



GRADUATE SCHOOL OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Unequal Actors in Conservation.
A Case Study of Actor-Network in Bavi National Park of Vietnam

A RESEARCH PAPER PRESENTED BY

Pham Quang Tu

(Vietnam)

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
SPECIALIZATION: RURAL LIVELIHOODS AND GLOBAL CHANGE

MEMBERS OF THE EXAMINING COMMITTEE

Dr. Marlène Buchy
Dr. A. Haroon Akram-Lodhi

THE HAGUE, DECEMBER 2004

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies; the views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute

Research papers and thesis are not made available for outside circulation by the Institute

Enquiries:

Postal Address:

**Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT, The Hague
The Netherlands**

**Telephone: -31-70-4260-460
Telefax: -31-7-4260-799
e-mail: postmaster@iss.nl**

Location:

**Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX, The Hague
The Netherlands**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many individuals and organisations have helped me during the time that I am studying at the ISS and writing this paper.

First of all, I am grateful to my organisation, Towards Ethnic Women (TEW) for providing me scholarship to study at the ISS. Many information presented in this paper come from unpublished documents of TEW and uncompleted PhD work of Mrs. Tran Thi Lanh, the founder of TEW. This paper is therefore considered as a product of my organisation, though it is not necessary to present those views of the organisation.

I would like to express a deep gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Marlene Buchy for her continuous guidance throughout research paper process. Thanks to Dr. Haroon Akram-Lohdi for his critical and constructive comments on my research design and the draft paper. I also highly appreciate the interdisciplinary lecturers at the ISS, especially those from Rural Livelihoods and Global Change major. I have harvested much intellectual benefit from these lectures, guidance and comments.

In the Netherlands, I appreciate the helps from colleagues in the ICCO's office. Thanks to family of Kees De Ruiter and Helene Broekamp, who their door always open to receive me with the warmest hospitalities. I also wish to thank my Vietnamese friends and classmates at the ISS for their accompanies and friendships. Thanks to Dr. Le Thi Van Hue and Dr. Nguyen Manh Cuong for their comments on the draft paper.

Finally, my parents, brothers and girl friend have provided continuous moral support to me during my time in the Netherlands. I express my deep gratitude to them for their loves and supports.

Pham Quang Tu

The Hague, the Netherlands

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ii
LIST OF MAP, TABLES, DIGRAMS AND BOXES	iv
ABBREVIATIONS	v
Chapter one: INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter two: LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK.....	5
II. 1. Historical Review of Conservation	5
II.1.1. Failure of Conventional Conservation Approach	5
II.1.2. Integrated Conservation and Development Project (ICDP).....	6
II.1.3. Eco-tourism and conservation.....	7
II. 2. Actor–Oriented Approach.....	7
II.3. Actor-network Theory	8
II.4. Institutional Arrangements.....	9
II.5. Power Relations	10
II.6. Principle-Agent Theory	11
II.7. Analytical Framework for BVNP	12
Chapter three: INTRODUCTION TO CONSERVATION IN VIETNAM AND BAVI NATIONAL PARK.....	15
III.1. Overview of Conservation in Vietnam	15
III.2. Local People and Conservation in Vietnam	16
III.3. Physical and Ecological Contexts of Bavi Mountain	17
III.4. People and Forest Management in Bavi	18
III.5. Establishment of Bavi National Park, Roles and Functions	19
Chapter four: BACKGROUND OF ACTORS, THEIR POWER SOURCES AND PERCEPTIONS IN CONSERVATION	21
IV.1. Actors Involved to Management of BVNP	21
IV.2. Actors and Their Perceptions in Conservation.....	25
IV.3. Heterogeneity of Actors	30
IV.4. Divergence of Actors’ Perceptions to Conservation and Development.....	32

Chapter five: ACTORS' INTERACTION AND NEGOTIATION IN MANAGING BAVI NATIONAL PARK	36
V.1. Actors Entering the Game	36
V.2. Villagers' Resistance	37
V.3. People Participation in ICDP – Just Another Slogan	39
V.4. Actors Negotiation: From Unequal Power Relation to Social Exclusion.....	42
 Chapter six: UNEQUAL ACTORS IN CONSERVATION - CONCLUSION.....	 47

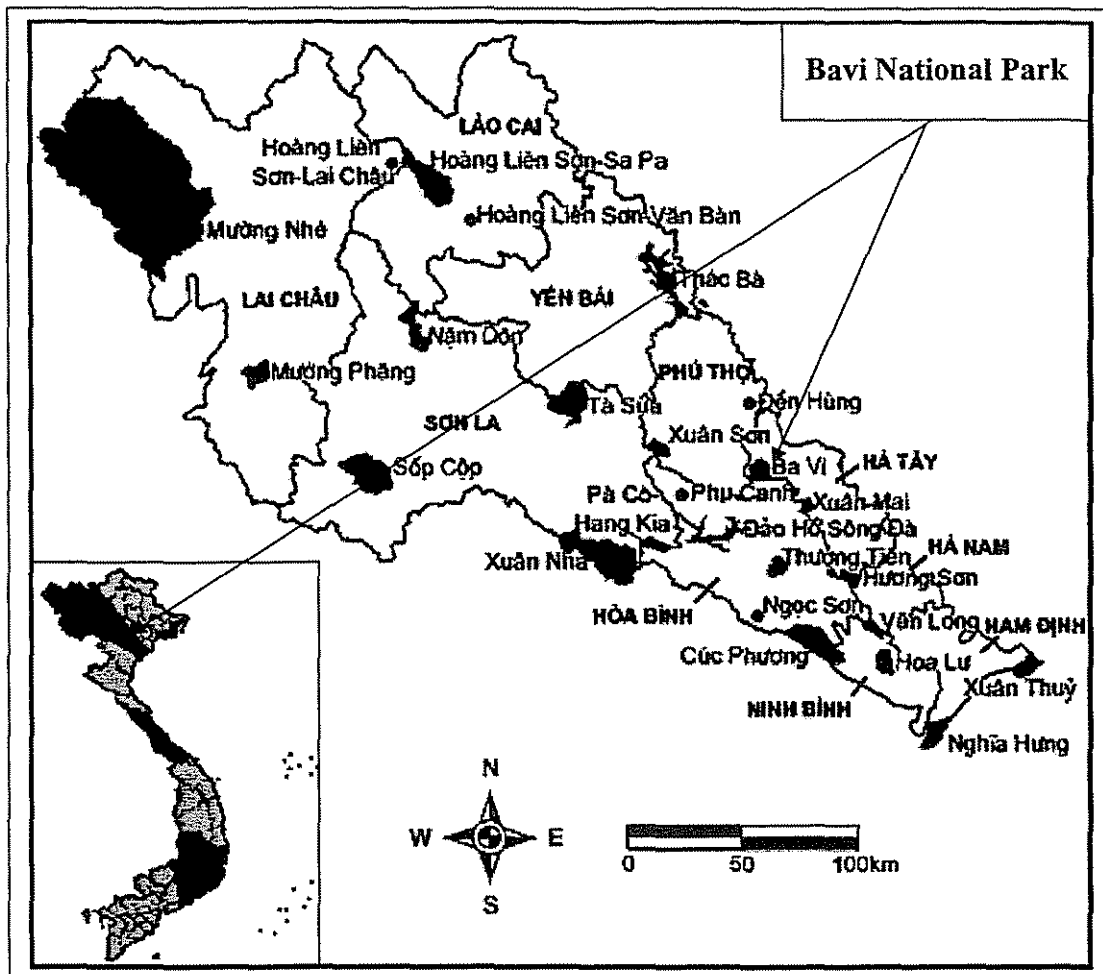
LIST OF MAP, TABLES, DIGRAMS AND BOXES

Map 1: Location of Bavi National park.....	vi
Table 4.1: Actors involved to resources management of BVNP.....	22
Table 5.1: Interest and power sources of the actors	44
Diagram 2.1: Actor Network in Resource Management	12
Diagram 2.2: Actor' Interaction with Nature and Its Strategy	13
Diagram 2.3: Steps to Study Actors Network in Resources Management.....	14
Diagram 4.1: Divergence of Actors' Perceptions in Conservation	33
Diagram 5.1: Power Relations between Actors in Bavi National Park	45
Box 4.1: Head of Forestry Protection Department of BVNP	27
Box 4.2: A villager in Yenson village	27
Box 4.3: Vice director of ATC	27
Box 4.4: Founder of TEW	28
Box 4.5: Chairman of Bavi commune	28

ABBREVIATIONS

ATC	Aovua Tourist Company
BVNP	Bavi National Park
FFI	Flora and Fauna International
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Project
IUCN	World Conservation Union
MARD	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PA	Protected Area
SRM	Sustainable Resource Management
TEW	Towards Ethnic Women
UNDP	United Nation Development Program
UNEP	United Nation Environment Program
VND	Vietnam Dong – the currency of Vietnam, of which 20.000 VND = 1 Euro
WWF	World Wild Fund for Nature

Map 1: Location of Bavi National park¹



¹ Source: http://www.wing-wbsj.or.jp/~vietnam/source_book

Chapter one

INTRODUCTION

For over a century, the conventional conservation approach, which sees people as “threats” to “Nature” has failed. It is increasingly argued that the conservation of natural resources in Protected Areas (PAs) could not be successful without considering the issue within the context of sustainable development (Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997). Establishing new PAs, implementing Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDP) and ecotourism have been given strong emphasis in order to achieve biodiversity conservation of PAs and development of local communities. Many people see these interventions as panacea and argue that they can help to keep biodiversity while improving livelihood of local people (McNeely, 1982 and Stolton, 1999).

In ecotourism, Budowski (1976) suggested that the relationship between nature tourism and conservation is mutually beneficial. He argued that ecotourism could generate new employment and / or new economic opportunities for rural communities². Weaver (1998) on the other hand saw ecotourism as the best way to educate people to understand the importance of keeping the environment and protecting nature³. In ICDP, Wells (1992) argued that the objective of the projects is to harmonise the biodiversity conservation of PAs with the development of local people. It does not separate conservation goals and local development objectives but is the combination of two (Worah, 2000).

There are some successful cases of ICDP and ecotourism such as “Conserving Maharashtra’s Biodiversity through Eco-development” in India (Pardeshi, 1996) and the case of the Xishuangbanna natural reserve in China (Tisdell, 1999). In these areas, local people are involved in the management of PAs and ecotourism to earn income while at the same time helping to protect nature. However, despite these successes, ICDPs are not the panacea as some people strongly believed.

One of the unresolved issues of the ICDPs is how to best accommodate the needs of many actors with different backgrounds who are involved in these interventions. The actors may have different understanding and interests when involved in the processes. Unequal power

² Tisdell (1999) argued that nature-based tourism provided income to the local community in China. According to him, developing countries earned US\$ 12 billion from ecotourism in 1988.

³ See also Carter and Lowman, 1994; Fennell, 1999; and France, 1997.

relations create gaps in participation and benefit-sharing between them. Powerless actors such as the local people typically find it difficult to be involved and benefit from the interventions (Bach, 2000). Further more, the actors are far from homogeneous. Heterogeneity occur at both organisational and community levels. They are fragmented and stratified by wealth, power, social status, gender, and age. Frequently, elites who are present in all societies try to exploit the community in order to fulfill their own benefit and interests (Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997). This further prevents some actors from achieving their objectives.

The effectiveness of conservation and sustainable local livelihood development depend very much on how different actors involved have been interacting and negotiating with each other (Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997). Conflicting interests between actors could create to different sets of negotiations, which later will have major impact on the outcome of the interventions. Long (1992) has pointed out that, the process of negotiation between various actors involved in development interventions has greater influence over the outcome that predetermined objectives.

In the main stream of conservation, there are a lot of works done concerning the issue of biodiversity loss and therefore needs for conservation (Prrings at al, 1995; Wilson, 1988; and Tisdell, 1999). Many people, on the other hand are concerned by the impact of PAs on the livelihood of local people (West and Brechin, 1991; Ghimire and Pimber, 1997). However, few studies have tried to analyse how different actors have been interacting and negotiating in the process of managing PAs and ultimately, how these negotiations have influenced the outcome of the interventions.

Traditionally in Vietnam, local people are moved out of the forest when PAs are established. The majority of policy makers and scientists still think that ethnic minority people with their traditional shifting cultivation practices are the main causes of deforestation. Recently the concept of local people's participation in conservation has emerged. To date however, no study has been done to observe and discuss how actors negotiate with each other in management of PAs, then influence to participation of actors in conservation.

This research therefore deals with the issue of actors' interaction and negotiation in management of PA by using a case of Bavi National park (BVNP) in Vietnam. The central question of the study is "*how have the actor's interactions and negotiations in resource management of BVNP influenced the participation of actors and affected the livelihoods of the Dzao*"⁴?

The research used the case study approach in order to investigate the situation of BVNP which is unique in comparing to the other PAs in Vietnam. BVNP is regarded as the lung of the capital Hanoi and also has one of the richest ecosystems in Vietnam (Tran, undated). During the time of doing research, qualitative methods including participant observation, semi-structure and in-depth interviews were mostly used in order to help to identify actors, their perceptions on conservation and interests when involved in managing resources of BVNP. Interactions with different people in the field also helped researchers to understand how actors have been interacting and negotiating in management of the park, implementing ICDP and ecotourism. Some quantitative methods were used to collect general information of the Dzao community, their income as well as secondary data of BVNP and conservation in Vietnam. The information was mostly collected by the author and colleagues in 2003. Part of it was collected in 2004 after the research design was approved.

The rest of this paper is organised as follows:

Chapter II presents a review of the literature concerning the issues and approaches to biodiversity conservation. The concepts of social actor, actor-oriented approach, actor network theory, institutional arrangement, principal-agent and power relation are explored. These concepts and theories are then elaborated together in order to build up analytical framework for the study.

