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A host society's perception of changes in its young peoples' cultural identity due to
tourism:

A case study in Bagan, Myanmar

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Acknowledgements	4
Abstract	5
1. Introduction	6
2. Aim and research questions	7
3. Relevance to global studies	8
4. Delimitation	9
5. Theoretical approach	10
5.1. Cultural identity	10
5.1.1. <i>(Cultural) identity in post-conflict societies</i>	12
5.1.2. <i>(Cultural) identity in young people</i>	13
5.2. Tourism development.....	14
5.2.1. <i>Perceptions of tourism's impacts in host societies</i>	15
5.2.2. <i>Tourism development in post-conflict societies</i>	16
5.3. Cultural identity and tourism development.....	17
5.3.1. <i>Tourism's ways of influencing cultural identity</i>	17
5.3.2. <i>Tourism's influence on cultural identity</i>	18
6. The Burma/Myanmar Case	21
6.1. The country	21
6.2. (Cultural) identity in Burma/Myanmar	23
6.3. Tourism in Burma/Myanmar	25
6.4. The study region: Bagan	26
7. Methodology	27
7.1. Research strategy	27
7.2. Data collection.....	28
7.2.1. <i>Sampling</i>	28
7.2.2. <i>Observations</i>	28
7.2.3. <i>Semi-structured interviews</i>	29
7.2.4. <i>Interview situation and interviewees</i>	29
7.3. Data analysis	31
7.4. Methodological concerns.....	31
8. Results	32
8.1. Specific areas of tourism's influence on young peoples' cultural identity	33
8.1.1. <i>Style of dressing</i>	33
8.1.2. <i>Taste of food</i>	35
8.1.3. <i>Consumption of alcohol and cigarettes</i>	35
8.1.4. <i>Use of Internet/Facebook</i>	37
8.1.5. <i>Taste in films and music</i>	37
8.1.6. <i>Freetime activities</i>	38
8.1.7. <i>Use of Thanaka/Make-Up</i>	39
8.1.8. <i>Consumption of betelnut</i>	40
8.1.9. <i>Importance of education</i>	40
8.1.10. <i>Attitudes towards relationships/marriage</i>	41
8.1.11. <i>Importance of religion</i>	43
8.1.12. <i>Prevalent values</i>	44
8.1.13. <i>Importance of money</i>	45
8.2. General tendencies/connections	45
9. Discussion	48

10. Conclusion..... 55
11. References..... 58
12. Appendix..... 69

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Abstract

After the democratising steps following the 2010 election, Myanmar has evolved from a highly isolated country to an emerging tourist destination. As tourism's impacts are more extreme in previously isolated countries, severe influences of tourism – both positive and negative - on the local population were expected. This paper evaluates how the population of Bagan, the most frequented tourist destination in Myanmar, perceives the changes in their young peoples' cultural identity due to tourism.

How the local population makes sense of these changes has been captured through twenty semi-structured interviews with adolescents and adults as well as observations in the field. It has been found that the population generally has a positive view of the effects of tourism that might emerge from the country's post-conflict status. Tourism is being embraced as a sign of opening-up and negative influences are being neglected. Interviewees described both direct and indirect changes on young peoples' cultural identity due to tourism, wherein globalisation is often described as Koreanisation, instead of Westernisation. Various signs of glocalisation, such as the fusion of dressing and make-up styles, support the standing that global and local transfuse. Even though culture is increasingly commodified it has not yet lost meaning for the locals and is even argued as a support for their identity stabilisation. Changes occurring are often classified, especially by adult interviewees, as superficial. Nevertheless there is a general understanding that tourism is about to bring more changes, some of which are negative and endanger the feeling of cultural belonging.

249 words

1. Introduction

Burma¹ was controlled by armed forces since 1962, who pursued the total isolation of the country and ignored the election results in 1990, where they lost against the democratic opposition. Additionally the military junta was accused of severe human rights abuses, strict surveillance of political opponents including their imprisoning, forced labour and relocation (Amnesty International, 2007). As a result many countries and organisations announced boycotts and asked tourists to avoid visiting the country. Aung San Suu Kyi, winner of the peace noble prize and leader of the National League of Democracy (NLD) also asked for a tourism boycott in 1999, which was remarkably successful. After the first election in over 20 years took place in 2010 and some political reforms took place since 2011, many previously critical voices decided to adopt a more open position towards Myanmar (Walton, 2013). Additionally the NLD acknowledged that responsible travelling could help to promote democracy (National League for Democracy, 2011). These changes lead to a drastic increase of tourism in Myanmar. Even though the numbers are still low compared to neighbouring countries experts expect the dramatic rise in tourist numbers to have a severe influence on the previously isolated country (Thett, 2012).

It has been found that tourism's influence on previously isolated societies is extremely intense (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). As Myanmar has previously been highly isolated it is to be expected that tourism has strong implications for society's life. Tourism executes economic, environmental, social and cultural impacts on host societies (Page & Connell, 2006). This thesis's focus is the transformation of the cultural identity of the host society. Even though identity in general is in constant transition (Wagner, 1986) the times of immense changes, one of them being the sharp increase in tourism in some

¹ The military government changed the name of the country from Burma to Myanmar in 1989. The National League for Democracy (NLD), some states and international organisations refused to accept the new name, in order to show their disapproval with the military government and its oppressive character. Within this paper the name Burma will be used when talking about events before 1989, whereas the name Myanmar will be used for events, which occurred after 1989. The usage of these names does not aim to make a political statement whatsoever.

parts of the country, can be considered to pose an extreme source of transition for the cultural identity of the population. Additionally Myanmar can be considered a post-conflict society, due to its history, which means that its population is in the active process of defining a new identity after its traumatising past (Wade, 1999). The influx of foreign tourists with different cultures is therefore expected to have a defining impact in the on-going formation of the cultural identity. Tourism plays a diversified role in post-conflict societies, as it does constitute a new industry, but also signals the opening-up and the now possible interactions with the outside world (Causevic & Lynch, 2011). Notwithstanding the fact that past research on this topic in the environment of post-conflict societies is extremely rare, it has been found in previous research that tourism does influence the formation of cultural identity in various ways and affects the resulting cultural identity among the population.

In this study it will therefore be evaluated how the population of Bagan, the main tourist destination within Myanmar, perceives and makes sense of the changes occurring in their young peoples' cultural identity due to the increased tourism during the last years.

2. Aim and research questions

This thesis aims to shed light on how the increased number of tourists visiting Myanmar affects the cultural identity of the youth living in the country in direct and indirect ways. This question will be tackled from the perspective of the population of Bagan, as it is believed to be important how they make sense of the situation. A group of adolescent and adult respondents have been interviewed in order to detect possible differences in the perception of the changes the young people experience in their cultural identity. The findings can then in the future be related to other cases of previously isolated communities.

The research questions of this thesis are:

- Which consequences of increased tourism does the population of Bagan perceive for their young peoples' cultural identity?
- What is the attitude of Bagan's population towards the changes its young people are experiencing in their cultural identity?

These questions were examined through the conduction of 20 semi-structured interviews as well as observations within the field, which will be related to previous research and theories.

3. Relevance to global studies

Tourism is not a new phenomenon, but instead has been practiced by humans for millennia (Smith, S. L. J., 2004). The field of tourism studies has given rise to a range of theoretical approaches, many of which still lack testing and theoretical orientations (Frankling & Crang, 2001). This is one of the reasons, why tourism studies are a contested field of study, which is claimed to lack intellectual credibility (Tribe, 1997). I believe, however, that tourism is a highly relevant field, as it is considered one of the vanguards of globalisation and is jointly responsible for the widely prevalent feeling of a borderless and shrinking world (Eriksen, 2007; Scholte, 2005). Tribe (1997) considers tourism studies' diversity as a benefit, rather than a disadvantage. Tourism involves a reciprocal and direct exchange process between humans (Brida, Osti & Facciolo, 2011) and therefore accounts for mutual inducement among humans with different backgrounds. But even though tourism is a complex global activity it is diverse and heterogeneous and must be understood "in a local context, while recognizing the national and international factors affecting change" (Page & Connell, 2006, p. 4).

Tourism entails benefits, as well as costs for the host country, which all impact on the global standing of the country. On the economic side tourism is often portrayed as "a route to broader development and shared growth, no longer just a generator of foreign exchange" (Overseas Development Institute, 2007, p. 1), mainly by generating income and jobs. Negative effects however include inflation, increased prices, overdependence, seasonality and leakage. Effects on the environment are either the destruction of wildlife and nature through pollution or the protection of the same. Socially tourism is often said to increase crime, prostitution and gambling activities, change religious behaviour and language use, but also improve healthcare. (Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Page & Connell, 2006)² The cultural effects of tourism are the focus of this study and will be discussed from page 17 onwards. All these impacts of tourism influence the global standing of the host country and therefore justify the relevance of this thesis to global studies.

Cultural identity is also a topic with global relevance, as globalisation is often considered to have severe influences on the local cultures (Eriksen, 2007; Scholte, 2005). Wade (1999) believes that during times of globalisation cultural identity gains more importance, as identities such as the national identity are increasingly disturbed

² View these books for more detailed explanation of the effects of tourism

through globalisation and humans are therefore looking for alternative ways of defining themselves.

Due to Burma's/Myanmar's isolated past globalisation now gains a very profound importance within the country. In this situation tourism is most likely to have a unique influence on young peoples' cultural identity.

This study focuses on young people within Bagan, as they are forming the country's future and therefore its global position (Buchholtz, 2002). Most of the Southeast Asian nations are seen as major evolving economic powers nowadays (Destination Asia, 2003-2014). Myanmar's economic and cultural future, shaped by its youth, therefore gains relevance to the globalised world.

The population's perceptions are "important planning and policy considerations to successful development, marketing, and operation of existing and future tourism programs and projects" (Ap, 1992, p. 665). As sensible tourism is often seen as a potential way to reduce poverty (Scheyvens, 2011) and therefore improve the international standing of the country, the attitudes of the locals in Bagan towards tourism obtain global importance.

Due to its previous closure to the outside world research about Burma/Myanmar is rare. This study therefore contributes to the general understanding of the country and its society and is therefore relevant for the field of global studies.

4. Delimitation

It is impossible to accurately separate the influences tourism has on the host society from other influences infiltrating into society through globalisation, such as news, movies, music, foreign investment. Wall and Mathieson (2006) state that

tourism is only one form of exposure of hosts to elements of societies with a different culture. It appears that tourism is able to accelerate cultural change but the effects are not specific to tourism, (...) but the inexorable forces of modernization. (p. 263)

Particularly in the case of Myanmar, where the process of opening-up has occurred rapidly and flooded the country with new influences through globalisation and its sub-processes, it is hopeless to correlate specific changes in the cultural identity to one process as the whole mix executes its impacts on the society. This study however does not claim to be able to track back the actual consequences of tourism on the cultural

identity of young people, but instead focuses on how the population makes sense of the changes and relates them back to tourism. One could argue that by asking the respondents to pinpoint changes caused by tourism an unfeasible request is presented, which prevents reaching validity. Human reasoning however does not always follow a logical rule, but instead uses heuristics, which help to make sense of complex processes (Shah & Oppenheimer, 2008). One group of heuristics is called 'one-reason decision making' and base "judgments on one good reason only, ignoring other cues" (Gigerenzer & Gaissmaier, 2011, p. 463). Without going into detail about heuristics, this means that the population in Bagan might allocate certain changes in the young peoples' cultural identity to tourism for themselves, even though academics would refrain from doing so due to the multiple intersecting influences at work.

5. Theoretical approach

The following paragraphs will explain the single important theoretical backgrounds for this thesis and in the end link them together as done by this thesis.

5.1. Cultural identity

Human identity is an extremely complex construct (Appiah & Gates, 1995). This paragraph therefore clarifies the understanding of cultural identity in this thesis.

In discussions about culture and identity essentialism and anti-essentialism are opposing each other. Without going into detail about these worldviews it can be said that essentialists believe that "each concept has a set of necessary or defining (i.e. 'essential') features" (Haslam & Rothschild, 2000, p. 113). This thesis however takes an anti-essentialist standing, which will be construed in the following paragraphs. Appadurai (1996) argues that globalisation challenges anthropology's view of locality bound culture, as the increased flows connected to globalisation carry cultures across boundaries. Culture is therefore seen as being constantly recreated (Wagner, 1986) and a "movable concept" (Holliday, A., 2000, p. 38). Humans are not just a receiving object to these flows, but instead exert influence on them. Baumann (1996) describes that humans do not 'have a culture', but are constantly 'making culture'. Cultures are considered to be relational, as the perception of a culture depends on the viewer, and reflexive, as the image others have about one culture will infuse in the own understanding of the culture (Wade, 1999). Hopper (2007) argues however that cultures are not completely fluid, but instead hold on to social contexts, assisting the

process of identity formation by providing value systems, interpretational frameworks and sources of identity.

S. Hall (1996) defines identities as being

about questions of using the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming, rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from' so much as what we might become, how we have been represented, and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. (p. 4)

Giddens (1991) argues that during modernity identity formation is likely to break out of secure frameworks, such as traditions, but instead gets formed by larger, international influences. S. Hall (1996) describes modern identities as "fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions" (p. 4).

When narrowing down to cultural identity, it is again believed that "securing a cultural identity is not only about unearthing past history, of discovering an inner essence; it is also about making something new in the future" (Wade, 1999, p. 13). The anti-essentialist's view upon cultural identity is therefore based on the fluidity of culture and the evolving nature of identity. Cultural identity nevertheless focuses on the commonalities with others, rather than the unique characteristics of an individual (Wade, 1999). Tong and Cheung (2010) view cultural identity as "special features of lifestyles, institutional systems and spiritual values" (p. 58). A. Holliday (2010) names components of cultural identity as dress, religion, language, class, political attitudes, education, ancestry, profession, activities, skin colour, family, food, skills, friends, community, region and discourses.

