

## STATE AND TOURISM PLANNING: A CASE STUDY OF CAMBODIA

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*State is a catalyst in tourism planning not just because of economic development and poverty reduction but also for national image and cultural identity. The paper examines the role of state in tourism development policies in post conflict Cambodia by discussing the talks/speeches made by Prime Minister Hun Sen in respect of tourism development policies in Cambodia. Twenty eight speeches were identified and analyzed under the framework of textual analysis and the discourse of power. Nine factor were determined in the context of tourism development: security and safety for tourists; infrastructure and tourism facilities development; stakeholders collaboration; cultural heritage preservation; environmental protection; human resources development; tourism products promotion; simplification of travel procedures; and regional cooperation.*

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**Keywords:** *state, politics, tourism, discourse of power, Cambodia*

### INTRODUCTION

Tourism is a highly political phenomenon, the implications of which have been only rarely perceived and almost nowhere fully understood (Richter, 1989)

Tourism studies have been developed for the last few decades. It has a complex socio-economic-political and environmental impacts and implications. Many approaches have been developed from different disciplines to examine and explain the tourism phenomenon. However, there is little literature on tourism from the political science perspective (Hall, 1994). The seminal studies on the politics of tourism include the works of Elliott (1997), Hall (1994), Hall and Jenkins (1995), Jeffries (2001), Matthews, 1975, 1978, and Richter (1989). These studies mainly focus on the state and the use of power in managing and mismanaging tourism.



The discourse of power is one of the aspects looking at tourism from a political perspective. For instance, Xiao (2006) analyzes five talks made by Deng Xiaoping in respect to tourism development in China. In a similar vein, this paper attempts to analyze the speeches and talks made by the Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen pertinent to tourism development in Cambodia.

## **STATE AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

Tourism has been regarded as an engine for growth and poverty reduction. Both developed and developing countries design their policy to generate benefits from the tourism industry. Hall suggests “Many governments around the world have shown themselves to be entrepreneurs in tourism development” (Hall, 1994). Tourism deserves encouragement and support from the government (Jeffries, 2001). “Although tourism is an activity sustained mainly by private initiative, governments have traditionally played a key role in its development...” (WTO, 1996) In many developing countries, the state usually plays a central role in formulating and planning tourism development policy (Jenkins, 1998). The public sector has a significant and effective role in managing the environment and image of tourism (Wong, 2003). States in Southeast Asia play an important role in promoting tourism (Hitchcock, King, and Parnwell, 1993). States are the planners of tourism development (Smith, 2000). Southeast Asian governments, regardless of political system and level of development, consider tourism as a significant foreign exchange earner and employment provider (Richter, 1993). All these observations and arguments demonstrate that state is the main actor in tourism planning and development. It is, therefore, necessary to study the politics of tourism from a state actor perspective.

### **Tourism planning**

There are many case studies on the role of government in tourism planning and management in Southeast Asia. These studies include: the Vietnamese state and tourism development in Vietnam in 1990s after Doi Moi (Cooper, 2000); the role of the state in providing education to develop sustainable tourism in Thailand (Chambers, 1997); state and tourism promotion in Malaysia (Cartier, 1998); the public sector and environmental management of tourism on Bintan Island, Indonesia (Wong, 2003; Ross & Wall, 2001); the role of the state in tourism development in the Philippines after the Marcos era (Rieder, 1998); the

role of the Laotian government and the development of ecotourism and heritage tourism in Laos (Hall, 1997); and Singaporean government policy in promoting tourism in Singapore (Khan, Seng, and Cheong, 1990). The findings of the studies demonstrate that Southeast Asian States are “tourism developmental states”. They view tourism as a catalyst for economic growth and they actively participate in tourism industry for the sake of national political economic interest.

