Tourism Development in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh: The Impact on Indigenous Peoples (IPs)

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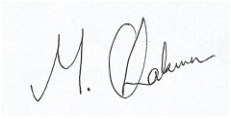
DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university, and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text.



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ABSTRACT

Tourism is considered to be one of the important means to drive economic growth of a country. This view has not only been adopted by the global North countries but also by the countries of the global South. This is because tourism is promoted to be a panacea that defeats poverty by creating massive scale of employment and income generation opportunities for the local people. It is thought that tourism has the capacity to create a bridge between the advanced industrialized countries and the developing countries which further can work positively for the developing countries. Furthermore, foreign currency income of developing countries through tourism can bring a balance in the global wealth distribution. Tourism not only helps to accelerate Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of a country but also ensures proper utilization of natural resources which ultimately benefits rural and disadvantage areas. It is therefore natural that most of the developing countries would be interested in tourism, and determined to develop tourism within their political boundaries. Bangladesh is no exception. Like many developing countries around the globe, Bangladesh has adopted an ambitious tourism policy that is believed will help to develop the economy of the country.

However, tourism has many negative impacts that are generally omitted tourism promotions, and thatfailed to be considered in the Bangladesh tourism policy. This analysis of the policy shows that local inhabitants such as Indigenous Peoples (IPs) were not consulted in the policy making, and the policy does not contain any instruction as to how IPs were to be give their free consent to having tourism developments on their lands. The rosy pictures of tourism depicted in the policy thus leave questions as to how much tourism development is really going to help the IPs of Bangladesh, and whether focusing on tourism as the sole vehicle for economic progress might worsen their situation. Further analysis indicates that the tourism development practice in the Chittagong Hill Tracts does not even follow the policy instructions. The involvement of Bangladesh security forces in tourism development and operation exacerbates existing conflicts between IPs and the state as the military arbitrarily grabs IPs customary lands to build luxury resorts, causing forceful eviction of IPs who have been occupying these lands for many centuries. . The economic benefits of these tourism developments are reaped by developers rather than local people.

By considering the issue of tourism development in the historical context of indigenous ownership and occupation of the CHT, which has been undermined through two different colonial periods of British and Pakistan respectively and the assimilation policy of the current Bangladesh government, this thesis argues that tourism development on IP lands is really about marginalizing and disempowering IPs, and economic growth is just a façade.

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ACRONYMS

CHT- Chittagong Hill Tracts

CHTRC- Chittagong Hill Tracts Regional Council

DC- Deputy Commissioner

HDC- Hill District Council

ICCPR- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ILO- International Labour Organization

IPs – Indigenous Peoples

IWGIA- International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs

MoCAT- Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism

UN- United Nations

WCED - World Commission Environment and Development

Chapter 1- Introduction: A Brief Outline

1.1 Problem Interrogation

Ganguly-Scrase and Lahiri-Dutt's (2013) argue that development is commonly represented by governments as a process that only brings positive growth, and tourism development is no exception to this. Tourism is often presented as an effective driver of economic growth. More economic growth means more Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and an increase in GDP is assumed to indicate economic progress and development. Thus, many countries around the globe seek to develop their tourism industry to generate employment and revenue. However, GDP does not showcase the social, political and economic wellbeing and empowerment of all segments of a country. If development is only defined as economic progress, other non-economic factors of development – social, political, ethnical and cultural factors, and how they connect with economic growth - are often ignored, even though considering these factors is crucial to ensuring that a society is developing sustainably and equitably (Brohman 1995). A uniform or universal, market-based approach to economic growth, which includes for example tourism, is an 'economistic fallacy', as such economic growth is rarely distributed fairly throughout society (Sandbrook 2011, p.416).

In contrast to the economistic approach to development, indigenous peoples' (IPs) concept of development is focused on people's well-being and a healthy life, rather than a wealthy life. A study by the Asian Development Bank (ADB 2002, p. 30) found that for IPs the concept of well-being and a good life means having the capability to meet certain basic needs such as sufficient food, clothing and shelter, and to live a cohesive life within the community and with nature. This concept is far removed from the concept of development as the infinite economic progress of modern states. One special feature that makes IPs distinct from non-IPs is the relation they maintain with their ancestral lands. To IPs, land is more than just an economic resource which they need for their social, political and economic survival (Hughes 2000, p. 8). In a nutshell, land is the basis for the maintenance of their identity and culture. Therefore IPs could not willingly allow any development that potentially threatens their lands. To understand tourism development in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), it is important to recognise that the development needs of the CHT IPs are connected to their lands. This requires a wider vision of development, as the narrow vision of economic growth is unable to represent nor solve their development problems, but could actually deepen them.

However, the Bangladesh government is very interested in developing a tourism industry, to attract both international and national tourists, so that it contributes to the economic growth of the country (MoCAT 2015). The CHT has been identified by the government as one of the best tourist destinations Bangladesh can offer, based on its natural landscapes and cultural distinctiveness. However, the tourism development in the CHT has two major problems. First, the government's National Tourism Policy (NTP) stresses the economic benefits to the state rather than the well-being of the CHT IPs, and portrays IPs culture, lifestyle, environment and lands as objects to be commodified, while the involvement of IPs as subjects in such development planning does not come into the government's vision. Secondly, the practice of tourism development in the CHT goes against the interests of IPs because the main implementing actors are the Bangladesh security forces. Much of the tourism development is directly controlled and operated by the Bangladesh army which by-passes the responsible indigenous and local institutions, and has been found to cause human rights violations, particularly in order land to acquire indigenous lands.

This thesis seeks to investigate who the main beneficiaries are of tourism development on indigenous peoples' land, given that the National Tourism Policy justifies this development as a way to foster economic progress of the region and create employment opportunities for local people. The thesis employs a postcolonial approach to scrutinise this tourism development strategy in terms of both policy and practice. A postcolonial lens helps to make visible the colonial elements of the Bangladesh tourism policy and practice which include biased knowledge construction by demeaning other forms of knowledge; imposing a cultural hegemonic worldview on a politically weak cultural minority group in order to make them even weaker; and considering 'others' as incapable of understanding what is good for them, and representing the government as the saviour of the weak 'others' (Banerjee 2000; Chilisa 2012; McEwan 2009; Schech & Haggis 2000).

1.2 Objectives and Significance

The objective of this thesis is to look at the CHT issue from a different viewpoint since the CHT issues in most of the academic literatures commonly revolve around indigenous women rights and their exploitations, traditional agriculture and IPs common forests. While these issues are really important to address and almost all CHT issues are interlinked with customary lands, unfortunately they do not cover all the variations of dimension of the CHT

problems. Seeing and analysing the CHT issues from new and different viewpoints can help to draw the picture of the IPs and the state power relation more clearly and extensively. This thesis was attempted to focus on tourism development in the CHT which claims to develop the IPs through economic progress, but creates a new level of exploitation of the IPs in disguise of tourism development (Ahmed 2015). The objective of the thesis is to explore the consequences of tourism development in the CHT and to question whether the tourism on indigenous lands is really a necessity for their progress, or whether it mainly benefits the state agencies (Khan 2015).

The significance of this thesis is as follows - it will help to understand how much the state policy reflects the aspirations of the IPs, and what the gaps are between the policy and practice in tourism development process on the IPs lands. Through a focus on tourism development, this thesis also sheds light on the status of the IPs and their power relation with the state, the degree of human rights infringement of the IPs, and state's political trick in using development concepts to take over customary lands.

1.3 Methodology, Limitation and Scope

The research is mostly developed on the basis of secondary sources like journal articles, websites, online version of Bangladeshi dailies, books, case studies, and grey literatures of both national and local IPs rights based organizations. However, the author has also used some primary sources like Bangladesh national Tourism Policy 2010 (MoCHAT2016) and a case study video to analyse the tourism development situation of the CHT.

The research could have been better if Bangladeshi local publications could have been added which are only found in hard copy version in local bookshops. Academic literatures on the CHT are not very available, and those which are obtainable online through University database mostly focus on the CHT history, conflicts, education, women exploitation, environment and shifting cultivation (Adnan 2004, Adnan & Dastidar 2011, Ahsan & Chakma 1989, Levene 1999, Mohsin & Hossain 2015, Pandey & Jamil 2009, Rahman 2010, Rashiduzzaman 1998, Uddin 2010). Academic literature on the CHT tourism is very limited even though it has been a burning issue in the question of IPs rights for last few years. The literature on Bangladesh tourism that is available only glorifies the positive sides of it and fails to interrogate the gap between policy and practice regarding the tourism development in Bangladesh (Ahmmed 2013, Afroz & Hasanuzzaman 2012). Therefore, it was challenging to

try and analyse the tourism development in the CHT from an academic angle. However, since this thesis attempted to address the tourism development practice and connect it with the tourism policy through using a development theory, the author believes the thesis would contribute to these aforementioned gaps.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

Considering the historical connection of the CHT and its indigenous people with colonialism, this thesis has taken postcolonial theory as a framework to analyse the tourism development situation in the CHT. The colonial powers were successful in establishing their superiority so effectively that their worldview, concept of modernity, and measurement of development have become the standard norm, a norm which the colonized world should adopt and blindly follow (Chilisa 2012; McEwan 2009). The strength of postcolonial theory is its capacity to critically challenge the development knowledge that is constructed by the colonial superiors, and to question whether such knowledge is applicable to the diverse perspectives of different nations and ethnicities (McEwan 2009, p. 120). McEwan (2009, p. 17) also argues that unlike other development theories, postcolonial theory deals with ethical and political ideations like race, ethnicity, and identity in addition to how power constructs knowledge.

On the other side, Eurocentrism is a notion that was developed on the worldview based on Western civilizations. According to postcolonial theory, mainstream development discourse is based on a Eurocentric perspective of development, which positions the European experience of development as the universal norm. According to this norm, being modern and having a strong economy as measured by GDP are the key indicators used to measure the development trajectory and condition of a country. This Eurocentric standard of determining a nation as civilized and modern was also passed on to the colonized countries, and the leaders of the newly independent developing countries have strongly adopted it as their standard. Even half a century after independence, binaries that were made by the colonizers still influence people around the globe. Western nations are widely seen as civilized, developed, modern and knowledgeable while the non-Western or colonized nations are portrayed as traditional, uncivilized and ignorant. These developing countries need the help of the West to become more like the developed West (Schech & Haggis 2000, p.67). This means that development has come to be seen as a process of making the non-western ‘other’ more like the western ‘us’.