Chapter III provides an introduction to conservation in Vietnam, an overview of Bavi Mountain and narrative of the establishment of BVNP.

Chapter IV maps out and explores in detail actors involved in resource management of BVNP. In this chapter, the concept of social actor in actor-oriented approach will be used

⁴ The Dzao is a local community who has been living in Bavi since early 1920s.

in order to understand how actors developed their perceptions and interests on conservation and resources management.

Chapter V analyses process of actors' interaction and negotiation in the context of establishing BVNP, implementing ICDP and ecotourism. It examines how power relations between actors have been exercised during interventions.

Finally, chapter VI summarises the main findings of the research in relation to the research questions, implications and suggestions for future's researches.

Chapter two
LITERATURE REVIEW AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

This chapter reviews the debates surrounding the issues and approaches to conservation. The first section explores how the approaches to conservation and issue of people's participation in conservation have changed since the first PA in the World was established in Yellowstone in 1872. The second section provides concepts and theories that are used to analyse biodiversity conservation. The last section presents the analytical framework for the rest of the study.

II. 1. Historical Review of Conservation

II.1.1. Failure of Conventional Conservation Approach

For decades, the preservation of biodiversity has become a significant consideration to development and the sustainability of ecosystems (Babier, 1995 and Tisdell, 1999). People are concerned by the rapid depletion and degradation of the world's biological resources, its impact on the global biosphere and human welfare. The establishment of Yellowstone in United State had marked a significant change of resource management in the world. After that, the number of PAs has been increased in order to prevent human intervention in nature. World Conservation Union (IUCN) divided the PAs into six categories depending on the degree of human interaction in nature. Among them, National Park is the most strictly protected category.

The early notion of PA strictly excluded human intervention in nature. While PAs were defined as "islands", people were viewed as "problems" for wildlife and nature (Stolton and Dudley, p.4). However, this model of protection has been increasingly problematic, particularly in developing countries where a large proportion of PAs are inhabited and used informally by local people. In many places, conflicts between PA authorities and local people have been increasing (Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997). Displaced people still continued going into the forest for cultivation and exploitation. Carruthes had concluded that:

"The hegemonic Yellowstone model of wildness free from people because it has been artificially 'created by bulldozers and fences, forced migration and resettlement' is inappropriate for the twenty-first century. Worse still, if adhered to, the consequences can be terrible" (Carruthes, 1997, p.134)

Learning from failures of the past, the recent conservation approach has shifted from one of strictly no human interference to one that involved more people interaction with nature. The new approach to conservation in the 21st century proposed by IUCN addressed that “PAs need to expand in size, concept, and the number of partners involved as well as in the vision from island to a system” (Stolton and Dudley, 1999, p.4). People should be seen as “partners” rather than “threats” to conservation and resources management (Berkes and Folke, 1998, p.98). Ghimire and Pimbert (1997) see PA as social spaces, where culture and nature are renewed with, by and for local people.

The Third World Conference on National Parks in 1982 titled “*National parks, Conservation and Development: The Role of Protected Areas in Sustaining Society*” puts more emphasis on sustainable management of PAs (Mahanty, 2000, p.19 quoted from McNeely and miller 1982). It clearly indicated that conservation objectives have to be addressed alongside human needs.

II.1.2. Integrated Conservation and Development Project (ICDP)

ICDP has emerged as a strategy to achieve objectives of natural conservation and the sustainable development⁵ of local people in the PAs. It aims to promote biodiversity conservation by harmonising the management of PAs with social and economic needs of local people (Mahanty, 2000). Most ICDPs strongly emphasize local participation and incorporating traditional knowledge in its design and implementation (Brown, 2001). The project can therefore avoid overlapping or emphasising too much in certain activities. In ICDPs, activities range across from strict protection with compensation for local people to sustainable use of resources within PAs (Mahanty, 2000).

There are also increasing critical arguments about the effectiveness of the ICDPs. Wells and Baradon (1992) have flagged that the connection between conservation and development activities have been problematic and therefore it is difficult to achieve both of them at the same time in the same place. Poor understanding of practitioners about the approach has reduced the effectiveness of the intervention (Worah, 2000). In addition, limited participation and poor coordination have added more to the limited achievement

⁵ Sustainable development defined by World Commission on Environment and Development is “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (Barbier, 1995, p.37). Sustainable development needs to satisfy with economic development and ecological and biodiversity conservation. For more please see Redelif, 1989; Trzyna, 1995; Berkes, (1989, 1998); and Tisdell, 1999.

of ICDPs (Mahanty, 2000). It is argued that as long as the roles of local people are not clearly defined in the management of PAs and their livelihood has not been improving, then the conservation objective is still difficult to achieve (Enters and Anderson, 1994).

II.1.3. Eco-tourism and Conservation

Along with ICDPs, ecotourism has also emerged as a response to the notion of strictly prohibited human interaction in PAs. Budowski (1976) suggested that the relationship between nature tourism and conservation is mutually beneficial. The point has been revised in 1990s by France (1997), and Fennell (1999). Weaver (1998) also sees ecotourism as the best way to educate people about the importance of keeping the environment and protecting nature.

Economic benefit is another important aspect of ecotourism. Carter and Lowman (1994) argued that ecotourism could provide potential benefit through taxes and job creation for local people. The emphasis of ecotourism is very much focused on local communities who have been living closely with their environment for hundreds of years and have rich knowledge about the environment surrounding them.

However, ecotourism does not always bring positive benefits to nature and people. Shah (1995, p.97) put forward three main problems of ecotourism as congestion, wildlife disturbance and eco-damage. Carter and Lowman (1994, p77) also pointed out that *“unless the requirement of safeguarding the environment is met, ecotourism is in danger of being a self-destructive process, destroying the very resource upon which it based And not rural poor people benefit from design of national park but the rich consumer with leisure and wealth”*.

Nowadays PAs are no longer looked at as islands but that we need to involve people in the process of resource management. ICDPs and ecotourism are the alternatives to achieve conservation and development objectives. However, they are not the naturally given panacea when implemented in the reality.

II. 2. Actor–Oriented Approach

The term “actor” originally came from the term of “stakeholder” which is commonly used in various disciplines such as organisational management, resource management, social conflict resolution and business management. The term “stakeholder” was first recorded

in 1708 as “*a person who holds the stake or stakes in a bet*” and then translated as “*a person with an interest or concerning in something*” (Buckles, 1981, p.101). A stakeholder not only refers to a person or individual but also to organisations or social groups.

The term “actor” has a larger connotation compared to “stakeholder”. Buckles (1981, p.102) defines an actor as “*a person who carries out one or more activities in the system*” and social actors as “*individuals or social entities who are knowledgeable and capable and can thus formulate and defend their decisions*”. In resource management, Rolling and Wagemanker (1998) defined actors as resource users and managers while Wood (2000) sees actors as having options to choose from and motivations that influence choices.

In this study, the concept of social actor developed by Long (1992) in the actor-oriented approach is employed in order to understand how actors develop their perceptions and interests when involved in resource management. According to Long actors can be seen as individuals or groups who are able to act based on their capacity and knowledge of agency, for decision making and action to deserve their interests.

Social actors are not considered as vulnerable or powerless victims, but as capable and active participants who are involved in the process of social formulation either for or against external forces.

“Social actors, however, must not be depicted as simple disembodied social categories or passive recipients of intervention, but as active participants who process information and strategies in their dealings with various local actors as well as with outside institutions and personnel” (Long, 2001, p13).

The concept of social actor is used in this study for (a) identifying various social actors who are involved in the process of managing BVNP; (b) understanding the actors’ perceptions and interests; and (c) investigating actors’ interaction and negotiation in ICDP and ecotourism.

II.3. Actor-network Theory

The actor-network theory has emerged in response to the conflicts of the dualism of agency-structure, knowledge-power; inside-outside of the network. According to Law (1989) there is no separation between ‘agency’ and ‘structure’, or ‘actor’ and ‘network’,

but rather a combination of these into an 'actor-network'. The actor-network approach emphasises the overall system, a network, rather than on particular individuals and social actors in the network. The theory has a broader purpose of understanding the processes of interaction, negotiation, knowledge and power relations in an intervention (Mahanty, 2000). In the context of conservation, the theory gives scope to understand the role of power and knowledge in determining the relative positions of the actors within the overall resource management network.

To study actor-network, it is worth note that the relationship between actors can be diverse, ranging from coalition to conflict, depending on the common interests of actors. In the network, actors will make choices about how best to act to pursue their interests. In resource management, conflict is often inevitable. Actors may have different demands from natural resources to satisfy their needs, and that is a common source of conflict (Buckles, 1999). Though much of the literature on social networks has described networks as relatively balanced between actors based on principles of reciprocity, most social networks are in fact uneven and latent of conflict because of unequal power relations and the hierarchical system (Long, 2001).

In this paper, the actor-network theory helps to see how actors interact and negotiate with each other in the process of managing resources of BVNP. How different actors have used their knowledge, skills and power in order to pursue their interests and deny benefits to others.

II.4. Institutional Arrangements

According to Barbier (1995) institutions are the rules, norms and conventions of society that facilitate coordination among people regarding their behaviour. From the actor-oriented approach, an actor has rights to decide what action to take. However, society is complex due to multi-dimensional relationships between actors. As such, an actor could not act alone by itself, but rather it depends on the relationship with others and is bounded by obligations and expectations of the social structure it belongs to. The organisations, rules and norms between actors will be set up in order to sanction actions and behaviours of the actors. They define for each individual what action to take, but more importantly what actions that they are not allowed to take (Berner, 1998).

In resource management, Gibbs (in Berkes. ed, 1989, p.22) defined institutional arrangement between actors as *“the rule, norm and conventions which establish relationships between people over resources, translating interests to claim property rights”*. These relationships in turn strongly affect the resource use patterns of the actors. Resources are important to the livelihood of people. However, whether or not it is helping people depends on numerous factors, including the institutional arrangements that people choose to adopt concerning resource utilization.

In the case of Bavi, the concept of institution will be used to analyse the rules and norms related to the resource management of the park, particularly the definition and functions of PA in the Forest Protection and Development Law, Decree 01/CP on contracting forest land, and Decision No 407/CT of establishing BVNP. We will see who has actually benefited from these institutions when involved in the resources management of the park.

II.5. Power Relations

According to Townsend (1999, p.23), power is *“a force exercised by individuals or groups”*. Power could refer to the strength, authority and skills or capacities of the actors. To study power relations, it is worth distinguishing between several related terms such as *“power over”*, *“power from within”*, *“power with”*, *“power to”* and *“power as resistance”*. The terms show different meanings and degrees of power relation between individuals and groups.

In reality power and power relations are exercised everywhere and at any time from participation in decision making to every day activities in work places, in households and in the community. Power is about control, however, not only in physical and financial terms but also in the ideology which sets rules and ideals (Townsend, 1999).

In the Bavi case, three forms of power as *“power over”*, *“power with”* and *“power as resistance”* are used in order to study power relation between actors. *“Power over”* defines who has power to force others to do things but not concerning whether they like it or not (Rowlands, 1997). It defines who wins in the conflict situation of a zero-sum game. It is an obvious power which is a clearest imagination of power relations between actors. *“Power with”* is the capacity to achieve some thing in collaboration with others, which one could not achieve alone (Rowlands, 1997). *“Power with”* is present in all society and

in all actions by more than one person. Public action is one of the clearest examples of “power with”. Lastly, “power as resistance” is the complement to “power over” that is the capacity of one party to resist the oppression from outside (Towsend, 1999). This term was clearly used by James C. Scott (1985 and 1990) to demonstrate how poor peasants have resisted the oppression from land owners.

By using these forms of power, the study attempts to find out who takes advantages of government policies and translates them into power in order to impose their ideas and perceptions on the others, and to finally decide who has rights to access BVNP. The research also looks into how powerless actors use their knowledge and coalition in order to gain power and to resist the oppression from outsiders.

II.6. Principle-Agent Theory

The basic model of principle-agent theory concerns the interaction of two actors, the principal and the agent. In their normal relationship, the principal has superior power over the agent, and as a consequence the agent has to do in accordance to the principal’s commands and interests. In fact both principal and agent have their own interests. In many cases the interests of the two are not the same and the agent works in order to pursue its own interests, rather than to serve the principal’s interests (Ackere, 1993). The most important and contested point of the theory is how to get the agent to act in accordance with the interest of the principal (Awortwi, 2003).

In the reality, the principal always tries to develop conditions, regulations and enforcement mechanisms or incentive structures in order to make sure that the agent works for its interest. However, in many cases the agent works for its own interests. This is due to imperfect information, time and budget constrains, moral hazards and adverse selection problems, so that the principal can not monitor the work done in the reality by the agent. Moreover, in many circumstances, the agent is allowed to take actions based on available information, and its knowledge and experiences. In this case, the principal does not know whether the agent took the right action or not because of different knowledge and interests. Hence, even if the principal can observe the action of the agent, it may not know whether the action was appropriate (Stiglitz, 1998).

