tourism can make a substantial contribution to the livelihoods and SoL in rural areas in the developing world, particular when these areas often have relatively limited livelihood alternatives. Yet, tourism as a livelihood activity in rural contexts is often just one part of the portfolio of activities with which grassroots people engage. Yet, tourism appears to be a sector where the degree to which the benefits increase people's SoL seems to be related to their capabilities, including their formal education, family upbringing, livelihood skills, and social and interpersonal skills. In other words, tourism development potentially can be beneficial to grassroots people as long as they are equipped with an appropriate capability set. Thus, the governments of such countries should pay significant attention to the underlying factors and capabilities that mean that tourism's various benefits will reach its citizens.

The researcher is interested in extending the research so that it examines in more depth the processes by which tourism-related policies are made at a local governance level, and the ways through which grassroots people influence these policies. Such future research potentially could advance our understanding of the power dynamics of various actors in their everyday setting, and that would probably entail the use of ethnographic approaches. From that perspective, there could also be more exploration of the relationships in tourism between the private sector and grassroots people, including people with the lowest SoL.

This research has indicated the real value and importance of adopting a birds-eye view of tourism, the environment, the host country and of local, national and international actors. It further suggests that tourism policy and planning should be designed in accordance with this broad and inclusive approach. To a degree, tourism development outcomes are beyond our control, but we certainly can manage the

processes far better that lead to uncertain futures. Thus, it may be vital to pay attention to tourism governance and to fairness and justice in tourism policy-making processes and monitoring.

The study also adopted a macro-level approach which considered diverse actors and their potentially diverse points of view. Yet, the study might have benefitted from an even more detailed ethnographic exploration of grassroots actors, and their practices and views. The researcher made a strategic decision to balance the current research. However, one possible future research direction could be to undertake more in-depth interviews with one or a few specific groups of actors in the case study areas.

8.9. PERSONAL REFLECTIONS ON A ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

The study here contributes a personal reflection on the researcher's personal role and journey through the PhD research process, in part because it is recognised that a researcher's background and personal development affects their interests and approach to their research. The researcher himself is from a remote rural region of western Mongolia, where he was brought up loving the natural world, and that led him to study geography and tourism at university. Ever since completing his undergraduate course, the researcher had always hoped that tourism could contribute to the development of his country for the better, particularly in rural regions. Although the tourism industry often extols Mongolia's untouched natural beauty and its traditional nomadic culture, he felt that the reality in terms of everyday life in rural regions may not always be as appealing as the tourism marketing suggests.

Back in 2006, during his Master's course in the UK, the researcher described his childhood learning environment to the Times Higher Education (2006): *"In the winter, I used to study with my gloves, felt boots and a coat with lambskin lining in a classroom. Such harsh conditions discourage many girls and boys [to study]. However, I did not give up."* Although children in Mongolia's rural regions often study in a better environment nowadays, there are still many families who struggle to access a good education and health services. As a researcher the author had always felt that rural development policies should not only consider the economic but also include wider environmental and socio-cultural aspects. This all led to the researcher being curious

about tourism's contribution to improving the lives of grassroots people in the rural regions of Mongolia.

In fact, the present study was rooted in the author's master's dissertation in tourism, which examined nomadic people's notions of tourism social carrying capacity in the Gobi Desert region in Mongolia. This prompted an interest in further exploring the current topic of equity and equality, and SoL issues, in tourism development processes in two rural regions.

The researcher had also worked as a part-time tour guide in Mongolia between 2003 and 2009, and that experience had allowed the researcher to visit the case study areas a number of times. More importantly, the researcher accumulated first-hand experience with the people, culture and the environment where he travelled and learned extensive details of how tourism is being developed in the case study areas.

At a personal level, the researcher has developed a degree of lifelong skills concerned with balancing his personal and academic life, particularly his research work has meant he has accumulated analytical skills which have boosted his self-esteem and self-confidence. During his research, the researcher has reflected on his own objectives in life and he has re-evaluated what is meaningful in his own life. A part of his study was funded by a Scholarship from the Government of Mongolia, in practice Mongolia's tax payers. Therefore, one important priority for the researcher was to contribute to improving Mongolia through what he has learned.

Accomplishing these personal goals hopefully has helped the researcher to enhance academic understanding of tourism and development, and the practical implications of the study potentially could be incorporated into tourism policy making and development not only in Mongolia and but also internationally. In a way, the researcher has achieved one of his aims in life, which is to be a citizen of the world via contributing to an improved understanding of how tourism can best contribute to development. All in all, the researcher has grown and matured.

8.10. CONCLUSION

The final chapter of the thesis, therefore, has addressed the overall value of the study and the original contribution of the study to tourism research. It was argued that the study has met its objectives and that it has filled a number of gaps in the existing tourism literature, and through that process it has made new contributions to knowledge. The study developed and applied a holistic conceptual framework combining a political ecology approach with an actor-oriented approach and capability approach. This broad perspective was itself one of the study's key contributions and source of originality.

The conceptual framework was proven to be effective in integrating a macro-level political ecology approach – which considers tourism's relationships with economic and political processes – with an actor-oriented approach and a capability approach, and this perspective uncovered new insights into the relationships between tourism, SoL, poverty and inequality in rural areas of a developing country. But the framework and conceptual ideas in the study can be further applied to studies of tourism, environment and SoL in many other contexts.

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Appendix-I. Inequality in Mongolia

Income equality, a part of the equality of outcomes, is a component of the Human Development Index (HDI) developed by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Income inequality is frequently cited as an indicator of SoL (Kuklys, 2005). According to UNDP, greater inequality leads to a deteriorating SoL. The negative consequences of income inequality include the '*stigma associated with the absence of choice*' (Platt, 2012: 132). A lack of income tends to prevent many people from exercising their abilities and skills. Also, income appears to be one of the main factors enabling some to engage in a range of forms of activities, including providing for personal or household needs (i.e. food, shelter and clothing), and to engage in social interactions or to avoid an unhealthy or dangerous environment (Platt, 2011). Similarly in the case study areas in Mongolia, income seems to have been one of the defining preconditions of grassroots people's lives.

The first discourse concerns an increasing inequality at the national scale in Mongolia. According to a number of surveys conducted by the National Statistical Office of Mongolia, with support from the World Bank and UNDP, there has been an increasing income inequality in Mongolia since the 1990s (Nixon and Walters, 2004).

According to UNDP (2009), for example, the national Gini coefficient in Mongolia increased from 0.32 to 0.33 between 2002 and 2009 as it can be seen in Table 8.1. Urban areas of Mongolia tend to have higher income inequality (the Gini is 0.33 in 2002 and 0.38 in 2006) than rural areas (the Gini is 0.31 in 2002 and 0.36 in 2006), while the Gini coefficient increased by 15.14 % between 2002 and 2006, which is relatively high. However, in comparison to other countries with transitional economies (as shown Table 8.1), like Kyrgyzstan (with the Gini of 0.32 in 2009) and Kazakhstan (with the Gini of 0.33 in 2009) in Central Asia, the level of income inequality in Mongolia does not seem to be greater than these countries, although inequality is still widening. Worldwide the Gini coefficient for income ranges from approximately 0.24 (Denmark) to 0.72 (Haiti) (UNDP, 2009). So it can be seen that Mongolia's Gini coefficient is modest by comparison with other transitional economies.

A number of surveys conducted by National Statistical Office of Mongolia (including Living Standard Measurement Survey (LSMS) in 2002/3, Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES) in 2006 and Household Socio-Economic Survey (HSES) in 2007/8) suggest that there is a pattern of inequality in Mongolia (as shown in Table 5.2). LSMS in 2002/2 suggested that poverty gap (P1) and severity of poverty (P2) measures were, by international standards, relatively low. In other words, differences between the poor and non-poor (members of society above the poverty line) were not extensive.

The Mongolian Participatory Living Standards Assessment reveals feedback to policy makers on the impact of national programmes and policies. For instance, in that assessment Mongolian people reported that major government interventions of privatisation of animal husbandry, state factories and housing resulted in '*lowered well-being and increased exposure to economic insecurity*' (UNDP, 2001:92). As a result, some of the more entrepreneurial households have been able to adapt but most households have not. Many people attributed the rapid rise in inequality to an unequal distribution of assets that emerged as a consequence of privatisation and the resulting

One way to look at inequality is the share of national consumption obtained by each household quintile (the population is divided into 5 groups, each containing 20% of the population and ranked from the poorest to the richest by the National Statistical Office of Mongolia). Although the relative consumption patterns do not necessarily equate to income differences they may illustrate a rough idea of inequality in society. It shows that the richest 20% of the population consumed 39.6% of total national consumption, while the poorest 20% consumed only 8.5% of total national consumption in 2009. In other words, the consumption of the richest 20 % was almost 5.5 times greater than the poorest 20 %.

It suggests that gaps in income distribution are widening at a faster rate than the overall rate of growth of per capita income so that those people counted as 'poor' on an economic basis are falling behind average income; this is consistent with the rises in P1 and P2. In addition, it also means that, in the absence of explicit policies to reduce levels of inequality in income discrepancies, a higher rate of economic growth will be required to lift people out of poverty. The Household Socio-Economic Survey's analysis of those who were poor and the proximate reasons for their poverty found little change from 1995. Unemployment and herd size remained important factors for being poor while family size, female headed households and educational qualifications tend to correlate to a greater probability of being poor. From the Household Socio-Economic Survey, it is seen that district centres (or villages) and countryside together represent only 39.2 % of the population of Mongolia but represent 56 % of all the poor people in Mongolia (National Statistical Office of Mongolia, 2008).

Appendix-II. Pro-poor tourism

Tourism as an economic sector is often encouraged as a tool for poverty eradication in developing countries. It is often incorporated within specific pro-poor tourism (PPT) strategies, strategies which advocate that tourism's net benefits should be focused on helping the poor, although the non-poor may also benefit (Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin, 2000; Scheyvens, 2007). The UK's Department for International Development (DFID) (1999:1) stresses, for example, that the PPT strategies should focus *'less on expanding the overall size of tourism, and more on unlocking opportunities for specific groups within it'*. However, PPT might occur through both integrating pro-poor perspectives into tourism policy and through the successful development of a tourism destination as a whole. PPT strategies have an appealing rhetoric and they have been advocated by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), such as through their Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty Programme (ST-EP), and by DFID, the Netherlands Agency for International Development (SNV), and by many others (Holden, Sonne and Novelli, 2011).