Said (1995) sees representations (i.e. how 'we' represent 'others', or the way 'we' talk and think about 'others') not just as a way of seeing but as also impacting on the way 'we' act on 'them'. Said (1995), in his book Orientalism, showed how the biased process of knowledge construction of the colonizer about some particular ethnicity or race could be injurious to their image and lives. Once the falsified image of the colonized 'other' is created, it can have a long-lasting effect even though it is false. For example, the Arabs and the Africans are mostly portrayed in western movies produced by the Hollywood film industry as bad and poor (Shaheen 2009; The Economist 2000), and this portrayal, or representation, creates an image of the bad Arab and poor African in the western public's mind which can be exploited by governments to justify interventions. Thus it is not the actual culture of the colonized but the culture the colonizers construct from their own understanding that matters (Said 1995), and it is this construction of cultural knowledge that determines the development needs, policies and interventions for the 'others'.

Although the colonial rule over non-Western nations were abolished decades ago, similar power relations still exist within former colonized countries, for example, an ethnic majority holds the hegemonic position over other ethnic minorities, and constantly pushes the ethnic minorities to become like them in order to be developed. This makes postcolonial theory relevant to former colonized countries like Bangladesh. Having been colonized by the British for a long period, Bangladesh's development policies its adoption of western constructed knowledge. The leaders, policy planners and ethnic majority of Bangladesh portray themselves as 'us' in opposition to the indigenous 'other', and aspire to western standards that they also want to the ethnic minorities (or indigenous peoples) to adopt. This can be clearly seen in the National Tourism Policy 2010 (MoCAT 2016), and the development practices of government and private agencies. These policies and practices reflect the pursuit of modern 'colonial' tourism in the CHT, and indicate that the concept of development that underpins them represents a colonial frame of mind. A postcolonial approach can analyse and challenge this cultural hegemonic attitude, the biased knowledge construction processes of the state, regarding IPs and land, and the attitudes and knowledge that inform tourism development interventions in the CHT.

1.5 Organisation of the Chapters

The thesis is structured in five chapters in total. Chapter one has started with the formulation of the major research problem. It describes the reason why the author felt it necessary to choose the topic for her thesis, along with the limitations she confronted. The theoretical approach on which the thesis rests is postcolonial theory. The chapter also gives a glimpse of how the research problem would be approached within this theoretical framework.

Chapter two focuses on how the concepts of tourism are constructed. This chapter will not only look at the positive sides that tourism is believed to offer but also the negative impacts tourism can have on local people, such as Indigenous Peoples (IPs) whose lands have been converted to tourist destinations. The chapter will demonstrate two case studies in this regard which shows the grave impact tourism can have on IPs' lands, lifestyle, culture and livelihood.

Chapter three exclusively focuses on the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. It starts with the history of the region where it shows the CHT was a territory of three independent hill districts, but received a regional identity after the British started to take control over the territorial resources. The chapter depicts how the status of the CHT IPs has progressively worsened through different colonial periods, and how their situation has reached the utmost level of marginality that they have been experiencing for last few decades. This chapter also highlights on the land grab issues in the region and how tourism contributes to them.

The first part of chapter four analyses the Bangladesh National Tourism Policy 2010. The policy is analysed here with the postcolonial approach of development as a theoretical framework. The chapter also focuses on the tourism development practice in the CHT and whether the practice is in line with the policy.

Finally, chapter five concludes with the findings of the thesis and with some assumptions that can make the tourism development more people oriented, IPs friendly, and humane.

Chapter - 2 Tourism and Development

2.1 Introduction

Tourism is generally considered to be one of the important means of driving economic progress at international, national and local levels. However, there is much evidence that tourism does not always generate positive outcomes. Sometimes its impact can be destructive, too. This chapter will look at both the positive and negative sides of tourism development. Although this thesis emphases on tourism at the local level, a broader understanding of tourism as a development strategy has been drawn as well since it would provide a useful context for understanding the impact of tourism at the local level.

2.2 The Concept of Tourism

Tourism has been defined by different scholars from several points of view. Sharpley and Telfer (2002) have broadly divided the definitions of tourism in two categories - technical definitions and conceptual definitions. Technical definitions are generally used to generate statistical or quantifiable data about the kinds of tourists, and their activities and mobility. Thus the technical definition of tourism is related to the definition and behaviour of tourists. In 1963, the United Nations produced a definition of tourists which followed that provided by the League of Nations in 1937. According to these definitions - 'a tourist is a person who visits a place outside his or her habitation for more than 24 hours for business, pleasure, health or any purpose that is not concerned with his or her job and remuneration' (Sharpley and Telfer 2002, p. 21). Later, the United Nations World Tourism Organization's (UNTWTO) technical definition of tourism was developed based on the same criterion.

The conceptual definition of tourism encompasses the geographical and cultural context in which tourism takes place (Sharpley and Telfer 2002, p. 22). According to Telfer & Sharpley (2008, p. 5) tourism can be conceptually defined as a leisure trip for the purpose of going beyond regular life activities. Earlier, Nash et al (1981) defined tourism as the activity of a person who is on leisure travel. Smith (1989, p. 1) added one more element to Nash's definition by stating that the purpose is to experience a change. Lett (1989, p. 265) termed tourism the 'largest peaceful movement of people across cultural boundaries in the history of the world'. Based on these anthropological definitions, tourism is about tourists getting a new

experience through visiting new destinations, by conducting a peaceful visit to other cultures. Combining both categories of definitions, tourism refers to visits to destinations which represent different geographical and cultural regions, by people who go there only for leisure purposes. Such movement can be either traversing political boundaries or crossing from one physical or cultural environment to another within a single political territory, which implies that tourism be international or domestic. Irrespective of whether tourism is international or domestic, it is the tourist destinations and their local populations that experience the impact of tourism development.

2.3 Tourism as a Driving Force of Development

Tourism development is considered by its protagonists to be a great source of economic growth for national and regional economies. Tourism has become one of the fastest growing economic sectors in developing countries, and is perceived to have the power to enhance socio-economic conditions for the people. The economic benefits of tourism can be measured by the number of employment opportunities and currency inflows it stimulates, both of which contribute to the national economy (Telfer & Sharpley 2008) and treasury. Tourism does not only create employment for local people but also helps to develop new markets, and helps to finance improved amenities and infrastructure. From an environmental perspective, it is also argued that tourism can be a tool to preserve natural environments because even though it commercializes nature, it relies to a large extent on natural assets to attract tourists (Zoomers 2010).

Broadly speaking, developed countries are the main global tourist destinations that receive millions of tourists, both domestic and international (Telfer & Sharpley 2008, p. 1). However, the potential of tourism to drive a country's economy, and the rise of the middle class in many developing countries, has encouraged Less Developed Countries (LDCs) to foster tourism development. The UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) states that '[t]ourism development appears to be one of the most valuable avenues for reducing the marginalization of LDCs from the global economy' (UNCTAD 2001, p.1 cited in Telfer & Sharpley 2008, p. 3). This indicates that tourism in developing countries can help bridge the gap between advanced industrialised and developing countries. Not only does it stimulate the local economy by creating job opportunities and increasing investment, it also contributes to a more balanced global wealth distribution by directing foreign currency inflows to

developing countries (Telfer & Sharpley 2008). The World Trade Organisation (2011) also claims that tourism has proved to be a catalyst that can reduce poverty and entice development activities into the most disadvantaged rural and remote areas where poverty is most entrenched, if tourism development is managed properly. Tourism can be an effective strategy in these areas because it can add value to rural lands, forests or other resources like folk culture, cultural artefacts, local art and local crafts which otherwise would not have been counted as goods or commodities in dominant measures of economic activity and growth such as GDP.

Tourism creates an opportunity for the local community people to derive an income from the cultural and natural resources in their living spaces. So, community people do not need to shift to the cities to look for further employment opportunities (UNWTO 2011). Instead they can become involved in producing a range of activities and products related to tourism such as food, artisan products, tour guidance, cultural displays, and homestays. Thus the positive influences tourism can provide include the creation of jobs directly or indirectly related to tourist activities, and opportunities where poor people can engage in income generation despite living in non-industrial rural areas. Amongst the positive cultural impacts, tourism encourages local community members to nurture and take pride in their culture, heritage, arts and artistries, and their distinctive lifestyle and traditions; and encourages them to continue to protect the beauty of their natural environment (Mason 1995 cited in Mason 2008, p. 58).

Figure 1: Contributions of global tourism

Source: UNWTO (nd)

According to the World Travel and Tourism, tourism contributes 9.8% of the world GDP which is a value of US$ 7.2 trillion (World Travel and Tourism Council 2015). However,

Figure 1 shows, a slightly different amount of 10% of global GDP that is contributed by tourism globally (UNWTO nd). Global tourism reportedly creates 1 out of every 11 jobs globally, and generates 7.3 percent of global exports of goods and services amounting to US$ 578 billion per annum (Telfer & Sharpley 2008, p.2). According to the UNWTO (2011), the global volume of tourism has surpassed several other notable business sectors like oil exports, food production and vehicle manufacturing. As tourists increase in number, so does the circulation of foreign and local currencies, depending on whether tourism is domestic or international. It is not surprising, therefore, that LDCs would be interested in developing their tourism industry. Some developing countries have even grown to become dependent on tourism to keep their economy afloat (Telfer & Sharpley 2008; UNWTO 2011).

Enticed by tourism's strong local and foreign currency earning capacity, Bangladesh decided to follow in the footsteps of other countries that earn from their tourism industries. Over recent years, Bangladesh has established a number of tourist resorts, eco-parks, enterprises and activities targeting some territories of Bangladesh which are distinctive due to their inhabitants, geography and culture (Ahmed 2015). Although international tourism in Bangladesh is still in its infancy, and the Bangladesh tourist industry mostly depends on local tourists, local tourism is seen as a stepping stone for international tourism. Thus Bangladesh is hopeful it can emulate other LDCs by investing in tourism development to drive economic progress.