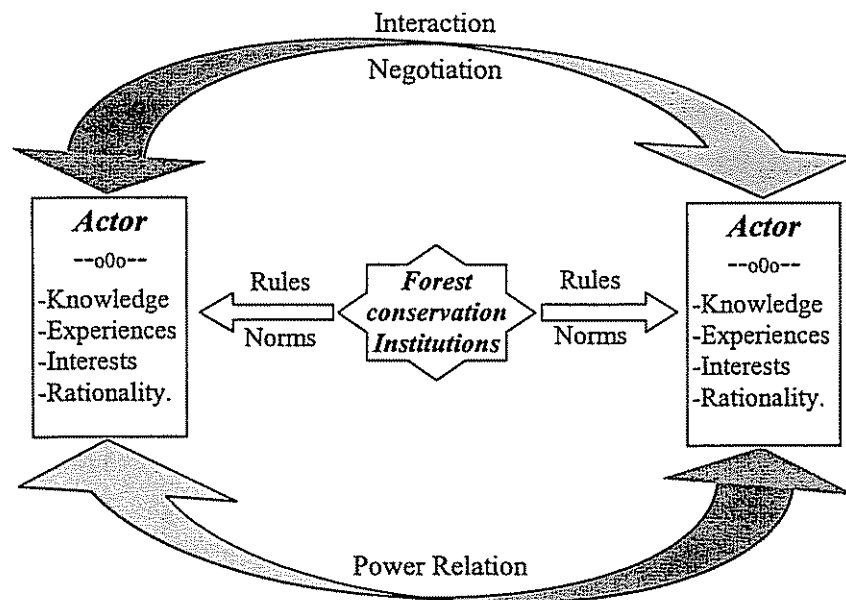
This paper uses the principal-agent theory to examine the process of implementing an ICDP and ecotourism. It investigates whether the park authority and Aovua Tourist

Company (ATC) worked in accordance to the original proposals which were approved by principal, the Ministry of Agricultural and Rural Development (MARD)? or if they were working based on their interests. If so, what were the results of these interventions?

II.7. Analytical Framework for BVNP

By elaborating theories and concepts described above, the analytical framework below helps to look at the process of the actor's interaction and negotiation in natural resource management in the ecological rehabilitation zone of BVNP. The framework is used to analyse and plan around a complex situation, and forms part of the negotiation procedure and conflict management between actors.

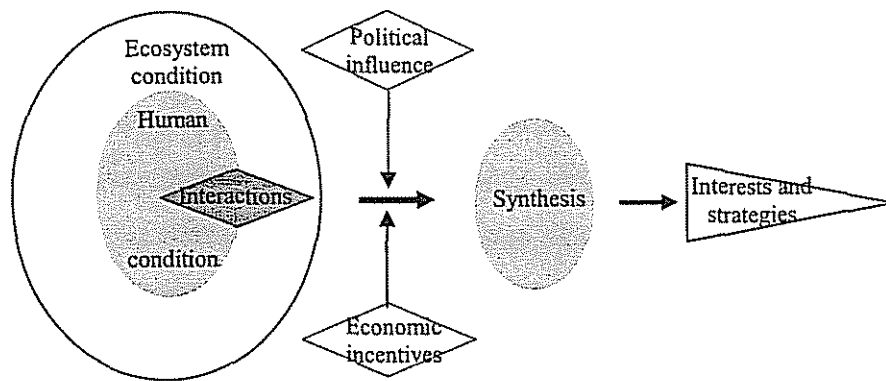
Diagram 2.1: Actor Network in Resource Management



Source: Author's synthesis

The framework uses two actors as an example to demonstrate their relationship when involved in the resource management of BVNP. In reality, there are many different actors involved in this process and the actors will be defined in chapter 4. In the first step, the framework uses the concept of social actor to understand the actor's perceptions in conservation and their interests when involved in resource management of BVNP. For the main actors this process followed the model below:

Diagram 2.2: Actor' Interaction with Nature and Its Strategy

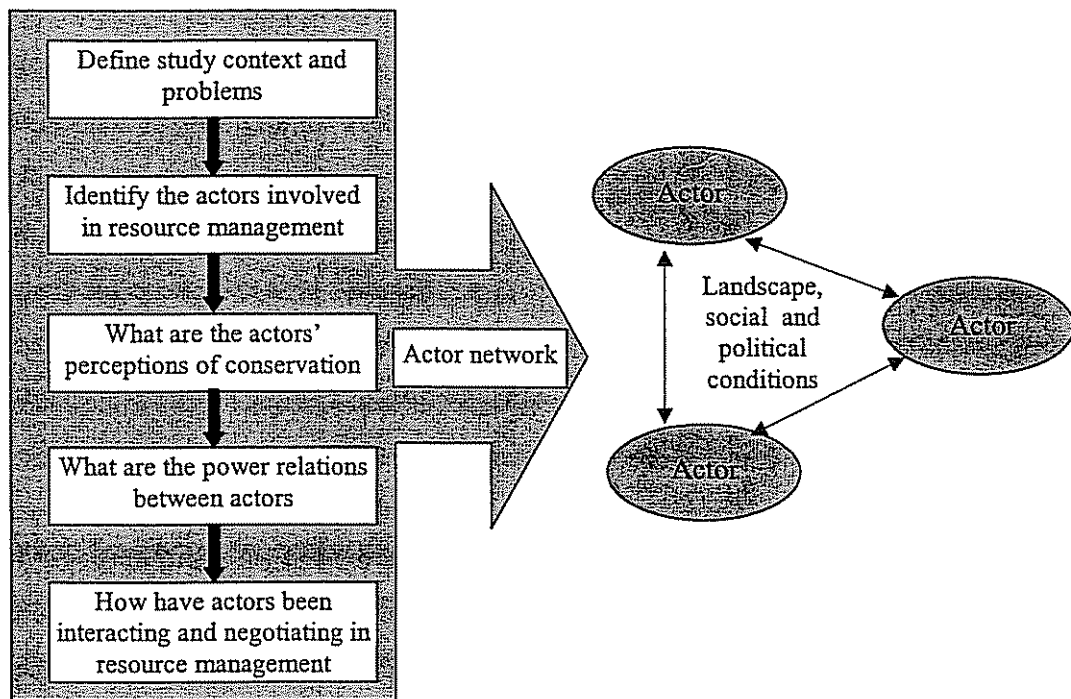


Source: Adapted from Trzyna (1995)

The model sees people (actor) and the ecosystem together as one system because the actors live inside Bavi Mountain. Perceptions in conservation and interests of actors are created by their background and daily interaction with ecosystem, but also shaped by economic incentives and political influences from the outside.

The framework in diagram 2.1 further helps to explore how government institutions have favoured or prevented actors from the process of managing BVNP. The theory of actor-network, institutional arrangement, power relation and principal-agent will be used in order to look at the process of interaction and negotiation between actors. It helps to identify who has taken advantage of government laws and policies regarding to the resources management of Pas. How have power relations between actors been exercised and ultimately shaped and changed the status of actor's participation in the interventions? In general, the study will follow five steps bellow:

Diagram 2.3: Steps to Study Actors Network in Resources Management



Source: Adapted from Sithole (2003)

The first step of “Define study context and problems” will be explored in chapter 3. Next three steps are followed in chapter 4. Chapter 5 investigates the process of the actors’ interaction and negotiation in the context of establishing BVNP, implementing ICDP and ecotourism.

Chapter three
INTRODUCTION TO CONSERVATION IN VIETNAM
AND BAVI NATIONAL PARK

Introduction

This chapter attempts to trace the history of conservation and establishment of PAs in Vietnam. It explores how the concept of conservation and the issue of local people's participation in management of PAs have changed since the first National Park was established in Cucphuong in 1962. What are the current problems facing the conservation of PAs in Vietnam? The chapter also presents background information of Bavi Mountain, the historical management of the Mountain, and the establishment of BVNP. The information in this chapter mainly collected from secondary data of the park and related government policies and documents on conservation.

III.1. Overview of Conservation in Vietnam

Historically, conservation policies in Vietnam can only be traced back to the early 1960s. It was strongly influenced by East-German forestry science and the personal influence of president Ho Chi Minh (McElwee, 2004). During the French colonial period, five areas were proposed to be nature reserves in 1941. However, the Japanese invasion wiped out these plans. In 1960, a special Vietnamese forestry delegation went to Germany to study forestry management and the idea of PA was brought back to the country as result of the trip. After that, Mr. Nguyen Tao⁶ published an article, "*Natural Conservation and Linkage to Forestry Protection*" and a book titled "*Active to Preserve Nature*" (Nguyen, 2001, p.121). At the same time, President Ho Chi Minh also stated that: "*Forests are gold. If we know how to conserve and use them well, they will be very precious*" (McElwee, 2004, p.6). These publications and statements played an important role in developing conservation policies in Vietnam.

The first PA in Vietnam was Cucphuong Forbidden Forest, established in 1962 under decision No 72/TTg of Prime Minister of Vietnam. Later it changed to Cucphuong National Park in 1966 under decision No 18/QDLN of General Forestry Department of Vietnam. Since the establishment of Cucphuong National Park, the number and areas of PAs in Vietnam has increased, especially between the periods 1995 to 2002. By 2002

⁶ Mr.Tao was the head of forestry general department

there were 25 National parks, 60 natural reserve areas and 37 cultural and historical sites had been established, covering about 7.3% of total area of Vietnam (FFI, 2002).

At the policy level, the concept of PAs was legitimately developed under the guideline of international conservation organisations such as IUCN and World Wild Fund for Nature (WWF). The Forest Protection Law in 1972 was the first government law to make provision for the establishment of PAs. Article 5 of this law stated that “*the Government will establish forest reserves aiming at protecting flora and fauna, historical and cultural sites, preserving public health, conducting scientific research and other special interests*”. The concept of PA then further developed in the Land Laws in 1993, 1998, 2001 and 2004, and the Forest Protection and Development Law in 1991 and 2004. According to these laws, forests are classified into three main categories; special use forest, protection forest and production forest. National parks, natural reserve areas, historical and cultural sites are classified as special use forest.

III.2. Local People and Conservation in Vietnam

Traditionally, most Vietnamese PAs had local people living inside the forest. After its establishment, the PAs faced with problem of growing human population within their boundaries and adjacent areas. Some key issues in the current debates include rights of residence and resource use in the PA and wildlife impacts on human life and crop damage (McElwee, undated).

When the first national park of Cucphuong was established, there were about 3000 people living inside the Park. These people were still allowed to stay under some restrictions such as being in fixed cultivation areas and to stop hunting. However, 20 years later, the forest in Cucphuong has continued to degrade (CUNRE, 1987). In 1986, the park authorities carried out an evaluation in order to find out new strategies for the conservation of the park.

In their comments, 12 out of 14 evaluators concluded that the park was being destroyed by 3000 people living inside the park and therefore they proposed to move them out of the forest (CUNRE, 1987). Based on these comments people were moved out of the Cucphuong national park and the conservation notion in Vietnam was also changed. Local people now viewed as threaten to conservation and forest management.

However, this conservation approach soon became problematic in terms of both conservation and livelihoods of displaced people. Despite restrictions on using resources in the PAs, people still continue to go to the forest for collecting products such as bamboo, rattan, herbal medicine and cultivating their crops. Conflicts between park authorities and local people have been increasing in many PAs such as Cucphuong and Bavi national parks (Asia Forest Network, 1995). At the national level, Vietnam is also under pressure from international organisations to accept the role of local people in forest management and conservation.

Recently, the conservation approach has gradually changed. In many national parks such as Catien and Cucphuong, people are now allowed to stay in the forest and contract with park authorities to protect the forest. ICDPs and ecotourism have been implemented in Bavi, Tamdao, Catba and Nahang national parks. Article 52 of 2004 Forest Protection and Development Law pointed out that *“it is compulsory to have a project proposal or plan to stabilize the local people’s livelihood in special use forest”*.

However, there is still a big gap between theory and action. The UNDP has flagged that *“participatory management involving people who live in or nearby PAs is a fairly recent concept in Vietnam and elsewhere in the region. There is little capacity within the government to handle this approach ... The government officials lack understanding, experience and willingness to cooperate across institutional boundaries; and are reluctant to work with communities”* (McElwee, p.9 quoted UNDP, 1997). The Deputy Minister of MARD also acknowledged that the effectiveness of conservation is still low because there is no consensus in planning and responsibilities overlap between different stakeholders (VnExpress, 2004).

III.3. Physical and Ecological Contexts of Bavi Mountain

The Bavi Mountain is located in Bavi district, Hatay province, approximately 60 kilometers Northwest of Hanoi, the capital of Vietnam. Mount Bavi has three peaks, the highest is Dinh Vua at 1,296 m. Except for the Da River on the western side of the Mount and Vua stream, other streams in the park are small and dry in the summer (Tran, undated).

Bavi Mountain is regarded as one of the richest flora ecosystems in Vietnam. In 1886, Balansa, a French botanist identified 5,000 species of flora around the Mountain. Over 400 species of wild and cultivated flora have been identified as being of particular use by humankind (Sowerwine and Dzung, 1999). Some rare and valuable plants are found in Bavi including Bachxanh, De and Lathoa, especially for the areas nearby three peaks of the mountain. Over time however, the overall number of species in the mountain has decreased, estimated species present in the mountain have fallen to 2,000 (Sowerwine and Dzung, 1999). The degradation of the forest was explained by a combination of over exploitation during French colonisation, state-owned forest enterprises and the traditional cultivation method of local people (Tran, undated).

III.4. People and Forest Management in Bavi

Bavi Mountain is surrounded by seven communes with a total population of 60,000, an estimated one-third of them are economically forest-dependent (Sowerwine and Dzung, 1999). The mountain provided a range of natural resources including fuel wood, fodder, timber, medicines and food for local people. There are three major ethnic groups living in the area, the Muong, the Kinh and the Dzao. The Muong are the original inhabitants, followed by the Kinh and the Dzao who migrated to the area in the early 20th century (Sowerwine and Dzung, 1999). In terms of ecological setting, the Dzao are settled on the forested sloping land of the Mountain, while the Muong and the Kinh are settled in the areas lower than 50 meters.

During the French colonial period, Bavi was one of the most important hill stations in the colonial administrative system. The mountain provided timber, fuel wood for French troops and was also a resort area for high commissioners in their administration. During the colonial period, more than 200 villas were built in the area of 400 meters (Tran, undated). People lived inside and around the forest, and were allowed to cultivate their crops on the mountain.

After the French rule, the mountain was managed by different cooperatives such as Tobacco, Yenson and Hopnhat. Local people were mobilized and forced to work in the cooperatives. Legally, people were banned from cultivating on their own sloped land. However, because of low income from cooperatives, people still illegally continued their cultivation illegally in the other parts of the mountain.