While there have been many PPT initiatives that were undertaken with the hope of alleviating poverty, they seem to have produced mixed results. Some have criticised these initiatives as failing adequately to take account of the larger structural reasons for poverty in the developing world (Hall, 2008) and also failing to secure participation by local communities so that they have effective control of their own tourism resources

(Goodwin, 2009). It has also been difficult to measure the success of these initiatives in delivering benefits to the poor, due to an absence of reliable records, sometimes because such tourism activities often take place outside the formal economy and sometimes because institutions in developing countries often lack the expertise and means to measure tourism's contribution.

Further, PPT tends to rely very much on external multilateral organisations and NGOs, and these agencies can tend to impose the idea and they can also apply it in a rather tokenistic manner. There can be reliance on foreign funding and externally-based consultants who inherently believe in the effectiveness of PPT as a poverty measure based on positivist assumptions. They may hardly question the notion of poverty itself, and they may simply accept that poverty is based on income levels, and they may neglect other potentially important social measures of vulnerability and of empowerment (Holden, 2013). Further, the contemporary neo-liberal political economic environment may leave limited room for a sustained and wholesale adoption of PPT principles, as the mainstream tourism industry is largely led by a profit-seeking private sector that often itself secures only thin economic margins in a greatly competitive market. And it is also the case that any trickle-down effects from the tourism industry can be less beneficial to grassroots people in a developing country (Holden, Sonne and Novelli, 2011). For these and other reasons, in practice PPT may not be more effective than a non-pro-poor private sector (Harrison, 2008).

In PPT the priority can be given to monetary benefits, so that environmental issues are only a secondary consideration, and this is despite the rural poor often being highly reliant on natural resources for their livelihoods. Further, PPT often does not seem to question the ethical issues around the distributional justice of various burdens, with the poor in society tending to be more vulnerable to such burdens by comparison with more affluent and elite groups (Schilcher, 2007). Indeed, the notion of equity is hardly discussed in the PPT literature (Schilcher, 2007). As long as poor people get the net economic benefit from tourism, then the PPT approach seems less concerned with the distribution of that benefit among poorer people (Chok et al., 2007). This greatly challenges the long-term viability of PPT strategies, as the poorest of the poor may need to be the priority. It also raises a critical question of equity or fairness among the poor (Harrison, 2008).

Appendix-III. Consent form for respondents

Research profile by Mr Amartuvshin Dorjsuren at Sheffield Hallam University

Research title: Political Ecology of Inequality in Tourism Development in Rural Mongolia

Mr Amartuvshin Dorjsuren is currently undertaking his doctoral research at Sheffield Hallam University in the UK. The research aims to explore perceptions, opinions and values among different actors about appropriate livelihoods and equality issues as they relate to tourism and development in Omnogovi and Hovsgol provinces in Mongolia. The research will explore and analyse differing actors' roles and interests and their social relationships in the tourism development processes. It will further examine discourses about the quality of livelihoods, equality and inequality and distributional justice related to the tourism development processes among various social actors in the chosen areas. Finally, the research will evaluate the study findings and tourism development in Mongolia in relation to the government's wider development strategies and also the policies advocated by International Development Organisations and NGOs.

Consent form

You are invited to the interview by the researcher because of your and your organisation's involvements in tourism related development in Mongolia. The interview will last approximately 1 hour 30 minutes and will be tape recorded. However, if you do not want, your interview will not be recorded. Participating to the research will allow the participants to express their views on tourism related issues. This may be reflected on the recommendations of tourism development and policy making in Mongolia by the researcher after the research in the future. Taking part to the interview must be your voluntary decision without any enforcement or suppression by a third party. You can either stop the interview or refuse to answer the questions if it touches your personal or organisational secrets and any confidential or sensitive information that may harm you in the future. However, the researcher assures you that he will keep the secrets and confidential or sensitive information secure during and after the research. He will not pass or reveal any information you have provided to any third party without your consent. If you would like to take part to the interview, please sign at the end of the document. By signing the form, you are agreed the interview conditions and giving your permission to be interviewed.

Signature by the interviewee Signature by the researcher
.....

Date / / Name of the organisation
..... Aimag/City..... Soum/District

Appendix-IV. Consent form for respondents (in Mongolian)

Шеффиелд Халлам Их Сургуулийн судлаач Д.Амартүвшингийн
судалгааны товч танилцуулга

Сэдэв: Монголын хөдөө дэх аялал жуулчлалын хөгжлийн эрх тэгш байдал

Судлаач нь Их Британи Умард Ирландын Нэгдсэн Вант Улсын Шеффиелд Халлам Их Сургуульд аялал жуулчлалын бодлого боловсруулах чиглэлээр Боловсролын Докторын зэрэг горилох судалгааг ‘Монголын хөдөө дэх аялал жуулчлалын хөгжлийн эрх тэгш байдал’ сэдвээр хийж байна. Судалгааны хүрээнд аялал жуулчлалын хөгжил орон нутгийн иргэдийн амжиргаанд ямар нөлөө үзүүлж байгаа, аялал жуулчлалын хөгжил, бодлого боловсруулахад аялал жуулчлалд оролцогчдийн эрх тэгш байдал ямар төвшинд байгаа, бодлого хэрхэн хэрэгжиж, ямар үр дүн, хүлээлт орон нутгийн иргэдэд бий болгож байгааг судалж, шинжлэн, дүгнэлт, зөвлөмж гаргахад чиглэсэн болно.

Судалгаанд Хөвсгөл, Өмнөговь аймгуудад амьдардаг орон нутгийн иргэд, аялал жуулчлалын байгууллагад ажиллагсад, бодлого боловсруулагчид, Төрийн Бус Байгууллагууд (ТББ) болон Олон Улсын Хөгжлийн Байгууллагуудад ажиллагсaдыг хамруулахыг зорьж байна. Та судалгаанд оролцсоноор ирээдүйд хөдөөд аялал жуулчлалын бодлого боловсруулах болон хэрэгжүүлэхэд өөрийн үзэл бодлоо судалгаанаас гарах зөвлөмжөөр дамжуулан илэрхийлэх бололцоотой.

Судалгаанд оролцох зөвшөөрөл

Таныг аялал жуулчлалын салбарт холбоотой ажил хийдэг болон энэ чиглэлийн туршлагатайг үндэслэн судалгаанд оролцохыг урьж байна. Судалгаанд оролцох эсэх нь зөвхөн таны сайн дурын сонголт байх бөгөөд та хэн нэгний ятгалга болон сүрдүүлгээр энэхүү судалгаанд оролцохгүй байхыг хүсье. Ярилцлага ойролцоогоо 1цаг үргэлжлэх ба нийт 35-40 асуултын талаар судлаач тантай ярилцаж, хувийн үзэл бодлыг тань сонсч, лавлах юм. Ярилцлагын үед та ярилцлагыг зогсоох болон асуусан асуултанд хариулахаас татгалзаж болно. Судалгааны дараа таны ярилцлагыг судлаачаас өөр этгээдэд таны зөвшөөрөлгүйгээр дамжуулахгүй бөгөөд зөвхөн судалгааны шинжилгээ хийхэд ашиглагдах болно. Ярилцлага дуу хураагуурт бичигдэх бөгөөд хэрэв хүсвэл эдгээр төхөөрөмжийг ашиглахгүй байж болно. Хэрэв та судалгаанд оролцохыг зөвшөөрч байгаа бол доорхи зайнд гарын үсгээ зурж баталгаажуулна уу.

Ярилцлагыг зөвшөөрсөн: /

Судлаач:..... /Д. Амартүвшин/

....он .. сар .. өдөраймаг/хот..... сум/дүүрэг

Appendix- V. Questions for grassroots people before interviewing

1. Name:..... 2. Age: 3. Gender: M, F

4. How many years have you been in education?

Primary school (1-4 years) ☐ Professional training (2-3 years) ☐

Secondary (8 years) ☐ University degree (Bachelor and Masters) ☐

High School (9-10 years) ☐

5. What is your occupation (s)?:

6. How many are there in your household?

Single ☐ 3-5 people ☐

Couple ☐ 6-8 people ☐

9 or people ☐

7. How many adults and pensioners are there in your household respectively? .../...

8. How many members of your household are in employment (full and part-time)?
...

9. Are there any disabled members in your family? ...

10. Are the any members of your family who have migrated to other parts of the country or abroad?....

11. Where do you live? Residency:parish.....village
province

12. How many years have you lived in this area?

13. How many animals are there in your herd in sheep headcount?

0-50 ☐ 251-450 ☐

51-100 ☐ 451- 650 ☐

101-250 ☐ 651 or above ☐

14. Have you ever worked in a tourism-related job? Yes ☐ No ☐

15. If yes, can you tell me about the jobs that you had and how long you had them?
(e.g. souvenir making, horse & camel hiring, guiding, employment in *ger* camps and
their construction, tourist cook, and tourist driver)
.....
.....

Appendix-VI. Questions for the owners and managers in the tourism industry before interviewing

1. Name:.....	2. Gender: M, F
3. How many years have you been in education?	
Primary or secondary <input type="checkbox"/>	PhD <input type="checkbox"/>
High school <input type="checkbox"/>	Post-Doctoral <input type="checkbox"/>
Bachelor <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Masters <input type="checkbox"/>	
4. What is your job in the tourism industry?	
5. How long have you worked in the tourism industry?	
0-1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	5-8 years <input type="checkbox"/>
2-4 years <input type="checkbox"/>	9-12 years <input type="checkbox"/>
	12 or more years <input type="checkbox"/>
6. What tourism activities is your business involved in?	
7. What types of tourists do you work with?	
8. Approximately how many employees are there in your business?	
9. Where is your tourism business based?	
10. Is there any foreign investment in the company? Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/>	
11. Does the company run other businesses or voluntary activities apart from tourism?	
12. Have you had other non-tourism jobs before you started working in the tourism industry?	