2.4 Does Tourism Always Lead to Sustainable Development?

The concept of sustainable development is difficult to explain in a single term or a single concept. Sustainability of a development intervention refers to the assurance of many factors altogether such as peace, people's welfare and well-being, environment, equality and redistribution of development. So, sustainable development is just not a concept that remains confined within the idea of economic progress, it is much larger than just having growth in the economy. The definition given by the World Commission Environment and Development (WCED) otherwise known as Brundtland Commission, states that sustainability is the - 'ability to make development sustainable – to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED 1987, p. 43). International organizations creating their development planning and intervention, and academic scholars (Atkinson et al. 2007, p. 2; Elliott 2002, p. 8; Robert &

Leiserowitz 2005, p. 10) writing their papers and books on sustainable development always start from the definition given by Brundtland Commission. Ensuring the wellbeing of future generations through ensuring 'intergenerational equity' is the principle of sustainable development (Robert & Leiserowitz 2005, p. 11). Therefore, not only economic progress is needed but an equitable distribution of it to all people, groups and culture is also necessary, and so is the need to keep a benign relationship with the environment the human being live within.

Before the 1970s, tourism was only valued for its economic significance, where the aim was to create economic growth through unrestricted mass tourism (Krippendorf 1975, cited in Pforr 2001, p. 68). It was only at the end of the 70s that the tourism industry started to be criticised for the negative impact it had on the host society and ecology, and thus for the tendency to see tourism solely from an economic viewpoint (Pforr 2001). Confining the study of tourism to its economic growth purpose segregated and overlooked the impact it had on the host country's social, cultural, political and environmental dimensions of wellbeing. McKercher (1993 cited in Mason 2008, pp. 40-42) summarised the emerging critique of tourism as an economic pursuit alone under the following eight points:

i) It reduces resources both natural and human induced, and also produces a large amount of waste.

ii) There is always a probability of such man made, natural or cultural resources such as water, food etc. being over consumed.

iii) Tourism creates a setting where the tourists get priority over local inhabitants, and consequently, the leisure activities of tourists get priority over the activities of locals even though they are using the same resources.

iv) The whole tourism system operates under the neoliberal economic growth approach, an approach which cares more about money than people.

v) Tourism and its expansion is difficult to regulate once the demand grows.

vi) Tourists are people who seek to escape from their routine life, but not are necessarily knowledgeable and sensitive about host communities' cultures and values.

vii) The purpose of tourism is entertainment where tourists' demands are more powerful than the incentives to protect cultural authenticity, and this triggers the manipulation of all tourism products, including local culture and tradition, according to tourists' demands.

viii) Tourism makes the consumers come to its doorstep instead of making the product reach their place, and the inrush of consumers/clients in a particular place can put pressure on the local social, environmental and physical condition.

In addition, tourism development inevitably needs land. In many cases land is forcefully acquired from local citizens to be developed as tourism resorts. Land is also required to accommodate the migrants who have been attracted by employment opportunities in tourism, and to build new infrastructure to improve access to the tourist sites. As a consequence of displacement on the one hand and immigration on the other, the local demographic composition may change to the detriment of local indigenous inhabitants. Their culture and ways of life can be seriously damaged by tourism development. (Zoomers 2010). Consequently, it is the local inhabitants and their socio-cultural condition that get injured due to tourism (Mason 2008).

According to Telfer & Sharpley (2008, p. 2), when developing countries choose to rely on tourism for development, they fall into the 'tourism-development dilemma' and in most cases it is difficult to achieve the expected outcomes. The 'tourism-development dilemma' refers to both the positive and negative characteristics of tourism that move in parallel once tourism becomes established. In the first instance, the strong potential for economic and social development are evident, but once the tourism trade starts to flow it soon reveals the negative impact of tourism, with scarce benefits to local communities. In reality the benefits of tourism development are not equally distributed amongst all the people and communities, but are confined to a limited number of local and/or national elites. Often it is the local people, already vulnerable and marginal, whose social, economic, cultural and environmental well-being suffer due to tourism development (Telfer & Sharpley 2008).

Other negative impacts identified by Mason (2008) refer to cultural commodification as an inevitable aspect of the tourism process. Mason (2008, p. 57) argues that culture becomes a wrapped product to be sold to fuel tourism, and this has a deep impact on cultural traditions and the local people who practice them. Unless the local communities consent freely to making their culture becoming a tourism-product, and are in control of this process, they do not stand to benefit. The tourism industry can also create some problems for host societies

including an overload of tourists, and an overdependence on a volatile and unreliable source of income. (Mason 2008). If a tourist destination is overloaded by tourists it creates pressure on local people's living spaces. Too many tourists can ruin the peace, privacy, homeliness and lifestyle of local people. Tourist overloads can also lead to chaotic traffic and pollution, and drive up the cost of local property values, making them unaffordable for local people (Mount 2015). These consequences can interrupt the regular daily lives of local residents who have the right to enjoy their living environment.

Mason's (2008) second negative point about tourism is overdependence. Due to the diversification of income sources tourism brings, local communities may be enticed to leave their jobs in agriculture and traditional food production, and through this process the economy of tourist areas can become excessively dependent on tourism. This can hurt local people if tourist flows are seasonal or unreliable (Mason 2008). Furthermore, both excessive dependence on tourism and large numbers of tourists increases the price of daily goods and services, including food, rent and land (Zoomers 2010, p. 439).

The negative impacts of tourism development can occur at any tourist destination. However, when tourism is developed on indigenous lands, the impacts in terms of traditional land rights infringement, deepening poverty, commodification of life and culture against their will, and destruction of their physical environment can be magnified, and the rosy picture of tourism's benefits depicted in policy documents fails to materialise (Johnston 2006). Traditional land use by indigenous peoples is often fundamentally different to modern land management systems, and land rights are often based on customary and communal title, rather than individual rights based on certificate of title. Therefore, due to these competing land ownership systems, land grabs of indigenous lands, and the displacement of indigenous peoples through forced eviction, are more likely to take place when tourism is developed on indigenous lands. The following case study from the Philippines illustrates how tourism development not only makes the indigenous peoples landless but also triggers human rights violations.

Case Study 1 – the Aurora Pacific Eco Zone and Freeport (APECO), the Philippines

According to a video published by The Guardian (2013), the Aurora Pacific Eco Zone and Freeport (APECO) is a tourist project operated in a region of the Philippines named Casiguran. APECO was designed to turn the island inhabited by IPs into a tourist heaven.

The whole project was initiated in the name of local employment generation and economic growth. A port and airport were required to be built. Casiguran is the home of many indigenous communities comprising mostly fishers and peasants engaging in traditional agricultural practices. While a rosy economic picture is painted by the promoters of APECO, it is reported that 12,923 hectares of land had been acquired by the government for this project, a major portion of which belongs to the indigenous peoples. Approximately three thousand families have been directly affected in many ways (Scheidel 2015). Many fisher families have been displaced from their ancestral lands and have been provided with temporary housing elsewhere. However, the victims spoken to in the Guardian video (2013) claim that the amount each family has been given as compensation is not enough to build a new house. Furthermore, those resettled do not have any skills other than fishing or farming. Consequently they were left unemployed. Although APECO employed many locals during the construction phase, this form of employment is no longer available.

The local indigenous peoples claim that they were neither informed nor consulted about the APECO tourism development. This project not only created more inequalities but also violated the IPs' right to their customary lands. This case study indicates that tourism development does not always lead to positive change, or bring development that is sustainable (Atkinson et al. 2007, p. 2; Elliott 2002, p. 8; Robert & Leiserowitz 2005, p. 10). Modern tourism at domestic level may bring some economic benefit to some people such as elites, private individuals, those who have tourism relevant skills and knowledge, and a small portion of local IPs may be but it generally does not benefit the IPs whose lands have been encroached due to tourism developments. Furthermore, the IPs who could be appointed as construction labourer of the tourist establishments lose their jobs once the construction is over (The Guardian 2013). Rather, very often such tourism is developed through indigenous land grabs, thereby undermining the economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects of indigenous life. (Telfer & Sharpley 2008).

2.5 Impacts of Tourism on Indigenous Land, Life, Culture and Livelihood

The Philippines case study identifies indigenous land acquisition as a critical issue in tourist developments. Zoomers (2010, pp. 436-439) mentioned seven modern development processes that lead to land grabs, two of which are connected to tourism development. These

two processes refer to nature-based tourism and the establishment of large tourist centres and facilities. In both cases large stretches of land are required to accommodate these activities. Archambault (2007) and Brandt et al. (2000) also argue that the organizations keen to operate tourism business are enthusiastic to purchase land which are apparently 'empty'. Generally, empty land or land not held as private property, automatically belongs to the government, which implies the land is state property. There are many countries where governments claim that the traditional lands of indigenous peoples as its property, since modern states often do not recognize the customary collective rights of indigenous people. Due to the fact that customary lands rights are often not documented, the lands of indigenous peoples can be deemed as 'empty' lands. Sometimes, the apparent 'empty' lands might be purchased, acquired or grabbed with the stated purpose of conserving nature. However, in some cases, the ultimate purpose is to wrap the lands into commercial packets to generate profits (Archambault 2007; Brandt et al. 2000) that are rarely shared with the local or indigenous people. Thus tourism development is a development activity that potentially causes land grabbing, and it is the poor indigenous people who hold traditional customary land rights that are often the first to be dispossessed, relocated, and resettled (Zoomers 2010).

Gonzalo Scanchez (2006) and Zoomers (2010) have drawn two different examples from Argentina and Cape Verde which clearly demonstrate how land can be grabbed gradually, and not necessarily by the direct actions of tourism developers. As a consequence the locals are left with no alternative but to leave their homelands. In last two decades, the Argentinian government has encouraged foreign investors to purchase lands in Patagonia for tourism development. Consequently, many citizens from North America and Europe purchased 'empty' lands for tourism developments. Now 5% of the land of Patagonia belongs to Argentinians who live there, while the rest 95% belongs to elites and private companies who don't live there. It is not only the lands of Patagonia but also the natural resources including oil, gas, minerals and water that have come under the ownership of land purchasers. A similar situation prevails in the Boa Vista Island of the Cape Verde Islands. The economic activity triggered by the tourism industry in this area has led to a national transition from low to middle income status, improvements in the Human Development Index (HDI), and an increase in per capita income to USD 1500 a month (Zoomers 2010, p. 438). However, the impact on local inhabitants has been generally negative. Most of the local population of Boa Vista Island was required to leave their homeland to make way for Italian hotel investors and migrant workers from other African countries who work in these hotels. This shows that

tourism development cannot guarantee jobs for the locals, but it can cause labour immigration that marginalizes the local indigenous population.