In the early 1970s, the cooperatives collapsed and Bavi Mountain was transferred to the management of Bavi State Forest Enterprise. Later on, Kanh Kina and Yenbai Youth forest enterprises were also established with the purpose of replanting the forests in Bavi Mountain. Since 1991 when BVNP established, people were not allowed to do any activities above 100 meter of the mountain.

III.5. Establishment of Bavi National Park, Roles and Functions

Bavi was selected as a national park for a number of reasons, including its rich biodiversity and was an important cultural heritage of the country. It also acts as a very important watershed for surrounding agricultural communities (Sowerwine and Dzung, 1999 and ICEM, 2003). The park was described as an “economic and scientific unit” with the fundamental responsibilities of (1) preserving the area’s natural ecosystem which is still primarily untouched; (2) replanting, restoring and protecting the forest, rare flora and fauna species, special forest products as well as the cultural historical sites; (3) formulating experimental research and basic science research with the aims to protect the nature and its environment; and (4) organising different science based activities, vocational education and study tour visits (Decisions 17/CT-1991 and 407/CT-1991 of Vietnamese government). By the time the park was established, some Dzaio families were still living in the ecological rehabilitation zone of the park. However, meeting the needs of these people and other surrounding local communities was not included in the park’s formal management goals.

Ecologically, the park is divided into 2 zones. The area above 400 meters is a strictly protected zone with total area of 2,140 hectares, which protects mostly primary natural resources, historical and cultural sites. The ecological rehabilitation zone is the area between 100 meters and 400 meters. This zone comprises an area of 5,000 hectares with the functions of restoring and developing forest, rare species, conducting forestry applied research, and reconstructing cultural and historical spots (Decision 17/CT-1991 of Vietnamese government).

The “buffer zone” of the park is the area of 7 communes. The purposes of buffer zone are (1) the sustainable social, economic development of local people; and (2) to support the conservation, management and protection of the resources in the park. The buffer zone is

managed by local authorities, however the social-economic development of the zone must co-ordinate with the planing, investment and development of the park.

In conclusion, historically, Vietnam and BVNP still adopt the conventional conservation approach, that is the exclusion of local people from resources management. Recently, there has been increasing argument for local people participation in conservation and development activities. However, a gap between theory and practice is still exists. It is still difficult to apply the concept in the reality because of poor understanding of implementators as well as overlapping responsibilities between different actors.

Chapter four

BACKGROUND OF ACTORS, THEIR POWER SOURCES AND PERCEPTIONS IN CONSERVATION

Introduction

This chapter explores the actors that involved in the management of BVNP, their backgrounds, perceptions of conservation and the government institutional support provided to them in managing the resources of the park. In order to do so, 30 interviews were conducted by the author and colleagues in 2003 and 12 more interviews were further done by colleagues in 2004. The interviewees included those who hold important positions in the organisations and community as well as junior staff and villagers in Yenson village. Government policies and documents related to management of BVNP were also studied in order to analyse institutional support and power sources of the actors.

IV.1. Actors Involved to Management of BVNP

The process of establishing and managing BVNP involved and was shaped by many different actors from international, national and local levels. From the international level, it is important to mention the IUCN and the WWF. These international bodies have strongly influenced conservation policies in Vietnam, and BVNP is one of the results. At the national level, MARD, the Department of Forest Protection, the Forestry University, the General Department of Tourism, and some NGOs who work in conservation issues are the main actors. At the local level, the actors also vary from the park Management Board, Tourist Company, local authorities and the communities.

However, due to limitations of the study in terms of time and scope, the actors studied in detail in this paper will be limited to those who are closely involved in the resource management of BVNP through ICDP and ecotourism. They are identified in the table below:

Table 4.1: Actors involved to resources management of BVNP

No	Actors	Interventions involved	Key persons interviewed
1	BVNP Management Board	-Conservation of national park -ICDP -Ecotourism	-Head of Forest Protection Department -staff
2	The Dzao community	-Conservation of national park -ICDP -Ecotourism	-Village leaders -Healers -Women
3	Aovua Tourist Company (ATC)	-Ecotourism	-Vice director -Staff
4	Towards Ethnic Women (TEW)	-Conservation of national park -ICDP	-Founder -Staff
5	Communal authorities	-Conservation of national park -ICDP -Ecotourism	-Chairman -Head of army-member of ICDP Board
6	Ministry of Agricultural and Rural Development (MARD)	-Conservation of national park -ICDP	-Reviewing secondary data

Source: From observations and interviews

The organisations, their relationship with others and individuals within actors are the main analysis units of the study. At the organizational level, the study focuses on reviewing secondary data in order to understand the backgrounds, structures and objectives of the organisations and how they work with each other in the interventions. At the individual level, the study focuses on primary data from interviews between different people in organisations and community.

Bavi National Park Management Board

BVNP was established under the framework of the Forest Protection and Development Law, 1991 version. According to this law, when established, each PA needs to have its own Management Board. All activities carried out in the PAs have to be authorized by the Board and must strictly follow the regulations of that particular PA. Decree 01/1995/ND-CP of Vietnamese government on contracting forest states that the Management Board of PAs can contract with individuals, households and organisations to protect forest of PAs. These legislations clearly point out that the Management Board of BVNP has full rights to decide on the activities allowed and the actors involved in managing the resources of the park. Only MARD, a direct manager of the park can interfere with activities inside the park.

The Dzao Community in Yenson village

The Dzao came to Bavi in early 1920s, and settled in the area above 600 meters of Bavi Mountain. Traditionally, they practiced rotational cultivation with a fallow period of 5 to 8 years. They also gathered non-timber forest products like mushrooms, bamboo, herbs and hunted animals occasionally. In 1963, following the government's "down hill" program, the Dzao finally settled in their current Yenson village which is located in the area from 50 to 120 meters of Bavi Mountain. The village now consists of 181 households with total of about 800 people.

The Dzao have a very special knowledge of herbal medicine. Historically, medicinal plants have been an integral part in both the Dzao health care system and their economy. According to the head of the medicinal association of Yenson village, the Dzao gather nearly 400 species of plants in the forest. A study done by a Vietnamese NGO on household income in 2002 has revealed that 25 percents of income of the Dzao comes from herbal medicine, and in general 77.1 percent of their income comes from resources of BVNP⁷ (CHESH, 2002). It is worth noting that gathering of plants is illegal because the Dzao are not allowed to go to the forest of BVNP.

As one of ethnic minority group, the Dzao have strong support from Vietnamese government policies. The country's constitution has clearly pointed out:

"The State of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is the unified State of all nationalities living together in the land of Vietnam....The State implements the policy of all-sided development and step by step improves the material and spiritual life of ethnic minorities"
(Article 5, Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam).

In forest management, according to the Forest Protection and Development Law and Decree 01/1995/ND-CP, the Dzao can have contract from BVNP Management Board for protecting forest inside the park. Obviously, the Dzao have enough conditions to be involved in forest management of BVNP.

Aovua Tourist Company (ATC)

ATC was established in 1988 as a stock company. The company is managed by the tourism department of Hatay province as well as by Bavi district. When established, the Company was given 19.5 hectares of land inside the park area for operating tourism. In

⁷ Including income from herbal medicine, bamboo shoots and gardening.

2000 it further contracted to BNVP 107 hectares to expand their business. The contracting was carried out under framework of Decree 01/1995/ND-CP of Vietnamese government, which regulates that “*organisations can contract with Management Board of PAs to be involved in forest development and tourism purposes*”. Last year, the company pays about 1.2 billion VND tax to local government. This is considered a big advantage to the company involved in the resource management of BVNP.

Towards Ethnic Women (TEW)

TEW is a Vietnamese Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) which was established under Decree of 35/1992/HDBT of the Vietnamese government⁸. According to its approved regulations, the organisation has the rights to carry out research and development activities in all regions of Vietnam in accordance with government policies and in cooperation with local authorities at different levels. The organization’s approach to community development is based on the Human Ecology perspective, which sees development as a process of balancing between human and ecological systems and respecting natural law (Existence, 2001).

TEW began its work in Bavi in early 1988, though at this time the BVNP was not yet established. TEW works in Bavi because: The case demonstrates an overall picture of Vietnamese government policies toward development of mountainous areas and ethnic minority communities; and Bavi is regarded as a “backyard”, and a “lung” of Hanoi capital (interviewed TEW’s founder, 2004).

Local authorities⁹

Geographically, BVNP is located in Bavi district, Hatay province and administratively managed by local authorities. In this sense, it is expected that the authorities have a big influence in decisions of the park Management Board. However, in Bavi, local authorities have limited power to interfere with the work of the park, because the park was established by the Prime Minister and was placed under the management of MARD, not the local authorities. In April 2002, Hatay province proposed to Prime Minister to transfer the direct management of BVNP from MARD to Hatay province. However, this proposal was not approved as it was explained that the park plays important role in preserving

⁸ This Decree regulates the establishment, roles, functions and responsibilities of private organisations.

⁹ Due to time limited, the study only focuses on the communal authority, which was involved to ICDP.

national genetic sources, therefore it had to be managed by a professional government organisation.

Ministry of Agricultural and Rural Development (MARD)¹⁰

According to the Decision of Prime Minister, MARD is the highest government body in the management of BVNP. All long-term conservation and development strategies of the park need to be approved by MARD.

However, because MARD is located in Hanoi, most of their supervisor's works regarding Bavi come through reports of the park authority. Therefore, the question is how much it can get involved in the resource management of BVNP?

IV.2. Actors and Their Perceptions in Conservation

Understanding actors' perceptions in conservation of the park and each others roles in management will shed light to the nature and dynamic of actors' interaction in BVNP. Although we tried to interview different categories of people in the organisations and the community, their views do not necessarily reflect the thinking of the whole organisations and community, since there is heterogeneity within them. However, because these people play important roles in the organisations and the community, their views strongly influence to decisions of these actors and are therefore a good reflection of the actors' opinions.

The term "perception" used here refers to the viewpoints or ideas of actors in conservation. The concept of "interest" is a bit different in comparison with "perception". It reflects the nature of actors' involvements in conservation because in many cases, actors do not act in accordance to what they think is right, but to their personal interests and political influence.

Bavi National Park Management Board

The head of Forestry Protection Department of BVNP is a forestry engineer and one of the most important people in hierarchy system of the park. He has a strong influence on the park's policies on forest protection and management. His tasks include everyday

¹⁰ We could not conduct interview with MARD's staff, who are in charge of the ICDP project in Bavi. Therefore, we could not explore their view in conservation.

interaction with local authorities and local people in setting up plans and regulations on forest management and on forest fire prevention.

Box 4.1. Head of Forestry Protection Department of BVNP

The Head of Forest Protection Department sees conservation as similar to forest protection, that is protecting trees and animals from human encroachment. He said that local people are the biggest threat to resources of BVNP. However, he acknowledges that it is difficult to protect the forest from human encroachment because local people have no alternative, and the staff of the park are not enough to stop them.

According to him local authorities play a very important role in forest protection, if the authorities are strong they will have enough instruments and regulations to stop local people encroaching the forest. In Bavi, he blames the weak institution of the local government in forest management of the park.

In his view, the ICDP and ecotourism have positively contributed to forest management of BVNP. Since having tourism companies and ICDP, pressures on forest have reduced because local people can find alternative activities to earn income and people's awareness of conservation has also increased. He knows that TEW has a project to help the Dzao, but he is not sure what exactly TEW is doing there.

Source: From interview

Clearly, the Head of Forestry Department of BVNP has a conventional conservation thinking, that local people are the main cause of deforestation. However, he acknowledges that local governmental regulations play an important role in stopping local people from encroaching on the forest.

The Dzao Community in Yenson village

We conducted interviews with different people in Yenson village, including villagers, village leaders, healers and women. One of them has a very good knowledge on gardening and building up slopping land cultivation as he was a member of the garden association of Bavi commune during 1980s. Since the establishment of BVNP, he has actively been involved in negotiation with other actors for rights of the Dzao community in managing BVNP.

Box 4.2: A villager in Yenson village

The man argues that conservation does not only mean protecting trees and animals, but also the rights of local people in resources management. He strongly supports local participation in the management of BVNP. He suggests that the area from 100 meters to 400 meters of the park should be allocated for local people. When people have land use rights, they will be responsible for forest protection.

He acknowledges that the resources of Bavi Mountain have been over-used by both community and outsiders. Therefore, it is necessary to protect them. He accepts the role of BVNP. However, he notes that local people also need to be involved in the resource management of the park.

He thinks that tourist Companies could not play a role in neither conservation nor in the development of local people. The company is only focused on making profit but not conservation and development of local people.

Source: From interview

This villager has a holistic view of forest management, which supports local people participation in forest management. His idea is also supported by other village leaders, elders and healers in our interviews. They said that their traditional cultivation method may not be suitable these days, but they can get involved in forest management by building agro-forestry gardens in the ecological rehabilitation zones of the park.

The Aovua Tourist Company (ATC)

Our interview took place with Vice director of the company because he is the one who works closely with the park authorities as well as local people in solving every day conflict between the company and the people.

Box 4.3: Vice director of ATC

The Vice director of ATC sees conservation as a process of protecting forest from people's intervention. He said that his company's work follows the ecotourism model, because tourists come to the place but do not cut down trees and destroy the forests. According to him, his company's role is to plant more and more trees, and keep forest green in order to attract tourists.

He thinks that local people cannot be involved in the management of tourism, as they do not have enough capacity to do so. He said that the involvement of local people could make the management work more complicated. However, he argues that his company has helped local people by giving them opportunities and priorities to participate in tourism such as by selling their products.

The Vice director satisfied with his company's contribution to the development of the area. He said that last year they paid 1.2 billion VND tax to the local government. He also reported that the company has spent hundreds of million VND to build schools, clinic and roads in the local area. The company also cooperates with the local authority to educate people on the importance of conservation and its relation to people's life. As a result, pressure from local people on the forest has reduced.