Appendix- VII. Questions for the officials from government organisations, IDOs, NGOs before interviewing

1. Name:.....	2. Gender: M, F
3. How many years have you been in education?	
Primary or secondary <input type="checkbox"/>	PhD <input type="checkbox"/>
High school <input type="checkbox"/>	Post-Doctoral <input type="checkbox"/>
Bachelor <input type="checkbox"/>	Other <input type="checkbox"/>
Masters <input type="checkbox"/>	
4. What is your job title in your organization?	
5. What work does that involve?	
6. How long have you worked in the organisations?	
0-1 year <input type="checkbox"/>	5-8 years <input type="checkbox"/>
2-4 years <input type="checkbox"/>	9-12 years <input type="checkbox"/>
	12 or more years <input type="checkbox"/>
7. Have you had other jobs in the organization? If so, what ?	
8. Approximately how many departments and employees are there in the organisation?	
9. What responsibilities does the organisation have? Who funds it?	
10. For how long has the organization been involved in rural development in....?	
11. Which other organisations are involved rural development in.....?	

Appendix-VIII. Interview guide for Grassroots people (in Mongolian)

1. Орон нутгийн иргэдэд зориулсан асуултууд

Q 1 (7.2.1-7.2.4) Танай нутагт мал аж ахуйгаас гадна иргэдийн амжиргаагаа залгуулдаг чухал ажлууд юу вэ? Эдгээр ажлууд тэдний амжиргааны бүх хэрэгцээг хангаж чаддаг уу? Тийм биш бол яагаад? Таны хувьд хамгийн чухал ажлууд юу вэ?

Q 2 (7.4.1-7.4.3) Сүүлийн 10 жилд танай нутгийн иргэдийн амьдралд чухал нөлөө үзүүлсэн байгаль, цаг уур, улс төрийн үйл явдлууд юу вэ?

(7.3.1)Танай нутгийн иргэд амжиргаагаа залгуулахаар хийдэг ажлуудад ямар өөрчлөлтүүд гарч байна уу?

Q 3 (7.4.1-7.4.3) Таны бодлоор АЖ танай нутгийн иргэдийн амжиргаагаа залгуулахад хэр чухал санагддаг вэ?

Та цаашид АЖ-тай холбоотой ажил хийх сонирхолтой юу? Хэрэв үгүй бол яагаад?

Q 4 (8.2.1.1) АЖ-с ашиг олохын тулд танд ямар чадварууд шаардагдах вэ? Тийм чадварууд ихэнх хүмүүст адилхан байдаг уу? Үгүй бол яагаад?

(8.2.1.2) Танай нутгийн иргэд эдгээр чадваруудыг хэрхэн олж авдаг вэ?

Q 5 (6.4.4) Танай нутгийн иргэд аялал жуулчлалаас ашиг олох гэж жуулчны компани, хүмүүстэй хамтарч ажилладаг уу?

Q 6 (6.4.3) Танай нутагт үйл ажиллагаа явуулдаг аялал жуулчлалын бааз компаниуд нутгийн иргэдтэй ямархуу харилцаатай байдаг вэ? (ж. нь: хамтарч ажилладаг эсвэл бие биенээ харилцан дэмждэггүй г.м.)

Q 7 (7.4.1-7.4.3) АЖ-н баазууд болон компаниуд танай нутгийн иргэдийг боломжын амьдрахад ямар нэг нэмэр үзүүлдэг үү?

Q 8 (8.2.2.1) Танай нутгийн иргэд АЖ-тай холбоотой орлого олох боломжуудыг адилхан хүртэж чадаж байна уу?

Q 9 (8.2.2.2) Танай нутгийн иргэд газар, ус, ой, бэлчээрийн нөөцийг АЖ-д ашиглаж орлого олох боломжуудыг адилхан олж авч чадаж байна уу? Үгүй бол яагаад?

Q 10 (8.2.2.2) АЖ-н бааз болон компаниуд газар, ус, ой, бэлчээрийн нөөцийг ашиглаж байгаа байдал танд ямархуу эерэг сөрөг сэтгэгдэл төрүүлдэг вэ?

Q 11 (7.4.1-7.4.3) АЖ байгаль орчны нөхцөл сайжрах болон муудахад нөлөө үзүүлж байна уу? Хэрхэн?

Q 12 (7.4.1-7.4.3) АЖд оролцсоноор та болон бусад нутгийн иргэдийн хооронд харьцах харьцаанд өөрчлөлт орсон гэж бодож байна уу?

Q 13 (8.2.3.1-8.2.3.2) Танай нутгийн иргэдийн одоогийн амьжиргааны төвшин боломжын байна уу? Эсвэл үүнд илүү их мөнгөн орлого хэрэгтэй юу? Яагаад?

Q 14 (8.2.3.1-8.2.3.2) Таны бодлоор сүүлийн 10 жилд танай нутгийн иргэдийн амьдралын төвшин болон баян хоосны ялгаанд ямар өөрчлөлт гарч байна вэ? Яагаад эдгээр өөрчлөлтүүд гарч байна вэ?

Q 15 (8.3.1.1) Таны бодлоор аялал жуулчлалын салбарт ажиллагсадын цалин урамшуулалын төвшин хэр байна вэ?

Q 16 (8.2.3.3) АЖ -тай холбоотой ажил хийхэд олж буй орлого таны зарцуулж байгаа хүч, хөдөлмөрт дүйхүйц хангалттай байж чаддаг уу?

Q 17 (8.2.3.3) Танай нутагт АЖ-с хэн хамгийн их болон хамгийн бага ашиг хүртэж байна вэ? (мөнгөн, нийгэм соёлын) Яагаад?

Q 18 (8.2.3.3) Танай нутагт АЖ баян хоосны ялгааг гүнзгийрэхэд ямар нэг байдлаар нөлөөлж байна уу?

Q 19 (8.2.3.4) Танай нутагт АЖ-с хамгийн их ашгийг олж байгаа хүмүүс ямар хүмүүстэй хамтарч ажилладаг вэ?

Эдгээр хүмүүсийн танилын хүрээ тэднийг АЖ-с ашиг олох давуу тал болдог уу?

- Q 20 (8.3.1.2)** Танай нутагт АЖ-ыг хөгжүүлэх талаар таны болон бусад иргэдийн санал хүсэлтийг нутгийн удирдлагууд асуудаг уу?
- Q 21 (9.2.2.2)** Танай нутагт сүүлийн 10 жилд ЗГ болон ОУБд АЖ-ын чиглэлээр төсөл хэрэгжүүлсэн үү? Байсан бол үр дүн нь хэр байсан бэ?
- Q 22 (6.2)** Танай нутагт АЖ-ын бодлого боловсруулах болон хэрэгжүүлэхэд хэн голлож оролцдог вэ? Та өөрийн хувь нэмрээ оруулдаг гэж боддог уу?
- Q 23 (6.3.3)** Танай нутагт АЖ-ын хөгжилд ямар хувь хүн болон байгууллага нөлөө бүхий байдаг вэ? Яагаад?
- Q 24 (9.4.1)** АЖ-д оролцогч иргэд компаниуд байгалийн нөөцийг хэрхэн ашиглах нь зүйтэй вэ?
- Q 25 (8.3.2.1)** Таны бодлоор байгалийн нөөц болох газар, ус, ой, бэлчээр хамгаалах болон ашиглах засгийн газрын бодлого хэр оновчтой болоод шудрага байна вэ?
- Q 26 (8.3.2.2)** Танай нутгийн иргэд АЖ-ын хөгжилд байгалийн нөөцийг хэрхэн ашиглаасай гэж хүсдэг вэ?
- Q 27 (8.2.3.3)** Байгаль орчныг тусгай хамгаалалттай газар байгуулж хамгаалахын сайн муу тал юу вэ?
- Q 28 (9.2.1.1)** Зах зээлд шилжсэн нь АЖ-ын хөгжилд ямар нөлөө үзүүлсэн бэ?
- Q 29 (9.2.1.3)** Зах зээлд шилжсэнээс хойш танай нутгийн иргэдийн амьдрал, үзэл бодолд ямар өөрчлөлтүүд гарч байна вэ? /соёл/
- Q 30 (9.2.2.1)** Танай нутгийн иргэдийн амьдралд ямар хууль тогтоомжууд чухал нөлөө үзүүлж байна вэ?
- Q 31 (9.2.2.2)** Сүүлийн 10 жил хэрэгжсэн танай нутгийг хөгжүүлэх бодлого хэр оновчтой байсан бэ?
- Q 32 (9.3.1)** Танай нутгийн иргэдийн амьдралд тулгарч байгаа шийдвэрлэвэл зохих ямар бэрхшээлүүд байна вэ?
- Q 33 (9.3.2)** Танай нутгийн иргэдийн хувьд АЖ-с амьжиргаагаа дээшлүүлэх ямар боломжуудыг ашиглахыг хүсдэг вэ?
- Q 34 (9.4.3)** Таны бодлоор орон нутагт аялал жуулчлалаас үүдсэн сайн, муу талын аль нь давамгайлж байна вэ?
- Q 35 (9.4.4)** Таны бодлоор орон нутгийн иргэдийн амьжиргааг дээшлүүлэхүйц ямар аялал жуулчлалыг хөгжүүлэх нь зүйтэй вэ?

Appendix-IX. Interview guide for officials, IDOs and NGOs (in Mongolian)

1. Засгийн газар, Олон Улсын Хөгжлийн Байгууллагууд болон Төрийн Бүс Байгууллагуудад ажиллагсадад зориулсан асуултууд

Q 1 (7.2.1-7.2.4) Хөдөөд мал аж ахуйгаас гадна иргэдийн амжиргаагаа залгуулдаг чухал ажлууд юу вэ? Эдгээр ажлууд тэдний амжиргааны бүх хэрэгцээг хангаж чаддаг уу? Тийм биш бол яагаад?

Q 2 (7.4.1-7.4.3) Сүүлийн 10 жилд хөдөөгийн иргэдийн амжиргаагаа залгуулахаар хийдэг ажлуудад ямар өөрчлөлтүүд гарч байна уу?

Q 3 (7.4.1-7.4.3) Таны бодлоор АЖ хөдөөгийн иргэдийн амжиргаагаа залгуулахад хэр чухал санагддаг вэ?

АЖ тэдний амьдралд тус дэм эсвэл бэрхшээл үзүүлдэг үү? Яагаад?

