

ASSOCIATING WITH DEVELOPED PURPOSE NETWORK OF COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM OF THE DAO PEOPLE IN NORTHWEST VIETNAM

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Abstract

In the economic market expansion of Dao People in the Nothwestern Vietnam, the Community-Based Tourism plays an important role for that. Dao People in several local fields have joined the tourism market. Inside, Dao People in Sa Pa district of Lao Cai province is the earliest participating community-based tourism development and archives the most positive results. By the long-term field survey in Tả Phìn Village, Sa Pa district, this article is not only the depth of analysis of social network roles in community-based tourism, but also it provides more holistic view of Dao People who have used their cultural capital to economic market expansion.

Keywords: *Economic anthropology ; Social Network ; Dao People ; Community-Based Tourism ; Cultural Capital.*

1. Introduction

Community-Based Tourism is commonly understood as a type of tourism that travelers are experienced "ba cùng": eating , staying , and activity together with native's family. Community - based tourism create a close-knit relationship between tourists and local communities, in the other hand, the indigene who are not only eligible object for passive visiting, they are also the part of the tourism process, from market access, organization provides tourism service and tourism management in region and closely associated with community-based tourism" (Nguyen Thi Huong 2011, 3). Community-based tourism is broadly understood as a type of cultural ecotourism, it takes "flora, fauna and

cultural heritage of local people as attractive points” (Nguyễn Duy Thuy 2019). As analysis of the role of cultural capital in community-based tourism or cultural ecotourism development, (Hà Hữu Nga 2020, 6) has emphasized both aspects of the cultural community capital, individual cultural capital, institutional culture capital and social networks. And considered it is a form of "exploitation and use of the cultural capital responsible for decrease in negative aspects of ordinary tourism to the environment and cultural integrity enhancement of local people.

Tourism in Sa Pa had over one century of development. The 1903 milestone opened for tourism, in 2003, Sa Pa district organized a celebration "100 years of sa pa". However, according to Jean Michaud and Sarah Turner (2006), tourism appeared later in Sa Pa, at least after 1909. Sa Pa tourism grew strongly in the 1920s, 1930s and early 1940s but this trend was interrupted by the Resistance war against France (1946 - 1954). In the early 1990s, it started returning after Vietnam decided to allow international visitors to Sa Pa (1992). Sa Pa tourist tourism has been actually “explosive” and has helped Sa Pa to rehabilitate dramatic economic success since 1993. Sa Pa became as “little Da Lat” in the north and was the destination that the major of tourists desired to visit.

The Dao People involved in activities of community-based tourism was quite early, but only these activities flourished for over a decade when the number of visitors to villages grew and tourism services as well as some tourism products of The Dao were known by people. Among four The Dao’s villages which are conducted the field survey by author. As result, there are three The Dao’s villages that involved in the development of community-based tourism in different levels. The group of The Dao has 3 household take part in community-based tourism in Giang Ta Chai hamlet, Ta Van village; The group of The Dao has 7 households join community-based tourism in Can Ho A hamlet, Can Ho B hamlet, Suoi Thau of Ban Khoang village, The group of The Dao in Ta Phin village has 34 households participate in community-based tourism.

Ta Phin is the locality with the Dao who involved the most powerful economic development in Sa Pa. community-based tourism at Ta Phin appeared in the late 1990s, originally only one household to receive guests at home. And in the last decade, this number has increased rapidly. Currently (2020), the commune has 43 households involved in community-based tourism, including 34 Dao household, 6 Hmong households and 3 Kinh households. Ta Phin is admitted by Lao Cai province as one of the eight key tourist destinations of Sa Pa, this locality connected to numerous different routes to serve tourists. In 2018, Ta Phin greeted around 19,000 tourists, including 8,000 international visitors. Revenue from activities of community-based tourism has increased. Specially, the expansion of community-based tourism created strong impacts on other professions in which are most crucial to make handicraft or pharmaceutical production activities a faster development.