Even though nations are often a loose frame for the construction of the individual's cultural identity, it is acknowledged that during times of globalisation one can no longer see the national identity as defining the cultural identity (Appadurai, 1996). Baumann (1996) additionally considers equating cultural identity and ethnic identity as dangerous, due to the resulting minimised agency and the creation of culture as a determining prison. Eriksen (2001) opposes ethnic identity, as emerging from a shared ancestry, to cultural identity, which "refers to shared representations, norms and practices" (p. 43) and argues further that cultural differences overgrow boundaries generated by ethnicity. Baumann (1996) believes that "attributions of culture [...] can clearly not be reduced to one factor alone" (p. 5), as most members of a certain community see themselves as belonging to several different communities, each living its

own culture. The context determines the cultural identity lived at a certain moment and results in shifting identities (Baumann, 1996). Therefore when looking at people ostensibly classified as living the same cultural identity they will have different attitudes and ideas due to their individual outlooks, lifestyles and positions emerging from characteristics such as gender, class and age (Eriksen, 1997). Additionally individual experiences determine the way each individual is living a culture (Hopper, 2007).

Cultural identities are extremely complex and it is important to note that it is impossible to allocate cultural identities to a specific of culture (Holliday, A., 2010). Even if two persons are considered to live the same culture, this does not necessarily mean that they have the same cultural identity.

5.1.1. (Cultural) identity in post-conflict societies

Due to its authoritative past under the rule of the military junta³ and its recent process of slow democratization, Myanmar can be considered a post-conflict society. Even though one could argue that due to ongoing ethnic conflicts not the whole country can be seen as *post*-conflict. In this thesis Myanmar (or at least the area of Bagan) will nevertheless be considered in this stage, due to the end to the cruel military government. By taking this stance current conflicts are not meant to be disregarded.

Times of conflict and living under an oppressive government influence the identity of the society within the country. An oppressed society is said to internalise the feeling of inferiority the superior group executes on them (Hays & Chang, 2003). Being oppressed can result in a fragmented self, leaving an insecure and vulnerable society (Myers et al, 1991; Winter, 2007). The usage of torture by oppressive governments often additionally aims to erode the sense of identity, control and agency of the tortured person. The physical injuries caused by torture can result in a disturbance of the self-concept and the understanding of the own identity (Silove, 1999). Oppressive regimes are found to use strategies, such as propaganda, isolation, indoctrination and ostracism to undermine the population's identity and their cohesion. Even though identities are often said to be 'placeless' nowadays (Scholte, 2005), forced relocations can be a threat to a stable identity (Silove, 1999). Living under an oppressive government is therefore considered to change the identity and give rise to a feeling of passivity and helplessness (Gutlove & Thompson, 2004).

³ For a detailed annotation about Myanmar's history, see '6.1. The country', pp. 21-23

The transfer from dictatorship to a post-conflict situation has been found to hold strains for the identity as well. Benegas (2011) proposes that by steps towards democratisation, such as formal elections, a time-break is getting produced in the society's minds, which builds up a border between the new situation and the traumatic past. By doing so the fear and pain seem far away, which, for the sake of inner peace, leads to the fact that societies often prefer to ignore post-conflict governmental crimes (Benegas, 2011). When a population is getting liberated they therefore often seem to seek the generation of "a new person in a new society with a new social identity" (Montero, 2007, p. 522). Wade (1999) states that during post-war times the search for explicitly *cultural* identity takes place. Even though identity is constantly transformed and developed the time after traumatic experiences does pose an extreme form of recreation.

The post-conflict setting in Myanmar is relevant for this thesis and needs to be kept in mind when evaluating the changes occurring in young peoples' cultural identity due to tourism, as this post-conflict situation additionally influences the changes in the cultural identity.

5.1.2. (Cultural) identity in young people

The terms 'young people', 'youth' or 'adolescents' will be used simultaneously in this thesis and are defined according to the mental development and the young people's cultural and social actions in their life trajectories. Youth is therefore understood as a "time of complex changes marked by transitory values, attitudes and practices" (Omoniyi, Scheld & Oni, 2009, p. 2), the preparation for adulthood and time of social transition between life stages (Buchholtz, 2002), which is coined by self-definition (Hurlock, 1973).

In the past identity change could be allocated to the time of adolescence. Nowadays however transitions in identity occur during all stages of life (Giddens, 1991)⁴. Nevertheless during the time of youth "a sense of where they are from, a sense of membership and shared identity" (p. 509) is getting created for the first time independently, compared to before when others have done this for the young people (Hall, T., Coffey & Williamson, 1999). I therefore argue that even though transitions in identity occur during all times of life, young people face this framing of their own identity for the first time during adolescence and *consciously* build a framework of their identity, which then transforms and develops further during their life.

⁴ As described in '5.1. Cultural identity', pp. 10-12

As local and global are constantly mixing in modern times it is agreed upon that the process of formulating ones identity during youth has “become increasingly protracted and complex” (Hall, T., Coffey & Williamson, 1999, p. 502) and depends less on traditions (Ibold, 2010). Ibold (2010) found that the cultural identities created among Kyrgyz youth are “not necessarily ‘traditionally’ Kyrgyz, nor are they global, Western or ‘Russified’. Instead, youth identities are idiosyncratically local and uniquely ‘in between’” (p. 1). This condition can create freedom, as well as insecurity (Hopper, 2007).

Even in cultures where youth is not recognised as an explicit life stage, the process of identity formation occurs anyway (Buchholtz, 2002).

Keeping the points made in mind for the work on this thesis, it is hard to talk about ‘*the young peoples’ cultural identity*’ in Bagan. It is impossible to detect a common cultural identity, not even when focusing on only one ethnic group, age group or gender. I believe, however, that looking at temporal changes in the cultural identity, allows to bypass these difficulties, as it will be compared how the cultural identity of individuals has evolved and transfused over time through the influence of tourism. There will be no attempt to generalise the findings for all young people living in Bagan. Instead common changes in the cultural identities of the interviewed young people will be detected and analysed for these individuals. The focus is therefore on the evolution of cultural identity within these individuals over time.

5.2. Tourism development

Depending on the interest of study a number of definitions for tourism have emerged. In this thesis the following definition will be used, as it is widely accepted:

Tourism comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited. (Eurostat et al, 2001)

When talking about ‘tourists’ in this thesis the focus will be on ‘international tourists’, which are understood as “individuals travelling across an international border and who remain away from home for at least twenty-four hours” (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p. 14). This stance is taken, as most interviewees associate tourism with visitors from abroad and therefore based their answers on this understanding. Adapting this perspective does not mean to disregard the influences of domestic tourists, but instead allows

approaching the question of research in a way, reflecting the understanding of the interviewed population.

The labour force in the tourism sector consists of a higher percentage of young people than the general work force (World Travel and Tourism Council, n.d.). Tourism therefore has the chance to execute a remarkable influence on young people, which is one of the basic assumptions in this thesis.

There are many opposing views on the effect tourism has on developing countries. The approaches range from extremely positive ones, considering tourism as “the most potent anti-poverty tool ever” (Aerial Highway, 2007) to the view that the poor are excluded from the benefits tourism breeds (Scheyvens, 2011). Statistics attest that tourism does play an important role for developing countries. For 20 out of the 48 poorest countries in the world tourism is the first or second source of export earnings (UNWTO, 2011). Scheyvens (2011) believes that tourism, as one of the largest industries in the world, does have the capacity to alleviate poverty, but has to “tackle systems of inequality head-on” (p. 47) in order to do so. On the other hand tourism’s cost tend to have more severe impacts on developing countries. Tourism in developing countries therefore needs detailed consideration and careful implementation (Mitchell & Ashley, 2010).

5.2.1. Perceptions of tourism’s impacts in host societies

Various theories try to describe the host society’s perception of tourism. They are however contested as doubt is raised about generalising the host society’s reactions, as “there is flexibility and unpredictability” (Canosa, Brown & Bassan, 2001, p. 52) in the responses. The theories will therefore not be laid out in this thesis⁵. It is interesting to note, however, that a majority of these theories describe a positive attitude of the host community in initial stages of tourism development, which tends to get more negative over time (Doxey, 1975; Ap & Crompton, 1993). When focusing on past research different results have been reached: King, Pizam and Milman (1993) found that the local community of Fiji showed an overall positive attitude towards tourism, but could still identify negative social impacts of tourism on their society. These perceived negative social effects were drug addiction, crimes, traffic conditions, openness to sex and alcoholism. Whereas the positive impacts where mainly economic, but also included an increase in the standard of living, improved working attitudes and hospitality towards

⁵ For a review view: Canosa, Brown & Bassan, 2001; Brida, Osti & Facciolo, 2011

strangers, better employment opportunities and increased confidence among the population. It has been found that hosts involved in the tourism sector themselves show a more positive attitude towards tourism (Pizam, 1978; Vargas-Sanchez, Plaza-Mejia & Porras-Bueno, 2009), whereas other studies discovered the opposite (Smith, M.D., & Krannich 1998; McGehee & Andereck, 2004). Brida, Osti & Facciolo (2011) found that low-income residents showed a more supportive attitude towards the tourism developments.

Many authors have employed the social exchange theory, which focuses on the relationship between the benefits for individuals and the impressions of the economic development (Teye, Sönmez & Sirakaya, 2002), in order to explain the attitudes residents have towards tourism. Ap (1992) adapted and developed the social exchange theory and states that:

(...) in developing and attracting tourism to a community, the goal is to achieve outcomes that obtain the best balance of benefits and costs for both residents and tourism actors. (...) residents evaluate tourism in terms of social exchange, that is, evaluate it in terms of expected benefits or costs obtained in return for the services they supply. (p. 669)

5.2.2. Tourism development in post-conflict societies

There are different opinions about the role of tourism during times of conflict and post-conflict times. Tourism is often said to promote the understanding between different countries and therefore promote 'the Culture of Peace' (International Institute for Peace through Tourism, 2011). Some authors argue that in post-conflict times tourism helps to promote low-level diplomacy, which is a first step in the direction of tie building for international governments (Yu & Chung, 2001). Additionally tourism naturally reinvigorates the economy (Anson, 1999), which can further stabilise the country's overall situation. Other authors claim, however, that it is "naïve to suggest that a sector such as tourism could play a positive role in a (...) post-conflict situation of fragility, especially given concerns over its ability to deliver sustainable and equitable growth" (Novelli, Morgan & Nibigira, 2012, p. 1449). Litvin (1998) believes that tourism is incapable of promoting the countries development after conflicts, as the superficial interactions between tourists and locals do not lead to mutual understanding.

Even though tourists often desire to explore areas 'of the beaten track' (Page & Connell, 2006), tourism itself is extremely sensible to violence and unrest (Alluri, 2009), which

results in irregular tourism patterns in instable countries.

What does tourism mean for the population of the post-conflict state? Tourism is often viewed as a chance of a connection to the outside world for closed-off societies (Causevic & Lynch, 2011) and is therefore connected to strong emotions. Even though literature on this topic is rare, it is likely that the previously isolated population in a post-conflict society sees and embraces tourism as one of their first chances to connect to the outside world.

5.3. Cultural identity and tourism development

Recent literature has acknowledged that tourism does play an important role in the formation and reproduction of the host society's identity, even though the direction of its influence is contested (Light, 2001; Tong & Cheung, 2010). Lanfant (1995) describes tourism as "a pedagogic instrument allowing new identities to emerge – identities corresponding to the new plural-ethnic or plural-state configurations which are forming" (p. 4). Tourism is, however, also said to lead to an unstable environment, as local values, costumes and moral standards get challenged (Canosa, Brown & Bassan, 2001). These constantly changing values might pose a hindrance for the host society, and particularly its youth, to find their way of living and believing (Rice, 1993). Young people might start envying the tourists' lifestyle, which is characterised by "material riches, idleness, playing and self-indulgent spending" (Leiper, 1995) and start to adopt it as they believe it transfers a betterment of life (Tong & Cheung, 2011). Canosa, Brown & Bassan (2001) note that for young people at a tourism destination tourism can bring both, opportunities, as well as disruption. Empirical findings include an improved education among the host society, resulting in a stabilisation of the young peoples' personality (Liu & Var, 1986). Rice (1993) however found that traditions, behaviours and values imported through tourism challenge the original culture and leave the young people confused about their place between cultures. Generally tourism has been found to have an influence on the lifestyle young hosts are leading (Canosa, Brown & Bassan, 2001).

It has been discussed that rapid tourism development leads to more pronounced cultural changes (Page & Connell, 2006).

5.3.1. Tourism's ways of influencing cultural identity

Tourists are living their culture while travelling and interaction with people of the host society (Hopper, 2007). This can lead to the so-called demonstration effect, which has

been defined by De Kadt (1979) as “changes in attitudes, values or behaviour which can result from merely observing tourists” (p. 65). The host population, and particularly their young people, are rushing after the “symbols of modernity” (Norberg-Hodge, 1992) introduced by the tourists. This influence of tourism on the cultural identity by copying will be called a direct influence in the course of this thesis.

Ratz (2000) states that tourism’s influence on the cultural identity is additionally often occurring in an indirect way. It emerges from the development of the tourism industry at the destination, which transforms the social structures, quality of life and social organisation of the locals. The place itself is often reconstructed to fit the tourists’ wishes in its services and amenities (Eriksen, 2007) and the locals have an increased income, which they can use in this new environment (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). These changes then have an impact on the cultural identity of the host society.

5.3.2. Tourism’s influence on cultural identity

Instead of tourism, the following paragraphs will often refer to the effect ‘globalisation’ has on cultural identity. As tourism is considered one of the major events within the process of globalisation (Scholte, 2005), surely some of the effects globalisation has can be related back to tourism. It would nevertheless be dangerous to forget that globalisation entails a variety of processes, which could be responsible for the detected changes in cultural identities. Additionally it should always be kept in mind that mixing of cultures and therefore cultural identities has always occurred (Eriksen, 2007) and transformation and development of cultural identity are happening permanently (Hall, S., 1996), regardless of tourism. The connections drawn in the following paragraphs are therefore not considered as a definite result of tourism, but should rather be regarded as possible influences of tourism together with other factors at work.