Q 4 Хөдөөгийн иргэд АЖ-тай холбоотой ажил хийх сонирхол хэр их байдаг вэ? Хэрэв үгүй бол яагаад?

Q 5 (8.2.2.1)Хөдөөгийн иргэд АЖ-тай холбоотой орлого олох боломжуудыг адилхан хүртэж чадаж байна уу?

Q 6 (6.4.4)Хөдөөгийн иргэд аялал жуулчлалаас ашиг олох гэж компани, хүмүүстэй хамтарч ажилладаг уу?

Q 7 (7.4.1-7.4.3)АЖ-н баазууд болон компаниуд хөдөөгийн иргэдийг боломжын амьдрахад ямар нэг нэмэр үзүүлдэг үү?

Q 8 (6.4.3)Таны бодлоор хөдөөд үйл ажиллагаа явуулдаг аялал жуулчлалын бааз компаниуд нутгийн иргэдтэй ямархуу харилцаатай байдаг вэ? (ж. нь: хамтарч ажилладаг эсвэл бие биенээ харилцан дэмждэггүй г.м.)

Q 9 (8.2.1.1-8.2.1.2)Хөдөөгийн иргэдэд АЖ-с ашиг олохын тулд тэдэнд ямар чадварууд шаардагдах вэ? Тийм чадварууд ихэнх хүмүүст адилхан байдаг уу? Үгүй бол яагаад?

Хөдөөгийн иргэд эдгээр чадваруудыг хэрхэн олж авдаг вэ?

Q 10 (7.3.2)АЖд оролцсоноор нутгийн иргэдийн хооронд харьцах харьцаанд өөрчлөлт орсон гэж бодож байна уу?

Q 11 (8.2.3.1-8.2.3.2)Хөдөөд иргэдийн одоогийн амьжиргааны төвшин боломжын байна уу? Эсвэл үүнд илүү их мөнгөн орлого хэрэгтэй юү? Яагаад?

Q 12 (8.2.3.1-8.2.3.2)Таны бодлоор сүүлийн 10 жилд хөдөөгийн иргэдийн амьдралын төвшин болон баян хоосны ялгаанд яаж өөрчлөгдөж байна вэ? Яагаад эдгээр өөрчлөлтүүд гарч байна вэ?

Q 13 (8.2.3.3) Хөдөөд АЖ баян хоосны ялгааг гүнзгийрэхэд ямар нэг байдлаар нөлөөлж байна уу?

Q 14 (8.2.3.3) Хөдөөд АЖ-с хэн хамгийн их болон хамгийн бага ашиг хүртэж байна вэ? (мөнгөн, нийгэм соёлын) Яагаад?

Q 15 Хөдөөгийн орлого багатай иргэд аялал жуулчлалаас ашиг хүртэж чадаж байна уу?

Q 16 (8.2.3.4) Хөдөөд АЖ-с хамгийн их ашгийг олж байгаа хүмүүс ямар хүмүүстэй хамтарч ажилладаг вэ?

Эдгээр хүмүүсийн хүрээлэл тэднийг АЖ-с ашиг олох давуу тал болдог уу?

Q 17 (8.3.1.1) Таны бодлоор аялал жуулчлалын салбарт ажиллагсадын цалин урамшуулалын төвшин хэр байна вэ?

Q 18 (8.2.3.3) АЖ -тай холбоотой ажил хийхэд олж буй орлого хөдөөгийн иргэдийн зарцуулж байгаа хүч, хөдөлмөрт дүйхүйц хангалттай байж чаддаг уу?

Q 19 (8.3.1.2) Хөдөөд АЖ-ыг хэрхэн хөгжүүлэх талаархи иргэдийн санал хүсэлтийг нутгийн удирдлагууд асуудаг уу?

Q 20 (9.2.2.2) Хөдөөд ЗГ болон ОУБ-с АЖ-ын чиглэлээр төсөл хөтөлбөр сүүлийн 10 жилд хэрэгжүүлсэн үү? Үр дүн нь хэр байсан бэ?

Q 21 (6.3.3)Хөдөөд АЖ-ын хөгжилд ямар хувь хүн болон байгууллага нөлөө бүхий байдаг вэ? Яагаад?

Q 22 (6.2) Хөдөөд АЖ-ын бодлого боловсруулах болон хэрэгжүүлэхэд хэн голлож оролцдог вэ? Та өөрийн хувь нэмрээ оруулдаг гэж боддог уу?

Q 23 (7.4.1) АЖ байгаль орчны нөхцөл сайжрах болон муудахад нөлөө үзүүлж байна уу? Хэрхэн?

Энэ нь хөдөөгийн иргэдэд ямархуу эерэг сөрөг сэтгэгдэл төрүүлдэг вэ?

Q 24 (9.4.1) Хөдөөгийн иргэд аялал жуулчлалын хөгжилд байгалийн нөөцийг хэрхэн ашиглаасай гэж хүсдэг вэ?

Q 25 (8.2.2.2)Хөдөөгийн иргэд газар, ус, ой, бэлчээрийн нөөцийг АЖ-д ашиглаж орлого олох боломжуудыг адилхан олж авч чадаж байна уу? Үгүй бол яагаад?

Q 26 (8.3.2.1)Таны бодлоор байгалийн нөөц болох газар,ус, ой, бэлчээр хамгаалах болон ашиглах засгийн газрын бодлого хэр оновчтой болоод шудрага байна вэ?

Q 27 (8.2.3.3)Байгаль орчныг тусгай хамгаалалттай газар байгуулж хамгаалахын эерэг, сөрөг тал юу вэ?

Q 28 (9.2.1.1)Зах зээлд шилжсэн нь аялал жуулчлалын хөгжилд ямар нөлөө үзүүлсэн бэ?

Q 29 (9.2.1.2) Зах зээлд шилжсэнээс хойш хөдөөгийн иргэдийн амьдралын хэв маяг, үзэл бодолд ямар өөрчлөлтүүд гарч байна вэ? /соёл/

Q 30 (9.2.2.1) Хөдөөгийн иргэдийн амьдралд ямар хууль тогтоомжууд чухал нөлөө үзүүлж байна вэ?

Q 31 (9.2.2.2) Сүүлийн 10 жил хэрэгжсэн хөдөөг хөгжүүлэх хөдөөгийн хөгжлийн бодлого хэр оновчтой байсан бэ?

Q 32 (9.3.1)Хөдөөгийн иргэдийн амьдралд тулгарч байгаа шийдвэрлэвэл зохих ямар бэрхшээлүүд байна вэ?

Q 33 (9.3.2) Хөдөөгийн иргэдийн хувьд АЖ-с амьжиргаагаа дээшлүүлэх ямар боломжуудыг ашиглахыг хүсдэг вэ?

Q 34 (9.4.3)Таны бодлоор орон нутагт аялал жуулчлалаас үүдсэн эерэг, сөрөг талын аль нь давамгайлж байна вэ?

Q 35 (9.4.4) Орон нутагт иргэдийн амьжиргааг дээшлүүлэхүйц ямар аялал жуулчлалыг хөгжүүлэх нь зүйтэй вэ?

2. Аялал жуулчлалын бизнес эрхэлдэг захирал болон менежерүүдэд зориулсан асуултууд

Q 1 (7.2.1-7.2.4)д мал аж ахуйгаас гадна иргэдийн амжиргаагаа залгуулдаг чухал ажлууд юу вэ? Эдгээр ажлууд тэдний амжиргааны бүх хэрэгцээг хангаж чаддаг уу? Тийм биш бол яагаад?

Q 2 (7.4.1-7.4.3) Сүүлийн 10 жилдн иргэдийн амьдралд чухал нөлөө үзүүлсэн байгаль, цаг уур, улс төрийн үйл явдлууд юу вэ?

(7.3.1).....н иргэд амжиргаагаа залгуулахаар хийдэг ажлуудад ямар өөрчлөлтүүд гарч байна уу?

Q 3 (7.4.1-7.4.3) Таны бодлоор АЖн иргэдийн амжиргаагаа залгуулахад хэр чухал санагддаг вэ?

Тэд цаашид АЖ-тай холбоотой ажил хийх сонирхолтой юу? Хэрэв үгүй бол яагаад?

Q 4 (8. 2.1.1) АЖ-с ашиг олохын тулд орон нутгийн иргэдэд ямар чадварууд шаардагдах вэ? Тийм чадварууд ихэнх хүмүүст адилхан байдаг уу? Үгүй бол яагаад?

(8.2.1.2)н иргэд эдгээр чадваруудыг хэрхэн олж авдаг вэ?

Q 5 (6.4.4)н иргэд аялал жуулчлалаас ашиг олох гэж жуулчны компани, хүмүүстэй хамтарч ажилладаг уу?

Q 6 (6.4.3)д үйл ажиллагаа явуулдаг аялал жуулчлалын бааз компаниуд нутгийн иргэдтэй ямархуу харилцаатай байдаг вэ? (ж. нь: хамтарч ажилладаг эсвэл бие биенээ харилцан дэмждэггүй г.м.)

Q 7 (7.4.1-7.4.3) АЖ-н баазууд болон компаниудн иргэдийг боломжын амьдрахад ямар нэг нэмэр үзүүлдэг үү?

Q 8 (8.2.2.1)н иргэд АЖ-тай холбоотой орлого олох боломжуудыг адилхан хүртэж чадаж байна уу?

Q 9 (8.2.2.2)н иргэд газар, ус, ой, бэлчээрийн нөөцийг АЖ-д ашиглаж орлого олох боломжуудыг адилхан олж авч чадаж байна уу? Үгүй бол яагаад?

Q 10 (8.2.2.2) АЖ-н бааз болон компаниуд газар, ус, ой, бэлчээрийн нөөцийг ашиглаж байгаа байдал орон нутгийн иргэдэд ямархуу эерэг сөрөг сэтгэгдэл төрүүлдэг вэ?

Q 11 (7.4.1-7.4.3) АЖ байгаль орчны нөхцөл сайжрах болон муудахад нөлөө үзүүлж байна уу? Хэрхэн?

Q 12 (7.4.1-7.4.3) АЖд оролцсоноор та болон бусад нутгийн иргэдийн хооронд харьцах харьцаанд өөрчлөлт орсон гэж бодож байна уу?