Summary, other ethnic minority communities in Sa Pa, the Dao people has seized opportunities when tourism booming to participate in the local tourism market in its own way to focus on community-based tourism. The tourism activities of the Dao people are associated with their cultural capital, especially they have used social networks to effectively develop tourism. Thus the analysis of social networks in the development of community-based tourism is also a way to understand the use of the cultural capital and market economic development of this community.

2. Method

When it comes to community tourism development, cultural capital is an important theory to approach. According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital exists under three primary states:

1 - Embodied state, which are cultural elements that are embodied through its subject, i.e. people, are existing and lasting elements in the minds and bodies of cultural subject. In other words, cultural capital in the embodied state is the national potential of people and the ability to apply cultural elements to create value in the process progress. Cultural capital in the embodied state the state of expression is a system of cultural factors manifested through the human factor.

2 - The objectified state is a system of cultural elements in the form of objective existence outside of human, is the material form of cultural capital such as books, tools, houses, equipment, machinery ... or intellectual and spiritual products such as trace, the practice of realization of theories or criticism of theories ... is also cultural capital in an objectified state. Cultural capital in an objectified state can be the product of the visible individual or community that is used to exchange and rotate to create value.

3 - Institutionalized states are cultural elements that organize into stereotypes, shape the existence and functioning of cultural elements based on those stereotypes. Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital was later further developed by Robert Putnam (1993; 2000) and Francis Fukuyama (2001). According to these scholars, cultural capital is the physical and intangible assets involved in the production process to create material wealth for society. If Bourdieu considers cultural capital as the personal property of each person, Putnam and Fukuyama consider cultural capital as individual and collective assets. "Although there are differences in considering cultural capital is a personal (Bourdieu 1986) or collective asset (Putnam 2001), researchers have a consensus of viewing cultural capital as a resource. It is characterized by social networks, experience, skills, value systems, codes of conduct, beliefs, reciprocal relationships and a component constitutes the cultural context of a expansion program which can create conditions for creativity and changes " (Nguyen Van Chinh 2020, 6 - 7).

Previously, there have been several researchers who concerned cultural capital in Vietnam (Tran Dinh Dinh 1996, Tran Huu Dung 2002; Bui Hoai Son 2008). But most

authors analyze the concept or participate in a few expert areas without setting the possibility of applying it to development research, which is understandable since imposing Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital on specific research in Vietnam needs to consider many issues. As Ha Huu Nga (2020, 3) emphasized: "In his theoretical projects, Bourdieu has exploited several economic terms to analyze the processes of cultural and social reproduction, in which different types of capital tend to be passed down from generation to generation. Bourdieu, however, has gathered all available cultural capital into individuals, and it is misleading to use his "cultural capital" conceptual heritage. In addition, in the context of personal-biased Western culture, the way of conceptualizing cultural capital associated with individuals can have certain analytical advantages. However, with community-rich Oriental cultures, the concept of "cultural capital" must be adapted to this new context. According to Ha Huu Nga (2020), the concept of cultural capital "basically associated with the concept of environments and habits" so as to be in line with the Vietnamese research context, it is necessary that "besides western personal cultural capital, we will supplement and seek to exploit more "cultural capital" heritage associated with the community".

To fit his goals, in this article, the concept of cultural capital is understood in a broad sense including the types of capital that Bourdieu has analyzed. This is also understandable when culture, understood in a broad sense, covers both economies, society, institutions, symbols, and human ... Accordingly, cultural capital is understood as physical and intangible resources, personal or community manifestations, which can rotate and participate directly or indirectly in economic processes to create benefits for humans. Thus, cultural capital in a broad sense can consist of 4 basic states: personal cultural capital, community cultural capital, socio-cultural capital, and social network. In particular, social networks play an extremely important role in the development of community-based tourism. A social network is a concept created by JA Barnes, a British anthropologist in the mid-twentieth century and then this concept was applied and developed by several social scientists into an important concept and popular framework analysis in social research since the mid-1970s. Barnes considers relationships as friends, ancestry, and transitions of those relationships (It's mean that relationships always expand and people belong to the network will have a transitional relationship with each other) making the community become a network and govern many activities of the individuals as well as the community itself so he called it the social network (Barnes 1954). Another aspect, the social network is understood as a synthesis of relationships, connecting factors, and cohesive institutions of individuals, groups, organizations, and communities formed to share benefits as well as responsibilities in exploiting resources for economic development.