Like Argentina and Cape Verde, there are many developing countries that consider tourism as a key to economic development. Governments encourage tourist investments as they promise employment and economic growth. However, tourist development has a negative impact on indigenous land ownership, the foundation of their economic, social, and life. . This is further demonstrated by a case study from Kerala, India. (George & Varghese 2007).

Case study 2 – Aleppy in Kerala, India

Aleppy, a renowned tourist destination in Kerala state, is identified by the National Geographic Channel as 'one of the fifty destinations to be visited in one's lifetime' (George & Varghese 2007, p. 46). However, tourist developments have had some negative effects on as well the local inhabitants, employment, food security, lifestyle, water resources, and security.

Historically the majority of Aleppy inhabitants were peasants. They did not belong to the educated section of society, but they were self-reliant, efficient and could produce what they needed in sustainable ways. They had good access to markets due to an expansive network of canals. There used 'rice boats' to collect agricultural produce from the farmers and deliver it to the local markets. Everything changed when a regional development scheme came into force. Under the scheme infrastructure such as roads, bridges and ferry services were introduced and tourism development grew. Consequently, people started making use of these modern facilities, and this led to the extinction of the rice boats. As people started to depend on few transport structure, the water route was increasingly utilized by tourist houseboats, which are now one of the symbols of Aleppy tourism.

However, the impact of tourism became more devastating with time. A large number of local peasants were forcibly displaced from their water-facing agrarian lands to make way for tourist resorts, and they received inadequate compensation with no alternative livelihood. Overemphasis on economic growth led to an 'overflow' of tourists in Aleppy. Their over-consumption of food and resources increased the prices of daily products, making them too expensive for the local people. To earn more, many local people were drawn to tourist jobs. But there were fewer unskilled tourist jobs available, and competition kept wages low.

Further, many skilled jobs were occupied by migrant workers who came from outside Aleppy (George & Varghese 2007, p. 46).

At a certain point, due to landlessness, a lack of livelihood options, and the rise in the cost living, a new by-product emerged from the tourism economy - sex-tourism operated through the boathouses involving local women and minors. It took little time for such a business to grow into a black market. A myth was established that portrayed Aleppy as a place where women and wine are found freely, which not only humiliated the local inhabitants but also commodified their identity. Local women taking a bath in the river were unknowingly captured by tourist cameras, compounding this myth through pictures that went viral on the Internet. The impact of tourism may increase revenue, but at the cost of destroying the social harmony and the dignity of the local people and their traditional life style (George & Varghese 2007, p. 46).

Together these case studies illustrate how measuring the impact of tourism by economic growth alone can be misleading, and can overlook the impact on local indigenous life. The Kerala case study in particular demonstrates the Burns and Holden's (1995 cited in Mason 2008) argument that if the cultural difference between the host society and the tourist society is high, the impact of tourism on the host society becomes deeper and more detrimental. Women in rural areas of Asia may take their bath outdoors, which may be different from the tourists who live in cities. When tourists lack understanding and respect for cultural differences, this can lead to the exploitation of local people, especially women. Therefore, tourism development cannot claim to have only positive impacts, as it evident that it can have a devastating impact on indigenous land, life, culture and livelihood.

2.6 Conclusion

From the case studies it is clear that the negative side of tourism development weighs heavily on indigenous peoples. Tourism can be economically beneficial but this benefit can be outweighed by the disruptive impact it has on the economic, social and cultural aspects of indigenous life. The Philippines case study shows that once land is taken from indigenous peoples, it undermines elements of their wellbeing including their earnings, lifestyle, food, culture, and security. Around the globe there are many cases of forceful eviction of indigenous inhabitants from their land to facilitate tourism development. The Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, which is the focus of this thesis, is a further example of this trend.

Chapter 3 - Colonisation, Development and Land Conflict in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), Bangladesh

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at the historical construction of the CHT and its indigenous peoples. In the question of the definition of the indigeneity of the CHT people, the position of the Bangladesh government and its IPs are in conflict. The colonial history that shaped the political status of the CHT and indigenous peoples is complex and it needs to be understood in order to establish the validity of the IPs' claim to their territory. This chapter will also look at how the lack of recognition of the IPs has played a role in their lands being grabbed, and how tourism development is an additional means of land grabbing.

3.2 The CHT, its People and Indigeneity

Uddin (2010) argues that there is an extensive literature proving that, before the British East India Company was established, the CHT, which was known as Hill Tracts (HT), was a sovereign territory, and its inhabitants were subject to a 'customary tribal administrative' and legal system (Bernot 1964; Bessaignet 1958; Brauns and Loffler 1990; Hutchinson 1909, 1906; Levi-Strauss 1951, 1952; Lewin 2004[1870]; Qanungo 1988; Schendel 1992; Serajuddin 1971; all cited in Uddin 2010, pp. 284-285). However, during the colonial and post-colonial periods, the CHT has lost its sovereignty, and is now recognized as a part of Bangladesh with distinct features in terms of topography and cultural diversity.

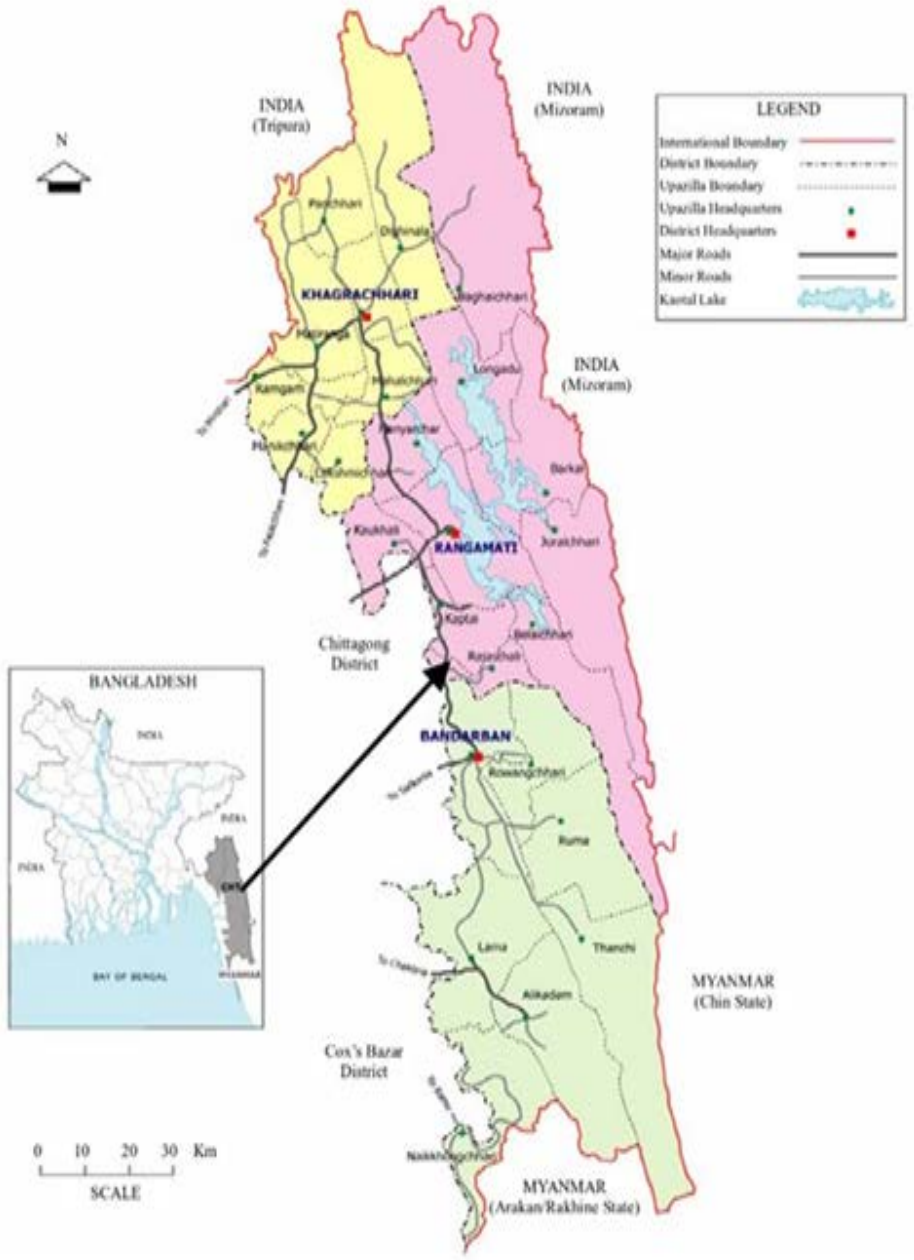
Bangladesh has 54 minor ethnic cultural groups with at least 35 different languages which constitute 2% of the total population, a total of around three million people compared to the Bengali population of 142.3 million (Rahman 2010, IWGIA nd). These small ethnolinguistic groups tend to call themselves the Indigenous Peoples (IPs) of Bangladesh because of their historical position. Historically, 11 ethnic groups out of these 54, have been dwelling in the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) for centuries before colonization (Uddin 2010), and the remaining 43 groups have been living in the north, southwest, northeast and northwest of Bangladesh (Figure 2). Thus the IPs of Bangladesh can be broadly categorized as the IPs of

the lowlands and the IPs of the hills (the CHT). Although all these ethnic cultural communities describe themselves as indigenous peoples who have been fighting for their political identity and human rights for a long time, this thesis only focuses on the indigenous peoples of the CHT.