It is an ongoing discussion whether globalisation has a homogenising and therefore destructive or heterogenising and therefore preserving effect on local cultures (Pieterse, 2010; Robertson, 2010). Supporting the view of the homogenising effect, globalisation is often portrayed as Westernisation or Americanisation, wherein western/American culture and values replace local cultures (Kumaravadivelu, 2008). It has been realised, however, that changes are complex and multidirectional and can therefore not solely be seen as westernising (Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1996). Hopper (2007) argues that by reducing globalisation to Westernisation other forces, such as Japanisation, Asianisation and Islamisation get neglected. Within the argument about globalisation’s homogenising

or heterogenising effects the construct of glocalisation emerged (Hopper, 2007). Glocalisation is understood to be “the interpenetration of the global and the local” (Ritzer & Atalay, 2010, p. 319), meaning that local communities adapt the global not without infusing their own local component to it and interpreting it in their own local way (Eriksen, 2007). There are authors, who believe that globalisation is best described as and can therefore be equated with glocalisation (Robertson, 2010).

In relation to identity, globalisation is argued to either lead to global persons, who show a standardised set of cultural identity features (Lanfant, 1995) or to an enhancement of the local, traditional cultural identities, as due to the threat of globalisation to local identities people begin to enhance the uniqueness of their cultural identity (Eriksen, 2007). Naisbitt and Aburdene (1990) support the latter view by stating that “the more homogenous our lifestyles become, the more steadfastly we cling to deeper values, we all seek to preserve our identities, be they religious, cultural, national, linguistic (...)” (cited in Richards, 2007, p. 35).

Linking glocalisation to identity formation the concept of hybridity emerges, which is often considered to be extremely prevalent among young generations: Buchholtz (2002) argues that cultural changes do particularly influence the young people, as they are more vulnerable to the influences of modernisation and often lead a life between their traditions and the innovations fluctuating the country. Arnett (2002) transfers the idea of bicultural and hybrid identities (Berry, 1993) from migration studies into globalisation and argues that through globalisation and its sub-processes, like tourism, hybrid identities can get formed. Arnett (2002) in his concept defines hybrid identities as young people developing a global identity in addition to their local identity. This global identity “gives them a sense of belonging to a worldwide culture and includes an awareness of the events, practices, styles, and information that are part of the global culture” (p. 777). Scholte (2005) believes that hybrid identities face the difficulty of blending, possibly conflicting, ways of being and belonging into ones self. It is important to note that by global culture Arnett (2002) does not mean a homogenous culture throughout the world, but instead refers to “the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson, 1992, p. 8). On the other side however Arnett (2002) argues that globalisation of identities can also lead to identity confusion among adolescents, who think of “themselves as [being] excluded from both their local culture and the global culture, truly belonging to neither” (p. 778).

During times of globalisation the worry arises that local cultures are increasingly seen as a commodity (Schouten, 2007). Tourists are interested in travelling to untouched regions in order to experience the 'real and authentic' culture (Lanfant, 1995). There is a wide variety of literature exploring the emerging 'staging' of culture for the tourist gaze (Smith, M. & Duffy, 2003; Lanfant, 1995). As tourists arrive at the destination with certain expectations about the culture, the locals might feel forced to display the expected lifestyle in order to be able to do justice to the expectations (Smith, M., & Duffy, 2003). Therefore the traditions of the destination country are getting transformed into a resource for the tourists (Lanfant, 1995). Through the pressure to perform in a way, perceived as 'authentic' by the tourists, meaning of culture can get lost for the locals (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). On the other hand, Light (2001) argues that by portraying a country and its culture in a specific way in tourism advertisement material, the country projects a self-image and cultural identity of 'itself' the way 'it' wants to get perceived, which is comparable to what Wade (1999) describes as culture being reflexive⁶. This is particularly useful for countries, which seek to view a new picture of themselves to the world (Light, 2001) and consequently use the commodification of their culture to create a new identity for themselves.

Featherstone (1990) argues that the attachment to global cultures is less binding than local cultures and fail in providing practical or emotional needs. Therefore the question arises whether changes in cultural identity through tourism are superficial or whether meaning is added to them. Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) introduce the concept of being and belonging. Ways of being are understood as the "actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in" (p. 1010), without adding meaning to them. Oppositely ways of belonging are "practices that signal or enact an identity, which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group" (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p. 1010).

Unfortunately there is a lack of literature, which evaluates the changes in the identity of post-conflict societies due to tourism. It can be said however that tourism's influence on culture seems to be more extreme in destinations, which have previously been isolated from the rest of the world (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). As tourism development has risen quickly over the last few years, Myanmar has additionally been an extremely isolated country before and increased formation of identity takes places during times of post-

⁶ See '5.1. Cultural identity', p. 10

conflict, the effects of tourism on the cultural identity of the young people in Bagan is expected to be remarkable.


6. The Burma/Myanmar Case

By giving some background knowledge about the country and the area of research as well as the cultural identity and its tourism patterns an insight is generated, which aims to help the reader to gain understanding of the initial situation in the country and the dimension of the current changes.

6.1. The country

Table 1 displays some characteristics.

Table 1. Country overview Myanmar. (Southeast Asia – Burma, 2014)

<p>Location</p>	<p>Figure 1. Map of Myanmar</p>  <p>(LeMonnier, n.d.)</p>
<p>Population</p>	<p>55,746,253</p>
<p>Multi-ethnicity</p>	<p>135 ethnic minorities</p>
<p>Ethnic majority</p>	<p>Burmans (68% of the population)</p>

Language	Official language: Burmese 100 other languages spoken within the country
Religion	90% Buddhists (official religion: Theravada Buddhism) 4% Christians 4% Muslims (discrimination during the last years)

Burma was a wealthy nation in ancient times (Aung-Thwin & Aung-Thwin, 2012) and was officially called a British colony in 1886, after the first invasion sixty years earlier and three Anglo-Burmese wars. In 1948 Burma became independent and got ruled by an elected government until in 1962 Ne Win led a military coup, which resulted in the country getting ruled by a military junta from then onwards (Hudson, 2007). Ne Win aimed at transforming Burma into a 'truly socialist country', which redounded in increased isolation, poverty and fear among the population. The up-rise erupting in 1988 due to an economic crisis and increased insatisfaction among the population got silenced brutally. The State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) was announced the next military government. When the National League of Democracy (NLD) won the first multi-party elections in 1990, the SLORC prevented the NLD with its leader Aung San Suu Kyi, to take over power. Instead the SLORC suppressed oppositions, kept its members under surveillance and imprisoned over 1800 political actors, closed universities to prevent up-rises and was responsible for human rights abuses, forced labour and relocations (Holliday, I., 2005; Hudson, 2007; Marshall, 2002). Aung San Suu Kyi, who has been under house arrest since 1989 got awarded the Nobel Peace Price in 1991 while remaining under house arrest in Yangon (Myanmar, 2014). In 1997 the SLORC renamed itself to State Peace and Development Council (SPDC). Resulting from dishonouring the results of the election various states imposed economic sanctions, restricted trade and interactions with Myanmar. After another violent silencing of a demonstration led by Burmese monks in 2007 and the prevention of letting international humanitarian aid enter the country after a cyclone in 2008 the criticism by the international community got sharpened (Myanmar, 2014).

On the 7th of November 2010 the first elections since 1990 were held. Even though laws got introduced to prevent Aung Sang Suu Kyi from participating, influences of opposition parties were limited and the NLD boycotted the elections, they were the elections to end the one-party system and restore a representative government at least to some degree (Skidmore & Wilson, 2012; Myint-U, 2012). Unsurprisingly the Union Solidarity and Development Party (USDP), the junta's backed party, won the elections. In the aftermath Aung San Suu Kyi was released, the new government took over office in March 2011 and the head of the former SPDC, General Than Shwe, dissolved the military junta and the SPDC and retreated from all his political positions. The new president Thein Sein called for political reconciliation, economic reforms, an end to the ethnic conflicts, democratisation, elimination of corruption and improvements in health, education and environment (Myint-U, 2012). Even though experts warn to take these reforms cautiously, as the undercover influence of the military and even General Than Shwe is unknown, there have been careful steps towards democratisation (Skidmore & Wilson, 2012). As a result most sanctions got lifted (Eu Lifts, 2013).

It has been extremely difficult to conduct research in Burma/Myanmar, due to its closure, which results in a scarcity of reliable literature. Knowledge gaps have often been filled with misconceptions and myths. Even statistics and government statements are to be interpreted carefully. (Selth, 2010; Henderson, 2003)

6.2. (Cultural) identity in Burma/Myanmar

As the military junta viewed the Burman identity as a privilege, they pursued the equalisation of the national identity with the identity of the Burmans (Seekins, 2009).

Some authors believe that the current opening-up of the country does still ensue this trend by mainly benefiting the Burmans (Walton, 2013).

The years of isolation and foreclosure from the outside world have been playing a formative role in the formation of the cultural identity (Taylor, 2005). Taylor (2005) also states that it is often forgotten when looking at the manifoldness of ethnic identities in Myanmar, that people have multiple identities, which categorise them to much more than only their ethnicity. Relating back to the paragraph on cultural identity from page 10 onwards it is rarely possible to allocate a distinct cultural identity to a specific group of people, as various factors influence humans identities, making them unique and unclassifiable (Baumann, 1996). Even though many traditions and spiritual values emerge from religion, namely Buddhism in Myanmar, other sources form cultural

identity as well. The book 'Colourful Burma' by Khin Myo Chit (1976) describes cultural features, considered as traditionally Burmese. Obviously the following general statements about elements of the cultural identity are not made with the intention to essentialise, but instead solely highlight important, often prevalent features of Myanmar cultural identity:

- Religion/Pagodas: The practice of Buddhism is extremely important, making the pagodas an “integral part of our life” (p. 14). According to Chit this holds true for all ages, as pagodas are “centres of social, cultural and commercial activities” (p. 15) and can be used for almsgiving as well as dating and pagoda festivals. On religious days holy duties are fulfilled in monasteries. (Chit, 1976)
- Respect towards elders: Young people paying respect to the older members of the society is a deeply enrooted cultural aspect. Bowing the head when passing elderly, filling their plates first and helping them with their duties signifies this respect. (Chit, 1976)
- Thanaka: Especially women and children decorate their faces with Thanaka paste daily. To create the paste the bark of the Thanaka tree is rubbed on a stone with water. The paste gets applied to the cheeks or the whole face. Thanaka is used as a protection from the sun, a traditional make-up and is said to be the century-old secret of Burmese beautification. (Sein, 2013)
- Betelnut Chewing: Many Burmese chew betelnut, which consists of parcels of areca nuts and tobacco, which are wrapped in a lime-coated betel leaf. The chewing of the betelnut has an awakening effect and leads to the teeth being stained in red. (Whiteman, 2013)
- Longyi: A longyi is the widely worn traditional Burmese skirt. It is made of a tube shaped printed or embroidered cloth tied with a knot in the front for men and the knot tucked in at the side for women. (Insight Guides, 2014)

These aspects of cultural identity have partially informed which areas of cultural identity have been examined through the interviews conducted for this thesis⁷.

⁷ For more details about the construction of the interview guide, see '7.2.3. Semi-structured interviews', pp. 29

6.3. Tourism in Burma/Myanmar

Kipling's quote (1898) "This is Burma. It is quite unlike any place you know about" is widely cited in tourism promotional material. Myanmar's tourism is mainly culture-based, but also includes history and nature tourism (World Tourism Organisation, 2013). Special draws are the historical religious architecture, the variety in ethnic groups and the "slow progress of modernisation" (p. 103), which allows the visitors to experience Southeast Asia as it once was (Henderson, 2003).

Tourism in Burma/Myanmar has been following an irregular pattern, due to the political developments and government reforms (Henderson, 2003). The military government recognised tourism as an opportunity to transfer a positive image of Burma/Myanmar and an important economy (Hudson, 2007).

When the economic sanctions got introduced, however, tourists additionally got asked to avoid visiting Myanmar by international organisations (Tourism concern – Action for ethical tourism, n.d). These voices got louder when reports linked the construction of the touristic infrastructure to human rights abuses in the form of forced labour and relocations (Hudson, 2007; Parnwell, 1998). Aung San Suu Kyi explicitly asked for a tourism boycott:

I hope you can come back to this country one day and see the people when they are not frightened. Burma will be here for many years, so tell your friends to visit us later. Visiting now is tantamount to condoning the regime. (Aung San Suu Kyi, 1999)

The SLORC aimed to welcome half a million visitors during the 'Visit Myanmar Year 1996 (VMY-96)'. Aung Sun Suu Kyi, however, launched the 'Don't Visit Burma Year', which led to the VMY-96 only reaching 20 percent of its target (Thett, 2012). The decision upon travelling to Myanmar became a highly ethical decision. Guidebooks include a section about the pros and cons of visiting Myanmar. The argument opposes the fear of supporting the military government to the hope of benefitting mainly the local population through tourism⁸.

Overall the urge by Aung San Suu Kyi and international organisations can be considered successful, as tourist numbers remained low. After the elections in 2010 and the following reforms the NLD revised its statement about tourism, however not without

⁸ For a review of the pros and cons of travelling to Myanmar see Lonely Planet (2011) and Hudson (2007).

pointing out ongoing human rights abuses and the need for responsible tourism: “The NLD would welcome visitors who are keen to promote the welfare of the common people and the conservation of the environment and to acquire an insight into the cultural, political and social life of the country” (National League for Democracy, 2011, p. 3). Due to recent changes the numbers of tourists have sky-rocked. While in 2011 there were 816 369 tourists, in 2012 this number has already increased to 1 058 995 (Ministry of hotels and tourism, 2012). The Asia Development Bank predicts these numbers to reach 2.2 million visitors by 2015 and 5 million visitors by 2020. The Ministry of Hotels and Tourism even aims for higher numbers (3.09 million in 2015 and 7.48 million in 2020), which would increase the earnings through tourism from US\$ 534 million in 2012 to US\$ 10.8 billion by 2020 (Long, 2013). Compared to neighbouring countries these numbers remain relatively low, considering Myanmar’s previous isolation, however, the numbers gain a different dimension.