Source: From interview

The Vice director's idea of conservation is similar to that of the Head of Forestry Protection Department of BVNP; that is, forests need to be protected from human encroachment. However, this is contrary to what his company is doing at the moment, because each year there are about 200,000 tourists come to the area. Up to now, there has been no study done to identify the impact of tourists on the park's ecosystem.

Toward Ethnic Women (TEW)

The Founder of the organisation has more than 10 years of experience in working with the Dzaio people and in Bavi. It started when she first came to the area to doing her PhD thesis in 1989.

Box 4.4: Founder of TEW

According to TEW's founder, the PA's natural resources could not be well managed if the sustainable resource management (SRM) approach is not adopted. SRM is the process of using, managing, protecting and developing the ecosystem. Local people, with their knowledge and long history of interaction with nature could play important roles in SRM. She strongly supports local people participation in resource management.

The founder supports a system of coordination and management of BVNP. However, according to her, the authorities of BVNP are too weak to achieve the SRM and resource protection objectives. For ATC, she said that the company has made economic contributions through paying tax to the local government. However, ATC is a profit organisation so it could never help to conserve biodiversity of BVNP. She further pointed out that there is no clear policy and institution to support decentralisation and local people participation in management of BVNP. These include the local people's rights to decide and the right to benefit from actions that they involved.

Source: From interview

Like villagers in the Dzao community, TEW's founder also supports local people's participation in resource management. This idea is also supported by a forester who has been working in TEW for 6 years. He said that local people need institutional support from the government in order to integrate their traditional customary laws into government laws and policies in resources management. He further stressed that local people and government agencies need to be equal and work on the basis of the partnership principle in the process of managing BVNP.

Local authorities

The chairman of Bavi commune and head of communal army are both Dzao people come from Yenson village. They are members of Management Board of the ICDP which was implemented in Bavi Commune in 1999.

Box 4.5: Chairman of Bavi commune

The Chairman of the commune sees conservation as a process of getting local people involved in resource management of the park. According to him, local people could play an important role in the resource management of BVNP. From that point of view, he proposed to allocate the land and forest in the area from 100 to 400 meters of BVNP for local people.

He said that the ATC could protect the trees inside 127 hectares of their land because the company adopts strict exclusion strategy on this land. He said that the company worked to benefit its shareholders and pay tax to government. Local people did not benefit from it.

The Chairman also said that since having BVNP, the resources of Bavi Mountain are better managed. However, the park authority does not think about solutions for development of the local people. He acknowledges that at the moment there is a good relationship between the Park authorities and local authorities because ICDP is at its implementing process. But when the project finishes and if the land is not allocated to people, the conflict will increase because people have to find a way for survival.

Source: From interview

Communal authorities see necessary to get local people's participation in the resource management of BVNP. This view is similar with those of the villagers in Yenson village and TEW's staff. They want to integrate conservation and development activities in their yearly planning. However, it is difficult for them because they have no power over the works of ATC and BVNP.

IV.3. Heterogeneity of Actors

Many studies have pointed out that local communities are not homogeneous, but they are stratified by power, gender, age and wealth (Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997; Lieten, 1999). In this study heterogeneity does not only happen at community levels but also at organizational levels.

Community Heterogeneity of the Dzao

The heterogeneity in the Dzao community is complicated and needs to be measured by several parameters. It ranges from occupational heterogeneity, political heterogeneity to gender and kinship differentiation in the community.

The clearest heterogeneity in the Yenson village is the distinction between those who work in local government offices and the rest of the community. These local authorities are also Dzao but they are supported by political power from the government system. They are normally richer than other people in the community and have relationships with outsiders such as people in the BVNP and ATC.

In 1991, when BVNP was established, the land and forest was taken away and fenced off for conservation. The Dzao people started gathering and went to different government organisations to ask for their land use rights in the park area. In contrast, local authorities did not pay much attention to this. They did not want to participate because they were afraid to lose their positions in the government system and also because they already had other sources of income. Six of them (all were Dzao) had contracted with BVNP to protect more than 300 hectares of forest, which was originally land of the Dzao. With these contracts, each earned about 3 million VND per year. Villagers also reported that, besides that income, these authorities also received much more money under the table, which ATC and BVNP gave to them for their role in ICDP and tourism activities. "*They are really mafia in our community*", some villagers said in our interviews. This behaviour of local authorities points to the fact that at the beginning they were skeptical in the land allocation program for people.

The heterogeneity in the Dzao community is also evident among villagers themselves. When the ICDP was started in 1999, there was a dispute about what kind of trees that should be grown on the land. People who were knowledgeable and had high income from

selling herbal medicine preferred to keep a regenerated forest so that they can collect the herbs and sell it to outsiders. The families who have labour but do not have much knowledge in herbal medicine preferred to grow fruit trees such as longan and lychee. However, the families who had neither labour nor knowledge in herbal medicine preferred to grow bamboo, as they don't have to spend much time for taking care of the trees, but they can still collect bamboo shoots and sell them to the middleman, who come to their doors every day in the season.

Gender differentiation is another source of heterogeneity in the Dzaio community. In the village, women have better knowledge on herbal medicine than men. As women nowadays go out of the village to sell herbal medicine, they can keep the money from selling herb and decide what to do with this money. Their status in their families and community has been improved. That is why interviewed healers (women) preferred to keep forest for regeneration, so that they can collect herbal medicine. In contrast, all of the interviewed men preferred to use forest land for growing bamboo and fruit trees. These divergences of interests have contributed to the failure of land allocation activity in ICDP, which will be explored in chapter 5.

Heterogeneity in BVNP and ATC

Organisations are not cohesive entities, but groupings with their own internal dynamic as well as political influence from outside. In the case of BVNP and ATC, there is a divergence of understanding and action between people in different positions and between leaders and their staff. The Head of Forest Protection Department of BVNP has an extreme view of "island" PA, while an interviewed forest ranger had a different view. This man said that he has no idea about conservation and sustainable development. However, according to him local people have a long history of living inside the mountain; therefore they should be included in forest management system. He was also honest to say that what they are doing in the reality is much different with what has been written in the theory books¹¹. In many cases, they still allow people to go to the forest and collect forest products such as herbal medicine and bamboo shoots.

In ATC, the ideas of vice director were also in contradiction with a guard, who works for the company as a seasoning contract. The guard said that ATC's works benefit its

¹¹ As he thought that all the books recommended the exclusion of local people from forest management.

shareholders and pay tax to for the government. Local people and seasonal staff like him do not have benefit much from tourism. He said that even though the company regulation strictly excludes people from the forest but sometimes he still allows people to collect dry firewood in the area.

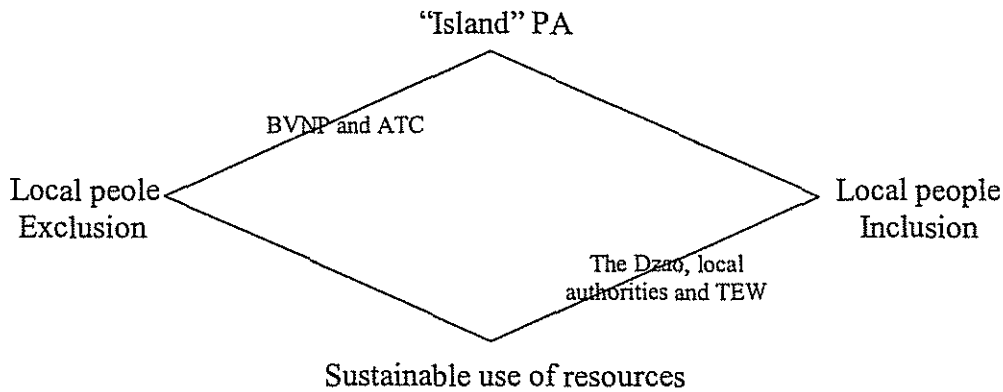
From discussion above, it is clear that both community and organisation are not homogeneous, but are stratified by different factors. Increasing heterogeneity inside groups makes inter-group relations more prevalent, some of groups' members are more involved in interventions while others are insulated from their relations. Hence, there is increased horizontal differentiation among the actors. The stratification of actors will further contribute to make it difficult for actors to arrange negotiation among themselves, and ultimately have an impact on the outcomes of intervention in managing the resources of BVNP. The issue will be further explored in next chapter.

IV.4. Divergence of Actors' Perceptions to Conservation and Development

The interpretations of conservation, participation of local people in conservation are different between actors. This divergence explains the polarised nature of negotiation in the resource management of BVNP. For BVNP Management Board and ATC, strict conservation and resources protection are the overriding objectives. They have a strong notion of excluding local people from conservation. Local people are even not allowed to collect firewood for their daily consumption in the park area. It is, however worth noting that since forest is renewable and regenerating, a certain amount of wood could be collected without damaging the sustainability of the system.

In contrary, the Dzao, local authorities and TEW strongly support local people's participation in forest management. They affirmed that is the only way that helps to protect resources of BVNP. They suggested that the ecological rehabilitation zone of BVNP should be allocated for local people to develop agro-forestry gardens. This model can still keep diversity of the park while helping to improve the life of local people, so that pressure to the forest will be reduced. The divergence of actors is demonstrated in the diagram below:

Diagram 4.1: Divergence of Actors' Perceptions in Conservation



Source: From author's analysis

The diagram shows that actors' perceptions in conservation are polarised into two opposite ways. One is people from BVNP and ATC and the other is people from the Dzao, local authorities, and NGO staff. This polarisation can be explained by the discourse of scientific knowledge versus local knowledge in resources management. People in BVNP, ATC and MARD are university graduates. Many of them (especially people from BVNP and MARD) would have the same forestry background. The forestry curriculum teaches that the PAs are only well protected when people are moved out of the forest. Therefore these government officials try to apply what they learnt from text books. They attempted to replace what is locally "traditional" and "backward" by what they called universally "scientific" and "modern" knowledge.

In contrast, local people like the Dzao look at forest conservation in different way. People have their own knowledge system, which derived from many years of experience and accumulated from generation to generation. For the Dzao, the forest is not only a means of providing food and medicine but is also the place to practice their rituals and beliefs. The Dzao organised ceremonies like "Chaudang", "Thuongdien", and "Hadien" to sacrifice the forest god every year. Obviously, they see forest as an integral part of their life and they are also a part of that system.

The roles of ATC and BVNP in contributing to conservation and development of local people have also been contested. Leaders from BVNP and ATC strongly affirmed that their organisations have made a big contribution to the development of the region and the local people in terms of infrastructural development and employment opportunities.

These views are rejected by the Dzao. People complained that most of the good places for making business in the tourism area were given to people from outside. A man told us that local people can only rent small and disadvantage places for selling their products but they also have to pay 1.2 million VND per year to the ATC for tax. Some villagers criticised ATC's works as based on the capitalist exploitation model¹² and strongly affirmed that the company did not give any priority to the local people. Most positions in ATC are given for Kinh people who come from the lowland and have a close relationship with members of the management board of the company. Only a few local people are employed to work as guards and cleaners based on seasoning contracts.

The vice director of ATC said that local people cannot be involved in management works, because he was influenced by the view that local people are "backward" and do not have enough capacity to do so. Some of the park authorities and staff of ATC expressed their prejudice towards the Dzao when saying that "*these ethnic people only know how to slash and burn, they are the forest destroyers*".

The Dzao and local authorities recognised that BVNP could potentially play a role in resource management. Some of them said that since the park was established, resources in Bavi are better managed. However, they also blamed that the park authorities for serving their own interests, not those of the local people. None of them recognised the role of ATC in conservation and local development. They affirmed that, the company's works serve their own benefit.

In summary, it is clear that there is a divergence between actors regarding their knowledge and perceptions about conservation and the role local people in forest management. This divergence is explained by different background of the actors and the discourse of scientific knowledge versus local knowledge. Further, it is explained by different views in looking the role of each other in forest management. While people in ATC and BVNP look at the Dzao, an ethnic minority as "backward" and having no capacity to be involved to management work; the Dzao, in contrast, look at these authorities as corrupt entities. The works of ATC and the forest management of the park have been for their own benefit, but they have been careless about livelihood of local people. Between the actors, there are not only different views towards conservation, but is

¹² It is worth noting that in Vietnamese society, this phrase indicates heavy exploitation of one group by

also potential conflict and discrimination between lowland minority and ethnic minority people. These divergences reveal the fact that, it is difficult to arrange dialogue between actors in the process of managing BVNP. The issue will be further discussed in chapter 5.

others. It is influenced by Marxist theories on society and classes.

Chapter five

ACTORS' INTERACTION AND NEGOTIATION IN MANAGING BAVI NATIONAL PARK

Introduction

This chapter investigates the process of actor's interaction and negotiation in the context of establishing BVNP, implementing ICDP and ecotourism. It examines how power relations between actors have been used in order to help actors gain positions and get benefit from the management of BVNP. Negotiation as used here refers to processes of dialogue or debate between actors for cooperation or exclusion.

V.1. Actors Entering the Game

The Dzao came to Bavi Mountain in early 1920s, and since 1963 they settle in their current Yenson village. In late 1980s, Bavi belonged to Hanoi city, when many Dzao people recall receiving help from the government as Hanoi could be proud to have an ethnic minority community living in the capital city. In 1986 a project of "*new economic development*" for the Dzao in Yenson village was approved with the purpose of improving their life. The project helped to build schools, clinic and road for the community. It also planned to allocate an area of 543 hectares below 400 meters of Bavi Mountain for the Dzao to carry out gardening. A villager said "*that was the golden age of the Dzao*". In 1990, Bavi district was transferred from Hanoi city to Hatay province, however the "*new economic development*" project was not passed over to the new management system. All project's activities were stopped whilst the land had not yet been allocated to the Dzao.