To approach research on social networks in community-based tourism development of the Dao people in Sa Pa, we have conducted a long-term field study for some communities in 3 communes including Ta Van commune, Ban Khoang commune, and Ta Phin commune.

In which, Ta Phin commune is the primary research area. The research process began at the end of 2007 and lasted for many years with many countryside trips. From 2016 to 2020, four long-term field surveys were conducted. Phase 1 in March 2016; phase 2 in September and October 2017; Phase 3 in March and April 2018, and phase 4 in October 2020. The heart of the countryside trips focused on understanding the role of social networks and, more broadly, cultural capital in the development of a market economy in general, with concentrating on the community-based tourism is essential. It is hypothesized that social networks play an essential role in the development of community-based tourism. The process of community-based tourism development of the Dao is also the process of building and applying social networks to economic progress.

The most crucial method in fieldwork for data gathering is in-depth interviews. We conducted 43 in-depth interviews to create a data system related to the research topic. Interviews focused on their gender relationships and perceptions, moreover, their thoughts about gender in specific family contexts and circumstances, at different ages and jobs. In addition, to have more multi-dimensional discussions, we conducted six group of discussions in the study area on topics related to gender, the market economy, and cultural capital. Each discussion usually has 6 - 8 people participating in wide discussions on different topics set by the consultant. Besides, we pay much attention to the participatory observation method. Stories related to many of the problems that we experienced during our countryside research were recorded and discussed with each other through each countryside study (Bui Minh Hao, 2018).

3. Result

The above section mentions the social network as an element of personal cultural capital applied in the development of community tourism of households. This section focuses on further analysis of the Dao community-based tourism social network in Sapa. This network includes the production of spaces, social relations, and regulated institutions, affecting those relationships between Dao community tourism-related subjects. These social networks are between the Dao people doing community tourism together, between the community tourism workers and the Dao people who do not do community tourism, between the Dao people and other community members doing community tourism, between the Dao people doing community tourism with tourism companies and between the Dao people and the local tourists. And also the Dao's online social networks are related to the development of community tourism or sexual service networks, which are very discreet.

3.1. Social network in Dao community: support and competition in community tourism development

In the Dao community, there be two different networks of relations. First of all, there is a network of Dao people taking part in community-based tourism activities. Those who in

the commune often have relationships with each other to varying degrees. They compete in both specialty activities but also support and share from experience to resources.

Between Dao people, there are rarely any criticisms of other families' services or conditions in tourism activities. They help each other when one family have large groups of guests that alone can hardly perform well the services. Families are still willing to support by sharing food when needed to serve tourism. And they also share some slight risks while running a business. On October 17th, 2020, a family in Sa Xeng village was ordered by a partner to prepare 5 sets of Red Dao Herbal Baths for 5 tourists. But after boiling the water and mixing the medicine, the partner contacted again to report because of bad weather, they could not bring guests in. At that moment, a nearby family of tourists shared 4 of their family's visitors for the one who had made bath pills to help not to waste their herbal mixture. Similar stories are also shared by many families. Recently, households doing community-based tourism have gathered together in cooperative to share resources and support each other in the development process. Particularly, Ta Phin commune currently has 3 cooperatives operating community-based tourism, which are Red Dao Community Cooperative, Giac Mo Do Cooperative and Community-based Tourism Cooperative. The largest concentration is the Community-based Tourism Cooperative, which was established in 2019 and currently has 40/43 households participating. This cooperative organizes training programs for individual members on tourism skills, expense management, seeking to approach tourism companies and diversify related activities. In cooperatives, the price of services shall be agreed upon and not to be auctioned for competition. Besides, it is divided into groups such as homestay group, transportation group, herbal bathing service group, tour guide group and traditional specialty group. The cooperative organizes for families to participate in activities when tourists arrived and deducts about 10% for the general fund. The Dao community in different localities still has some relationships to support each other. A family doing community tourism in Ta Phin is willing to introduce their visitors to a family doing community tourism in Ban Khoang or Ta Van, Ban Phung if visitors need to go to those localities. Naturally, it is not true to say that there is no competition among Dao people involved in community tourism. They are constantly improving the quality of their services and expanding their social network to attract more visitors than other families is a form of competition with each other.