Q 13 (8.2.3.1-8.2.3.2)н иргэдийн одоогийн амьжиргааны төвшин боломжын байна уу? Эсвэл үүнд илүү их мөнгөн орлого хэрэгтэй юу? Яагаад?

Q 14 (8.2.3.1-8.2.3.2) Таны бодлоор сүүлийн 10 жилдн иргэдийн амьдралын төвшин болон баян хоосны ялгаанд ямар өөрчлөлт гарч байна вэ?

Яагаад эдгээр өөрчлөлтүүд гарч байна вэ?

Q 15 (8.3.1.1) Таны бодлоор аялал жуулчлалын салбарт ажиллагсадын цалин урамшуулалын төвшин хэр байна вэ?

Q 16 (8.2.3.3) АЖ -тай холбоотой ажил хийхэд олж буй орлого таны зарцуулж байгаа хүч, хөдөлмөрт дүйхүйц хангалттай байж чаддаг уу?

Q 17 (8.2.3.3)н АЖ-с хэн хамгийн их болон хамгийн бага ашиг хүртэж байна вэ? (мөнгөн, нийгэм соёлын) Яагаад?

Q 18 (8.2.3.3)д АЖ баян хоосны ялгааг гүнзгийрэхэд ямар нэг байдлаар нөлөөлж байна уу?

Q 19 (8.2.3.4)д АЖ-с хамгийн их ашгийг олж байгаа хүмүүс ямар хүмүүстэй хамтарч ажилладаг вэ?

Эдгээр хүмүүсийн танилын хүрээ тэднийг АЖ-с ашиг олох давуу тал болдог уу?

Q 20 (8.3.1.2)д АЖ-г хөгжүүлэх талаар таны болон бусад иргэдийн санал хүсэлтийг нутгийн удирдлагууд асуудаг уу?

Q 21 (9.2.2.2)д сүүлийн 10 жилд ЗГ болон ОУБд АЖ-н чиглэлээр төсөл хэрэгжүүлсэн үү? Байсан бол үр дүн нь хэр байсан бэ?

Q 22 (6.2)д АЖ-н бодлого боловсруулах болон хэрэгжүүлэхэд хэн голлож оролцдог вэ?

Та өөрийн хувь нэмрээ оруулдаг гэж боддог уу?

Q 23 (6.3.3)д АЖ-н хөгжилд ямар хувь хүн болон байгууллага нөлөө бүхий байдаг вэ? Яагаад?

Q 24 (9.4.1) АЖ д оролцогч иргэд компаниуд байгалийн нөөцийг хэрхэн ашиглах нь зүйтэй вэ?

Q 25 (8.3.2.1) Таны бодлоор байгалийн нөөц болох газар, ус, ой, бэлчээр хамгаалах болон ашиглах засгийн газрын бодлого хэр оновчтой болоод шударга байна вэ?

Q 26 (8.3.2.2)д иргэд АЖ-н хөгжилд байгалийн нөөцийг хэрхэн ашиглаасай гэж хүсдэг вэ?

Q 27 (8.2.3.3) Байгаль орчныг тусгай хамгаалалттай газар байгуулж хамгаалахын сайн муу тал юу вэ?

Q 28 (9.2.1.1) Зах зээлд шилжсэн нь АЖ-н хөгжилд ямар нөлөө үзүүлсэн бэ?

Q 29 (9.2.1.3) Зах зээлд шилжсэнээс хойшн иргэдийн амьдрал, үзэл бодолд ямар өөрчлөлтүүд гарч байна вэ? /соёл/

Q 30 (9.2.2.1)н иргэдийн амьдралд ямар хууль тогтоомжууд чухал нөлөө үзүүлж байна вэ?

Q 31 (9.2.2.2) Сүүлийн 10 жил хэрэгжсэнг хөгжүүлэх бодлого хэр оновчтой байсан бэ?

Q 32 (9.3.1)н иргэдийн амьдралд тулгарч байгаа шийдвэрлэвэл зохих ямар бэрхшээлүүд байна вэ?

Q 33 (9.3.2).....н иргэдийн хувьд АЖ-с амьжиргаагаа дээшлүүлэх ямар боломжуудыг ашиглахыг хүсдэг вэ?

Q 34 (9.4.3) Таны бодлоорт АЖ-с үүдсэн сайн, муу талын аль нь давамгайлж байна вэ?

Q 35 (9.4.4) Таны бодлоор орон нутгийн иргэдийн амьжиргааг дээшлүүлэхүйц ямар АЖ-ыг хөгжүүлэх нь зүйтэй вэ?

Appendix -XI. Rejected interviews

The main reasons for this were an inadequate situation to conduct an interview, which the researcher could not avoid due to time constraints and other factors. The first rejected case took place in the Lake Hovsgol area, as the interviewee was drunk, and that had not been noticed at the beginning of the interview. Other two cases were in the Hanbogd area in Umnugovi province, the rejected case study area. In that location, two interviews had been conducted. Firstly, with a couple who were guards for one of the main domestic tourist attractions in the area. However, there was inadequate time for the interview due to their hosted guests' interruption, with the interview being frequently interrupted by the visitors and the interview was not carried out appropriately. The second interview was carried out well. As a result, the researcher learned that the area had only just started to experience tourism development on a small scale and the tourists were often domestic travellers, in comparison with other well established destinations within Umnugovi province or otherwise in the Gobi Desert region. Thus, it was considered unnecessary to carry out further research in the area. The final interview which was rejected took place in London with the head of a tourism NGO, and who was known as a key person in Mongolia's tourism, but he was unavailable during my field work period in Mongolia. However, the interview was conducted during the World Travel Market in London in 2009, but the quality of the interview was unsatisfactory due to the surrounding noise.

Table 8.1 Rejected interviews

Respondent group	Position, Occupation/ Organisation	Sex	Location	Rejection Rationale
G1-32	Herder	M	Jankhai, Hovsgol	Was drunk
G1-33	Unemployed, Ex-governor	M	Hanbogd, Umnugovi	Inadequate interview
G1-34	Security personnel for a monastery, Herder	M	Hanbogd, Umnugovi	Interview took place during busy time with visitors
G3-12	Director, Tour operator and Tourism NGO	M	London	Low quality as it was administered during World Travel Market, 2009
Total- 4		M-4		

Appendix -XII. Refused interviewees

There were another 5 interviewees, as shown in Table 4.9, who refused to be interviewed, were absent, or did not respond to an interview invitation. A manager of a *ger* camp in Umnugovi province refused due to his busy work schedule. An academic in Ulaanbaatar refused without giving a reason. Some intended interviewees were absent during the field work at their premises (i.e. at a *ger* camp). And a head of a community-based tour (CBT) operator, supported by IDOs, did not respond to the researcher's invitation for an interview.

Overall, there was an approximately equal spread of interviewees represented different actors from international, national and local actors, including government officials, IDOs, NGOs the private sector in tourism, and grassroots people from all socio-economic and demographic background as the study aimed to explore their relations in tourism development process. The number of grassroots people, however, was deliberately higher than any other group due to the study's main objective of exploring their values, interests and interpretation about tourism's contribution to their quality of livelihoods, SoL, poverty and inequality and distributional justice issues associated with the tourism development processes.

Table 8.2 Refused, absent and non-responding interviewees

Respondent group	Position, Occupation/ Organisation	Sex	Location	Reason why rejected
G2-19	An academic, National University of Mongolia	M	Ulaanbaatar	Refused to be interviewed
G2-20	Specialist, Swiss Development Cooperation	M	Ulaanbaatar	Was unavailable for interview during the field work
G3-11	Manager, <i>Ger</i> camp	M	Bulgan, Umnugovi	Refused because he was busy during the field work
G3-13	Director, <i>Ger</i> camp	M	Jankhai	Absent during the field study and could not set a date for meeting subsequently
G2-18	Director of a project, Donor Funded CBT project	M	Ulaanbaatar	No response
Total- 5		M-5		

Appendix-XIII. Corruption Perceptions Index

The Corruption Perceptions Index ranks countries/territories based on how corrupt a country's public sector is perceived to be. It is a composite index, drawing on corruption-related data from expert and business surveys carried out by a variety of independent and reputable institutions. Scores range from 0 (highly corrupt) to 10 (very clean). According to the Transparency International's 2011 corruption perceptions

index, Mongolia ranked 120 out of 183 countries with score of 2.7 (Transparency International, 2011). The level of corruption in Mongolia was also reported by Professor David Sneath at University of Cambridge for Al Jazeera that ‘...the way in which elites, the political, economic elites are relating to each other; How they handle the wealth which is available, and so idea of corruption and under hand dealings of elites feathering their own nests; This is made social justice very central issue... There has been a lot of scandals to do with corruption for last 20 years [in Mongolia]’ (Al Jazeera, 2012 n.p.). This suggests that corruption in Mongolia is widespread and political and economic elites seem to gain the majority of the wealth in the country.

Also an independent researcher Ganbat (2008, n.p.) commented for *Olloo* that ‘Mongolia’s economic growth does not reach to the public regardless of over 10.6 % growth [of GDP]... This indicates that how much Mongolia was corrupt which holds back the development of the society’. According to Ganbat (2012, n.p.) ‘Mongolia’s corruption had taken off since the privatisation in 1990 and 1996 and foreign aids... The research by Soros Foundation concluded that 80 % of food aids went to the officials’ hand while only 70 % of the poor have accessed these food aids’. It appears that due to wide spread corruption in Mongolia the poor in society seem to suffer disproportionately.

Appendix-XIV. Law on Tourism

МОНГОЛ УЛСЫН ХУУЛЬ

2000 оны 05 дугаар сарын 05-ны өдөр

АЯЛАЛ ЖУУЛЧЛАЛЫН ТУХАЙ

НЭГДҮГЭЭР БҮЛЭГ

Нийтлэг үндэслэл

1 дүгээр зүйл. Хуулийн зорилт

1.1. Энэ хуулийн зорилт нь Монгол Улсын нутаг дэвсгэр дээр аялал жуулчлалыг хөхүүлэн дэмжих, аялал жуулчлалын үйл ажиллагаа эрхлэх, жуулчны үйлчилгээ үзүүлэхтэй холбогдуулан төр, иргэн, аж ахуйн нэгж, байгууллагын хооронд үүсэх харилцааг зохицуулахад оршино.