The CHT is situated in the south eastern part of Bangladesh with total area of 5,089 sq. miles (13,189 sq.km.), and shares borders with both India and Myanmar (Khan 2015). The CHT consists of three different hill districts, namely the Rangamati, Bandraban and Khagrachari hill districts (Figure 2). The aforesaid 11 indigenous groups comprise more than 500,000 people (IWGIA, nd) and their ethnic group names have long been established as Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Bawm, Chak, Khumi, Khyang, Mro, Lushai, Pankhu, Uchai and Tanchagya (BHDC Act 1989 – 1998; Chakma 2010, p.283; Mohsin 1995, p.16; Roy 2000, pp. 18-19; Roy 2004, p. 116) (Figure 3). However, there are also a large number of Bengali people living in the CHT that migrated and settled in this region during the late 70s and early 80s. Research conducted in different eras (from the colonial British period to current Bangladesh) by the members of the Bengalis provide evidence that the IPs of the CHT have always been different from their neighbouring Bengalis not only by ethnicity, language and physical appearance, but they are also distinguished through their different land management systems, farming methodologies, and social, cultural (i.e. lifestyle, beliefs, customs), political and economic practices (Ahsan 1995; Bernot 1964; Bessaignet 1958; Brauns and Loffler 1990; Grierson 1927; Levi-Strauss 1951, 1952; Lewin 1869, 2004[1870]; Schendel 1992; Uddin 2008b all cited in Uddin 2010, p. 284).

Although these small ethnic communities prefer to introduce themselves as ‘Adivasi’, the Bengali word of indigenous peoples, the Bangladesh state has always been reluctant to admit their ‘indigeneity’. The Bangladesh government considers the CHT IPs as outsiders who migrated to the CHT from somewhere in South East Asia in the 16th century (The Daily Star 2011), citing the similarity of physical and facial features of the CHT IPs with those of the inhabitants of South East Asia. However, the CHT ethnic communities consider themselves as IPs as their arrival on this land was long before Bangladesh achieved its independence in 1971, the twenty four years of Pakistan (1947 – 1971), and the two centuries of British colonial rule.

Figure 2: Map of the CHT



Source: Adnan and Dastidar (2011, p. xxxvii)Figure 3: Map of the ethnic cultural groups in the CHT

BA-Bawm, CH-Chakma, KH-Khumi, KY-Khyang, LU-Lushai, MA-Marma, UC-Uchay, MR-Mru, PA-Pankho, SA-Sak, TA-Tanchangya, TI-Tripura

Source: IWGIA (nd) http://www.iwgia.org/regions/asia/the-chittagong-hill-tracts-

Evidence shows these indigenous peoples were living in this land as the first inhabitants even before the Portuguese arrived in Bengal in the 16th Century, before British colonization, whereas the Bengali people only started to move into the CHT in the 19th Century (Roy 2004, p. 116). The fact that the CHT indigenous people were the first to migrate to the CHT is supported by historical evidence and studies (Hughes 1881; Hutchinson 1909; Lewin

2004[1870]; Phayre 1841; Qanungo 1988; Schendel 1992; Serajuddin 1971; 1984 all cited in Uddin 2010, p. 284). Roy (2004, p. 29) claims that the CHT was a region which was free from any kind of colonial authority before 18th Century, and that the inhabitants always enjoyed the freedom to determine their own territory, governing system, and traditional pattern of land use. However their freedoms were gradually undermined over the period spanning the end the British era, the Pakistan period, and under Bangladesh governance.

There is no strict and uniform definition of indigenous peoples. The word indigenous generally implies primordial origin, and indigenous peoples are likely to be people who have the earliest roots in the lands they occupy. But the concept of IPs has been broadened over the years to encompass marginalized people who are 'under domination', a 'political minority', 'economically exploited by neighbouring societies', 'culturally dominated' and who 'have few or no rights to their own natural resources' (Gagné 2012, pp. 454-456). This is echoed by the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA), a Denmark based international human rights organization concerned with indigenous matters, and the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous peoples (UNDRIP) (UN General Assembly 2007). IWGIA (nd) expresses its support for the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No 169, and the report of Martinéz Cobo to the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination of Minorities of 1986. Together these have influenced the definition and criteria of indigeneity. People are considered indigenous if: a. they have been living on the land for generations before colonialization; b. they still maintain their distinct culture, social, economic, legal and political system; c. they have a tendency to regard lands as ancestral and collective property, and pass them on to their forthcoming generations as ancestral territories (Gagné 2012, pp. 455-456). Although the contexts of the IPs are diverse, they share the same struggle for the maintenance of self-determination , lifestyle, rights to customary lands, freedom from discrimination, control of their natural resources and territories, and their own civil, political, economic and legal institutions, which they deserve by virtue of being equal human beings with a right to cultural difference and integrity (UN General Assembly 2007). While the ethnic cultural communities that call themselves 'Adivasi' today may have migrated to the CHT, it was a land free from any previous inhabitants. Therefore, it is appropriate to claim indigeneity for the CHT people in terms of being the earliest inhabitants. Furthermore, International Human Rights legislation and conventions also support their rights to self-determination.

3.3 The Hill Territories Turned into CHT and a Centre of Conflict

The issue of land ownership in the CHT is at the centre of all political and social conflicts and tensions between the Bangladesh government and the Bengali majority population, on the one hand, and the IPs on the other. Both sides claim ownership of the CHT lands. The Bangladesh government's claim to ownership is based on the fact that the CHT is part of Bangladesh, while the IPs claim their ownership is based on their account of history. As mentioned, historically the CHT had always been an independent self-governed territory, and remained so until it was officially demarcated by the British and received official regional status. However, once its sovereignty was interrupted by the British, the independence of the CHT started to deteriorate, and is entirely lost today. While the CHT drew colonial attention due to its natural resources, it now has turned into a centre of land conflict. To understand the existing problems in the CHT, a brief overview of its history would be useful.

Uddin (2010) argues that the British East India Company became interested in this region because it had bountiful natural resources including trees, cotton and spices. To advance the Company's economic and political interests, the British deployed military forces in the CHT in 1776, and this led to a decade long battle with the indigenous communities. In 1785, following British victory, an unfair trade agreement was imposed on the CHT IPs. This trade agreement helped the British establish their colonial power in the region (Roy 2003; Ishaq 1975 cited in Roy 2002, p. 2). The collective territory of the three hill districts received its official recognition as the CHT - a separate district - through the CHT -Regulation of 1900, a British colonial regulation. While the British exploited this region economically, they did not tend to interfere in the indigenous peoples' cultural and traditional affairs. Indeed the British declared the CHT as an excluded area and exempted it from their administrative setting to preserve the particularity of the people's, culture and tradition, and to acknowledge the CHT as their domicile (Panday & Jamil 2009; Roy 2000; Uddin 2010). The people of the CHT were seen by the British as tributaries, rather than subjects (Ishaq 1975, p. 28 cited in Roy 2002, p. 2). However, the British later took steps to obtain more direct control over the region. In 1937 they amended two rules (38 and 39) of the CHT Regulation to introduce the post of Deputy Commissioner (DC) for the CHT, which undermined the administrative power of the traditional leaders (Roy 2000, Roy 2002). The DC was authorised to permit non-indigenous people to enter and settle in the territory (Chakma 2010).

The autonomy of the CHT further deteriorated during the Pakistan era as the CHT people were always firmly against assimilation with West Pakistan (now Pakistan).The indigenous community leaders and elites rather asked for an independent state for the CHT, but the British awarded the CHT to West Pakistan. Migration to the CHT from other parts of Pakistan gathered pace when the government amended the CHT regulation to create a legal right to migrate, without seeking the consent of the indigenous leaders and IPs. Finally the special status of the CHT as an excluded area was obliterated through an amendment of Pakistan constitution in 1963 (Chakma 2010; Roy 2000; Uddin 2010). When the Bangladesh era started in 1971, the status of the region and IPs did not improve because the post-liberation nation building process completely ignored the existence of the IPs and their historical presence as the earliest inhabitants of the CHT. The 1972 Constitution of Bangladesh asserted Bengali nationalism while remaining silent on ethnic diversity (Kelly 2016). The Constitution states that all the citizens of Bangladesh are Bengali, which on one hand establishes them as the sole ethnic group in the country, and on the other, establishes that there is no Adivasi (Chakma 2010, p.286; Manchanda 2015, p. xxii). This means that customary and collective land rights are not recognised by the State.

Denial of ethnic diversity and indigenous status was accompanied by the notion that the IPs are incapable of participating in the development and formation of a civilized and modern nation. One Bengali scholar is reported as describing the indigenous inhabitants of Bangladesh as 'exotic others' and 'wild tribes, crude, primitive and aboriginal', who 'relish cannibalistic diets', in short, an 'aggressive…and ferocious race' (Sattar 1983, cited in Uddin 2010 p. X). This description uses the same language as colonial discourses on subjugated people (McEwan 2009). The form and composition of the State has changed over the years, but the labelling of the CHT people as backward has remained throughout the colonial and post-colonial periods. Furthermore, for the postcolonial state to claim a unified national identity and modernity, ethnic minorities have to be assimilated or excluded (Brown 2009, p. 146; see also Uddin 2010). Uddin (2010) argues that such acts of identity creation by the states always are meant to make the IPs socio-economically and politically marginalized.

The denial of the CHT IPs distinctive identity and associated rights triggered the rise of an underground armed insurgency to fight for the right to self-determination. To challenge such political rivalry, successive military governments adopted a two pronged strategy - they militarized the CHT to preserve control over the region and the rebels, and they pursued an aggressive migration strategy to transplant a large number of non-indigenous people from the

lowlands to the CHT region to change the demographic pattern of the region (Ahsan & Chakma 1989). The migration of 400,000 Bengalis in the early 1980s has been part of the strategy to establish Bengali majority and ownership in the CHT. It was planned to change the demographic pattern of the CHT IPs (Uddin 2010, p. 290). The huge success of this migration strategy is evident in the changing demography of the CHT where the ratio of Indigenous peoples, once 98%, has shifted to become 51% in 1991, while the ratio of Bengalis has increased from 2% to 49% (Quader 2008).