The main tourism season is between November and February, when temperatures are lower. The sudden increase in the number of tourists has brought some organisational problems, such as a shortage in rooms, which leads to increased complaints about excessive cost of accommodation (Henderson, 2003), lack of qualified workers and lack in infrastructure (Ministry of hotels and tourism, 2013). Myanmar’s six key destinations are: Yangon, Bagan, Inlay Lake Mandalay, Kyaiktiyo and Ngapali Beach (World Tourism Organisation, 2013).

6.4. The study region: Bagan

Bagan, or bureaucratically ‘Bagan Archaeological Zone’, is the most frequented tourist destination within Myanmar (Henderson, 2003). Figure 1 shows its location. Bagan is comprised of a 67 square kilometre area containing over 4000 pagodas, some of which are more than 1000 years old and make Bagan one of the richest archaeological sites in Southeast Asia (World Tourism Organisation, 2013).

Nowadays Bagan consists of three major settlements, Nyaung U, Old Bagan and New Bagan. In the 1990s the SLORC/SPDC resettled parts of the population living between the pagodas brutally to an unpopulated area, nowadays New Bagan, in order to make the area more attractive for tourists (City Weekend, 2004). In 2013 Bagan has attracted over 200,000 foreign tourists (Roughneen, 2014a). Even though Bagan does not have a very pronounced rainy season, most tourists still arrive between November and

February, due to otherwise hot temperatures and more favourable travelling conditions in the rest of the country.

The majority of the population of Bagan belongs to the ethnic majority, the Burmans (BBC News Asia pacific, 2011). Population numbers of Bagan are hard to find, but it has a rural character with mainly wooden huts, no high-rise buildings and a basic offer in services. Critical voices have raised concerns that the area will soon struggle to withstand the increased tourism influx (Roughneen, 2014b).

This thesis focuses on the area of Bagan as it is the main tourist attraction in Myanmar (Henderson, 2003) and therefore shows various points of interaction between the tourists and the locals, which are the basis for a tourism-based change in the young people's cultural identity.

7. Methodology

7.1. Research strategy

This study is a qualitative single case study aiming to make a statement about one single location, namely Bagan and can be considered a revelatory case. As research in Burma/Myanmar was hard to conduct in the past (Selth, 2010) it can be said that the phenomenon looked at in this study was "previously inaccessible to scientific investigation" (Yin, 2009, p. 48).

Being aware of the shortcomings in the quality criteria for qualitative studies, the triangulation between observation and semi-structured interviews aimed at increasing the general validity of this study and allows justification of the concepts. Case studies do not aim to be externally valid or generalisable and therefore gain in-transferable findings (Bryman, 2012). This study has the intention to pave the path for future research in similar conditions, in order to make comparisons between the different cases possible. Both, semi-structured interviews and observations, aim to explore the "subjective meaning of social action" (Bryman, 2012, p. 30) and therefore follow the epistemology of interpretivism. Additionally they both follow the view of constructionism, as the social environment is seen as being "produced through social interaction" and is "in a constant state of revision" (Bryman, 2012, p. 33).

7.2. Data collection

7.2.1. Sampling

Two different groups of interviewees (young people and adults) got interviewed, which got recruited using different sampling techniques. For the young interviewees the typical case sampling has been applied, as these interviewees had to be employed in the tourism sector. For the adult interviewees the sampling technique of opportunistic sampling has been applied, wherein data got collected from individuals, providing relevant data, but with whom the contact was largely unforeseen (Bryman, 2012). My interpreter, who is a widely known man in Bagan, helped me to recruit the interviewees. For choosing the sample size it has been considered that in qualitative research the sample size

should not be so small as to make it difficult to achieve data saturation, theoretical saturation, or informational redundancy. At the same time, the sample should not be so large that it is difficult to undertake a deep, case-oriented analysis. (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007, p. 289)

I therefore chose to interview 10 respondents per group. After conducting the 20 interviews I felt that I have reached data saturation and retained from conducting additional interviews.

7.2.2. Observations

The observations made, helped constructing the interview guide, as well as gaining knowledge about 'the unsaid'. Before commencing into the main method of data collection, being the semi-structured interviews, I spent a week observing interactions and lifestyle in Bagan. Emerging from these observations I finalised my interview guide. The whole time I spent in Bagan I continued to conduct observations as a partially participating observer. During the time I spent with my acquaintances, interviewees and students of a language school I continuously made mental, as well as jotted notes, which I later the same day transformed into full field notes. I therefore had access to closed, as well as public settings of observation and combined the strategy of hanging around with getting insight through acquaintances. It is important to keep in mind that the researcher interprets the results of participant observation, which makes it a very subjective method (Goldbart & Hustler, 2005).

7.2.3. Semi-structured interviews

The main method applied for data collection were semi-structured interviews, as this way of data collection aims to extract and explore the perspectives of the interviewees, which is in accordance with the objective of this study (Creswell, 2009; Warren, 2002).

Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to steer the interview in the direction of interest, but also entail a certain flexibility. The research questions have been formulated in a broad way, in order to allow alternative avenues, arising during the interviews to be integrated. (Bryman, 2012)

The interviews started by asking about the attitude young people have towards tourism and tourism's influence on the young peoples' lives in general. Afterwards questions about the influence tourism had on specific areas of the young people's cultural identity followed. As I have been in Bagan before, I could identify various changes compared to my stays in 2009, 2010 and 2012. The interview guide emerged as a combination of my observations and comparisons, as well as conversations with locals. Interview guides for both groups of interviewees entailed questions about the same topics and were composed of a similar structure, but varied in the focus of the questions, as the questions for the adult interviewees ask for changes in young peoples' cultural identity⁹. As it is important that the interviewees understand the questions, they were formulated in a simple, non-academic language (Berg, 2007).

7.2.4. Interview situation and interviewees

The semi-structured interviews were conducted between the 6th and 22nd of February 2014 in quiet settings (empty teashops, interviewee's or interpreter's home), which allowed a focused and undisturbed conversation. Depending on the interviewee's level of English the interviews were conducted completely or partly through an interpreter. The interpreter was present during all interviews and helped the interviewees whenever their English did not allow them to express themselves in the way they wanted. The interviews lasted between 30 and 70 minutes and were recorded. This allowed me to be "highly alert to what is being said – following up interesting points made, prompting and probing where necessary" (Bryman, 2012, p. 482). Nonverbal signals, such as phonemic sounds, signs, facial grimaces, body gestures and symbols

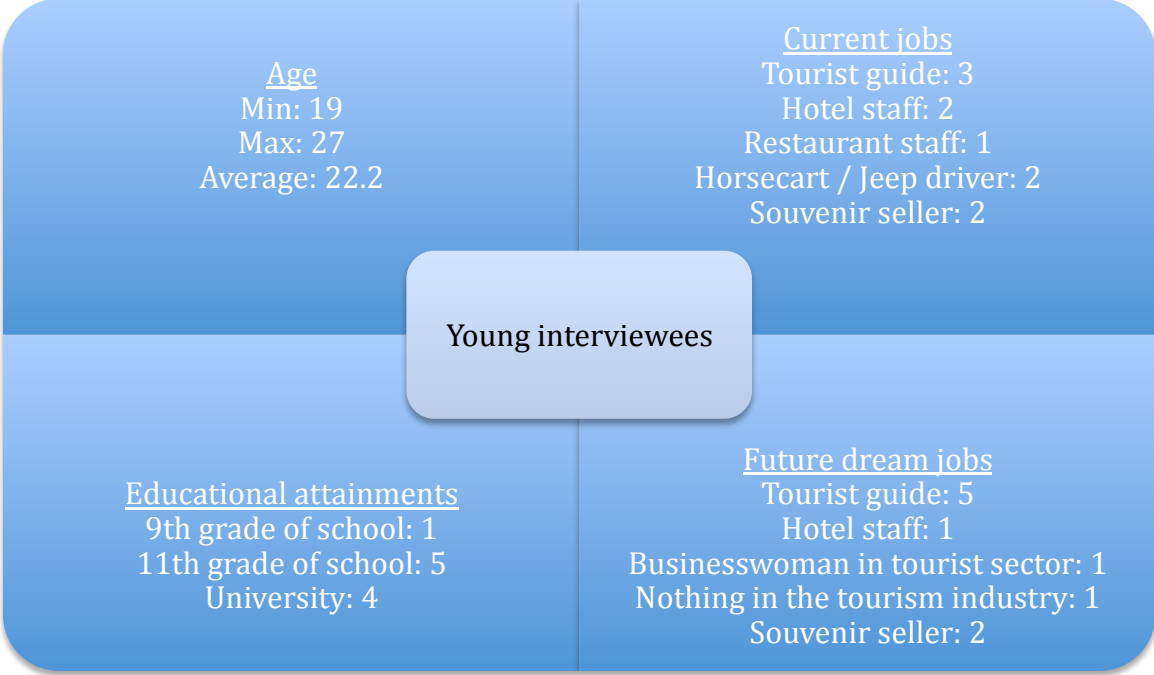
⁹ The interview guides for both groups of interviewees can be reviewed in 'Appendix 1', pp. 69-70 and 'Appendix 2', pp. 71-72

have been noted down (Berg, 2007). As semi-structured interviews are flexible and allow individualised responses and follow-up questions (Bryman, 2012), the interview guide has been adapted slightly according to each interview.

Within this thesis the renumberation Y1-10 refers to the different interviews conducted with the young people, whereas the renumberation A1-A10 refers to the interviews with the adults and O1-O2 describes other conversations during the fieldwork.

The young interviewees were comprised of 6 female and 4 male respondents and all worked in the tourism sector in different jobs, as it is assumed that direct contact with tourists is more likely to have an influence on the young peoples’ cultural identity. The following figure gives an overview of some characteristics of the young interviewees.

Figure 2. Characteristics of young interviewees



90% of them have grown up in the Bagan area and only a minority lived in other cities within Myanmar for their university studies. Their earnings vary greatly with the season, but being a tourist guide is one of the best jobs in the tourism sector and generates 25-35 US\$ per day.

The adult interviewees worked in different sectors. As this study focuses on the changes in the *young peoples’* cultural identity the adults were asked about their view on the changes among the young people. No influence of the adult interviewees’ field of work has been detected. There were 5 female and 5 male interviewees, who were between 35

and 70 years old, with an average age of 51.6 years. All of them stated that they have regular contact with young people, whereas the degree to which they have contact with tourists varied.

7.3. Data analysis

Qualitative analysis is never quick, neat or light, however authors advise to look at this not as a limitation, but rather as a strength (Berg, 2007). The difficulty within analysis of qualitative data in general is that it fails to show wider significance for the whole field of social science (Bryman, 2012).

First the interviews were transcribed in a wordly manner. Afterwards the material retrieved from the semi-structured interviews and the observations was openly coded and grouped according to themes and analysed thematically. When analysing semi-structured interviews it is important to not only pay attention to the patterns already observed during the interviews, but instead also search the data for new, priorily unnoticed structures (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973).

7.4. Methodological concerns

Due to the oppressive past of the military government in Burma/Myanmar and its surveillance strategies, interviews and particularly recorded ones, are still seen as risky among the population. To make the interviewees feel secure, they were asked to choose the location for the interviews and questions about political standings were avoided. This concern, however, proofed unjustified, as people in Bagan were extremely open, happy to give voice to their opinions and even approved to get recorded.

Most of the interviews have been carried out with the help of an interpreter. Using an interpreter during research can however influence the results retrieved from a study, as meaning might get lost (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson & Deeg, 2010) and if used inappropriately even decrease the trustworthiness of the study (Squires, 2009). To minimise these effects and assure the trustworthiness of my study I have applied certain measures: The interpreter's level of English allowed him to translate complex sentences using broad vocabulary, which minimises translation errors (Jandt, 2003). The conceptual equivalence was warranted, as the language and contents of the interview where concerned with every day's life and therefore did not entail complex constructs (Squires, 2009). Additionally before the first interview a meeting with the interpreter to clarify insecurities took place. The same translator has been used for all interviews, which adds stability to the findings.

Creswell (2002) states that in qualitative research the researcher shapes the study, by the personal biography. A potential limitation could therefore be that I, as a researcher am a Westerner, who could be seen as a tourist and therefore object of the study. Miraftab (2004) evaluates the power relationship between the researcher and the researched and concludes that 'being between', by which she means being an insider and an outsider at the same time, influences the outcome of the study. Miraftab (2004) considers herself in between, as she is an insider due to her origin of a developing country, but also as an outsider, as she is not Mexican. I believe that I was 'in between' during my study in Bagan as well to a certain extent. Obviously I am not Myanmar and therefore an outsider. On the other hand however I have been in Bagan four times before, during two of which I have been teaching in a language school, which enabled me to get deeply involved into the local community and resulted in the population knowing me as a 'teacher' instead of a 'tourist'. When interviewing respondents who have not seen or heard of me before my interpreter, who is a widely known and respected man in Bagan, introduced me as a friend and former volunteer. I therefore believe that I was an insider to a certain extent and can be seen as being 'in between'. It has been found that being an outsider increases the trust during the interviews, as stories are less likely to circulate within the community (Miraftab, 2004). Particularly in Myanmar being an outsider, who carries the findings abroad and therefore enables the interviewees' voices to be heard outside of Myanmar after centuries of isolation, gains a special value. Being an insider equalises the power relations and eases the dynamics during the interview, due to mutual interest and reciprocity (Miraftab, 2004). By my position of being 'in between' I hope to generate a picture of myself as a researcher or friend, instead of a tourist, and therefore minimise the potentially biased responses due to my position in the study.

8. Results

The results section is structured according to the specific areas of the young people's cultural identity. Afterwards it will be looked at general connections/tendencies, which emerged during the research.

All 20 interviewees could feel the increase in tourist numbers during the last years.

The general opinion on the tourism development in Bagan was very positive throughout all interviews and is mainly associated with economic improvements. Most interviewees

even had a naïve positive view and only associated positive attributes with tourism, as highlighted during the conversation with a Buddhist monk: “All the bad things [the young people start doing now] are not from the tourists, but because of the media” (O1¹⁰). When generally asked about negative influences tourism has on Bagan one-third of all interviewees (same percentage within the group of young and adult interviewees) saw some kind of negative influence. Two-thirds however did not see any negative influence when asked generally, without naming possible areas of influence. When discussing certain influence areas of tourism during the interview many of the interviewees mentioned indirect influences of tourism, which they often did not perceive as caused by tourism in the first place, due to the indirect way of operating. In this paper I will regard direct influences of tourism as changes, which occur through the young people copying the behaviour and views of tourists. Whereas indirect influences are to be understood as changes which have one step in between the tourism and the actual change in an area of cultural identity. The tourism therefore influences one factor and this factor in turn has an influence on the young peoples’ cultural identity.