The second strong relationship is between Dao households doing community tourism and Dao households that do not do community tourism. They have cooperation in several jobs related to community tourism development. Many families do not operate in community tourism but regularly provide food, sell bath medicines, medicinal plants to households doing community tourism. Households doing community tourism in addition to buying materials are also willing to accept the sale of brocade items to other households. This is a form of sales at different prices in the same community. With the same product, if they sell

it to tourists, they would take a higher price when selling or sending to households as tourists to sell to guests. And these households usually sell at a higher price of 20-25%, even with foreign visitors can be 50% to 100% higher to make a profit. This not only appears in each Dao community but in many other communities, there is such a division. Because in the social network of a community, besides the price of goods and services, it is also added to some other values. People who trade for-profit and they try to maximize profits when meeting strangers outside the community, but do not seek profits or make very few words in their communities. This was also analyzed by Jean Michaud [2010] in the case of the commercial network of the Hmong community in Bac Ha district, Lao Cai province.

Thus, in the Dao community, whether participating in community tourism or not, there are certain relationships with each other. It is a relationship for the parties to have interests and share and support each other in the development process.

3.2. Social network outside the Dao community: access to information and connection of the tourism market

This is a network of relations between Dao people and partners as well as customers in community tourism.

It can be divided into the following social relationship groups: Dao people with other groups participating in community tourism activities; Dao people with travel businesses and tourism management agencies; The Dao people with the tourists.

The level of participation in community tourism activities of Dao people in the surveyed localities varies. In Ta Phin, the Dao people were the main force for community tourism activities alongside the Hmong and Kinh people. In Ta Van, the Giay people are the main force for community tourism activities, while the Dao people have only a few households participating. In Ban Khoang, the Dao and Hmong people began to enter community tourism activities and the Dao people had the advantage but not clearly. In Ban Phung, Thanh Kim, only a few households are remodeling their homes to participate in community tourism activities.

The relationship between the Dao people and the Kinh, Hmong, and Giay groups when taking part in community tourism activities shows both competitive and cooperative aspects. In Ta Phin, the Dao people were the first group to participate in community tourism and accounted for the largest proportion today. The Hmong and Kinh people have been involved in this field in recent years. The cooperation between the Dao and the Hmong, Kinh people in community tourism activities, although not as close as between the Dao people, but also has a certain connection. Dao and Hmong households buy bath medicines from other Dao households to serve the needs of visitors. The Dao also sent some goods such as brocade to the Hmong, the Kinh households to sell to visitors. The Kinh people sold to Dao households some other necessities from cooking oil, salt, some other types that they bought