2 дугаар зүйл. Аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомж

2.1. Аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомж нь Иргэний хууль¹, Газрын тухай², Байгаль орчныг хамгаалах тухай³, Тусгай хамгаалалттай газар нутгийн тухай хууль⁴ болон энэ хууль, тэдгээртэй нийцүүлэн гаргасан хууль тогтоомжийн бусад актаас бүрдэнэ.

2.2. Монгол Улсын олон улсын гэрээнд энэ хуульд зааснаас өөрөөр заасан бол олон улсын гэрээний заалтыг дагаж мөрдөнө.

2.3. Улсын тусгай хамгаалалттай газар нутагт аялал жуулчлалын үйл ажиллагаа явуулахаар бол түүнтэй холбогдсон харилцааг Тусгай хамгаалалттай газар нутгийн тухай хуулиар зохицуулна.

3 дугаар зүйл. Хуулийн нэр томъёо

3.1. Энэ хуульд хэрэглэсэн дараахь нэр томъёог дор дурдсан утгаар ойлгоно:

3.1.1 "аялал жуулчлал" гэж хувь хүн өөрийн байнга оршин суудаг газар нутгаасаа нэгээс 183 хүртэлх хоногийн хугацаагаар амралт, сувилал, танин мэдэхүйн зорилгоор болон шашин шүтлэг, ажил мэргэжлийн шугамаар өөр газар нутагт аялан явахыг;

3.1.2. "аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага" гэж аялал жуулчлалын бүтээгдэхүүнийг бүрдүүлэх, сурталчлах, худалдах, худалдан авах, аялал жуулчлалын багц буюу тухайлсан үйлчилгээг зохион байгуулж байгаа ашгийн төлөө хуулийн этгээдийг;

3.1.3. "аялал жуулчлалын бүс нутаг" гэж Монгол Улсад аялал жуулчлал хөгжүүлэхэд тохирсон байгаль, түүх, соёлын нөөц бүхий газар нутгийг;

3.1.4. "аялал жуулчлалын бүтээгдэхүүн" гэж аялал жуулчлалын байгууллагаас үзүүлж байгаа жуулчдын сонирхлыг татах, тэдний аялах тав тухтай нөхцөлийг хангасан төлбөрт үйлчилгээг;

3.1.5. "жуулчин" гэж аялал жуулчлал хийж байгаа Монгол Улсын иргэн, гадаадын иргэн, харьяалалгүй хүнийг;

3.1.6. "жуулчны үйлчилгээний байгууллага" гэж зочид буудал, жуулчны бааз, зоогийн газар, амралт сувилал, тээвэр, холбоо, үзвэрийн зэрэг үйлчилгээг жуулчинд үзүүлж байгаа байгууллагыг;

3.1.7. "хөтөч-тайлбарлагч" гэж аялал жуулчлалын хөтөлбөрийн дагуу жуулчинд газарчлан, орчуулга, тайлбар хийх хувь хүнийг;

/Энэ заалтад 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт орсон/

3.1.8. "дээд зэрэглэлийн зочид буудал" гэж зочид буудлын цогц үйлчилгээний жишиг шаардлагын 3 ба түүнээс дээш од бүхий зэрэглэлийг хангасан үйлчилгээний байгууллагыг.

/Энэ заалтыг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/

ХОЁРДУГААР БҮЛЭГ

Аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага

4 дүгээр зүйл. Аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага, түүний ангилал

4.1. Аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага нь дараахь үйл ажиллагаа эрхэлнэ:

4.1.1. аялал жуулчлалын бүтээгдэхүүн, үйлчилгээг төлөвлөх, бүрдүүлэх, сурталчлах, бөөнөөр болон жижиглэнгээр худалдах, аялал зохион байгуулах;

4.1.2. виз авахтай холбогдсон болон аяллын бусад бичиг баримтын бүрдүүлэлт хийх;

4.1.3. онгоц, төмөр зам болон тээврийн хэрэгслээр зорчих билет /тийз/-ийн захиалга хийх, билет /тийз/ худалдах, худалдан авах;

4.1.4. зочид буудал, жуулчны бааз, байр, үзвэрийн захиалга хийх;

4.1.5. жуулчныг угтан авах, үйлчлэх, үдэн гаргах ажлыг зохион байгуулах.

4.2. Аялал жуулчлалын байгууллагыг туроператор, турагент гэж ангилна:

4.2.1. туроператор нь энэ хуулийн 4.1.1-4.1.5-д заасан үйл ажиллагаа эрхэлнэ;

4.2.2. турагент нь энэ хуулийн 4.1.2-4.1.5-д заасан үйл ажиллагааг бүхэлд нь, эсхүл түүний тодорхой хэсгийг, түүнчлэн туроператорын бүтээгдэхүүнийг зуучлан худалдах, худалдан авах үйл ажиллагаа эрхэлнэ.

~~5-дугаар зүйл. /Энэ зүйлийг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөн найруулсан/~~

~~/Энэ зүйлийг 2011 оны 01 дүгээр сарын 20-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/~~

~~6-дугаар зүйл. /Энэ зүйлийг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/~~

~~7-дугаар зүйл. /Энэ зүйлийг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/~~

8 дугаар зүйл. Аялал жуулчлалын байгууллагын бүрэн эрх

8.1. Аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага нь дараахь бүрэн эрхийг хэрэгжүүлнэ:

8.1.1. аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага нь энэ хуулийн 4.2-т заасан ангилалд нийцүүлэн үйл ажиллагаа явуулах;

8.1.2. аялал жуулчлалын бүтээгдэхүүнээ өөрийн нэрийн өмнөөс сурталчлах, худалдах, худалдан авах;

8.1.3. тухайн жилд үйлчлүүлсэн жуулчдын талаархи судалгааг тогтоосон журмын дагуу аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн төрийн захиргааны төв байгууллагад гаргаж өгөх;

~~/Энэ заалтад 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмэлт орсон/~~

8.1.4. Монгол Улсын нийгэм, эдийн засаг, төрийн байгуулалт, түүх соёл, ёс заншил, зан үйлийн талаар жуулчдад үнэн бодит мэдээлэл өгөх;

8.1.5. байгаль, түүх, соёлын нэн ховор зүйлсийг хайрлан хамгаалахад өөрийн зүгээс шаардагдах арга хэмжээ авах, гарсан зөрчлийн талаар холбогдох байгууллагад мэдэгдэх;

8.1.6. аялал жуулчлалын үйлчилгээний ажилтнуудаа мэргэжлийн сургалт, дамжаанд хамруулж байх;

8.1.7. аялал жуулчлалын бүтээгдэхүүнийхээ үнэ тарифыг тогтоох;

8.1.8. аялал жуулчлалын үйлчилгээний байгууллагуудтай гэрээ байгуулах.

8.1.9. жуулчдад мэргэжлийн хөтөч-тайлбарлагчаар үйлчлэх;

~~/Энэ заалтыг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/~~

8.1.10. эрх бүхий байгууллагаар зэрэглэлээ тогтоолгох.

~~/Энэ заалтыг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/~~

8.2. Монгол Улсын нийгэм, эдийн засгийн хөгжилд хувь нэмэр оруулах, байгаль орчинд сөрөг нөлөөгүй, хүн амын эрүүл мэнд, уламжлалт зан заншилд харшлахгүй аялал жуулчлалын хэлбэрийг хөгжүүлнэ.

9 дүгээр зүйл. Аялал жуулчлалын гэрээ

9.1. Туроператор буюу турагент нь аялал жуулчлалын бүтээгдэхүүнийг худалдах, худалдан авах тухай гэрээ байгуулна.

9.2. Аялал жуулчлалын үйлчилгээ үзүүлэхтэй холбогдсон харилцааг Иргэний хуулийн 370-379 дүгээр зүйл, энэ хууль, аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага жуулчинтай байгуулсан гэрээгээр зохицуулна. Гэрээнд дараахь нөхцөлийг тусгана:

~~/Энэ хэсгийг 2002 оны 7 дугаар сарын 4-ний өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөн найруулсан/~~

9.2.1. гэрээний талуудын албан ёсны нэр, хаяг, улсын бүртгэлийн гэрчилгээний дугаар, банкны дансны дугаар;

~~/Энэ заалтад 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт орсон/~~

9.2.2. жуулчдын бүрэлдэхүүн, аяллын хөтөлбөр, тэдгээртэй холбогдсон мэдээлэл;

9.2.3. аялал жуулчлалын бүтээгдэхүүний чанар, үнэ, түүнийг төлөх журам;

9.2.4. аяллын хугацаа, жуулчдыг угтах, үдэх журам, талуудын эрх, үүрэг;

9.2.5. жуулчдаас үйлчилгээний талаар гомдол гаргах, маргааныг хянан шийдвэрлэх журам.

9.3. Аялал жуулчлалын гэрээний үүргийг гүйцэтгэх, гэрээг цуцлах, өөрчлөх, хүчин төгөлдөр бус гэж тооцоход Иргэний хуулийн холбогдох заалтыг мөрдөнө.

10 дугаар зүйл. Жуулчны үйлчилгээний байгууллага

10.1. Жуулчны үйлчилгээний байгууллага нь дараахь шаардлагыг хангаж ажиллана:

10.1.1. тухайн үйлчилгээний стандарт, зэрэглэлд тавигдах шаардлагын дагуу үйл ажиллагаа явуулах;

10.1.2. үйлчилгээнийхээ үнэ тарифыг олгогдсон зэрэглэлийн дагуу тогтоох, ил тод байрлуулах;

10.1.3. нийтийн гэрээний нөхцөлөө дараагийн хуанлийн жил эхлэхээс 3-аас доошгүй сарын өмнө зарлах;

10.1.4. байгууллагынхаа оноосон нэр, зэрэглэл, жуулчин хүлээн авах эрхийг тодорхойлсон гэрчилгээг ил байрлуулах;

10.1.5. аялал жуулчлалын байгууллагатай байгуулсан гэрээний дагуу жуулчдад үйлчлэх, тэднээс үйлчилгээний хөлсийг давхардуулж авахгүй байх;

10.2. Дээд зэрэглэлийн зочид буудал болон жуулчны баазын зэрэглэл тогтоох журмыг аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн төрийн захиргааны төв байгууллага батална.