8.1. Specific areas of tourism’s influence on young peoples’ cultural identity

Cultural identity incorporates various areas of possible influence, which are however not clearly identified¹¹. I constructed the interview guide as described in paragraph ‘7.2.3. Semi-structured interviews’ on pages 28-29. I do not claim that the emerged areas capture all the different aspects cultural identity incorporates. However I believe that I have included all the areas of cultural identity, which are of specific interest in the context of prevalent changes through tourism in Bagan.

8.1.1. Style of dressing

All interviewees saw a dramatic change in the way young people dress nowadays. The changes identified are trousers/jeans worn by both sexes, girls wearing short skirts and dresses as well as sleeveless tops. Both groups related these changes mainly back to the popular Korean films: “Korean dressing, Korean style, all Korean style” (A1). They only saw a minor influence of tourism, but recognised that by seeing Korean and/or other Asian tourists wearing the styles they have seen in the films live the adaption gets accelerated: “The main reason for the change in dressing are the Korean movies. And

¹⁰ For a detailed overview of informants see ‘Appendix 3’, p. 73.

¹¹ See ‘5.1. Cultural identity’, pp. 10-12

now they can also see it in real life, because there are Korean tourists, who are touring around wearing the same. So they got the idea from the movies and now in real life” (A5). All young interviewees, even those wearing modern clothes, stated that they prefer the traditional longyi and consider it important to dress in the Myanmar way: “Some girls in Bagan wear short skirts like the women in the movies. But it is not very good - and not very good for our culture” (Y5). Young interviewees wearing modern clothes during the interviews justified their choice of clothes without being asked to do so: “I only wear clothes like this when it is cold, just for keeping me warm. But it can also be very hot in Bagan, because it is a tropical area, so sometimes I wear football shorts” (Y5). Common justifications included the adaptivity to temperature and the comfort. Adult interviewees are now unable to distinguish Myanmar and other Asian young people according to their clothing: “Some of them look like Koreans. You have to ask them to find out whether they are Myanmar or Korean. Before it was really easy to tell who was Myanmar. Now they all dress the same way and everything is mixed now” (A5). Most of the elderly interviewees had a negative attitude towards the modern style of dressing among their adolescents: “I do not like it. I want them to wear traditional clothes” (A2). Some adult interviewees pointed out the tendency of young people to dye their hair according to the Korean films, due to its affordability compared to buying modern clothes. During the official tourist guide education one has to agree to wear a traditional longyi during working hours. But even in every day’s life wearing a longyi is considered as ‘being properly dressed’, which got obvious when I arrived at one of my interviewees house, while he was wearing shorts. He was extremely uncomfortable and left immediately to put on his longyi. Nonetheless buying modern clothes seemed to be an extremely exciting and special event, which involves embarrassment as well as pride. Many young people start combining traditional clothing or Thanaka with modern clothing or make-up. Some of the observed fusions of styles include: Western clothes (jeans and t-shirt with an American flag) with Thanaka, traditional longyi with make-up and mascara, traditional male longyi with a sack coat, shorter longyis with a slit at the side¹².

¹² For pictures see ‘Appendix 4’, pp. 74-75

8.1.2. Taste of food

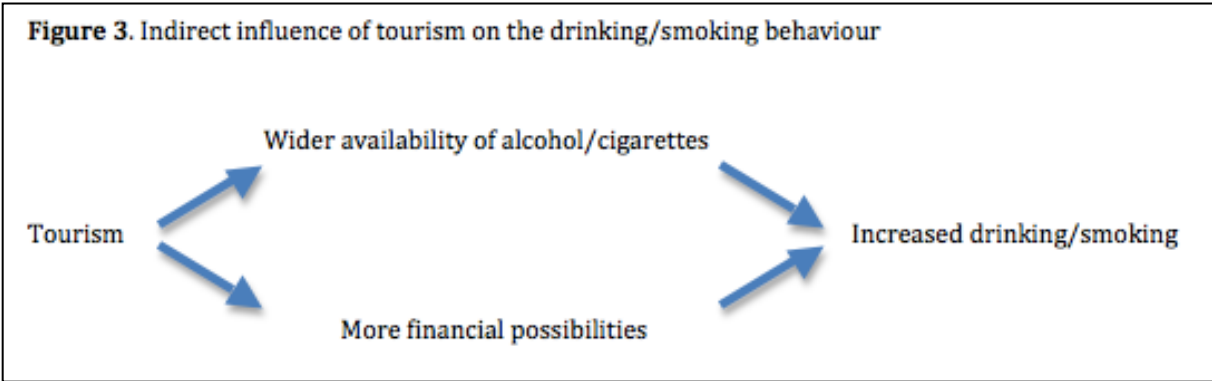
The taste of food seemed to be largely uninfluenced by tourism. Even though restaurant staff was familiar with some foreign food and learned preparing it for the tourists, the locals did not consume it themselves. Very few have tried Western food or even know what is to be understood of dishes such as 'pizza', although it is offered in various restaurants in Bagan. Those who have tried stated that they were excited when trying but prefer Myanmar food.

8.1.3. Consumption of alcohol and cigarettes

Most of the interviewees of both age groups stated that even though drinking alcohol is forbidden by one of the five precepts of Theravada Buddhism (Access to Insight, 2005), there is an increase of the young, but also adults, drinking nowadays in Bagan. About half of the interviewees saw a direct link between young people copying the drinking behaviour of tourists: "[The boys] might imitate from the tourists. Because the tourists drink beer whenever they have lunch or dinner in restaurants. So when they see the tourists, they want to try the taste [of alcohol] as well" (Y10). A young female tourist guide stated that many of her costumers drink during their shared lunch, which "was difficult [in the beginning of my career], but nowadays I can understand, even though it is not nice for me. When [tourist guys] offer alcohol and beer to the locals they also drink together. For us it is not polite to refuse the offer, therefore it is easier for the boys to start drinking" (Y8). The differences between the genders were distinct in this area. Even though drinking alcohol was considered negative altogether, it was completely unacceptable for girls to drink, whereas for boys it was tolerated. The elderly interviewees believed that young people feel modern when they drink alcohol or smoke cigarettes, as they associate it with Western countries, Korean films and the bigger cities in Myanmar where it is more common: "Because [the young people] think that when they smoke others will think that they are modern. This is wrong thinking. If you are not drinking and not smoking they think that they are old fashioned or boring. That is why they smoke and drink" (A7).

Both age groups mentioned the main influence of tourism on the consumption patterns of alcohol and cigarettes to be of an indirect character. As the tourists demand alcohol to be available many beer stations opened up in Bagan and most shops sell alcohol and cigarettes. This makes alcohol easily available for locals. Additionally the young people earn more money now due to the increased tourism, which allows them to spend some

money on alcohol and cigarettes. Statements like these highlight this view: “There are more beerstations and it is much easier to get alcohol now than five years ago. Five years ago there were very little stores where you could buy alcohol. But nowadays because of the tourist industry there are many restaurants, beerstations and stores, so it is easy to get alcohol now. Alcohol being easily accessible makes drinking more common” (Y9); “When I was a high-school student there were only teashops in town, so we always stayed in the teashops with our friends. [...] Now there are so many pubs and bars and beerstations. Today the young boys sit in bars” (A8); “They earn a lot of money by working with the tourists and they use this money in the wrong way. So they start drinking and smoking. It is because they have money now. [...]. They drink alcohol mainly during the tourist season. But during low season, they can not use the money, because they have to save it” (A5). The following diagram illustrates the indirect influence of tourism on the drinking and smoking behaviour of young people in Bagan¹³:



The adult interviewees stated that the parents are busy working in the tourism industry themselves, which leads to a lack of parental discipline, which enhances the young peoples’ drinking and smoking behaviour as well: “The parents and teachers here do not have control anymore. So the young people can do what they like, because nobody forbids them” (A4).

A law imposed about one year ago by the government forbids the selling of alcohol, particularly in Old Bagan, as the restaurants are too close to the holy pagodas. When

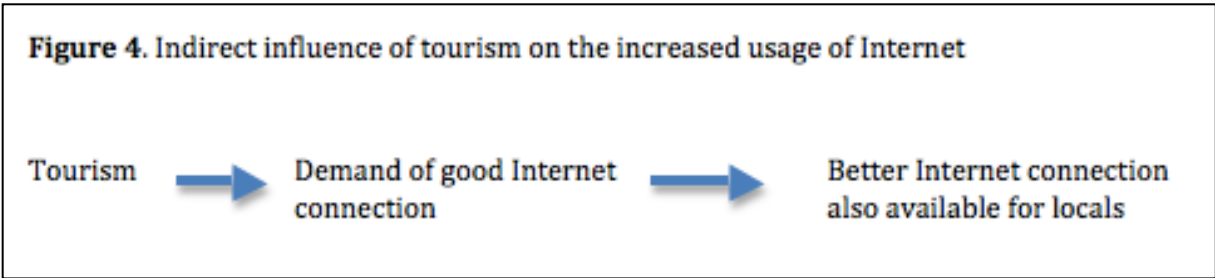
¹³ Showing the indirect influences of tourism on the cultural identity of the young people in Bagan in diagrams is used in order to clarify the connections drawn by the interviewees. It is not claimed that these connections are the only ones prevalent or exist in this exact way on an objective basis.

talking to the restaurant staff they stated that “for Myanmar people this law is good as for them drinking is a bad thing. But the tourist like alcohol so the law is bad for them” (O2).

8.1.4. Use of Internet/Facebook

All interviewees stated that the Internet and Facebook usage did increase over the last years. Reasons for using the Internet are the possibility to stay in contact with tourists, but also with local contacts and the gain in knowledge: “Some have contact with tourists. Others don’t. They just want to study and learn about IT” (A7); “We use it to have fun. And I think it is much more social and you get more friends, also from other countries” (Y10). One young interviewee highlighted the connection between the improvements in Internet services and tourism: “The internet is so much better now. Before it was very restricted, but now you can access all the websites, which was changed mainly for the tourists” (Y2). The Tourism Master plan by the Ministry of hotels and tourism (2013) confirms this connection by stating that the Internet is the most important tool for travellers to plan further travels and to “communicate their impressions on the quality of the visitor experience” (p. 17). They therefore aim to improve the quality of the Internet. Of course tourism is not the only reason for an opening-up country to improve the Internet connections but it does, according to the above-mentioned interviewee, hold a certain position within the improvement of the Internet services.

The indirect connection is visualised in the following diagram:

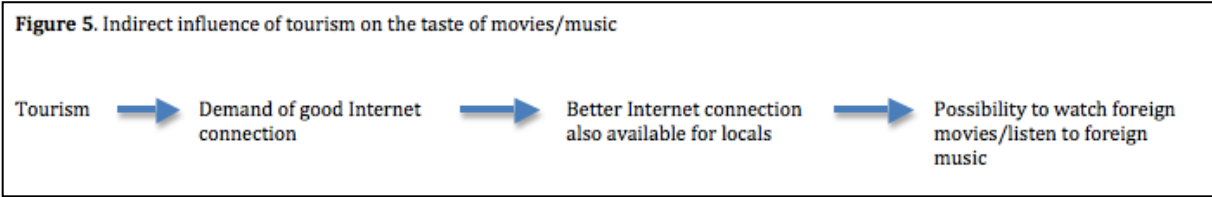


8.1.5. Taste in films and music

Most of all interviewees stated that the increased interest in foreign music and films is not due to tourism, but instead due to the wide availability through the Internet and TV. Linking these statements to the indirect influence found between tourism and better Internet connections¹⁴ it could be argued that tourism is indirectly responsible for the

¹⁴ See ‘8.1.4. Use of Internet/Facebook’, pp. 37

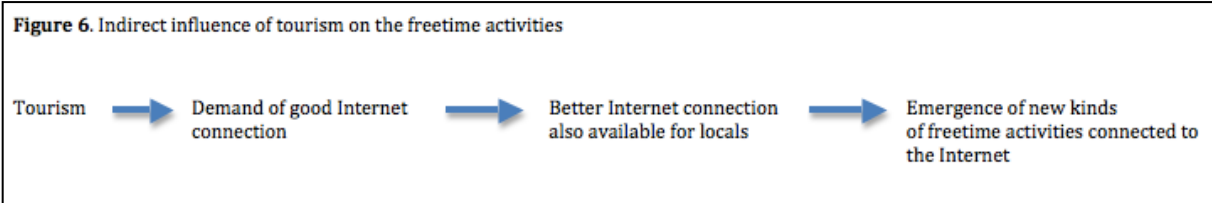
increased enjoyment of foreign films and music by allowing the young people to access these through the better Internet connections.



One young interviewee saw a subliminal connection to tourism as she watches foreign films to be able to picture the tourists’ lives at home: “So we can imagine how the tourists live. I also want to know how the Western people treat their friends, how they live, their lifestyle” (Y8). Another young interviewee portrayed the negative effects of the foreign films in the following way: “But of course young people here also use the Internet and they can access bad sites and watch bad movies, which affect them as well. Then they get bad images and start touching tourist women [...], because they get the images from the Internet and want to try their sexuality” (Y2).

8.1.6. Freetime activities

All interviewees agreed that young people nowadays have more hobbies than in the past, such as the Internet, computer games, phones and gambling about football matches: “Some young people do the gambling about the football matches, because now there are many channels and satellite programmes, so they can watch football and gamble. And some young people start using the mobile phones” (A2); “I watch cartoon movies. They are from the USA, Tom and Cherry. I look at it in English on the Internet” (Y5). It can be argued again that some of these new hobbies emerged through the improved Internet connection, which is linked to tourism¹⁵.