from the downstream. The Hmong also sell vegetables, chicken, fish to Dao households to serve visitors. Community tourism activists in these localities also work together on a price-homing basis. No household is priced out to compete on price. And that is also the foundation for them to work together in some other ways. Even if families welcome guests without a service, these groups can also support each other. Therefore, 6 Hmong households and 3 Kinh households in Ta Phin basically also have good relationships with 34 Dao households and community-based tourism activities. But that relationship is not as close as the relationship between Dao or Hmong households. If the cooperation is more dominant, the competition between these groups in community-based tourism development is more closed and implicit. The competition is mainly based on the investment as well as the development strategy of different families. Kinh people focus on receiving tourists who need to go to the countryside to eat, bathe but in the same style as the downstream people, they choose to stay in Kinh households. The dishes, the way of cooking or equipment, tools in the room are also modern, similar to the motels, hotels downstream. Meanwhile, the Dao and Hmong people focus on serving visitors who want to explore and experience the local culture. Households are also always looking for ways to access the market and expand investment to compete with other families on a consistent price basis. In other localities, this relationship is similar despite manifesting it to varying degrees depending on the development of tourism there. Relations with tour operators are an important issue in community tourism development. This is the original relationship to reach visitors of households. And almost every family involved in community tourism also has certain relationships with tour operators. However, the relationship with more or less business and how close they are depends on the social network of that family.

Table 1. The level of relations of Dao households in Ta Phin doing community tourism with tour operators

Level of relationship with tour operator	Number of households	Percentage (%)
None	3	8,9
1-2	18	52,9
3-5	8	23.5
Over 5	5	14,7
Total	34	100,0

Source: Author's Field Survey in October, 2020

Most of the participants in community tourism activities in Ta Phin have relationships with tour operators. Only 3 households have entered this field in nearly 3 years and are still being completed, so they have not created many relationships. They welcome guests mainly through the introduction of friends, relatives, the sharing of some households and also participation with community tourism cooperatives. The most effective families doing community tourism are often those who have the most relationships with tour operators. Although there are people who have been involved in community tourism for less than 4 years, there is a network of relationships with travel companies and regularly has 7-8 companies to cooperate and exchange to greet guests. There is a case of a woman who previously worked as a guide for several travel agencies. Then, when she came to investing in community tourism development, she was able to apply and expand relationships with travel companies to access the market. But such cases are not much. Most families also cooperate with 1-2 companies to pick up guests when conditions are available. And often a tour operator also has partnerships with many households doing community tourism to meet the needs of visitors. Maintaining good relationships with travel agencies or tour guides is an important issue, a skill that community travelers need to grasp to thrive. “If they introduce their guests to me, I also have to respond to them with many things. It’s about being close, sharing, or giving them gifts that we have. Maybe even share with them a portion of the profits that we make. Because everyone’s a business person. They feel happy and comfortable, new guests introduce themselves. Otherwise, they will introduce to other houses” [Women, Dao people, Ta Phin commune, interviewed on 23/10/2020].

And the last relationship in this network is of course the relationship between the Dao people and visitors, i.e. the relationship between the subject of community tourism development with its customers. The first one to do community tourism, of course, is friendliness. To receive guests, especially those who stay, participate in experiences, explore local culture, the host must be friendly and have regular interactions with visitors. The Dao people are relatively open-minded, even strangers from elsewhere. It is easy to meet, get acquainted and chat with visitors. Not passive as many people thought, the Dao people in Sapa also actively interact with guests. Whenever tourists come to the locality, many Dao people have picked up from the car door to sell hawkers. Maybe the number of goods they sell is not much, but they actively talk, share with visitors naturally. Many street vendors show their perseverance when they can spend the entire session going out, chatting with visitors but the goal of selling goods or not is still uns warranted. Most Dao families doing community tourism are interested in the strategy of developing social networks through visitors to their homes. Every time they welcome guests, after chatting, sharing, eating, staying, or participating in experiential activities, they also save visitors’ information. From email address, phone number and now Facebook, Zalo address,... They make friends and are ready to take photos to share with each other. Thereby, on the one hand, they create prestige

with visitors through an increasingly close relationship, on the other hand, they also take that image and relationship to promote themselves. They chose visitors as an important link in the "oil slick" campaign to expand their social network and access to the tourism market.