Figure 4: The population of the CHT showing the change in the IP demographic pattern

Census Year	1872	1901	1951	1981	1991
Indigenous	61,957	116,000	261,538	441,776	501,144
(%)	(98%)	(93%)	(91%)	(59%)	(51%)
Non-Indigenous	1,097	8,762	26,150	304,873	473,301
(%)	(2%)	(7%)	(9%)	(41%)	(49%)
Total	63,054	124,762	287,688	746,649	974,445

Source: Quader (2008)

The militarization of the region became very pronounced between 1975 and 1991, with 115000 army members stationed in the CHT by 1990. This meant one army personnel was installed for every six indigenous persons (Levene 1999; p.354 & Chakma 2010, pp. 289). The dominant presence of the military in the region remains today as IWGIA (2012, p. 46) claims that there is one soldier recruited for every 40 indigenous civilians in the CHT, whereas, one soldier is recruited for every 1750 civilians on the plains of Bangladesh. These figures indicate that the State, through its military body and settlers, has laid powerful claims over the IPs' ancestral lands. However, the land of the CHT was always an important asset for governments to secure, which is clear from the proclamation of military officials that `We want the land and not the people of the CHT' (The CHT Commission cited in Levene 1999, p. 343). As IWGIA (2012) claims, these land claims have been accompanied by human rights violations including extrajudicial detention, arrest, severe physical torture, rape, sexual assault, burning of villages, religious maltreatment and forceful eviction leading to displacement and marginalization of the IPs.

After 25 years of 'armed insurgency' (Rashiduzzaman 1998) or ethno-nationalist struggle for self-determination, an official peace agreement between the Bangladesh government and the

rebel group *Shanti Bahini* was finally signed (Manchanda 2015, p. 8). The CHT Peace Accord of 1997 acknowledges the region as a 'tribal-inhabited region' (CHTRC 2011, Rashiduzzaman 1998, p. 656), which indicates some level of acknowledgement of the IPs traditional connection with the CHT lands. The accord also addresses over-militarization, IPs control over the natural resources, and self-determination (Manchanda 2015, p. xxii). Under the treaty a regional council named the CHT Regional Council (CHTRC) and three separate Hill District Councils (HDC) were established, to devolve administrative power from the central bureaucracy to the CHT. As land has been the pivotal issue of the conflict, Rules 26 and 34 under the HDCs' 'responsibility and jurisdiction' section of the treaty have vested most of the authority related to land deals (i.e. leasing, sale, and transfer), land management, local tourism, environmental development, and business licenses to the HDCs (CHTRC 2011). Rule 11 under the CHTRC's 'responsibility and jurisdiction' section of the treaty, acknowledges the validity of the CHT Regulation of 1900, and clearly states that if there is any discrepancy between the regulation and District Local Government Council law, it is the CHTRC which holds the authority to recommend and suggest a solution (CHTRC 2011).

However, the CHT treaty is yet to be implemented as the land issues are still unresolved, and the local administration deals with the land matters by bypassing the CHTRC. Other significant treaty provisions – giving land back to the IPs, stopping illegal state sponsored migration of the Bangalis, handing the land and tourism development issues over the HDCs - are still yet to be implemented (IWGIA 2016). The government's reluctance to comply with and enforce has made the post-treaty situation complex. The IPs are trapped between the Governments delay in implementing aspects of the treaties and no longer being able to press for their demands as they did during the insurgency. As in other South Asian peace treaties, the CHT peace accord has diminished indigenous people's bargaining power (Manchanda 2015, pp.73-74). Consequently, the ethnic and political conflicts remain unresolved, leading to social and political instability in the CHT (Adnan & Dastidar 2011). However, it is arguably the clash over land rights in the CHT that is the most pressing and delicate issue today (Rashiduzzaman 1998). It is the land question which is at the centre of all disputes between the ethnic majority and ethnic minorities (Amnesty International 2013, p. 26). Indigenous people consider land as fundamental to their identity.

3.4 Land Grabbing and Conflicts over Land

Before discussing the land conflict issue in the CHT, it is important to establish what constitutes land grabbing and how this incites land conflicts in the region. Cochrane (Jul 5, 2011) refers to land grabbing as '…land acquisitions that have caused displacement, dispossession and disenfranchisement'. Margulis et al. (2013, p. 2) have expressed a similar view with a more extensive description. According to them, land grabbing refers to '[t]ransnational and domestic corporate investors, governments, and local elites taking control over large quantities of land (and its minerals and water) to produce food, feed, biofuel, and other industrial commodities for the international or domestic markets. Such land deals are often associated with very low levels of transparency, consultation, and respect for the rights of local communities living off the land.'

These definitions contain some common elements. One is that land grabbing involves taking over a large amount of land from local communities by using terminology such as 'land acquisition' or 'land deals' to portray the action as legal and hence legitimate. Another is that the lands are acquired to make profit. Furthermore, the land acquisition is most likely to involve forceful eviction, which fails to recognise the land rights of the locals. These common elements are found in the CHT land conflicts. Land in the CHT has been grabbed by the state for large-scale development projects such as the Kaptai Dam, which flooded 40% of the best quality cultivable land during the 1960s and displaced 100,000 IPs (Chakma 2010, Panday & Jamil 2009, and Uddin 2010). This affected the indigenous way of life on these lands (Uddin 20008a).

In the CHT, land grabbing takes place in a context of two different systems of land management. The title to the lands of the IPs are generally undocumented as they have traditionally practised shifting cultivation ('Jum') on lands held collectively, while the title to the lands of the Bengali settlers generally tend to be well documented as individual property (Manchanda 2015, p. xxii). By favouring private property rights over IPs collective rights the state effectively lays collective lands open to land grabbing. At the same time, the denial of collective land rights undermines IPs cultural identity in which land plays the key role, and causes injuries to their life, health, wellbeing, culture and livelihoods (Hughes 2000). Around one quarter of CHT indigenous lands have been acquired as forest land by the government. Frequently, the IPs do not know that their customary lands have been designated as government property (Amnesty International 2013, p. 26).

The lands of the IPs are grabbed sometimes by the Forest Department, sometimes by private organizations, sometimes by the military, and sometimes by the settlers backed by the military. The first three actors tend to grab lands in the name of various development plans, i.e. military bases; roads; infrastructure; beautification; forest reservations to protect natural resources; teak, rubber or agar monoculture; social forestation; education; tourist establishments; and defending security (IWGIA 2012), while the settlers grab land for their individual settlement (Adnan & Dastidar 2011). Khan (12 June, 2015) provides data on the land grabbed by state acquisition. He claims that 39,911 acres of land were acquired in 2014, and an additional 84,647 acres of land are being processed. In addition to this, the Forestry Department has also acquired 84, 542 acres of land by displacing IP families from their ancestral lands in the name of resource preservation and development However, these forest lands are often leased to non-IPs for mono-culture plantations (Khan 12 June, 2015).

The state development plans and interventions in the CHT occur through imposition rather than by consultation with the IP leaders. An example of such forced development can be seen in a very recent case where the government forcefully established an engineering university and a medical college without consultation with the CHTRC and against strong protest from the IPs. While the government establishes higher education institutions, the region still lacks sufficient public primary schools (Azad 2015; The Daily Star 2014), and the government has failed to ensure the right of indigenous children to primary education in their mother tongue. This contributes to a school drop-out rate of indigenous children of around 60-70% at the primary level and 30-40% at the secondary level (Kapaeeng 2005). It is difficult to see how higher institutions created through compulsory land acquisition can benefit indigenous people. In many cases, the development projects and goals do not take into account the perspectives of the IPs. Therefore, it can be argued that not all development benefits IPs. Similarly, recent tourism development projects undertaken by the military have raised questions about who is to benefit.

3.5 Tourism Development as a Means of Oppression

Tourism development in the CHT has been exploitative because it has mostly been used by the state as a tool to acquire large amounts of customary land. There are both private and public agencies that are involved in developing various tourism enterprises, establishments and eco parks. While the 1997 Peace Accord vested the responsibility for local tourism in the

HDCs and the CHTRC (CHTRC 2011), the military and private and public agencies have always bypassed the accord and these CHT institutions. This suggests that the state still denies IPs rights to their ancestral lands. As a result, there is a tense relationship between the powerful and powerless, and the powerless are even weaker (Hemingway 2004). The military and other agencies exploit their institutional power to boost their profits (IWGIA 2012). The exploitation and oppression of IPs in land conflicts is even more enhanced when the military directly interferes in tourism development. Given that the power of the military is conferred by the state, there is every possibility that more human rights violations may occur in the name of tourism (Adnan & Dastidar 2011, p. 141). Large-scale displacement and human rights infringements of IPs have already taken place under the cover of tourism development sponsored and operated by the military.

One example of tourism development that has involved severe human rights violations is the Nilgiri Resorts in the Bandarban Hill District. This is a luxury tourist resort established and run by the Bangladesh military, which is the core beneficiary (Bandarban Tours 2016; IWGIA 2014; Nilgiri Resorts 2012). This development entailed the forceful displacement of an entire village of local indigenous families by the military. Having been evicted from their land at gunpoint, the villagers had to live in the open air for several months and roam around in search for a place to settle down, which resulted in the death of seven children and two elderly persons from pneumonia (IWEGIA 2014, p. 31). In the course of the construction of this resort, the military abolished a local school and destroyed an orchard which was a livelihood source for the local Mro indigenous group (IWEGIA 2014). The process of forced land acquisition is simple. Developers ask the District Commissioner to declare the lands as 'Khas' lands which means state owned (Adnan & Dastidar 2011, p. 141).As a government servant the District Commissioner may not be able to go against the developer's power derived from links with state authorities. Once the office declares the land as 'Khas', it makes the IPs occupancy illegal and frees the land for acquisition under private property laws.

3.6 Conclusion

Although the CHT was a free land before it was colonised by the British, it has now become a part of Bangladesh. The situation of the CHT and the IPs started degrading ever since the CHT came under colonial rule, and now it has reached its worst level. Land grabs and

forceful evictions of the IPs are a continuing process, and are condoned by the state agencies. Tourism development is just an additional means of land grabbing which is justified as a development necessity. The continuing tourism-based land grabs, involving the destruction of IPs villages and their subsequent displacement, reveal the autocratic power of the military and the state in the question of IPs issues. Land grabbing and tourism development enable the military to spread its economic roots, and further its primacy and presence in the CHT while make the IPs weaker. It seems that the weaker the IPs become, the more vulnerable and dependent on the government they will be.