¹⁵ See ‘8.1.4. Use of Internet/Facebook’, pp. 37

Some young interviewees connected certain new freetime activities directly to tourists. They claimed that tourists tell them about celebrities, which they look up on the Internet and use the information found as a basis for future communications and sales conversations: “Foreigners show us people like Justin Bieber on the internet and then I am interested in these people too. Young business boys look for football players on the Internet in order to be able to name different players of each country. When they talk to tourists about it, it helps them selling. It helps them with selling when they know something about the country the tourists are from and are able to have a conversation about it with them. That is why we look it up on the Internet” (Y4). Additionally some of the young people copy hobbies like travelling from the tourists.

8.1.7. Use of Thanaka/Make-Up

Young and adult interviewees agreed that Thanaka is still worn for traditional reasons. They highlighted its specific features, like protection from sun, natural skin care and its worldwide uniqueness. Some interviewees, among them the interviewed souvenir sellers, however, also acknowledged that wearing Thanaka improves their business, as tourists often take pictures of girls wearing Thanaka and then feel obliged to buy souvenirs: “Some of the sellers put Thanaka on for better selling, because the tourists like it” (A3); “Thanaka is nice for the tourists. Tourists like Thanaka. It is still tradition in Myanmar, but nice Thanaka is good for the business as well” (Y7); “I believe that some people [...], who put very nice Thanaka paintings on their children’s faces, so that the tourists take pictures of it and they then get money. They use Thanaka as a tourist attraction. But other temple sellers still use it for tradition“ (Y2). Overall Thanaka seems to be worn for traditional reasons, which is often emphasised in a defiant way, but better business is a welcomed side effect. A young interviewee stated: “I cannot stay without Thanaka. I don’t feel good without it” (Y9). Nevertheless it is noticeable that during everyday’s life the interviewed souvenir sellers patch Thanaka on their cheeks in a simple way or wear none, whereas during business hours they always wear Thanaka and spent a lot of time and effort in producing special Thanaka patterns¹⁶. All the interviewees also recognized the upcoming tendency among young Burmese girls to combine Thanaka with artificially produced skin creams and make-up, such as mascara and lipstick. A young female interviewee, who was wearing lipstick and no Thanaka seemed to recognise how special Thanaka and decided during the interview to

¹⁶ For pictures see ‘Appendix 5’, p. 76

wear Thanaka in combination with her lipstick in the future in order to preserve this tradition: “It is a very special and nice culture and I think we should keep this culture. So maybe I decided to wear Thanaka again, right now” (Y10). She however also noted that Thanaka starts to get ‘uncool’ among young girls in the bigger cities of Myanmar, where make-up is getting much more common: “Some think it is uncool and old fashioned. In the villages you can still see girls with Thanaka, but in the cities you can only see small children wearing Thanaka, not teenagers. They just want to wear make-up, lotions and creams, but not Thanaka” (Y10).

8.1.8. Consumption of betelnut

Among the group of young interviewees there were different opinions about the changes in betelnut consumption. Some argued that more young people, especially boys start using it; others observed a decrease in consumption due to the raised awareness of the negative health effects. All of them agreed however that, whichever tendency they believe is true, is independent from tourism. A young interviewee, chewing himself stated: “It is our tradition. Even though most of the tourists advice me not to chew betelnut, because it is not good for the teeth and it can give you diseases, I cannot stop doing it. It is very difficult to cut out on it. I would like to but I cannot” (Y5), whereas another one believed: “I think it did not change, because it is also a kind of tradition. The men who chew betelnut really like it, so they won’t quit. If they quit then it is because of their health, not because of tourists” (Y8).

The elderly interviewees mainly agreed that there is an increase in consumption of betelnut among young boys, as they see chewing as a proof of maturity and compare it to Western young people, who ascribe the same meaning to drinking alcohol. An adult interviewee stated that young people consider chewing betelnut as “good style and proof of being mature. (...). Many young people think that if they are not chewing they are not an up-to-date person.” (A3).

8.1.9. Importance of education

All interviewees saw a direct influence of tourism on the importance of school among young people: Either tourism leads to an increased awareness of the importance of education, as the well-paid jobs in the tourism industry require a good education. This leads to the long-term motivation to acquire good education in order to be able to work in a high-skilled job. On the other side tourism enables to earn money quickly by engaging in low-skilled labour, like selling souvenirs. Tourism can therefore also lead to

young people disregarding school in order to work in low-skilled tourism jobs. Which influence tourism has in each specific case depends on the character of the young person, as believed by the young interviewees or the level of education of the parents who decide about their children's path of life, as held by the adult interviewees. A young interviewee described: "I think there are two different kinds of young people. The clever ones, who think for the long-term and believe that education is even more important now that there are so many tourists here. They study very hard to improve their knowledge and are later able to get a good job, for example as a tourist guide, like myself. And then there are other young people, who only think short-term. They see the possibility of making a lot of money now by selling at the pagodas and they quit school in order to make money there. But they are forgetting about their future" (Y2). In contrast one of the adult interviewee believed that "it depends on the parents. If the parents think that education is important they sent their children to school instead of selling at the pagoda. But other parents think that money is more important and sent their children to sell at the pagoda only. It does not depend on the young people, but mainly on their parents" (A2).

It is conspicuous that many locals seem to equalise education with learning English. As English is the most obvious requirement to be in contact with tourists and therefore work in the tourism sector it seems as if other valuable outcomes of education perish under the immense importance of English. Interviewee 6 believed that "Nowadays there are so many tourists coming and everybody wants to talk to the tourists and be in contact with them, so we are all trying to learn English now" (Y6).

8.1.10. Attitudes towards relationships/marriage

Looking at the attitudes young people in Bagan have towards relationships and marriage there seem to be various influences of tourism, combined with a range of other influences, at work.

The older interviewees stated that during their youth it was not tolerated to be in a relationship before marriage. Nowadays it is much more common to have a boyfriend/girlfriend before getting married. Some interviewees saw the roots for these changes in the young people copying the tourist couples, who are showing their affection openly without being married: "The young people copy the tourist couples. In the old days it was very difficult to have a boyfriend/girlfriend. But nowadays [...] there are many tourist couples going around, so the young local couples see these young

foreign couples and then start meeting their partners in public as well” (A5). Others believed that the modern technology, like phones and chatting on the Internet, allow young people to communicate with the other sex easily whereas at school there is often a separation between the sexes: “We have phones now and internet connections. So it is easy to get the numbers of the boys and girls now and then we tease each other and write messages. [...] It is easy to fall in love now and easy to have a boyfriend or girlfriend” (Y10). Another possible influence was seen in the Korean or Western films where the young people get confronted with foreign relationship patterns, which influence interpersonal relations in Bagan, as a young interviewee stated: “In the Korean and the Western movies couples live together [before getting married]. They also get with somebody else when they are married, get divorced and then marry again. There are new developments like this here” (Y8). Even though it is getting more common to have a relationship before marriage it is still attached to stigmatisation. Finding out that someone is in a relationship is always connected to giggling and a common aim for jokes. A young interviewee told the following:

It is a secret. I have a boyfriend, but he is married to another girl. My parents don't like it and don't want me to date this boy. (...). Don't look down on me because of that and keep it for yourself. (Y4)

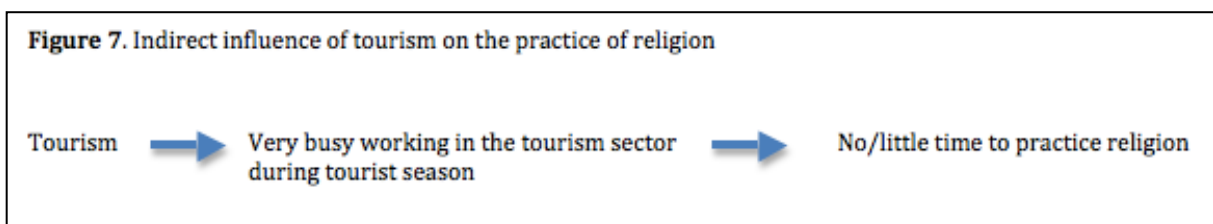
Most of them highlighted that being in a relationship in Bagan does not include ‘staying with each other’, i.e. sleeping in the same bed and/or living together: “Having a boyfriend is ok, but we do not stay together. If we still live with our parents then we do not even go out with the boyfriend, we only talk on the phone or through text. But when we go to university we can go out together, but we can still not stay together” (Y6). A young interviewee acknowledged that “this kind of thing is still difficult for Myanmar people” (Y8).

Various interviewees mentioned that some young people get married very early nowadays without being ready or knowing anything about married life, as they value love and marriage less than previous generations. One of the older interviewees observed that “most of the people here want to get married as soon as they reach the right age. But none of them knows what marriage life is. They want to marry and then they do not like it and complain” (A4). Another one stated that by having a partner before marriage many young people think they are “up-to-date and modern. (...). It is not our culture, but now they are running this style” (A3).

Some interviewees mentioned marriage between locals and tourists. The reasons for these kinds of marriages were believed to be the economic benefits for the family of the local. One young interviewee was worried that “we will end up like Thailand, where there are so many people involved with tourists just for the money. It is not good for our tradition” (Y2).

8.1.11. Importance of religion

Most young interviewees stated that the importance of religion has not changed for them. What has changed however is that due to being busy working in the tourism sector they have no or very little time to practice religion, as highlighted by the following statement of a young interviewee: “During the tourist season I have my job and I even forget religious days, like today – I forgot to go to the monastery. [...] I do not have so much time to pray. [...] Before I became a tourist guide I had much time to go the monastery with my parents and pray” (Y8).



One of the young interviewees stated additionally that “[the young people] do not have to pray because their life is too good now” (Y5) due to tourism.

The adult interviewees claimed that young people have only superficial knowledge about religion, as they study religion for their work with tourists, but lack deep understanding and believing as it is only seen as a way to generate income. Some adult interviewees also accused the availability of entertainment tools, such as computers, Internet and phones of attracting the young peoples interest, which prevents them from practicing religion in a deep way. As stated “the young people have to learn about the religion in order to be able to explain it to the tourists” (A7) and therefore “know our religion only roughly. [...]. In the old days the young people did not have any media or anything else where they could copy from the foreign, so they were only interested in religion. [...] But nowadays [...] these modern things substitute religion” (A5).

8.1.12. Prevalent values

The young interviewees felt that the most important value is still the family, but that the way of showing this has changed. In earlier days one showed the affection for the family by spending time with them. Nowadays however the care and affection is mainly reflected in earning money for the family. A young interviewee described “my family is still important to me, but I have to and want to earn money. [...] there are many chances for me to do a job and earn money for my family [...]. I have less time to take care of my family and my younger brother, because I am with the tourists the whole day” (Y8).

Adult interviewees stated that young peoples’ values are changing and are often incomprehensible for them, like the dilution of the extremely important value of respect towards elders. Some of the adult interviewees explained this change through the income of the young people working in the tourism industry often exceeding their parent’s, which misaligns the power structure within the household and often leads to young people disrespecting their parents. An adult interviewee reported:

[The young people] do not pay respect to the parents. They just give the money and behave like a king (...). When we were young we couldn’t do it like that, we always had to pay respect to our parents. So this value of paying respect is slowing down (...). (A5)

Another described that the young people behave “like they rule the world” (A4).



Han (2012) describes that “traditionally, care of the elderly has been considered as a noble practice. Younger family members serve the needs of the elderly with great pride.” (p. 24). However he also states that with the erosion of the traditional family care system due to the increased number of family members being engaged in jobs, urbanisation, a decrease in childbirth and young people migrating the pronounced respect for the elderly is on the decrease (Han, 2012). This tendency gets evident by the newly opened old people’s home in Nyaung U.

Some interviewees of the elderly age group however also saw the causes for the lacking respect of the youth towards elders in the deficit of parental discipline. Among the adult interviewees the importance of the parents in the young peoples' decisions and their way of life was mentioned regularly, whereas none of the young interviewees indicated this.

8.1.13. Importance of money

All the interviewees stated that money is getting more important for young people nowadays. As an explanation both age groups identify the prevalence of tourists, who display luxury articles, such as cameras, phones, computers, beauty products and a general lifestyle coined by consumption. The young people feel the urge to copy this way of life. In order to comply with this urge money is needed and therefore gains importance as a means of enabling this wish. A young interviewee stated that "money is very important, because there are so many luxury things to buy nowadays like Iphones and that is why we think we need money to buy it" (Y10).

It has been mentioned various times during the interviews that the increased importance of money has caused a rise in the levels of crime, particularly against tourists: "There was a terrible robbery, where young people robbed tourists. [...] they wanted to use the money freely according to their own will on luxury products. [...] they wanted the same products as the tourists" (A4). Newspapers (Hswam, 2013) and the newly introduced tourist police (Local Police, 2013) confirm the increased crime levels and particularly point out the bag snatching from tourists' bicycle baskets.

8.2. General tendencies/connections

In the first place all the interviewees connected tourism with positive characteristics, particularly the economic benefits. When distinguishing between youth and adult interviewees however it becomes obvious that the young people had a broader arrangement of other positive influences of tourism (like finding foreign friends, better infrastructure, knowledge transfer, development of an open-minded world perspective and the improvement of their English) even though the economic factors are the driving ones, whereas the adults mainly associated tourism with the sole economic benefits.

Changes in the young peoples cultural identity, such as drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes, dressing in a modern way and having relationships before marriage and a freewheeling attitude towards sexuality are considered to be at least partly caused by tourism. The respondents, young and old, judged these changes as negative. This did not

prevent the young people from participating in them however. Even though the young interviewees stated that they prefer a longyi over modern clothes (“I want [the young people] here to wear traditional Myanmar costumes”, Y9), regarded drinking alcohol as a bad habit for Burmese (“I don’t like it and it is not good. I don’t want my friends and siblings to drink”, Y7) and disliked living in a society where sexuality is practiced in an open and free way (“You do not have to marry your girlfriend in western culture. It is not very good. I do not like it this way”, Y5), they nevertheless wear western clothes, drink from time to time and start having relationships before marriage. They seemed to feel guilty about this antagonism and enacting these ‘bad’ developments and therefore started to justify their reasons for engaging in them.