3.3. Online exchange network and proactive access to the tourism market

Currently, to develop tourism, the use of information technology is an important factor. Technology information networks are increasingly playing an important role in the creation and operation and development of various social networks. The use of information technology networks to sell or develop brands and services is becoming a strong development trend. The era of online trade and exchange of goods and services is mentioned by many people.

Community tourism needs to spread with a large social network beyond separate cultures or social groups, so online social networks are of great value. In the past, almost all details related to a tour were often provided by tour operators. Nowadays, almost everyone when preparing for a trip takes to the internet to search for information about the place and services they need. From there they can actively contact the supplier directly or through the tour operator. Therefore, online social networks become an important meeting point between households doing community tourism and tourists.

Previously, Dao people doing community tourism in Sapa contacted tourists mainly through travel companies, by phone, or email. Currently, they can contact visitors directly through social networks such as Facebook, Zalo, or from information on websites, Fanpage that they participate in. The most important of which is probably facebook's social network. Facebook appeared in the Dao people in Ta Phin around 2010 and the first use of community tourists. Initially, they learned how to join facebook's social network thanks to a few people from tour operators, tourists, and children who went out to study for work on nick support as well as user guides. Initially, only a few families with computers could join. But increasingly, the more popular smartphones are, the more convenient it is to join social networks. The Dao people in Sapa mainly use smartphones of Vivo, Sam Sung, Oppo because these phones are quite soft, take beautiful photos and big machines are easy to use. Investing an amount of 3-5 million can buy a beautiful phone, take photos, and film well back into the internet conveniently so many people can use it. The main users are young men and women (from 16-30 years old), women participating in activities such as community tourism, sales, commune officials, or have gone out to work. Middle-aged and older men do not use these social networks, except for some who have time to go out to work. Of the 34 community-traveling households, all joined facebook's social network. And in families, children of youth also use. Dao people still mainly use according to personal pages, have not formed groups or fanpage to introduce products. Currently, some people are asking to find ways to form groups to promote tourism activities as well as online sales.

On the personal Facebook page of community travelers they also regularly take photos when there are visitors to stay or take medicine and eat. They took pictures with guests, put them on their page. Please both Facebook of guests to connect and tag them both to promote their home travel activities. They also regularly update their activity information, introducing some goods such as bath pills, dishes, cultural activities, or facilities to serve visitors. When someone needs it, they ask to text or call them directly to talk. Many people know how to design their Facebook's fanpage so that it is beautiful and highlight the phone number so that anyone in need can easily contact. People who are close to each other often share each other's posts to expand the connection to help each other. To better understand the Social Network of the Dao people in Sapa via Facebook, I surveyed the usage status of some specific cases.

The first was a 65-year-old woman who worked as a community tourism, trafficking in bath medicines and some medicines. She was a pioneer in the development of community tourism in Ta Phin. Since 2008, she has been using a computer and was set up a Facebook account by a student to make friends. But it wasn't until 2011, when she used her smartphone, that she was interested in the social network and applied it to economic business. Currently, her Facebook page has 1372 friends, including about 100 Dao friends in Ta Phin, 400 friends who are Dao people elsewhere, about 300 friends who are ethnic people in Lao Cai, the rest are people elsewhere, are acquaintances, customers used to have business relationships, researchers or people who work at travel companies (about 15 people make friends) and many who have never known. In her family of 10 people over the age of 16, 8 people are using Facebook social network. But she alone is used to contacting, message customers, and carry out business transactions. Others use it to play. She connects with others who work in community tourism or the drug trade to capture information, promote and support each other. They haven't formed groups yet, even though they know how to watch some fanpage, but it's for entertainment, not for product promotion or customer search. A few years ago, a film crew came up here to film an introduction to bath medicine, about Dao's travels, and they filmed many scenes about her. So she asked for the footage to be posted on her Facebook page. Thereby many people contacted her to buy bath pills, book travel services. And now, about 30% of the revenue from her family's travel activities with the sale of bath medicines is related to business relationships from this social network.