/Энэ хэсгийг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөн найруулсан/

10.3. Жуулчны үйлчилгээний байгууллага энэ хуулийн 4.1-д заасан үйл ажиллагаа явуулахыг хориглоно.

11 дүгээр зүйл. Аялал жуулчлалыг төрөөс хөхүүлэн дэмжих

11.1. Төрөөс экспортын үйлдвэрлэлд үзүүлэх дэмжлэг, хөнгөлөлтөд аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага, зочид буудлын гадаадын жуулчдад үзүүлсэн үйлчилгээ нэг адил хамаарна.

11.2. Аялал жуулчлалын салбарт хөрөнгө оруулалт хийсэн иргэн, хуулийн этгээдэд татварын хөнгөлөлт үзүүлэх асуудлыг татварын холбогдох хууль тогтоомжийн дагуу зохицуулна.

11.3. Энэ хуулийн 14.1.1-д заасны дагуу байгуулсан аялал жуулчлалын бүс нутгийг хөгжүүлэх зорилгоор зарласан уралдаанд төсөл нь шалгарсан этгээдэд төслөө хэрэгжүүлэхэд зориулж төрөөс зохих санхүүжилтийг гэрээний үндсэн дээр олгож болно.

ГУРАВДУГААР БҮЛЭГ

Хөтөч-тайлбарлагч

12 дугаар зүйл. Хөтөч-тайлбарлагчид тавих шаардлага

12.1. Дараахь шаардлагыг хангасан хувь хүн хөтөч-тайлбарлагчийн үйлчилгээ үзүүлж болно:

12.1.1. Монгол Улсын иргэн байх;

12.1.2. нэг буюу түүнээс дээш гадаад хэл эзэмшсэн, хөтөч-тайлбарлагчийн сургалтад хамрагдаж гэрчилгээ авсан байх;

/Энэ заалтад 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмэлт орсон/

/Энэ заалтад 2011 оны 01 дүгээр сарын 20-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт оруулсан/

12.1.3. хөтөч-тайлбарлагчийн үйлчилгээ үзүүлэхэд эрүүл мэндийн хувьд тэнцсэн байх.

~~12.2.~~ /Энэ хэсэгт 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт оруулсан/

/Энэ хэсэгт 2005 оны 01 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт оруулсан/

/Энэ хэсгийг 2011 оны 01 дүгээр сарын 20-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/

~~12.3.~~ /Энэ хэсгийг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/

~~12.4.~~ /Энэ хэсгийг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/

~~12.5.~~ /Энэ хэсгийг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/

13 дугаар зүйл. Хөтөч-тайлбарлагчийн эрх, үүрэг

13.1. Хөтөч-тайлбарлагч нь дараах эрх, үүрэгтэй.

13.1.1. аялал жуулчлалын тухайн байгууллагаас баталсан хөтөлбөрийн дагуу жуулчдад үйлчлэх, тэдний аюулгүй байдлыг урьдчилан сэргийлж, хангуулах;

13.1.2. жуулчдад үйлчилж байх хугацаандаа аялал жуулчлалын тухайн байгууллага болон өөрийн нэр бүхий хөтөч-тайлбарлагчийн тэмдгийг ил зүүх;

13.1.3. Монгол Улсын нийгэм эдийн засаг, төрийн байгуулал, байгаль, түүх, соёл, ард түмний зан заншлын талаар жуулчдад бодит мэдээлэл өгөх, улс, хувь хүн, байгууллагын нууцад хамаарах мэдээллийн нууцыг задруулахгүй байх;

13.1.4. үйлчилгээнийхээ явцад өөрийн буруугаас жуулчинд болон аялал жуулчлалын тухайн байгууллагад учруулсан хохирлыг арилгах.

13.2. Хөтөч-тайлбарлагч нь жуулчдаас шан харамж шаардах, аялал жуулчлалын байгууллагын үйл ажиллагаа эрхлэхийг хориглоно.

/Энэ хэсэгт 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт орсон/

ДӨРӨВДҮГЭЭР БҮЛЭГ

Аялал жуулчлалын талаархи төрийн байгууллагын бүрэн эрх

14 дүгээр зүйл. Аялал жуулчлалын талаархи Засгийн газрын бүрэн эрх

14.1. Засгийн газар аялал жуулчлалын талаар дараахь бүрэн эрхийг хэрэгжүүлнэ:

14.1.1. Монгол Улсад аялал жуулчлал хөгжүүлэх бүс нутгийг улс орны нийгэм, эдийн засгийн хөгжлийн бодлоготой уялдуулан тогтоох;

14.1.2. аялал жуулчлалын талаар төрөөс явуулах нэгдсэн бодлогыг хэрэгжүүлж, холбогдох хууль тогтоомжийн биелэлтийг зохион байгуулах;

14.1.3. аялал жуулчлалыг хөгжүүлэх үндэсний хөтөлбөр батлах;

~~14.1.4.~~ /Энэ заалтыг 2006 оны 6 дугаар сарын 29-ний өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/

14.1.5. аялал жуулчлалын салбарт гадаад, дотоодын хөрөнгө оруулалтыг хөхүүлэн дэмжих, зохистой харьцааг бий болгох;

~~14.1.6.~~/Энэ заалтыг 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/

14.1.7. аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомжийн биелэлтэд тавих хяналтыг хэрэгжүүлэх, аялал жуулчлалын улсын хяналтын дүрмийг батлах.

15 дугаар зүйл. Аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн төрийн захиргааны байгууллагын тогтолцоо

15.1. Аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн төрийн захиргааны байгууллагын тогтолцоо нь аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн төрийн захиргааны төв байгууллага, Ерөнхий сайдын дэргэдэх аялал жуулчлалын зөвлөл болон орон нутгийн аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн нэгж /ажилтан/-ээс тус тус бүрдэнэ.

/Энэ хэсэгт 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт орсон/

15.2. Аялал жуулчлалын зөвлөл нь /цаашид "Зөвлөл" гэх/ аялал жуулчлалын талаархи төрийн нэгдсэн бодлого боловсруулах болон хэрэгжүүлэх асуудлаар Ерөнхий сайдад зөвлөгөө өгөх, санал дүгнэлт гаргах үүрэгтэй.

15.3. Зөвлөл нь дарга, улсын төсөв, санхүү, аялал жуулчлал, байгаль орчны асуудал эрхэлсэн төрийн захиргааны төв байгууллагаас санал болгосон тус бүр нэг, аялал жуулчлал эрхэлсэн төрийн бус байгууллагаас санал болгосон аялал жуулчлалын байгууллагын гурван гишүүнээс тус тус бүрдэнэ.

/Энэ хэсэгт 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт орсон/

15.4. Зөвлөлийн дарга, гишүүдийг Ерөнхий сайд томилно.

15.5. Зөвлөлийн дарга нь аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн Засгийн газрын гишүүн байна.

/Энэ хэсэгт 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт орсон/

15.6. Зөвлөлийн ажиллах журмыг Засгийн газар батална.

15.7. Бүх шатны Засаг дарга аялал жуулчлал хөгжүүлэх эрэлт хэрэгцээг харгалзан аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн нэгж /ажилтан/-ийг ажиллуулж болно.

16 дугаар зүйл. Аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн төрийн захиргааны төв байгууллагын бүрэн эрх

16.1. Аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн төрийн захиргааны төв байгууллага нь аялал жуулчлалын талаар дараахь бүрэн эрхийг хэрэгжүүлнэ:

16.1.1. аялал жуулчлалын талаар төрөөс баримтлах нэгдсэн бодлого боловсруулах, зохицуулах, мэргэжлийн удирдлагаар хангах;

~~16.1.2.~~/Энэ заалтыг 2002 оны 07 дугаар сарын 10-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/

16.1.3. аялал жуулчлал хөгжүүлэх төлөвлөгөө гаргаж, хэрэгжилтийг хангах;

16.1.4. улсын болон олон улсын хэмжээнд аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага хоорондын үйл ажиллагааг уялдуулан зохицуулах;

16.1.5. аялал жуулчлалын салбарт хүний нөөцийн хөгжлийг төлөвлөх, сургалтын бүтэц, хөтөлбөрийг эрх бүхий байгууллагатай хамтран батлах;

16.1.6. аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага, дээд зэрэглэлийн зочид буудал, жуулчны баазад зэрэглэл тогтоох журмыг батлах;

/Энэ заалтыг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөн найруулсан/

/Энэ заалтад 2011 оны 01 дүгээр сарын 20-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт оруулсан/

16.1.7. аялал жуулчлалын бүсэд үйл ажиллагаа явуулах жуулчны бааз, зочид буудал, амралт, рашаан сувиллын газрын тоо, байршлыг тогтоох, тэдгээрийн нэгдсэн бүртгэл хөтлөх;

/Энэ заалтад 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмэлт орсон/

16.1.8. аялал жуулчлалын дэд бүтцийг хөгжүүлэх, Монгол орныг гадаад, дотоодод сурталчлах үйл ажиллагааг санхүүжүүлэх асуудлыг холбогдох хууль тогтоомжийн дагуу шийдвэрлэх;

/Энэ заалтыг 2006 оны 6 дугаар сарын 29-ний өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/

16.1.9. Монгол орныг гадаад, дотоодод сурталчлах;

/Энэ заалтыг 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/

/Энэ заалтын дугаарыг 2006 оны 6 дугаар сарын 29-ний өдрийн хуулиар өөрчилсөн/

~~16.1.10.~~/Энэ заалтыг 2011 оны 01 дүгээр сарын 20-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/

16.1.11. аялал жуулчлалын статистик мэдээллийг нэгтгэж, судалгаа, дүн шинжилгээ хийх;

/Энэ заалтыг 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/

/Энэ заалтын дугаарыг 2006 оны 6 дугаар сарын 29-ний өдрийн хуулиар өөрчилсөн/

16.1.12. аялал жуулчлалын мэдээллийн нэгдсэн сүлжээ, сан байгуулах;

/Энэ заалтыг 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/

16.1.13. аялал жуулчлалын бүсэд хүлээн авах жуулчдын тоог тогтоох;

/Энэ заалтыг 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/

/Энэ заалтын дугаарыг 2006 оны 6 дугаар сарын 29-ний өдрийн хуулиар өөрчилсөн/

16.1.14. аялал жуулчлалын зам чиглэлийг тогтоох;

/Энэ заалтыг 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/

/Энэ заалтын дугаарыг 2006 оны 6 дугаар сарын 29-ний өдрийн хуулиар өөрчилсөн/

16.1.15. аялал жуулчлалын хөгжилд сөргөөр нөлөөлөх үйл ажиллагаа явуулахыг хориглох.