Chapter 4-Tourism Development Strategy: Policy and Practice

4.1 Introduction

In the earlier chapter, it is seen that Bangladesh may have achieved political independence from the colonial powers long ago, however, the country has failed to achieve a complete psychological independence from the colonialism. That is why, traces of colonial attitude are still present and can be seen in the ways the government rules its own citizens who are minority with distinct features, and how it plans development for them. The tourism policy of Bangladesh is no exception to such tendencies while the practice of tourism development is even more of colonial character. This chapter aims to demonstrate a gap between Bangladesh National Tourism Policy and the tourism development practice of the state. While the policy discourse takes an over economistic view of development, the tourism development practice adopts a clear colonial perspective on the IPs.

4.2 Analysis of Bangladesh Tourism Policy

The Bangladesh tourism development strategy can be traced by the National Tourism Policy of Bangladesh (NTP) (MoCAT 2016), and the vision, mission and objectives of the Bangladesh Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism (MoCAT 2015). The NTP 2010 of Bangladesh (MoCAT 2016) has considered tourism as an effective multidimensional industry that creates a large amount of employment, accelerates economic growth and increases foreign currency earnings, all of which will ultimately eliminate poverty. The policy emphasises the role of tourism in job creation to help satisfy the employment needs of a large and growing population. To fast-track tourism growth and modernization, the policy encourages local, national and foreign investment.

The major aim of the policy is to encourage economic progress by developing a tourism trade that would create employment, involve local government and local people, balance tourism with ecology, and preserve biodiversity (MoCAT, p. 2). Other aims and objectives mentioned by Bangladesh Ministry of Civil Aviation and Tourism (MoCAT 2015) are i) to display the nature, history, culture and heritage of Bangladesh through tourism; ii) to create a tourism industry of international standard and create skilled human resources for the tourism industry; iii) to develop the tourism industry as the sector to earn the highest share of foreign currency;

iv) to establish Bangladesh as an attractive tourist destination in the international arena; and v) to contribute to international peace building through tourism, which will help to build a more progressive and developed Bangladesh.

Regarding the IPs, the National Tourism Policy (MoCAT, page 1) clearly and specifically mentions the life style and culture of the 'ethnic minorities' as a 'tourism-product' which, like the natural beauty, folk culture, folk festival, food, and religious places of Bangladesh, could be sold to tourists to promote the country's economic progress. In addition, the tourism policy emphasises the exotic character of indigenous cultures to increase the international tourism, and reduce the dependence on domestic tourism and local consumers (MoCAT, p. 1). Further, the tourism policy (MoCAT, p. 4) encourages 'community home stay', where both international and domestic tourists can stay in local people's homes to experience the local culture. For this Community Tourism, the policy includes the idea to train young men and women from 'ethnic minority' communities as tour guides. The policy states that priority will be given to local people in job recruitment for the tourist spots and establishments. However, the tourism development practice which will be discussed afterwards in the thesis shows something very contradictory.

However, it is noticeable that the tourism development strategy is not free from colonial attitudes strongly based on Western-centric discourse and hegemony. This is demonstrated by the way the Bangladesh tourism policy has been designed. According to the policy, development equals modernization, economic growth, urbanization and commodification of culture and identity - specifically the culture of the IPs. The Western centric colonial mindset is so deeply rooted in the minds of the Bangladesh state that even the national agendas of an independent state leaves such concepts of development unchallenged, and the state then imposes these concepts on the people it thinks inferior. Although the policy represents the IPs and their culture and environment as beneficial to the country's economy, it does not mention how tourism would benefit the IPs. The policy does not indicate if it even cares about benefits to the IPs, nor does it reflects on how the IPs issues should be dealt with. There is no mention of IPs human rights, or cultural sensitivity. There is no indication that prior consultation and consent of the IPs (UN Assembly 2008, pp. 6-8) will be sought for tourism projects, or that the State will take into consideration their perspectives, before incorporating them as objects in the national strategy. Therefore, the policy's emphasis is on development as modernization and westernization, and the imposition of such concepts on the IPs. This reflects both the colonized mind and colonial character of the state, which makes the policy

objectives insensitive to the IPs right to make choices about their lives (McEwan 2009 p. 147; Willis 2011). It is a case of a dominant state imposing upon the weak its own rules and regulations about 'what can be known and how it can be known' (Foucault 1977 cited in Chilisa 2012, p. 7).

All ethnic communities and peoples have the right to self-determination, which implies their right to choose their own economic, political and cultural development (Churchill 2011, p. 533). It is necessary to consider the IPs as active development actors rather than just passive subjects. If any 'protecting instrument' such as the opportunity to their free and prior informed consent is developed can empower them to regulate their land and the tourism on those lands (Johnston 2000, p. 95). It is not hard to assume that the IPs would embrace a form of development that would bring them well-being, without involving commodification, landlessness, cultural and livelihood destruction, human rights violations and environmental destruction. The development IPs may expect is more than just economic development, and quite similar to sustainable development (Atkinson et al. 2007, p. 2; Elliott 2002, p. 8; Robert & Leiserowitz 2005, p. 10). Further, Article 20 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples supports the rights of IPs to enjoy, maintain and control their 'traditional economic activities', and if somehow these rights are injured by the government or other parties, they are responsible for compensation (UN General Assembly 2007, p. 7). Johnston 2000 (p. 89) argues that the IPs should have access to proper evidence on what different after-effects they are to confront as a result of tourism development on their territories. This would enable them to give informed consent and fight for the development they need and want.

However, the Bangladesh government's perspective on development still represents those of their former western colonizers. Their views are shaped by western colonial philosophy, culture, ideas and world views. This world view is evident in the design of government development plans and programs, activities and processes. Thus the Bangladesh tourism development strategy embraces western hegemony and concepts of modernization (Chilisa 2012, p. 7). Such attitude of the state creates a 'development myth' by forcing the IPs to assimilate with the majority in order to be developed, which is causing the destruction of their distinctive culture and life. On the other hand, the state is increasing the 'development gap' between IPs and the mainstream population by pushing them into greater vulnerability and poverty (Radcliffe 2012, p. 89). For example, the IPs are unlikely to be employed in the tourism establishments built on their 'grabbed land' due to the lack of required skills for

tourism industry. Furthermore, they are also unlikely to be able to follow their customary income generation opportunities due to being landless. It is obvious that as a consequence of state initiated tourism development, IPs be poorer than before. Therefore, the western centric Bangladeshi tourism development policy and strategies seems unresponsive to the condition of the indigenous people's values and survival (McEwan 2009).

4.3 Representation of Indigenous peoples in Tourism Development

Image creation plays a powerful role in tourism. If the image of a tourist destination creates a positive impression, it will attract more tourists (Bonn et al. 2005 cited in Zahra 2012, p.19). If the image of a place and its inhabitants is overly romanticised, it will encourage outsiders to fantasize about the destination and its inhabitants as exotic things to be experienced, and this ultimately could be deleterious to the reality and integrity of the local people's culture.

The CHT is a place of beautiful landscapes with vast ethnic and cultural diversity, which undoubtedly can be considered as assets for the tourism industry. It is common that tourism targets traditional societies to sell their authentic culture and distinct life style and features, as a piece of tourist product (Ghimire 2013, p. 18). But, this practice contributes to the tendency of the tourism operators and tourists to demand the IPs to be represented the way they like to see them (Lanfant 1995, p. 33). It certainly despoils the original forms of representation of IPs culture, tradition and heritage just to fulfil tourist demands (Hemingway 2004, pp. 277-278). However, as Blanchard & Higgins-Desbiolles (2013, pp. 25-26) argue, the exclusion of the IPs from the promotion of their own culture and lands for the purpose of tourism creates a distorted image of the IPs and their lands. They add that if any tourism development fails to respect IPs, their culture and realities, there is no way that tourism development can benefit them.

Indigenous peoples have long been deprived of having control over their own economic and social development processes by the state (Radcliffe 2012). Therefore, they never could determine for themselves. It is the state and its political framework that has always determined what the IPs fate would be, and it is also them who created the images of its indigenous peoples. In terms of the image creation of the IPs both negative and overly romanticized, the tour operators, media and tourist establishment operators have also contributed (Bhabha 1994, p. 20). McEwan (2009) argues that the language that is used to create an exaggerated and romanticized picture of development – one which is far away from

the real picture - consequently produces misleading and demeaning information and images of a particular society, community, ethnicity or culture. This tendency is visible in the National Tourism Policy (2010, p. 3), where it stresses the role of cultural festivals as tourist attractions. Here, emphasizing that cultural practices should be staged attractively for tourists holds the probability that their authenticity will be diminished.

4.4 'Othering' Incites 'Sameness Error'

Chillisa (2012, p. 81) refers to 'sameness error' as being the acts of development that cannot differentiate the diversity of people, communities, ethnicities or cultural groups who are subject to those developments. It stems from the tendency to measure and see the whole world through the colonizer's perception of economic, social, political and policy constructions. The sameness error creates a universalism or homogeneity of the conditions of humans that tends to discount diversity, and to find a single solution for multidimensional problems. This in turn facilitates the domination of the powerful over the powerless (Chilisa 2012, p. 81-82).

The sameness error can be seen in the previous sections that discussed how the IPs of Bangladesh have always been considered as the 'other' - wild, savage and backward. Amnesty International (2013, p. 14) confirmed this based on their interviews with the local government and military personnel. It found that state agents regard the IPs as backward people who are not as developed or modern – unlike Bengalis. Thus, from the point of the view of the state and its agents (i.e. local government, military personnel), developing IPs simply means transforming them into Bengalis. Time may have changed but their frame of mind remains the same in defining the IPs, and arbitrarily deciding their development needs. It is all about making the IPs (the 'other') think and act like 'us', that is, like Bengalis.

Unless the IPs are developed to become like the ethnic majority Bengalis, they will remain underdeveloped and backward. Therefore, the development policies of the state in many cases are not culturally appropriate to the IPs, and in most cases the policies passively aim to assimilate them into the majority mainstream. This development tendency to drag IPs into the so-called mainstream by exploiting their cultural identity and structure causes the slow but definite demise of cultural identity (Churchill 2011, p. 529). It is clear that Bengali ethnicity

is being considered as the standard and dominant ethnicity which IPs should emulate. This is why the settlement of Bengalis in the CHT territory is considered to be a modernising process to culturally integrate IPs. This demonstrates the colonial attitudes of the state and its agents.