The second case was a 31-year-old woman, doing community tourism, selling bath pills and brocade. His Facebook now has 3745 friends, including more than 150 Dao friends in the commune, about 500 dao friends elsewhere, and about 500 friends who are ethnic minorities in Lao Cai. This person has many years of working as a tour guide, so he has wider social relations than others in the village. Every day, this person often posts on his Facebook page many activities related to business from welcoming guests, embroidery brocade, or going to get medicine. Images and clips, quite diverse should be of interest to

many people. And through these activities, the social network of this person was expanded, making the family one of the families doing community tourism as well as selling brocade, the most effective bath medicine, and the highest turnover in Ta Phin commune.

Or SAPANAPRO also considers online social networks such as Facebook, Zalo as an important advertising information channels. The company also sets up its website to contact visitors to sell its products. Increasingly, online social networks are strongly impacting the development of Dao community tourism in Sapa.

3.4. Sexual service network: closed market but not closed

Talking about tourism development in Sapa, Jean Michaud and Sarah Turner (2006) were very interested in prostitution and considered this as a realist associated with tourism development in many places, not only in Sapa. The authors believe that the sexual services network has become an important factor in tourism development, that even though like it or not, we must accept when visitors are in need and there are people involved in sexual services in a variety of ways. The Love Market is considered by the authors as a method of organization of some indigenous people in relation to extramarital sexuality. Regarding this issue, Nguyen Thi Huong (2011: 125-127) also analyzed more about sexual issues in community tourism. Herein, this author analyzed activities related to sex tours as well as the locals' notions regarding sexual problems. And this author's field survey of the Dao community in Ta Phin also confirms that community-based tourism here has no sexual services. Although there are tourists who have sexual needs during local tourism, people do not accept it because it is contrary to the customs and marriage culture of the locals.

Indeed, travel is an activity that enjoys sightseeing and is also associated with eating, interaction. Therefore, sex becomes an issue that many people are interested in. Sexual needs in travel are always present to many people, especially men, although women are no exception. In Sapa, every time male tourists leave their cars, they are often have invited for sex services by motorbike taxi drivers or taxi drivers. This is relatively common at night, when the delegations have finished drinking and have needed something to entertain, they can actively seek supply thanks to the introduction of the receptionist at the hotel, or motorbike taxi drivers, taxi drivers. When asked about this issue, a male tourist is not afraid to say: "Having come up here to enjoy, not only eat and drink, you should experience more to see how the mountain girls are... The simplest way to find it is to ask the receptionist to show you a place or call a motorbike taxi driver to take you there. They have many acquaintances, so it is easy for them to make profits by collecting transportation and even tips from sexual services for each referral." [Men, Kinh people, working in Hanoi, interviewed on 03/4/2018]. According to those who work in saunas, massage areas in hotels, it is common for sexual needs to be men who go on group vacations or come up here working for a short time. They followed the group to the sauna, massage area, to relieve themselves

after having some drinks. Here, they meet female employees and ask about sexual services. If both suppliers and demand meet and make a deal, then they will go elsewhere to trade. The subjects of sexual labor, in this case, are largely women from other localities who come here to work. There are some local women involved but limited. Besides groups seeking sex services, Sapa also has many sexual relationships in travel such as couples going on vacation, road trip groups,... In these groups, there are both men and women, so sex is mostly between the subjects who go together rather than with those who work on the spot.