Depending on the job the young people exercise, of course, their interactions with tourists vary in intensity. For example the kind of interaction a souvenir seller or a room cleaner has with tourists is less intense, long and profound than the interactions tourist guides or a family guesthouse owner has. The latter engage to a greater extent in cultural exchange, discuss the different life worlds and get a deeper insight into the tourists’ views and perspectives. The first category’s main contact to tourists consists of selling or job related conversations. It is to be assumed that these two groups reflect upon tourism in a different way. It has been found that young people with intense contact to tourists (tourist guide, family guesthouse owner) reflected more about the good and bad sides of tourism than the groups with less intense contact (souvenir seller, room cleaner), who tended to mainly see the positive sides about tourism and reduce tourism to its economic benefits.

Many of the young people working in the tourism industry are aware of how tourists perceive them and try to keep this image up. Several young interviewees believed that tourists perceive the Myanmar people as being extremely friendly and honest: “[The tourists] tell me about the differences between my and their country. They say that Myanmar people are very kind and people in their home countries are often not so kind” (Y7). Therefore the young people feel the need to be extremely friendly, behave in a good way and dress up in a proper and sometimes even traditional way in order to meet these expectations. A young interviewee working in a hotel stated that “with the foreigner I have to behave well. I stay nice and I want to show them that my culture is a nice culture” (Y1).

The topic of maturity came up several times during the interviews with both groups.

The adult interviewees believed that young people drink alcohol and chew betelnut in order to feel mature. During interviews with the youth it has been mentioned a few times, that they are much more mature nowadays, which was considered as something positive: “Starting from this year I started thinking like an adult. Two years ago I was like a child. But I prefer thinking like an adult” (Y3); “Now I am happier [than five years ago], because I feel more mature” (Y10).

The majority of the interviewees of both age groups has used phrases such as “there are *still* many differences” (Y2), “has not changed *yet*” (Y6) and “so far so good” (A10). One young interviewee even stated directly: “Maybe one day our culture will be fading (...) because of the tourists” (Y8).

All interviewees mentioned that changes are more pronounced when the young people are in direct contact with tourists.

When asked whether the young people want to preserve the Myanmar culture all interviewees agreed that most of the young people do want to do so. The young people either stated that they would like to keep Myanmar culture in its original form or they emphasised that a mixture of the good aspects of various cultures would be worth pursuing, like this statement highlights: “I think a mix would be good, so to be not completely western and not completely Myanmar” (Y3). They considered their own traditions, such as dressing, not drinking alcohol and not having relationships as good within their own culture. But they also acknowledged the ‘independence’, the ‘bravery’ and the good education of the tourists as desirable. It has been said that “some of the *other* young people” (Y8) would like to be completely like the tourists. None of the adult interviewees talked about aiming for an integration of parts of foreign culture into the Myanmar culture. They believed that most of the young people want to preserve the Myanmar culture and that the changes occurring are “only on the surface” (A8), but the young people “still have Myanmar culture in their hearts” (A5). Others said that the group of Myanmar young people pursuing to become like the tourists is increasing. All the interviewees agreed that the differences between the tourists and the Myanmar young people are on the decrease altogether.

Even though the majority of the interviewees of the older age group observed some kind of loosening up of culture among the young people, they seemed to think that tourists cannot influence the young people deeply. It has been stated by adult interviewees that the tourists do not influence the young people, as “it is another culture” (A1). They explained the immunity of the young people against deep influences of the tourists

through completely different worlds of life. The view was pursued that “the young people are doing their business on their way and the tourists are going on their own way” (O1). Due to the little and superficial interactions between tourists and young people some adult interviewees seemed to believe that no deeply routed change in cultural identity can occur.

9. Discussion

This thesis has aimed to identify consequences of tourism on the cultural identity of the youth in Bagan as perceived by the local population and the attitudes towards these. It has been found that tourism influences the cultural identity of the young people in Bagan through direct and indirect ways. The following table will give a short overview of where the interviewees see a direct or an indirect impact of tourism:

Table 2. Overview of tourism’s influences

	No influence	Direct influence	Indirect influence
Style of dressing	x	(x)	
Taste of food	x		
Consumption of alcohol/cigarettes		x	x
Use of Internet/Facebook			x
Taste in films and music	x		(x)
Freetime activities		x	x
Use of Thanaka/Make-Up		x	
Consumption of betelnut	x		
Importance of education		x	
Attitudes towards relationships/marriage		x	x
Importance of religion			x
Prevalent values			x

Importance of money		x	
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The indirect way of tourism's influence does not show the relation to tourism in an obvious way and therefore these changes often do not get associated with tourism straight away, but instead gained realisation when focusing explicitly on certain areas. This can lead to a biased view upon tourism's influences.

During recent times it has been acknowledged by many authors that globalisation cannot be equated with Westernisation or Americanisation (Hopper, 2007; Appadurai, 1996; Hannerz, 1996). This study supports these opinions, as the interviewees felt that the style of dressing is more influenced by Korean films and tourists than by Western or American influences. The differences between Korean and Western clothing styles have not been pointed out by the interviewees, but nevertheless their adaptations have been described as Korean style. As the influence of Korean films has been mentioned in various areas, by equalising globalisation with Westernisation, influences, which could be called Koreanisation, would get neglected. As Ibold (2010) has found, however, the emerging youth identities in his study did not belong to one category, but instead were an individual and unique mix between *different* global and local influences. This study supports the findings by acknowledging Koreanisation, global influences, as well as prevalent local attachments and Western influences.

Glocalisation is often regarded as describing the processes of globalisation in the most truthful way (Robertson, 2010; Richards, 2007). There are various impacts of tourism on the cultural identity of young people in Bagan, which can be considered as glocalising and therefore adapting and integrating global forms into the local context (Eriksen, 2007). Glocalisation was particularly obvious when looking at clothing and Thanaka/make-up of the young girls. Even though the main influences on the style of dressing are found to be Korean films, interviewees also acknowledged a certain impact of tourism. Many of the young girls in Bagan combine global trends, such as jeans, comparably short skirts or make-up with local trends, such as Thanaka. Additionally adult interviewees felt that young people increasingly start chewing betelnut in order to feel mature and modern. In Western countries adolescents drink alcohol to feel mature (White & Jackson, 2004/2005), which made the adult interviewees believe that chewing betelnut is the Burmese substitute and can therefore be seen as glocalisation. When asked whether the young people desire to become like the tourists or maintain the

Myanmar way of life, some expressed their wish to integrate positive aspects of both cultures, which is another sign of glocalisation. The young interviewees showed a “sense of belonging to a worldwide culture” (Arnett, 2002, p. 777) and therefore developed into the direction of hybrid identities. An adult interviewee stated that “now the whole world is wearing jeans, so the young people here want it too” (A4), highlighting the awareness about global styles among young people and recognises them being part of this global trend (Arnett, 2002). Further on drinking alcohol and smoking is widely regarded as a sign of maturity (White & Jackson, 2004/2005). Young people in Bagan now start connecting the consumption of alcohol and cigarettes, next to the chewing of betelnut, with being modern, up-to-date and mature, as they feel like a part of this global world with its habits. The new freetime activities of adolescents signalise an awareness of the globalised world and themselves being a part of it: Young people are engaging in news about international celebrities, geography and football clubs.

There were however also clear signs of confused identities, where young people seem to live between different cultural expectations: The cleavage between being impolite when refusing offered alcohol and the unwillingness to drink are an example. A similar pattern can be observed with relationships before marriage and marriage itself. Through tourism and other influences, such as foreign films, young people in Bagan get flooded with images of unmarried couples and sexual relationships before marriage. The young people feel pressured to behave in a similar way in order to be a modern person. This kind of behaviour however is not compatible with the traditional way of Myanmar life, which rules out any (sexual) relationship before marriage. As a result young people get married earlier to be able to live the relationship models observed among tourists or on TV without offending the Myanmar way of life. Even though young people regarded relationships and sexual contacts before marriage, dressing solely in a modern way and the consumption of alcohol and cigarettes as something negative, they still adapt them. During the interviews they often defended and justified their engagement in these activities. Young people can therefore get the feeling to not belong to their local culture fully, as they are engaging in new global activities, which often are not compliant with the Myanmar culture, but on the other side do not truly belong to the global culture either, as they do still have their Myanmar way of thinking, which attaches a negative evaluation to many of the global practices. Young people are therefore often referred to as being ‘trapped between cultures’ (Baumann, 1996) and could in this state be categorised as what Arnett’s (2002) labels ‘confused identities’ or what Scholte (2005)

calls “lost souls” (p. 253). Authors, such as Baumann (1996) however criticise that by transferring the picture of young people being trapped between cultures a wrong image of a “culture-less flock lost between two immovable objects named culture” (p. 14) is generated, instead of young people who are performing different cultures in order to make sense of themselves. Relating the whole argument to the increased importance of maturity one could argue that young people glocalise global signs of maturity, such as the consumption of alcohol and cigarettes, which collide with their Myanmar way of living. They create their own glocalised signs of maturity, such as chewing betelnut and therefore manage to shift from confused identities to hybrid identities. As Hörschelmann and Schäfer (2005) point out each young person has its own way in responding to globalisation’s influences. The distinctions between confused and hybrid identities are not sharply defined and the process of glocalisation allows the transition between the two.

The law making traditional longyi and blouse/shirt obligatory for tourist guides during working hours, as well as the new ways of wearing Thanaka can both be seen as a commodification of the Myanmar culture. The commodification can be forced or arising from daily interactions with tourists and the recognition of their preferences. Wearing Thanaka is self-evident for most of the interviewees and helps them to create their identity. On the other hand it has been admitted that a pleasurable side effect of wearing Thanaka is the increase in profits when selling souvenirs. Thanaka is one of the hallmarks of the Burmese population, which is displayed in all tourist advertisement materials. Tourists arriving in Myanmar therefore expect women to wear Thanaka. The women felt that it helps their business profits if they comply with these expectations. As Wall & Mathieson (2006) state this can lead to a loss of meaning of this tradition for the women themselves. The commodification could thus be regarded as shifting the use of Thanaka from a way of belonging to a way of being. As interviews have showed this has not happened in Bagan yet. It can be observed however that women do wear different kind of Thanaka in their freetime (plain and simple), when it serves merely their sense of belonging than when they wear it for selling (elaborated patterns), when it also forms a commodity on the market. The young people were fully aware of how the tourists perceive them and actively try to live up to this image of being extremely friendly and helpful. This surely cannot be considered as something bad altogether, but it nevertheless means that their friendliness is getting commodified and therefore runs the risk of losing its authenticity (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). One interviewee even stated

directly: “The young people who are dealing with tourism like our culture and traditions, but the young people who are not working in the tourism sector are not really interested in our culture” (Y3). This description represents the argument about culture as a commodity and the resulting loss of authenticity. On the other hand however after centuries of conflict and a resulting instable and insecure identity (Myers et al, 1991) presenting the own culture by forming a picture for the tourists also helps the host population to rebuild an identity (Light, 2001). The own culture is reflexive and therefore gets shaped by the image others have of it (Wade, 1999). If the Myanmar youth feels the urge to present themselves as a society where violence, suppression and fear no longer form the daily life after a traumatising past, then presenting themselves in this way can help to stabilise this identity for themselves. Commodification of culture can therefore not be regarded as something bad altogether.

The concepts of being and belonging can be applied when evaluating how superficial or deep the changes in the young peoples’ cultural identity are. Young people still feel a belonging to the Myanmar culture, as they feel more comfortable and ‘properly dressed’ in a longyi and “enact an identity” (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p. 1010) by wearing Thanaka. Even though adult interviewees realised a decreased importance of religion, which can be described as having been shifted from a way of belonging to a way of being, they generally feel that the youth does still *belong* to the Myanmar way of life. They state that the changes in the young people’s cultural identity are superficial and are a way of *being*, whereas they still carry the Myanmar culture in their hearts, which represents their way of *belonging*. Eriksen (2007) agrees by believing that one can be culturally assimilated, but remains attached to the origins in respect to identity, as changes due to globalisation are often superficial.

When looking at the role of tourism in post-conflict societies tourism gets a different connotation than in countries without a history of oppression and isolation. The post-conflict society is even more in the process of forming a new identity after a current opening-up (Gutlove & Thompson, 2004), which one could argue makes them even more sensible for tourism’s influences. All interviewees have mentioned that currently ‘everything is changing’, showing their awareness of living in a phase of intense transformation. The emergence of more mature young people can be seen as a way of how the young people have and still are constructing their new identity. Additionally tourism is a sign of the increased access to the outside world in formerly closed off countries (Causevic & Lynch, 2011), particularly in rural areas, where other influences

such as foreign investments are not as prevalent as in the big cities. As the population has been anticipating access to the outside world for centuries, they are eager to finally speak out to the world, as shown by the openness and enthusiasm about being interviewed. The mainly positive attitude towards tourism is therefore natural and negative influences tend to be neglected due to the long anticipation. Benegas (2011) supports this by describing that the negative past is often neglected and the positive future embraced in order to attain distance from the past. One could apply the social exchange theory and conclude that the increased access to the outside world is weighing more for the local population than tourism's negative influences, which generates an overall positive view of tourism. This also justifies the tendency of the interviewees to refrain from blaming tourists for bad influences. Instead they tended to relate negative consequences back to the personality of their own people. Various authors however argue that objectively tourism only results in positive outcomes for the population of developing countries, if implemented in a sensible way, which aims at tackling inequalities among the host society (Scheyvens, 2011). As tourism in Myanmar has increased spontaneously the country lacked time to introduce tourism responsibly (World Tourism Organisation, 2013), tourism in its current form is unlikely to have objective positive outcomes for the population. The population nevertheless perceives tourism as positive, which highlights the embracement of the opening-up and the negligence of the negative influences due to its post-conflict character.