Parallel with implementing the new economic project, the Aovua Tourist Company (ATC) was also established in 1988 in order to help the Dzao quickly adapt to the market economy, creating jobs for local people and paying tax for the government. People in Yenson village still remember that at the first meeting between the district authorities, the ATC and the Dzao in February 1988, it was agreed that the Dzao would receive 5 percents benefit of ATC. 19.5 hectares of land in the village area were transferred to the company for doing business.

From 1989 to 1991, a "*regreening the hill*" project of International Food Organisation (PAM) was carried out in Bavi commune. People were contracted to plant trees such as

Acacia, Eucalyptus and *Crotalaria Striata*, a native tree in the area from 100 to 400 meters of Bavi Mountain. In exchange for their labour, they would receive rice as well as “green book certificates”¹³ which certify a 30 year contracting with Agricultural Department of Hatay province. According to this contract, people will have 80 percents of the products on the contracted land.

In 1991 the BVNP was established, and the area above 100 meters of Bavi Mountain now belong to the management of the park. All human activities in the park area are prohibited. The land allocation activity under the “*new economic development*” project was dropped and the “*green book certificates*” are no longer valid. From the total area of 543 hectares in 1986, the Dzao had only 35 hectares including residence and gardening land. The ATC has also not been paying 5 percents of their profit that was promised because this decision was not recorded in any official document.

V.2. Villagers’ Resistance

The above discussion has highlighted that, since the ATC and BNVP were established, the Dzao were gradually excluded from resource management in Bavi Mountain. This process has put the Dzao into a very difficult situation because lack of alternatives to secure their life. However, the Dzao are not passive in responding to the exclusion, and have tried to resist the imposition from outsiders by using varieties of models from the form of “*weapon of the weak*” to collective action and coalition with outsiders.

Despite the exclusion from the park authorities, the Dzao still go to the forest to collect firewood, herbal medicine and other forest products. A Dzao man told us that “*we are not afraid of forestry rangers because they are not many and we know Bavi Mountain better than them, so that we know where to go and not be caught*”. He also said that in order to avoid confrontation with forest rangers, people go to the forest in the early morning at 4 or 5 o’clock, and go back to their houses when the sun rise, at the time forest rangers wake up and start their work. Some Dzao people were caught and fined when they went to forest to collect herbal medicine, but they still go into the forest as the man said “*we have no way, we have to steal because we need to find the way to secure our life*”. People know that their actions are illegal and that they are like thieves, but they have no choice.

¹³ Because cover of the book is green. However, it helps to distinguish with red book which issue for land

In 1995 and 1996 the tension between park authorities and the Dzao was at the peak, some Dzao people described *“the conflict at this time was even more serious than French colonial period”*. The ways that people responded to the park also changed. On the one hand they threatened the park authorities by spreading the rumour that they could burn the forest if the park staff continued to stop them from collecting forest products, *“it needs only a small tinder in a windy day, all the park will become charcoal”* – said by a woman in the village. On the other hand the Dzao started to grow bamboo whenever they went to the forest and found an area that could grow them. After a while the forest rangers became tired of hunting people, sometimes they allow people to grow bamboo, collect firewood and herbs in the park area. A forest ranger told us that *“it is difficult to stop people from entering to the forest because that is their life. Even the regulation is strictly excluded people, but sometimes we still allow them to collect firewood and bamboo shoots in the park area”*.

Not acting alone, the Dzao also approached and called for the help from outsiders, the communal authorities and TEW. The issues of land use rights for people in the park and sharing benefit from tourism have been raised in many meetings between the local authorities and the Dzao. Under pressure, many times the communal authority went to the park to negotiate for accepting people to collect firewood and herbs in the park area. They also wrote to the district, province and MARD to ask for land allocation in the ecological rehabilitation zone of the park for the Dzao. However, it has not yet been accepted.

In early 1990s, TEW started to work in Yenson village. Meetings between the Dzao and TEW’s staff were organised in order to discuss how they could go forward with the land use rights issue. Both the Dzao and TEW recognised that the problem is complicated and under contemporary Vietnamese laws and policies, the park authority has the full right to exclude the Dzao from entering to the park. They agreed that in order to help the Dzao to gain access to BVNP, they needed to prove that the Dzao are able to protect forest as well as to raise their voices to higher government bodies, rather than stop at the park authority level.

rights from land allocation program.

In 1994, TEW started to help the Dzao to build biodiversity slopping gardens¹⁴. Seven households who lived near the ATC were chosen for the first initiative. The model used agro-forestry integration principles as the trees were planted following contours in order to prevent soil erosion. Native forest trees such as Cinamon and *Crotalaria Striata* were planted on the top of the hill, following down with fruit trees, fish pond and vegetables. Each garden also had an area for planting herbal medicine, so that women can pick herbs from their gardens. After four years, some gardens were successful and proved that it can be applied for the area from 100 to 400 meters of BVNP. A villager reported that since 2000, annual income of his family from the garden is about 15 million VND, while the forest cover is still being kept. Income from garden has helped the family to build a new house and buy a motorcycle. BVNP authorities also recognised the successful of the model. Many times they organised study tours for park's delegations to these gardens.

When the gardening model was successful the Dzao and TEW approached the BVNP and the Forestry Department of Hatay province with proposal that the park allocate land in the area from 100 to 400 meters of BVNP to the Dzao to expand the garden areas. In July 1998 an agreement of "*allocating land for the Dzao to build sloping cultivation gardens*" was signed between BVNP, the Forestry Department of Hatay province, the People's Committee of Bavi district, the Dzao and TEW. According to this agreement, TEW provided 100 million VND for carrying out land allocation program. The Forestry Department of Hatay province and Bavi district provided legal environment for the project, while BVNP and the Dzao were the main actors to implement project activities.

However after TEW transferred money to BVNP and the Forestry Department of Hatay province, the park authorities announced that the project needed to be approved from MARD is under which management the park is. They proposed to write a ICDP and submitted it to MARD. Some months later a new proposal was written by the park authorities, but the role of TEW as well as its funded project was not mention in this new proposal.

V.3. People Participation in ICDP – Just Another Slogan

The original objectives of ICDP were: to stabilize and improve living conditions of the Dzao in Bavi commune; and to permanently stop shifting cultivation, helping to maintain

¹⁴ There are some other activities such as training on agro-forestry, livestock and husbandry, study tour for

and develop forestry resources of BVNP in the context of national conservation strategy. The main activities included land use contracting to households, building agro-forestry gardens, and building infrastructures such as road and small dams to store water. The project proposed to use household as the main unit and working in partnership between the park Management Board, the communal authorities and the Dzao during project's implementation process (Bavi National Park, 1998).

In order to have approval for the project, the park authority asked the Dzao to bring the proposal and directly submitted to MARD. In the late 1998 and early 1999 the Dzao organised themselves in a group and went to MARD and Hatay province twice and finally the project was approved. Since then, TEW was totally excluded from project implementation process. The agreement on land allocation for the Dzao, which was signed in July 1998 and the money that TEW transferred to the park authority and the Forestry Department of Hatay province was also forgotten, there was no refund back for TEW. More seriously, after an investigation from Vietnamese government into TEW's projects in 2003, including Bavi, TEW was banned to work in Bavi without clear explanations from Government authorities and without a refund of the money that TEW has transferred to the park authorities before. Allegedly that the money has already been spent on land allocation activity, and there could be possibility that the park used two sources of money to do the same work, even though at the end of ICDP the Dzao also could not receive land use rights certificates.

In 1998, some Dzao families who lived bordering with ATC wrote a letter to province and central government asking for their rights to participate in conservation and sharing benefit from tourism. Later, the authorities labeled these people as "public perturbators". Recently, the issue of land, forest, conservation and minority people has become a growing controvertible problem in the highland of Vietnam. The issue of BNVP is therefore also became a bigger problem.

The Dzao hoped that when ICDP was implemented, they could receive contracting of 543 hectares of land in the park area. However, in late 1999, 107 hectares of good land near the Aovua stream was contracted to the ATC to expand their tourist activities. The remaining land was divided for 147 households out of total 181 households in the Village.

healers in order to help them to recognise the importance of maintaining herbal medicine knowledge.

34 households did not receive land because the land was divided in accordance to the area that people contracted to plant trees in PAM project in late 1980s. These landless households mostly are young households that recently separated from their parents. So land use conflict between the Dzao themselves was raised. Since the end of the project, people still have not received any legal document on these lands. The land dispute between the Dzao, ATC and BVNP as well as between villagers in the Dzao community has not been solved. The Dzao could not do any thing, but accept the fact that their land was given to ATC without any explanation and compensation. A man in Yenson village told us that, one day he asked the director of ATC *“how our land issue has been going?”*, the director answered him *“go up to ask Government!!!”*. Disappointed, the man told us that *“how can we know who is appropriate to ask? Our Dzao people are drifting in the policy river, we do not know what is going on, more than 120 hectares of our good land was taken away and given for ATC, we have no benefit from tourism”*. Overlapping government policies (between decision 407/CT of establishing the park and previous decision on land allocation for the Dzao) and lack of inheritance between different programs make the Dzao more confused and marginalized from resources management process.

The project proposal mentioned a strategy of working in partnership between the park staff, the communal authorities and the Dzao in implementing ICDP. In 1999, a Management Board of the project was setup. According to this, the director of BVNP was the Head of the Board and the Chairman of Bavi commune was the Deputy-head. Some communal staff also played a role of mobilising people during implementation of the project. However, in reality local authorities have no power to decide how the project should be carried out. They just did what the park authority told them to do. They reported that they did not know how the project was going and how much money has been spent in last 4 years. They guessed that the project only spent about a half of the approved budget. These authorities did not even know the project has finished, as *“there is no evaluation workshop yet”*. But according to technical chief of BVNP, the project finished in 2003 and they did not organise an evaluation because MARD did not require them to do.

V.4. Actors Negotiation: From Unequal Power Relation to Social Exclusion

The process described above has clearly pointed out that while the park authority and ATC are involved in resources management of BVNP, the Dzao, the local authorities and TEW have less power and privilege to participate. The questions raised here are: Why the park and ATC are favour in this process? Where are their powers come from? And Why the Dzao are excluded out of the process?

For BVNP authorities, as mentioned in chapter 4, their powers come from governmental policies and institutional support. The Forest Protection and Development Law, Decree 01/CP and Decision No.407/CT of Vietnamese government clearly give BVNP Management Board a great power in managing resources of Bavi Mountain. Article 47 of the Forest Protection and Development law regulated that all activities carried out in the PAs have to be authorized by the Management Board and must strictly follow the regulations of that particular PA. Clearly, the park Management Board has full rights to decide what activities to take and which actors are allowed to be involved in conservation and resources management of the park.

In a deeper sense, the power of BVNP originally comes from discourse of scientific knowledge vs. local knowledge. In Vietnam, the conventional conservation approach, which sees local people as “threat” to PAs is still widely applied in PA system. Ethnic minority people with their shifting cultivation are still regarded as the main causes of deforestation. Most of people who work in MARD and BVNP were graduated from the same forestry university, and their views are bounded by what called universal “scientific knowledge” that is exclusion of local people from conservation. Further more, the director of BVNP was a formal staff of MARD and having a good relationship with those who currently work in the Ministry, may explain why the proposal of the park was approved by the Ministry, even it though may be not effective. The lack of continuity between government policies and programs (between Hanoi authority project in 1986 and PAM project in 1989 and current park’s activities) has given the park authorities more power on deciding what to do in the park area, without regarding to what have done before.

ATC also has a big advantage to participate in forest management. Firstly, because the company pays tax for local government and therefore receives supports from local authorities at district and provincial levels. Secondly, they also receive direct support

from the park authorities. It is because the park authorities think that ATC does better work in conservation than the Dzao. The Head of Forest Protection Department of BVNP said that “*we contract to ATC for forest protection because tourists come to place just for enjoying nature, they do not cut the trees. If we contract forest to local people, it is not guarantee that people will protect the forest*”. He is afraid of that if the land and forest are contracted to people, they would go back to their traditional rotational cultivation, which is regarded as the main cause of deforestation. The park also afraid that the Dzao could sell land for outsiders if the land is allocated to them (existence, 2001). However, there is no guarantee that the ATC with “red stamp” in their hand can be more responsible than the Dzao community in resource management. A Dzao man surely affirmed that they would never sold their land and as only the park authorities sell their land to the ATC. Though Vietnamese government tries to unify and treat all ethnic groups equally. However, discrimination between majority and ethnic minority like the Dzao still happened in the reality and in the development activities.

Further more, the park authorities also believe that, contracting to ATC could be easier for them to manage the resources, because they need only one contract, with a “responsible” organisation. While if the forest is contracted to the Dzao, the park would need to do more than 180 single contracts. More paper work seems to be more difficult for the park authorities to manage and control “their forest”.

The issue is not only to stop at the park authority’s consideration that between ATC and the Dzao who could do better job on forest protection and conservation, but it is also regarding who can give them better economic benefit. A Dzao man told us that, the Dzao can not get contracts because the park authorities have no economic incentive from contracting with people. According to Vietnamese policies, if individuals or organisations contract to the park authority for forest management, they will get 50.000 VND per hectare per year. If the park sign contracts to the Dzao, they have to pay money for people. However, if they contract to ATC, the company will not take this money, they are willing give this money back to the park authorities. Therefore, the park authorities have more incentive to contract the land to the ATC than to the Dzao. Clearly, there is a personal and economic links between park authorities and ATC. However, park authorities could argue that they did not do wrong because according to Decree 01/CP on forest contracting, the park authorities have rights to contract to “*capable*” organisations

for forest management. In this case, they argue that the ATC is doing better job than the Dzao in forest conservation as explained above.