/Энэ заалтыг 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/

/Энэ заалтын дугаарыг 2006 оны 6 дугаар сарын 29-ний өдрийн хуулиар өөрчилсөн/

16.2.Энэ хуулийн 16.1.8-д заасан үйл ажиллагааг гадаад улс, олон улсын байгууллага, түүнчлэн гадаадын болон дотоодын аж ахуйн нэгж, байгууллага, иргэдийн хандив, тусламж, хуулиар хориглоогүй бусад эх үүсвэрээс санхүүжүүлж болно.

/Энэ хэсгийг 2006 оны 6 дугаар сарын 29-ний өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/

~~47 дугаар зүйл.~~/Энэ хэсэгт 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт оруулсан/

/Энэ зүйлийг 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/Хэвлэх

18 дугаар зүйл. Бүх шатны иргэдийн Төлөөлөгчдийн Хурал, Засаг даргын бүрэн эрх

18.1. Аймаг, нийслэл, сум, дүүргийн иргэдийн Төлөөлөгчдийн Хурал нь аялал жуулчлалын талаар дараахь бүрэн эрхийг хэрэгжүүлнэ:

18.1.1. нутаг дэвсгэртээ аялал жуулчлалын талаарх төрийн бодлого, хууль тогтоомжийн биелэлтэд хяналт тавих, шаардлагатай гэж үзвэл энэ талаар Засаг даргын тайланг хэлэлцэх;

18.1.2. аялал жуулчлал хөгжүүлэх үндэсний хөтөлбөрийн хэрэгжилтийг хангах;

18.1.3. нутаг дэвсгэрийн тодорхой хэсгийг аялал жуулчлалын нөөц бүсэд хамруулах талаар аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн төрийн захиргааны төв байгууллагад санал оруулах;

18.1.4. нутаг дэвсгэртээ аялал жуулчлал хөгжүүлэх хөтөлбөр батлах.

18.2. Аймаг, нийслэл, сум, дүүргийн Засаг дарга аялал жуулчлалын талаар дараахь бүрэн эрхийг хэрэгжүүлнэ:

18.2.1. аялал жуулчлалын талаар төрөөс баримтлах нэгдсэн бодлогыг нутаг дэвсгэртээ хэрэгжүүлж, аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомжийн биелэлтийг хангах, зохион байгуулах;

18.2.2. эрх хэмжээнийхээ хүрээнд тухайн газар нутагт байгуулах жуулчны үйлчилгээний байгууллагад газар эзэмших зөвшөөрлийг аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн төрийн захиргааны төв байгууллагын тогтоосон тоо, байршлыг баримтлан зохих хууль тогтоомжийн дагуу олгож гэрээ байгуулах;

18.2.3. нутаг дэвсгэртээ аялал жуулчлалыг бүсчлэн хөгжүүлэх бодлоготой уялдуулан хөтөлбөр, төсөл боловсруулж, зохих шатны иргэдийн Төлөөлөгчдийн Хуралд санал оруулах, батлагдсан хөтөлбөрийн дагуу аялал жуулчлал хөгжүүлэх төлөвлөгөө боловсруулж хэрэгжүүлэх;

18.2.4. нутаг дэвсгэрээрээ дайран өнгөрч яваа жуулчдаас хуульд зааснаас бусад тохиолдолд татвар, төлбөр, хураамж авахгүй байх.

ТАВДУГААР БҮЛЭГ

/Энэ бүлгийг 2006 оны 6 дугаар сарын 29-ний өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/

ЗУРГАДУГААР БҮЛЭГ

Аялал жуулчлалын үйл ажиллагаанд тавих хяналт, хүлээлгэх хариуцлага

22 дугаар зүйл. Аялал жуулчлалын үйл ажиллагаанд тавих хяналт

22.1. Аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомжийн биелэлтэд төрийн болон мэргэжлийн хяналт тавина.

22.2. Аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомжийн биелэлтэд тавих төрийн хяналтыг төрийн захиргааны төв байгууллагууд, бүх шатны Засаг дарга нар эрх хэмжээнийхээ хүрээнд хэрэгжүүлнэ.

/Энэ хэсэгт 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмэлт, өөрчлөлт орсон/

22.3. Аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомжийн биелэлтэд тавих мэргэжлийн хяналтыг улсын хяналтын алба хэрэгжүүлнэ.

/Энэ хэсэгт 2002 оны 7 дугаар сарын 10-ны хуулиар өөрчлөлт орсон/

22.4. Аялал жуулчлалын улсын ахлах байцаагч, улсын байцаагчийг томилж, чөлөөлөх асуудлыг Төрийн хяналт шалгалтын тухай 1 хуулийн 10 дугаар зүйлд заасны дагуу зохицуулна.

/Энэ хэсэгт 2010 оны 06 дугаар сарын 10-ны өдрийн хуулиар өөрчлөлт оруулсан/

23 дугаар зүйл. Аялал жуулчлалын улсын байцаагчийн эрх, үүрэг

23.1. Аялал жуулчлалын улсын байцаагч дараахь эрх эдэлнэ:

23.1.1. аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага, жуулчны үйлчилгээний байгууллага, хөтөч-тайлбарлагч аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомжийг хэрхэн биелүүлж байгааг өмчийн харьяалал харгалзахгүйгээр хянан шалгах;

23.1.2. хяналт шалгалт явуулахад шаардагдах мэдээ, баримтыг холбогдох иргэн, албан тушаалтан, байгууллагаас үнэ төлбөргүй гаргуулж авах;

~~23.1.3.~~/Энэ заалтыг 2011 оны 01 дүгээр сарын 20-ны өдрийн хуулиар хүчингүй болсонд тооцсон/

23.1.4. хяналт шалгалт хийхээр холбогдох байгууллагад нэвтрэн орох;

23.1.5. аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомж зөрчсөн этгээдийн бичиг баримтыг шалгах, шаардлагатай бол түр хураах;

23.1.6. аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомж зөрчсөн этгээдэд энэ хуульд заасан захиргааны шийтгэл ногдуулах;

23.1.7. тухайн зэрэглэлийн шаардлага хангахгүй байгаа зочид буудлын зэрэглэлийг бууруулах тухай саналыг аялал жуулчлалын асуудал эрхэлсэн төрийн захиргааны төв байгууллагад оруулах.

/Энэ заалтад 2005 оны 1 дүгээр сарын 27-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмэлт орсон/

23.2. Аялал жуулчлалын улсын байцаагч дараахь үүрэг хүлээнэ:

23.2.1. аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомжийн биелэлтэд хяналт тавихдаа хууль тогтоомж, түүнд нийцүүлэн гаргасан дүрэм, журмыг чанд мөрдөж ажиллах;

23.2.2. илрүүлсэн зөрчлийг таслан зогсоох, арилгах арга хэмжээ авахдаа байгууллага, хувь хүний эрх, хууль ёсны ашиг сонирхлыг хүндэтгэх, нууцыг хадгалах;

23.2.3. аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомжийг зөрчсөн тухай жуулчны гаргасан гомдол, саналыг хянан шийдвэрлэх;

23.2.4. аялал жуулчлалын байгууллага, хөтөч-тайлбарлагч нь Монгол Улсын нийгэм, эдийн засаг, төрийн байгуулалт, түүх, соёл, ард түмний зан заншлын талаар жуулчдад бодитой мэдээлэл өгч байгаа эсэхэд хяналт тавих.

24 дүгээр зүйл. Аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомж зөрчигчид хүлээлгэх хариуцлага

24.1. Аялал жуулчлалын тухай хууль тогтоомж зөрчсөн гэм буруутай этгээдэд эрүүгийн хариуцлага хүлээлгэхээргүй бол зөрчлийн шинж байдал, учруулсан хохирлын хэмжээг харгалзан шүүгч, аялал жуулчлалын улсын байцаагч нь дараахь захиргааны шийтгэл ногдуулна:

24.1.1. энэ хуулийн 10.3-т заасныг зөрчсөн бол хууль бусаар олсон орлогыг хурааж, гэм буруутай албан тушаалтныг 60000 хүртэл, байгууллагыг 250000 хүртэл төгрөгөөр торгох;

24.1.2. хөтөч-тайлбарлагч энэ хуулийн 13.2-т заасныг зөрчсөн бол 15000-50000 төгрөгөөр торгох;

24.1.3. аялал жуулчлалын үйл ажиллагаанд илэрсэн зөрчлийг арилгуулахаар эрх бүхий байгууллага, албан тушаалтнаас тавьсан хууль ёсны шаардлагыг биелүүлээгүй гэм буруутай албан тушаалтныг 50000 хүртэл, байгууллагыг 100000 хүртэл төгрөгөөр торгох;

24.1.4. аялал жуулчлалын талаархи мэдээллийг эрх бүхий байгууллага, албан тушаалтанд хугацаанд нь гаргаж өгөөгүй албан тушаалтныг 10000 хүртэл, байгууллагыг 50000 хүртэл төгрөгөөр торгох;

24.1.5. өөрийн нутаг дэвсгэрээр дайран өнгөрч яваа жуулчдаас энэ хуулийг зөрчиж аливаа төлбөр, хураамж авсан бол түүнийг улсын орлого болгож буруутай этгээдийг 50000 хүртэл төгрөгөөр торгох;

24.1.6. энэ хуулийн 8.1.6-д заасныг зөрчсөн аялал жуулчлалын байгууллагыг 100000-250000 хүртэл төгрөгөөр торгох.

/Энэ заалтыг 2001 оны 11 дүгээр сарын 30-ны өдрийн хуулиар нэмсэн/

МОНГОЛ УЛСЫН ИХ ХУРЛЫН

ДАРГА

Р.ГОНЧИГДОРЖ