The Bangladesh tourism policy considers economic growth as a key to development. However, the human rights dimension of tourism development is ignored. Here, the state has committed the sameness error, defining development in terms of economic growth alone. The government is so arrogant that it does not recognise the right of others to decide their own development. The government is making the 'sameness error' by assuming that every citizen of Bangladesh needs to be developed with the same development measures (Chilisa 2012, p. 81), excluding the indigenous alternative.

4.5 Strategic Practice in Tourism Development

Nowhere in the tourism policy are the security forces of Bangladesh mentioned as agents. Consequently, the land grabbing and forceful eviction of IPs by the military is not scrutinised, and neither is the role of security forces as operators of tourism businesses. The involvement of the military in tourism development in the CHT is not a stated policy, but it is nevertheless an important aspect of policy practice. Although tourism is promoted as important for economic growth, the involvement of the military ensures that tourism policy implementation is coercive, and involves human rights violations against IPs. According to Hemmingway (2007, p. 276), tourism development incidents commonly have a connection with the 'existing unequal and exploitative relationships' the states have with their IPs. The case study below illustrates this.

Case Study 3 – The 'Nigari Resorts' in Bandarban Hill District, Bangladesh

'Nilgiri' is located in 'Sualok' mauza of Bandarban Hill District (mauza is an administrative unit of local government applicable to the CHT region only). There were 275 Mro families who had been living in Sualok and had been evicted forcefully along with two other mauzas by the military in 2006 for the purpose of tourism development (Amnesty International 2013, p. 24; IWGIA, p. 36). The luxury tourist resort built by the military on the evicted land is 'Nilgiri Resorts'. It has been established and is being entirely operated by military and are the core beneficiaries of this tourism development (Amnesty International 2013, p. 24; Bandarban Tours 2016; Nilgiri Resorts 2012; IWGIA 2014 p. 36). According to Ahmed

(2015), mostly the inhabitants of Dhaka are the common tourists who go to visit this place to escape from the hustle and bustle of their city life, to get comfort and peace. This resort is built at the top of the hill which is situated at 2400 feet from the sea-level which makes it the highest resort, so the resort authority guarantees the boarders that they can have a feel like they are living in clouds (Ahmed 2015; Nilgiri Resorts 2012). On the other hand, local indigenous families with a whole village had been forcefully displaced by the Bangladesh military, who actually had been living on this land by generations (IWGIA 2014 p. 36). In the course of the construction of this resort, the military destroyed an orchard which was a livelihood of local Mro community people, and also abolished a school (IWEGIA 2014), whereas both livelihood opportunity and schools for indigenous children are always in severe scarce (Azad 2015; The Daily Star 2014).

275 Mro families who had been living in Sualok along with two other mauzas who had been evicted forcefully by the Bangladesh military in 2006 for the purpose of development and tourism (IWGIA 2014, 36). Ranglai Mro, the community leader of that Mro community who was also holding the chair of union council was protesting against this land encroachment, getting prepared to file a petition against such eviction, and even asking them for necessary prior notice and reintegration of his community people (Ahmed 2015, IWEGIA 2014, p. 36). As a consequence, Ranglai Mro was wrongfully accused and tortured by the military, and got arrested in the following year 2007, and was finally penalised for 17 years of imprisonment with a fabricated charge of having illegal weapons (Amnesty International 2013, p. 24; IWGIA, p. 36). From such torture Ranglai Mro already had heart attack but still he was sent to jail without any necessary treatment and in spite of having the doctor advised to be treated (IWGIA, p. 36). At a point he was although sent to The National Institute for Cardiovascular Disease and was hospitalized, kept chained up in the bed until one of the human rights organization interrupts in this matter (IWGIA, p. 36). Without any prior notice the military suddenly came one day to the village houses and evicted their inhabitants at gunpoint without giving a time to grab any of their goods. The villagers had to live under open air for a couple of months and had to keep roaming to look for a place to settle down, which resulted in the death of seven children and two elder persons of phenomena (IWEGIA 2014, p. 31). In the end, neither Ranglai Mro nor any of the villagers were in a position to protest for this unfairness.

This case study shows that when the state is determined to commodify IPs land, it can do this by any means. Such practice of tourism development ultimately leads to the destruction to the IPs. It is also clear that the oppressive character of the state and its agency is making IPs more vulnerable day by day. The land being the key to IPs identity and survival, the IPs forceful eviction from their lands is definitely an attack on their existence. So, the development practice of the state raises doubts on this matter. As Churchill (2011, p. 529) argues the development aggression as a systematic process might not be as direct as 'genocidal killing' in eliminating the existence of the IPs, but the consequence of it is just as effective, albeit in a slower form.

4.6 Conclusion

The analysis of the Bangladesh tourism policy indicates that the development strategy of Bangladesh still gives importance to the Eurocentric concept of development which equates economic progress and modernization. The policy seems not only ambitious but also keen to use IPs culture, tradition and lands for such economic progress. Since there is no provision for the IPs' consents, consultations and safe guards as instructed and assured by the policy, it leaves ample space for the IPs to be misused for the tourism development purpose. Therefore, although the policy directly does not deploy the Bangladesh military in tourism development, it takes the lead to develop tourist resorts in the CHT through causing the violation of the IPs human rights. From the policy and the practice it seems that the economic progress is only targeted at the state and its agencies, not at the IPs. However, even if the development of the IPs is considered as the main goal, no development for the IPs can be sustainable unless the state acknowledges that IPs can and should control their own lands and resources, and govern their territories and their development (Kessler 2005).

Chapter 5 – Concluding Remarks

5.1 Findings

The Bangladesh tourism policy sees tourism as merely a means of economic growth for the government (MoCAT 2016). This is because, tourism development of Bangladesh has mainly focused on the economic benefits of tourism for tourism operators and the state. The aim is to create GDP growth through the flows of tourism consumers and investments. However, the improvement of GDP or per capita income has failed to ensure the social and political security, health, peace, environment, income increase and empowerment of the CHT IPs. Because the essence of development of the CHT IPs is subjective and relative according to their different social and cultural settings and contexts, even a widely recognized development plan could be challenged by some local perspectives (Uddin 2014).

On paper, the tourism policy apparently has paid attention to the benefit of local indigenous communities through creation of employments and other income generation opportunities. However, overriding economic interests and an arbitrary practice of tourism development operated by military forces push the IPs to marginalization in the name of tourism. The tourism development practice in the CHT does not seem to be the IPs interests, rather, the IPs are being used for tourism. Furthermore, as military forces are taking the lead to develop tourism in the CHT, it raises a question whether they are the proper agent to develop tourism in Bangladesh. The development of tourism by the military in the CHT apparently may look benevolent, but it poses questions like for whom the ‘good’ is for and who really pays for that ‘good’ (The Daily Star 2015).

Tourism development in the CHT is underpinned by a history of violence, which can be clearly seen in tourism development strategy. The state agents evidently ignores the customary land rights of the IPs as it considers a legal written land title as the only proof of land ownership. It is clear that Bengali ethnicity is being promoted by the state as the standard dominant ethnicity that the IPs need to emulate to become modern and develop themselves. That is why the settlement of Bengalis in the CHT territory is considered to be a process of cultural integration. This demonstrates that today’s state agents uphold the same worldview about the ‘backward’ and ‘inferior’ IPS as the former colonial rulers.

To the state and its agents, land grabbing might be a means to deliver tourism development. However, unless tourism development is measured from the point of view of the IPs, and it integrates people-oriented development approach and human rights dimensions of development, it will never benefit the locals. Rather it will threaten their social, economic, cultural and political status. The capitalistic approach to tourism development is definitely not the solution to the problem. The existing tourism in the CHT dominated by the military forces and private enterprises are clearly not contributing to the IPs poverty elimination, rather such unlawful involvement of them creating more marginalization and inequality for the IPs. Therefore, the CHT land crisis needs a political solution based on the peace accords rather than military dominance, to be solved. The instructions regarding land disputes and tourism development mentioned in the CHT Peace Accord, can ensure the development in the region and also save the interests of the IPs (CHTRC 2011) if they are taken seriously by the government, and are implemented.

5.2 Human Rights and Ethical Aspect

Pigg (1992) argues that development planning of an issue should follow the research based on that particular issue rather than just follow a universal policy that is arbitrarily imposed. This means research should be given more value than a policy. This may be because good research is conducted through building a closer relationship with the communities, so it has more possibilities to bring out the genuine development aspirations and needs of the grassroots people, whereas in many cases development policies are developed on the basis of some common assumptions that fail to recognise the actual development needs of the locals.

Bangladesh's tourism development strategy regards the IPs and their cultures as one of the key attractions for tourists. The agents of tourism development are only concerned with the selling of the IPs culture to tourists, but they are not concerned about the IPs rights or with the consequences that the IPs face due to the tourism development. Much of the literature that analyses the condition of Bangladesh tourism also recommends the commodification of IPs culture (Afroz & Hasanuzzaman 2012; Ahmmed 2013). These authors completely ignore what Blanchard & Higgins-Desbiolles (2013, p. 26) have suggested to make tourism useful for the local IPs, which are - the prioritization of local resources, use of IPs labour, direct involvement of the IPs at higher level of management, inclusion of local institutions, and respectful promotion of the IPs culture that represents the real picture of the IPs and their

traditions. Such tourism may directly contribute to the economic progress of the IPs and give them real ownership of the tourism development on their land.

It is the state's responsibility to look after its IPs wellbeing and human rights. If tourism development on the IPs lands really has potentials for both the IPs and the state, the state should consult the IPs leaders and communities to determine if they want tourism development on their lands or how they want it to be, so that the IPs receive the real developmental benefit. Therefore, ethical tourism businesses can be developed and operated on the indigenous lands if the IPs directly participate and are consulted. However, first the government should attempt to compensate the IPs for the damage done through the existing tourism strategy. According to Amnesty International (2013, p. 27), states should ensure that their citizens have equal access to justice, and should take immediate compensatory actions for the IPs through rehabilitation, compensation, and an official apology. However, unfortunately, history shows that there has never been any genuine recompense to the IPs for their land being taken forcefully (Churchill 2011, pp. 548-549).

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