While actors have different perceptions and interests in conservation, the power relations between them play very important role in deciding who can be involved in resource management and who can get benefit from these interventions. In Bavi case, the conflicts between actors was based around intractable ideological differences; divergence of actor's perceptions, unequal power relations and poor coordination, communication between them. The interests and power sources of the actors are summarized in the table bellows:

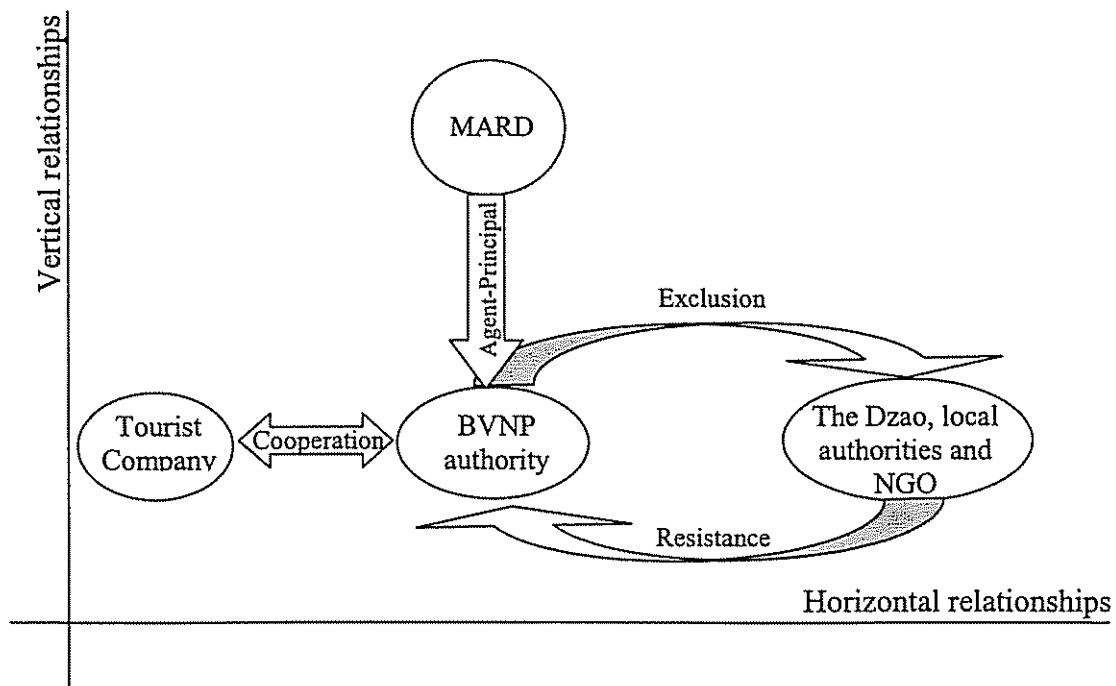
Table 5.1: Interest and power sources of the actors

No	Actors	Interests	Sources of power
1	BVNP Management Board	-Protecting trees and animal of the park.	-Administrative and legitimacy support -dominant ideology
2	The Dzao community	-Livelihood maintenance. -Use PA for income earning	-Limited power
3	Aovua tourist company	-Facilitating tourist to earn benefit	-Money to Lobby to government officers
4	Towards Ethnic Women (TEW)	-Advocate for local people rights in PAs -Social equity	-Knowledge to Lobby, but limited power
5	Communal authorities	-Livelihood security for local people -Tax from tourism	-Administrative power but less influential in BVNP
6	Ministry of Agricultural and Rural Development (MARD)	-Conserving biodiversity of BVNP. -Livelihood of the Dzao.	-Administrative and political power.

Source: From author's synthesis

Divergence of actors' perceptions in conservation together with different interests and unequal power relations of actors have revealed the fact that actors could not be able to sep up a sharing and cooperating relationship in order to negotiate and discuss on how best to manage resources of BVNP. In other way around, actors formed groups and coalitions, which have opposite ideas from each other. Powerful actors like BVNP authorities used their legitimate power to exclude powerless such as the Dzao from involving and sharing benefit of the park. Their power relationships are shown bellow:

Diagram 5.1: Power Relations between Actors in Bavi National Park



Source: From author's synthesis

From the diagram, it is clear that, actors involved in resource management of BVNP is divided into two groups. One is the BVNP authorities, the ATC and MARD, the other is the Dzaos, the local authorities and NGO. With lesser power and weak governmental support, the second group are excluded from resource management of the park.

MARD is the funding agency for ICDP, and its function is to supervise the implementation of the project. In fact, it is the only organisation that can effectively play an intermediary role to arrange the negotiation between actors and stop domination of the park Management Board and ATC over others. However, MARD faced a serious problem of principal-agent in its relationship with the park authorities. Lack of time, geographical distance, asymmetric information and bureaucracy in management system have prevented MARD from obtaining the real information from reality. During the 5 years of implementation of the project, MARD's staff came only twice to monitor the project. These trips were short and only worked with members of the project Management Board in their offices. Experts from MARD were only concerned on how many fruit trees have been planted and therefore how much money MARD had to transfer to the project's bank account (forest ranger, in personal communication). The Ministry depended too much on the information that the park authorities reported to them. The neglected and low responsibilities of MARD's staff have contributed to the domination of BVNP authorities

and ATC. Weak government' institutions in enabling the role of civil society as well as loose coordination between different development sources have further helped bureaucracies to exercise their power and taking benefit for themselves, and at the end results, the Dzaos are still excluded from resource management of BVNP.

Chapter six

UNEQUAL ACTORS IN CONSERVATION – CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to study the process of actors' interaction and negotiation in the context of establishing BVNP, implementing ICDP and ecotourism. The findings of the paper have pointed out that, ICDP and ecotourism are not the panacea to solve problems of conservation and local livelihood development. They could not guarantee the harmonisation of conservation objectives with social and economic needs of local people as Wells (1992) and Brown (2001) have believed. The outcomes of these interventions however depend very much on how the actors have been interacting and negotiating with each other during implementation. The process has greater influence over the outcomes that predetermined objectives.

The followings are summary of the main findings and discussions in the preceding chapters in relations to research question.

- Conservation approaches applied in BVNP have a long historical influence from Western conservation theories and perspectives. While PAs are seen as “islands”, people are viewed as “threats” to conservation and the existence of flora and fauna. International actors such as IUCN and WWF play an important role in orienting National conservation strategy in Vietnam. However, due to the lack of specific information on ecological, social and economic conditions of particular context, conservation is still far from reaching its objectives. The conflict between conservation and social-economic development of local people is still an unresolved problem. In Bavi, the establishment of the park only focused on flora and fauna protection, but neglected the livelihoods of the Dzao and other communities who have been living inside and using the forest resource for decades. Therefore, the process of establishing the park has put the Dzao into difficult situation because of lacking alternatives to secure their life.
- The conservation process of BVNP is complicated and could not be carried out by the park Management Board alone. It is influenced and shaped by different actors from international to local levels. Divergence of positions between actors in conservation, resource management and the role of local people in conservation leads actors adopting different strategies when involved in resource management of the park.

While the park authorities focused on strict protection of the ecosystem, the ATC focused on maximizing their profit from tourism, and local people, local authorities and NGO strongly supported people's participation in resources management of the park.

- The divergence of understanding among the actors could be explained by the discourse between universal "scientific knowledge" and "local knowledge" in conservation. Most staff of BVNP and MARD graduated from the Forestry University of Vietnam, where they learnt that local people and their traditional cultivation methods are the main causes of deforestation, and that they are incapable to be involved in forest conservation. The Dzao on the other hand, consider that the forest is essential to their life. The Bavi Mountain not only provides them food, housing and medicine but also is a place to sacrifice their spiritual beliefs. The Dzao have been living inside the Bavi Mountain for decades, and they have developed a strong relationship with the ecosystem of the mountain.
- The divergence also can be explained by the actors' attitudes in looking towards the role of each other in resources management. The park authorities and staff of MARD believe that ethnic minority like the Dzao are incapable to manage the forest. They are afraid that if the land and forest are contracted, the Dzao people would sell the land to outsiders. The park contracted to the ATC because they think that the company is capable and responsible in resource management, that tourists come to the place do not harm the nature of the park. In contrast, The Dzao look at these authorities as corrupt entities, using their work to serve their own benefit, and careless about local people and their life.
- The actors are not homogeneous and cohesive entities. Rather, they are stratified by power, gender, age and occupation. Heterogeneity occurs in the Dzao community as well as organisations like the BVNP and the ATC. In the Dzao community, dispute happened between those who work for government offices and the rest of the community. These authorities contracted with BVNP to protect forest to earn money and neglected the land rights issue for the community. The conflict has also happened between women who are knowledgeable on herbal medicine and preferred to preserve forest for collecting the herbs and men who are interested in using forest land for

planting fruit trees and bamboo. In the BVNP and the ATC, heterogeneity occurred between high ranking people in the organisations and staff. While people at the top of the organisations have an extreme view of exclusion of local people in conservation, some staff recognise that forest is the life of people, and therefore sometimes allowed people to collect forest products inside the park.

- There is an unequal governmental supports for actors. Government institutions have favored some actors, while neglected benefit of the others. In Bavi, when the government decided to establish the park, the issue of sustaining local people's livelihoods was not taken into consideration. Previous government programs such as "*new economic development*" and "*regreening the hill*" projects were not continued after the park established. Government policies have given the park authorities full rights to decide who could be involved in resource management of the park. The ATC was also paid a favour for doing their business in the park area as they pay tax for government and have good relationships with the park authorities. But the Dzao, a local community who have been living in Bavi for decades were not taken into consideration.
- The ICDP which started to be implemented in 1999 considered local participation in conservation through contracting land and helping people to build agro-forestry model in the ecological zone of the park. However, in reality land has not been completely allocated to people. Local authorities, NGO were also excluded from the project management process. MARD, a direct manager of BVNP and the ICDP did not pay enough attention to monitoring the project's process. The Ministry depended too much on information reported by park authorities. These information however have not always reflected what happened in the reality. While the ICDP faced a lot of problems such as unsolved land use conflict between the park, the people and between people themselves, the park authorities still reported to MARD that the project harvested a good results and that local people were happy with the project.
- Excluding TEW from resources management in BVNP has demonstrated that the Vietnamese government still keeps strong control over the work at the grassroots level. Weak government institutions in enabling the role of civil society as well as the loose coordination between different development sources have helped bureaucracies

such as BVNP authorities to exercise their power and to take benefit for themselves. There is still not much spaces for dialogue and debate between government agencies and civil society in conservation issue.

- The combination of the above factors explains why the actors could not establish a network of sharing and cooperating in resource management of BVNP and the conflict over resource use and management between actors in BVNP has not been solved. Clearly, unequal power between actors has advantage for powerful actors such as BVNP authorities and ATC to exercise their power and get benefit for themselves. Local people like the Dzao still find it difficult to participate and share benefits from conservation and ecotourism, despite claim that local people would benefit. The outcomes of interventions depend very much on how actors have been interacting and negotiating in the intervention processes.
- Finally, despite the powerless position the exclusion from the park authorities, the Dzao were not passive but they have always tried to find ways to respond to these influences. These strategies have helped the Dzao to remain in the process of finding alternatives to get involve in resource management of BVNP.

The paper has made a contribution to analyse management of PA through the case of BVNP in Vietnam. Significantly, it has contributed to on going debate the issue of local people participation in conservation and the effectiveness of ICDP and ecotourism. Unlike some authors such as Wells (1992) and Brown (2001) who have concluded that ICDP and ecotourism bring to better conservation and development of local people. The Bavi case has clearly pointed out that, these interventions are not panacea in solving problems of conservation and livelihood development of local people. But, the outcomes of these interventions depend very much on how the grassroots actors have been interacting and negotiating in forest management process. Dynamic of the actors' interaction process has strong influence to the outcome of the interventions and could be much more different with predetermine designs and objectives. The recommendations for better conservations are not simply as increased availability of financial, technical assistance and establishment of new institutions to support conservation or just calling a slogan of local people participation in conservation (Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997), but we

need to pay more attention to the dynamic of actors' interaction and negotiation in resource management process and its influence to the outcome of conservation.

Due to limitation of time, the actors from international level such as IUCN, WWF and national levels such as the Ministry of Resources and Environment, and the University of Forestry have not been included in the analysis of this study. It is important to note that, these international and national bodies play an important role in orienting conservation policies in Vietnam and therefore to BVNP in particular. The future research should be expanded to study these actors in order to understand broader picture of conservation issue in Vietnam. A comparative study between different PAs also should be further carried out in order to compare how the same conservation framework of Vietnam was implemented in different PAs. These studies could be further illustrated the significant of actors' interaction and negotiation and their influence to the outcome of conservation.

In reality the dynamics of power relations between grassroots actors could be more complicated. In Vietnamese society, the invisible and informal relationships between actors play an important role in helping actors to gain power and then influence to policies and decision making process. Though the paper has touched some aspects of the issue such the BVNP authorities contracted land to ATC because they have more economic incentive, however, due to limitation of time, it could not able to dig deeper in this issue. The future research should pay more attention to this grassroots' dynamic. The question of why BVNP and ATC have much more powers in comparing to the Dzao, the local authorities and TEW should be further investigated in following of that light. Accumulation of these factors would contribute to bring better policy formulation and implementation in conservation, ICDP and ecotourism in Vietnam.