Sexual services in Vietnam are considered illegal and severely sanctioned for women who work as prostitutes. So, almost everywhere, sexual services networks operate underground, very closed. Because if they're found out by the authorities, they'll be sanctioned. However, in that secrecy, it is very open to many objects. Because only when it open and is, there will have exchange and transaction. The network of motorbikes, taxis, or many hotel receptionists has an entire phone list of some sex workers to introduce visitors when they need it. Naturally, in order to get contact information or be led to a sexual service point, visitors also pay for these people an amount of money and their behavior has not been counted against the prostitution organization because they provide information and have not necessarily organized this activity. Currently, with the explosion of information technology, visitors can also find information and contact sex workers directly from websites provided or social networks such as Facebook, Zalo, especially Zalo network with searching tools. Visitors can search, make friends, and communicate with each other. If they meet the right people and make a deal, they'll meet. It also proves that sexual services in Sapa are more common than the numbers that the authorities have to reckon. And although sexual services are inherently closed, with an underground network, it is also very open because travelers can search easily through different clues.

In that context, whether the Dao community-based tourism in Sapa has anything to do with sexual services and how relevant it will be an important question, but it is difficult to answer obviously. Because this is a sensitive issue and is not easy to research in the local culture still strictly extramarital sexuality behavior. In localities surveyed about Dao community-based tourism, sex-related services are not acceptable. Households that do community-based tourism have said they are neither involved nor accept such services. Several local visitors had asked about the issue and the host made it clear there were none. "They must go out to town for their need because we don't do that here and no one will accept it.", he said. In the past, heterosexual visitors to community tourism households were not allowed to sleep together, even if they were mates. If the landlord allowed them to share a room, they also do not accept sexual behavior in their home. Recently, however, community-based tourism homes have been prevented from making private rooms smaller and more discreet, with some couples still allowed to stay together. But basically, the Dao people do not accept the sexual behavior of visitors to his house. And perhaps this is also a

reason that young couples in the down the country when going to Sapa often choose to stay in motels and hotels in the town rather than in homestays in the villages.

The group of people most likely to be involved in sexual services is the guide. It can be said that around the 2010s and earlier, the Dao people in Sapa took part in the tour guide quite a little. Compared to Hmong or Giay people, the number of Dao guides is quite modest. But over the past decade or so, the number of Dao women participating in the tour guide group has been increasing. Among those involved in tourism activities, guides are the ones who face the problem of sexual services the most because they are most exposed to visitors. And some have become the object of travelers contracting sexual needs. Although it is difficult to discuss this issue directly, in fact, there were some Dao women who, after joining as guides, then became single mothers. Some people have left the locality to go elsewhere to work and get married to live elsewhere. They were supposedly involved in sexual services by others and sometimes stigmatizing. "Being a guide is quite complicated, as visitors are also diverse. Some people are polite and kind, and some have money, so they have sexual enticements and demands. Both Westerners and Vietnamese. And many young girls who have not resisted money had fallen into the path of prostitution. By doing that, you will have money to shop and play, but if you let others know, you will be hated. Many people have had to leave elsewhere to get married and continue their life." [Dao women, Ta Van commune, interviewed on March 27, 2018].

4. Discussions and conclusions

The wider social network is that cultural capital is an important and decisive factor in the community-based tourism progress. In the process of developing community-based tourism, the Dao people in Ta Phin have used their social network quite effectively. They promote the values of social networks in the community, social networks outside the community, and online social networks through scientific and technological means to develop tourism. The social networks have helped the Dao people access the tourism market and constantly promote their tourism image, thereby attracting more tourists. In addition, they also promote cultural capital sources into economic development in a more proactive, positive, and effective way.

Developing community tourism of the Dao people in Ta Phin and asking an crucial attack in the process of applying social networks, exploiting cultural capital for socio-economic development. It is limitation of cultural conflicts that occurs between groups with ties through the different network, which is the harmonization of the advantages of participating in development social networks to develop. Besides, there is the interaction and promoting community cultural values, access to state-of-the-art development resources from the global process and information technology, especially, the development of human capital, but energy development, and access to community development sources. Thereby,

developed community-based tourism in Ta Phin and for us learning how to use social networks, promoting cultural capital in socio-economic development. It evokes many methods and paths in economic development associated with promoting resources inherent in the traditional culture of communities.

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