The more intense the contact the interviewees of this study have with tourists, the less enthusiastic, but the more reflective they see tourism. By interacting in an intense manner with tourists, the locals can no longer neglect the two-sidedness of tourism, but instead face both, positive and negative, sides and therefore eliminate the initial positive bias on tourism. In the course of this discussion it is however also interesting to consider that most models describing the host society's attitude towards tourism and previous empirical findings found a positive attitude towards tourism, which decreased with the intensity of contact. These models and studies however did not consider the role of a possible post-conflict setting. One could conclude that the findings are the same regardless of previous isolation and the invigorated meaning of the opening-up. I argue however, that the whole process is more intense in post-conflict societies, due to the positive anticipation of tourism as a sign of opening-up and the situation of in depth identity formation during times after conflicts. This finding is in accordance with Wall

and Mathieson (2006), who found that tourism influences are more extreme in previously isolated societies.

There seems to be a general subliminal knowledge that tourism will continuously influence the young people in Bagan and that more negative influences will arise. Interviewees used words such as 'still' and 'not yet'. Some of the elderly interviewees seemed to neglect the influences of tourism, by stating that influences are impossible due to the differences in cultures between tourists and locals. As it is mainly young people working in the tourism sector and therefore experiencing intense contact with tourist, it could get argued that adults see tourism mainly positive and neglect any negative influences due to the less intense contact with tourists. A very interesting finding is the relation between the young and the old people in Bagan. Adult interviewees repeatedly mentioned the parents' power over their children, whereas young interviewees did not seem to feel that their parents influence their life immensely. Adult interviewees compared young peoples' behaviour to 'kings, who think they rule the world', which demonstrates the change of power among the generations and the feeling of fading respect of young towards older people. The elderly interviewees related these changes back to the increased income of the young people working in the tourism sector, which erodes family structures. As the respect towards elders and parents is very characteristic for Myanmar (Han, 2012) the current changes give rise to completely new power relations among generations and an increasing gap between the generations.

Even though some of the findings seem to contradict each other, it does not make them less truthful, as Eriksen (2007) states "globalising processes are always full of contradictions" (p. 152). And Lanfant (1995) highlights the different ways of possible influence of tourism by the following quote:

On the one hand, the spread of tourism in the world economy leads to extroversion, internationalization and deterritorialization. On the other hand, it works towards the retrenchment of identities in a territory, a system of filiation and patrimony, all acting as a fulcrum. There is a constant tug-of-war between mobility, which is motivated by a zest for modernity, and an appeal to identity, which takes for granted the equality of cultures on their own terms. (p. 9)

Page and Connell (2006) state that changes in the culture and the cultural identity are gradually occurring in the long-term. Future studies on this topic are therefore advisable. Critics argue that tourism does not have the capacity to seriously influence

changes in the cultural identity, as the contacts tourists and locals engage in are on a short-term basis and superficial (Crick, 1995). Even though the conversation with the Buddhist monk supported this view, the interviewees themselves feel that tourism does influence certain parts of their cultural identity. As the interviewees' perceptions are the focus of this thesis the critique loses its ground.

For future research it would be interesting to compare the way the population of Bagan views the changes on their young peoples' cultural identity with other post-conflict societies. As this paper is concerned with a case study, the results cannot be transferred to other societies. By comparing the findings of various studies, however, similarities and differences can get highlighted, which might give rise to general tendencies. Past research has failed to address the role of a post-conflict society when evaluating the host society's attitudes towards tourism. For future research it is advisable to pay respect to the possible influences of a post-conflict setting. As Myanmar is a multi-ethnic society it would be interesting to evaluate how the perceived changes differ among members of different ethnicities. As Walton (2013) states it is often believed that the opening-up and related processes such as tourism, mainly benefits the ethnic majority of the Burmans, which could mean that they experience different influences on their individual cultural identities as opposed to individuals from ethnic minorities. Another idea for future research is the comparison between the changes in the cultural identity of young people involved in the tourism sector and young people not involved in the tourism industry. Through a study like this it might be possible to isolate areas, which are particularly influenced by tourism. The sampling however does play an important role here, as individuals who live in remote villages and are not in contact with tourists also tend to be less influenced by other processes of globalisation. As stated above one of the most important values in Myanmar, the respect towards elders (Han, 2012), shows some profound changes, which could emerge into a transformation of power relations among generations, this is an interesting topic for future research as well.

10. Conclusion

As according to Gutlove and Thompson (2004) after times of conflict, such as the oppressive time under the military government in Burma/Myanmar, identity formation takes place to an even more substantial degree than it does constantly. The effects tourism has on the population of Bagan were therefore expected to be severe.

In response to the first research question 'Which consequences of increased tourism does the population of Bagan perceive in their young peoples' cultural identity?' it can be said that Bagan's population perceived various direct and indirect impacts of tourism on their young peoples' identity. Direct influences were perceived through the prevalence of modern clothing styles, an increase in the consumption alcohol and cigarettes, the globally oriented freetime activities the young people engage in, the increased use of make-up and a slight change in the meaning of Thanaka, in the extent young people consider education to be important, the increased prevalence of relationships before marriage and in an increased importance of money. Whereas indirect influences have been felt in the areas of alcohol and cigarette consumption, the increased use of internet/Facebook, the engagement in foreign movies and music, the new kind of freetime activities, the attitudes towards relationships and marriage, the reduced practice of religion and prevalent values among young people. By analysing these changes in different areas of the young peoples' cultural identity it can be said that Bagan's population does not perceive globalisation and its sub process of tourism to be an equivalent to Westernisation, instead it often means Koreanisation for them. Additionally most of Bagan's population seems to perceive signs of glocalisation, instead of homogenisation or heterogenisation of their cultural identity. The fusion of traditional Myanmar dressing with modern dressing and the blending in the use of Thanaka and make-up symbolises the adaption of the global in a local way. The population of Bagan feels a change in the usage of Thanaka, which could be interpreted in an emerging tendency to commodify this cultural good. At the moment however it has been agreed upon that the potential commodification has not (yet) resulted in a loss of meaning of this tradition. As Light (2001) has stated the commodification of culture can also help the process of identity formation, which then could be regarded as something positive as post-conflict societies often inherit an unstable identity (Silove, 1999).

The second research question 'What is the attitude of Bagan's population towards the changes the young people are experiencing in their cultural identity?' can be answered by stating that Bagan's population mainly has a positive attitude towards tourism and the changes in young peoples' cultural identity. Most of these positive attitudes emerge from economic improvements. The youth however does also acknowledge other positive influences of tourism such as their own openness towards strangers and the increased knowledge. These excessive positive attitudes could possibly emerge from the fact that tourism is seen as a clear sign of the increased openness, which was absent during the

last centuries and has become a valuable good to the population. In connection with the social exchange theory this would mean that for the interviewees tourism brings more benefits than costs to their society. Nevertheless the population seems to be aware that there are more changes to come, which could in the end intensify the negative influences of tourism. Young people, who are engaging intensely with tourists already seem to reflect more critical on the impacts tourism has on their cultural identity. In general the young respondents however acknowledge and advocate glocalisation by adapting the positive characteristics of the local and the global culture and seem to be aware of themselves as global, as well as local persons. Whereas the adults within this study seemed to neglect the prevalence of a glocalised cultural identity among the young people or regard them as being purely superficial. Even though there was disagreement between the interviewed age groups about the glocalisation of the young peoples' cultural belonging, all of them agree that for now the young peoples' cultural identity still experiences a sense of belonging to Myanmar. Reflecting on the perceived consequences and the attitudes among the young people in Bagan, both hybrid identities as well as confused identities have emerged through tourism.

This thesis takes an anti-essentialist stance and acknowledges that identities are constantly evolving and transforming, which they would do with or without the influence of tourism. It has however been shown that in post-conflict societies the formation of identity exceeds the normal and tourism does play a role in the formation of this new cultural identity of the young people in different ways. As changes in culture are considered to be a long-term process (Page & Connell, 2006) more transformations are expected to occur.

11. References

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12. Appendix

Appendix 1. Interview guide for young interviewees.

Interviewguide – Young people

Introduction (basic data)

- Age
- Gender
- Educational attainment
- Urban/rural background
- Language skills
- Work life history
- Current job/s
- Current income
- Living situation
- Siblings and their living situation
- Parents job
- Siblings job
- Friendship circle
- Future perspective

Tourism development in Bagan

- What do you think about the tourism development in Bagan?
- Do you feel a big difference in the number of tourists 5 years ago and nowadays?
- How do you think that tourism affects Bagan?
- What is good about this development?
- What is bad about this development? Are there problems with this development?
- How would you like the pattern of tourism in Bagan look in the future?

Tourisms effect on young people in Bagan

- How has the increase in tourism affected young people in Bagan?
- What are the good things about interacting with tourists?
- What are the bad things?
- Do you think tourism brings more benefits to you and other young people Bagan or do you think it brings more negative effects with it?
- When do you interact with tourists? How often?
- How does it make you feel?
- Are there situations when you feel insecure about what to do when you interact with tourists?
- Do you think you behave differently when interacting with tourists?
- Would you like to interact more with tourists? Why (not)?
- What do you like to talk to tourists about?
- Did you find friends, who were in Bagan as tourists, who you are still in contact with and are your friends now?

Tourisms effect on different areas of life

- Does tourism affect specific areas of life of your life here?
- Do you think these changes are good/bad? Why?
- How do you think the increased tourism has affected ...
 - ... the practice/importance of religion?
 - ... the attitude/importance of school?

- ... the acceptance of relationships before marriage?
- ... the importance of marriage?
- ... the acceptance of drinking alcohol?
- ... the clothing style?
- ... the role of Thanaka?
- ... the role of Betelnut?
- ... the importance of money?
- ... the food habits?
- ... the taste of music?
- ... the taste in movies?
- ... the activities young people engage in?

Impact of amount of interaction with tourists

- How do these changes differ from young people who interact a lot or little with tourists?
- Can you see differences among your friends depending on how often they interact with tourists?

Evaluation of attitude towards tourism

- Which is your favourite season? Why?
- Do you like to go to Old Bagan and visit the pagodas? When do you go there and why?
- How do you feel about tourism and its effects in your society in total?

Equalised or differentiated

- What are the differences between Myanmar young people and young people who come here as tourists?
- Would you like to keep these differences?
- Do you want to preserve Myanmar culture?
- Do you think that young people in Myanmar want to preserve their culture?

Appendix 2. Interview guide for adult interviewees.

Interviewguide – Adults

Introduction (basic data)

- Age
- Gender
- Educational attainment
- Urban/rural background
- Language skills
- Work life history
- Current job/s
- Current income
- Living situation
- Families jobs

Tourism development in Bagan

- What do you think about the tourism development in Bagan?
- Do you feel a big difference in the number of tourists 5 years ago and nowadays?
- How do you think that tourism affects Bagan?
- What is good about this development?
- What is bad about this development? Are there problems with this development?
- How would you like the pattern of tourism in Bagan look in the future?

Tourisms effect on young people in Bagan

- How has the increase in tourism affected young people in Bagan?
- What are the good things about interacting with tourists?
- What are the bad things?
- Do you think tourism brings more benefits to young people Bagan or do you think it brings more negative effects with it?
- Do you interact with tourists? When? How often?
- What do you talk to them about?
- How does it make you feel?
- When do you interact with young people?
- What do you talk to them about?
- How does it make you feel?

Tourisms effect on different areas of life

- Does tourism affect specific areas of life of young people here?
- Do you think these changes are good/bad? Why?
- How do you think the increased tourism has affected ... among young people in Bagan?
 - ... the practice/importance of religion?
 - ... the attitude/importance of school?
 - ... the acceptance of relationships before marriage?
 - ... the importance of marriage?
 - ... the acceptance of drinking alcohol?
 - ... the clothing style of young people?
 - ... the role of Thanaka?
 - ... the role of Betelnut?

- ... the importance of money?
- ... the food habits?
- ... the taste of music?
- ... the taste in movies?
- ... the activities young people engage in?

Impact of amount of interaction with tourists

- How do these changes differ from young people who interact a lot or little with tourists?

Evaluation of attitude towards tourism

- Do you think the changes the young people are going through due to tourism are turning them into better/worse human beings?

Equalised or differentiated

- What are the differences between Myanmar young people and Western young people who come here as tourists?
- Would you like to keep these differences?
- Do you think that young people in Myanmar want to preserve their culture?

Appendix 3. Overview of interviewees and personal interviews.

Young interviewees

- Y1: Young interviewee 1, Personal interview, February 6, 2014
- Y2: Young interviewee 2, Personal interview, February 10, 2014
- Y3: Young interviewee 3, Personal interview, February 10, 2014
- Y4: Young interviewee 4, Personal interview, February 11, 2014
- Y5: Young interviewee 5, Personal interview, February 11, 2014
- Y6: Young interviewee 6, Personal interview, February 12, 2014
- Y7: Young interviewee 7, Personal interview, February 13, 2014
- Y8: Young interviewee 8, Personal interview, February 14, 2014
- Y9: Young interviewee 9, Personal interview, February 16, 2014
- Y10: Young interviewee 10, Personal interview, February 17, 2014

Adult interviewees

- A1: Adult interviewee 1, Personal interview, February 15, 2014
- A2: Adult interviewee 2, Personal interview, February 16, 2014
- A3: Adult interviewee 3, Personal interview, February 17, 2014
- A4: Adult interviewee 4, Personal interview, February 17, 2014
- A5: Adult interviewee 5, Personal interview, February 18, 2014
- A6: Adult interviewee 6, Personal interview, February 19, 2014
- A7: Adult interviewee 7, Personal interview, February 19, 2014
- A8: Adult interviewee 8, Personal interview, February 20, 2014
- A9: Adult interviewee 9, Personal interview, February 21, 2014
- A10: Adult interviewee 10, Personal interview, February 22, 2014

Others

- O1: Monk, Personal conversation, February 24, 2014
- O2: Waiter, Personal conversation, February 24, 2014

Appendix 4. Fusion of dressing styles.

Note: The recognisable persons in the following pictures are not related to the content of the thesis. Instead their pictures are used to highlight the statements made in the text visually.

Young males – Longyi and sack coats



Young female – Traditional Myanmar costume and modern make-up



Young females – Modern clothes and traditional Thanaka



Appendix 5. Different ways of wearing Thanaka.

Note: The recognisable persons in the following pictures are not related to the content of the thesis. Instead their pictures are used to highlight the statements made in the text visually.

Thanaka worn during freetime



Thanaka worn during working hours