References:

1. Awortwi, N (2003). *Getting the Fundamentals Wrong: Governance of Multiple Modalities of Basic Services Delivery in Three Ghanaian Cities*. Doctoral thesis submitted to the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands
2. Asia Forest Network (1995). *Transition in Forest Management: Shifting Community Forestry From Project to Process*. Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Asia Forest Network. Oriental Mindoro, The Philippine.
http://www.communityforestryinternational.org/publications/research_reports/transitions_in_fm/. Accessed on 20/8/2004.
3. Barbier, E. et.al (1995). *Paradise lost? The Ecological Economics of Biodiversity*. Earthscan Publication Ltd, London.
4. Bavi National Park (1998). *Project proposal on: Building Agro-forestry model to stabilize the living condition of the Dzao in Bavi commune, Bavi district, Hatay province*. Hatay, Vietnam. (In Vietnamese).
5. Bengtsson, B (1979). Rural Development Research – the Role of Power Relations. Presented in *the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development*. Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Development Countries.
6. Berner, E (1998). *Social structure and human agency: An introduction (a basic text for INT 101 study course)*. Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.
7. Berkes, F (ed) (1989). *Common Property Resources: Ecology and community-based sustainable development*. Belhaven Press-A division of Printer Publishers, London.
8. Berkes, F and Folke, K (ed) (1998). *Linking Social and Ecological Systems: Management Practices and Social Mechanism for Building Resilience*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
9. Blau, P, M (1977). *Inequality and Heterogeneity: A Primitive Theory of Social Structure*. The Free Press – A Division of Macmillan Publishing Co, New York.
10. Blomley, T (2003). “Natural Resource Conflict Management: The Case of Bwindi Impenetrable and Mgahinga Gorilla National Parks, Southwestern Uganda” in *Natural Resource Conflict Management Case Studies: An Analysis of Power, Participation and Protected Areas*. FAO, Rome, Italy.
11. Boggs, L, P (2000). *Community Power, Participation, Conflict and Development Choice: Community Wildlife Conservation in the Okavango Region of Northern Botswana*. Discussion Paper No.17. International Institute for Environment and Development, UK.
12. Brown, K (2002). “Innovations for Conservation and Development”, *The Geographical Journal*, 168 (1): 6-17.
13. Buckles, D (ed) (1999). *Cultivating peace – conflict and collaboration in Natural Resource Management*. International Research Center, Ottawa, Canada.
14. Budowski, G (1976). *Tourism and Environmental Conservation: Conflict, Coexistence or Symbiosis? Environmental Conservation*. Journal of Travel Research, University of Colorado, Boulder.
15. Carruthers, J (1997). Nationhood and national parks: comparative examples from the post - imperial experience. In Griffiths, T. and Robin, L (eds). *Ecology and Empire: Environmental History of Settler Societies*. Melbourne. Australia.

16. Castro, P. Nielsen, E (ed) (2003). *Natural Resource Conflict Management Case Studies: An Analysis of Power, Participation and Protected Areas*. FAO, Rome.
17. Carter, E and Lowman, G (ed) (1994). *Ecotourism: A Sustainable Option?* John Wiley & Sons Ltd. Chichester, England.
18. CEMMA (Committee for Ethnic Minorities and Mountainous Areas). *Ethnic Minority People in Vietnam*. Hanoi. (In Vietnamese).
<http://www.undp.org.vn/projects/vie96010/index.htm>. Accessed on 26/8/2004
19. CHESH (2002). *Lessons of the Dzao and Bavi*. Unpublished research document of Center for Human Ecology Studies of Highlands, Hanoi.
20. CHESH (2002). *Minute from Workshop: Identifying major events in history of the Dzao and Bavi Mountain through different periods*. Tamdao town, Vietnam. (In Vietnamese).
21. CUNRE - Committee for Rational Utilisation of Natural Resources and Environmental Protection (1987). *Vietnam National Conservation strategy*. Hanoi.
22. Elliott, J, A (1996). *An Introduction to Sustainable Development* (second edition). Routledge, London, New York.
23. Enters, T and Anderson, J (1994). "Rethinking the Decentralization and Devolution of Biodiversity Conservation", *Unasylva* (FAO), 50 (199).
24. Existence (2001). *Van hoa, Sinh thai, va phat trien cong dong (culture, ecology and community development)*. a News letter of CHESH. Nha xuất bản văn hóa dân tộc (ethnicity cultural publish house), Hanoi. (In Vietnamese).
25. FAO (2000). *Conflict and Natural Resource Management*. FAO publication, Rome.
http://www.mekonginfo.org/mrc_en/doclib.nsf/fbc9e65bd04ce696c72566170044aafa/bcc14fce00762b0747256e5100243113?OpenDocument
Accessed on: 20/9/2004
26. FFI (2003). *2002 yearly report of Flora and Founa International – Vietnam office*. Hanoi.
27. Forsyth, T (2003). *Critical Political Ecology: The politics of Environmental Science*. Routledge, London and New York.
28. France, L (ed) (1997). *The Earthscan Reader in Sustainable Tourism*. Earthscan Publications Ltd. United Kingdom.
29. General Statistical Office (2002). *Statistical Year Book*. Hanoi: Statistical Publishing House. Vietnam.
30. Ghimire, K.B; and Pimbert, M.P. (eds) (1997). *Social Change and Conservation: environmental Politics and Impacts of National Parks and Protected Areas*, Earthscan Publications, London, UK.
31. Gilmour, D. A. and Nguyen Van San (1999). *Buffer zone management in Vietnam*. Hanoi: IUCN Vietnam.
32. Government of Vietnam. *The Decision No. 08/2001/QĐ-TTg, The Decision No 72/1962/TTg and the Decision No 18/1966/QĐLN* (In Vietnamese).
33. Government of Vietnam (1991). *Decision No. 17/CT: Decision of the Chairman of The Council of Ministers on the Establishment and Approval of the Research on Economics and Science of Bavi Natural Reserve*. Hanoi (In Vietnamese)

34. Government of Vietnam (1991). *Decision No.407/CT: Decision of the Chairman of The Council of Ministers on the Upgrading of Bavi National Park*. Hanoi (In Vietnamese).
35. Government of Vietnam (2003). *Management Strategy for A Protected Area System in Vietnam to 2010*. Hanoi. (In Vietnamese).
36. Grimble, R and Wellard, K. (1996). *Stakeholder methodologies in natural resource management: a review of principle, context, experiences and opportunities*. London.
37. Ha, Thuc Vien (2002). "*Changes in Local People's livelihood Strategies as an Adaptation to Land Tenure Policies: A Case Study of a Buffer Zone Community in Cat Tien National Park in Vietnam*". MA thesis submitted to RCSD, Chiangmai University.
38. ICEM (2003). *Vietnam National report on Protected areas and Development* . Indooroopilly, Queensland, Australia.
<http://www.mekong-protected-areas.org/vietnam/docs/vietnam-pad.pdf>
Accessed on 23 July, 2004.
39. IUCN (1994). *Protecting Nature Regional Reviews of Protected Areas*. Published by IUCN, Switzerland and Cambridge, UK.
40. Law, J and Hassard, J (1999). *Actor Network Theory and After*. Blackwell Publishers. Oxford.
41. Leu, Van Trong (2002). *Dzao people in Yenson, Bavi commune, Hatay province: Emergence issues need to be solved*. Paper presented at the National Workshop on Approach to Sustainable Mountainous Resource Management at village level. Hanoi. (In Vietnamese).
42. Le, Thi Van Hue (2004). *Coastal Resource Use and Management in a Village of Northern Vietnam*. Doctoral thesis submitted to Insititute of Social Studies, The Hague.
43. Lieten, G, K and Srivastava, R (1999). *Unequal Partners: Power Relations, Devolution and Development in Uttar Pradesh*. Sage Publications. New Delhi, Thousand Oaks, London.
44. Long, N. Long, A (ed) (1992). *Battlefields of Knowledge – The Interlocking of Theory and Practice in Social Research and Development*. Routledge, London and NewYork.
45. Long, N (2001). *Development sociology: Actor perspectives*. Routledge publication. London and New York.
46. Mahanty, S (2000). *Actors in Paradise: Negotiating Actors, Landscape and Institutions in the Nagarahole Ecodevelopment Project, India – Doctoral thesis*, The Australian National University, Canberra.
47. McElwee, P (no date) *Parks or People: Exploring Alternative Explanations for Protected Areas Development in Vietnam*.
<http://research.yale.edu/CCR/environment/papers/mcelwee.pdf>
accessed on 20 July, 2004
48. McIvor, C (1997). "Management of Wildlife, Tourism and Local Communities in Zimbabwe". In Ghimire and Pimbert (eds) *Social Change and Conservation: Environmental Politics and Impacts of National Parks and Protected Areas*.

Earthscan Publications Limited.

49. Mehta, L (2001). *The Manufacture of Popular Perceptions of Scarcity: Dam and Water Related Narrative in Gujarat, India*. World Development Vol.29, No.12, pp. 2025- 2041, Elsevier Science Ltd.
50. Mowforth, M and Munt, I (1998). *Tourism and Sustainability: New Tourism in the Third World*. Routledge. London and New York.
51. National Assembly of Vietnam. *Land Laws in 1993, 1998, 2001, 2004 and Forest Protection and Development Law in 1991*.
52. Ngo, Duy Bach (2003). *Benefit sharing of Ecotourism in development and conservation of tourism resources in three National park: Tamdao, Catba and Cucphuong*. MA thesis submitted to Hanoi National University. (In Vietnamese).
53. Nguyen, Manh Cuong (2004). *Does Ownership Matter to Enterprise Performance? A comparative Study of Private and State Enterprises in Vietnam's Textile-Garment Industry* – Doctoral thesis submitted to the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands.
54. Nguyen, Van Dang (2001). *Vietnamese forestry 1945-2000: The Development Process and lesson Learned*. The Agricultural Publish House), Ha Noi. (In Vietnamese).
55. Pardeshi, P (1996). “Conserving Maharastra’s Biodiversity through Ecodevelopment” in Kothari, A; Singh, N and Suri, S (eds). *People and Protected Areas: Towards Participatory Conservation in India*. Sage Publications, New Delhi, Thousand Oaks and London.
56. Peluso, N,L (1993). *Global Environmental Change – Human and Policy Dimensions*. Vol. 3, No.2.
57. Perrings, C,A and others (ed) (1995). *Biodiversity Conservation: Problems and Policies*. Kluwer Academic Publishers. Dordrecht; Boston and London.
58. Redelift, M (1989). *Sustainable Development: Exploring the Contradictions*. Routledge Publisher, London and New York.
59. Rolling, N; Wagemaker, M (ed) (1998). *Facilitating Sustainable Agriculture: Participatory Learning and Adaptive Management in Times of Environmental*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge, UK.
60. Rowlands, J (1995). *Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras*. Oxford. Oxfam Publications.
61. Sano, A (2000). *Social Actors in The Global Market: Socio-Economic Impacts of Shrimp Aquaculture in South Sulawesi, Indonesia*. Working Paper Series No.316. Institute of Social Studies (ISS), The Hague.
62. Scott, J, C (1985). *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. Yale University Press, New Haven.
63. Scott, J, C (1990). *Domination and The Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. Yale University Press, Hew Haven and London.
64. Sithole, B (2003). Making Sense of Micro-Politics in Multiple Stakeholder Groups: A Participatory Method Guide for Researchers and Development Practitioners. http://www.mekonginfo.org/mrc_en/doclib.nsf/fbc9e65bd04ce696c72566170044aafa/d898083ee3fa539947256d65002f4ab0?OpenDocument

Accessed on: 1/9/2004

65. Shah, A (1995). *The Economics of Third World National Parks – Issue of Tourism and Environmental management*. Ipswich Book Co.Ltd. Ipswich, Suffolk.
66. Stiglitz, J, E (1998). Principal and Agent in Eatwell, J., Milgate, M. and Newman, P. (eds.). *The New Palgrave: A Dictionary of Economics*, Macmillan. London.
67. Stolton, S. Dudley.N (ed) (1999). *Partnerships for Protection – New Strategies for Planning and Management for Protected Areas*. Earthscan publication Ltd, London.
68. Tisdell, C (1999). *Biodiversity, Conservation and Sustainable development: Principles and Practices with Asian Examples*. Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc. Massachusetts.
69. Townsend, J and others (1999). *Women and Power: Fighting Patriarchies and Poverty*. Zed Books Ltd. Londond – New York.
70. Tran, Minh Tuan (undated). *Introduction to Bavi National Park*. Hatay, Vietnam. (In Vietnamese).
71. Trzyna, T, C (Ed) (1995). *A Sustainable World: Defining and Measuring Sustainable Development*. Earthscan Publication Ltd, published for IUCN. California.
72. United Nations Development Programme (1997). *Creating Protected Areas for Resource Conservation Using Landscape Ecology*. Hanoi: UNDP.
73. Upreti, B (2001). *Conflict management in Natural Resources – A study of Land, Water and Forest Conflicts in Nepal*; University of Wageningen.
74. VnExpress (2004). *Promulgation of Management Strategy for A Protected Area System in Vietnam to 2010*. Hanoi.
www.vnexpress.net/Vietnam/Khoa-hoc/2004/05/3B9D2912/?q=1.
Accessed on: 14/5/2004.
75. Zingerli, C and others (2002). *Contesting policies: Rural Development versus Biodiversity Conservation in the Babe National Park area, Vietnam*.
http://www.mekonginfo.org/mrc_en/doclib.nsf/fbc9e65bd04ce696c72566170044aafa/f3b909111fab1fc547256e32001273f1?OpenDocument
Accessed on: 20/8/2004
76. Weaver, D,B (1998). *Ecotourism in the Less Developed World*. Cab International, Biddles Ltd, Guildford.
77. Wells, M (1992). *Biodiversity Conservation, Affluence and Poverty: Mismatched Cost and Benefits and Efforts to Remedy them*. Ambio.
78. West, C.P. and Brechin S.R. (eds.) (1991). *Resident Peoples and National Parks: Social Dilemmas and Strategies in International Conservation*. University of Arizona Press.
79. Wilson, K; Morren, G.E.B (1990). *Systems Approaches for Improvement in Agriculture and Resource Management*. Macmillan Publishing, New York.
80. Wood, A. et.al, (eds.) (2000). *Danube River Basin: Wetlands and Floodplain in The root causes of biodiversity loss*. Earthscan publication Ltd, London.
81. Worah, S (2000). *International History of Integrated Conservation and Development Project*, Proceedings of Integrated Conservation and Development Project Lessons Learned Workshop, June 12-13, UNDP, Hanoi, Vietnam.