## **Politics and ideology**

Tourism is viewed as another tool to raise the political image and legitimacy of a state. Nation states in Southeast Asia have been promoting the tourism industry not only to drive economic development but also to support “ideologically driven definitions and symbols of national identity and ethnicity” (Sofield, 2000). In addition, states use tourism for their political interests as Richter has suggested: “the commitment to develop tourism is a policy decision fraught with politics but almost always couched in economic and social rhetoric” (Richter, 2001). In the Philippines, tourism was used as a political tool to “sell martial law” in September 1972 under the Marcos regime. Many development projects and programs were implemented to promote the tourism industry in the Philippines as a policy to increase the good image of Marcos’ administration. (Ritcher, 1996; 2001). In Myanmar, Hall (1997) observed that “Any discussion of tourism in Burma cannot ignore the political issues that surround it.” (Henderson, 2003). They all infer that state exploits tourism for their political gain or objectives.

## **Cultural identity and national image**

Tourism has been promoted in order to raise ethnic and national identity. In Singapore, there are three main ethnic groups: Chinese, Indians, and Malays. The government tries to reduce and abolish the discrimination and tension among the ethnic groups. For this purpose, ethnic tourism in Singapore was used to create a multicultural national identity in Singapore and manage domestic politics (Chang, 1997; Leong, 1989; Hall and Oehlers, 2000). In Indonesia, the government also attempted to calm down the frictions between ethnic groups in Indonesia by developing tourism to show the cultural diversity in harmony (Kipp, 1993). There are, however, also adverse consequences of developing ethnic tourism and national harmony. Adams (1997) studied the effects of the Indonesian government’s tourism promotion policy on indigenous ethnic

relations in South Sulawesi. The study argues that the history of ethnic and religious differences have derailed the promotion of national integration and development through tourism. Promoting tourism does not automatically lead to ethnic solidarity but instead it exacerbates the interethnic tensions, particularly between highland Torajans and lowland Buginese-Makassarese in fighting for control of the tourism cash cow and their identity. Moreover, Dahles (2001) investigated tourism development in Yogyakarta under Indonesian national tourism policies and the politics of the New Order regime. Tourism was used by the government to improve the international image of Indonesia and tourism was used by the New Order government to communicate images of Indonesia as a culturally sophisticated and economically advanced nation. Tourism introduces two types of development: “modernization” mainly for the local tourists and “ethnification” for foreign tourists. Whether they are successful in promoting cultural integrity or diversity or identity, states have plans to link national identity and image with tourism development. In general, tourism and cultural identity is strongly correlated in the context of Southeast Asia and could be implied to the Asia Pacific region as a whole as Wood observes that “Both ethnic and national identities will continue to be contested in Asian and Pacific societies, and tourism will continue to be an important arena in which this contestation is played out” (Wood, 1997)

## **Regional cooperation**

The state is the main actor in regional cooperation and integration. Regional integration in East Asia and the Pacific has a positive impact on tourism growth in the region, for instance, the case of Indonesia (Wall, 1998). Cross-border regional cooperation in tourism planning and development has been increased in Southeast Asia although there are some challenges and difficulties. Such regional tourism cooperation is important for sustainable tourism in the region (Timothy, 2000). Tourism is part of regional integration process in Southeast Asia. Nation states in Southeast Asia are cooperating in regional tourism development and in turn tourism pushes the countries to work together more closely, which can result in other fields of cooperation and integration (Teo et al., 2001). States play a role in promoting regional tourism through regional cooperation and regional stability. “Tourism is an important component of the new reality of a globalised world and an increasingly interconnected Southeast Asia.” (Hall, 2001).

Many attempts have been made to promote tourism in the region. Most the ASEAN countries have established so-called growth triangles with the financial and technical support from the Asian Development Bank (ADB) namely SIJORI (Singapore, Johor, and Riau) between Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore; the Indonesia-Malaysia-Thailand growth triangle; the Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam growth triangle; and the Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand growth triangle. Tourism is considered as one of the main issues under the framework of the growth triangles. In addition, the Mekong sub-region tries to develop a joint economic development and single tourism destination through the support from the international financial institution (ADB) and the political will of the countries concerned. Although currently such triangles and sub-regional tourism development could not work effectively they are on the ways toward regional tourism integration.

Tools to promote regional tourism integration are infrastructure and legal framework. Infrastructure plays an important role in regional tourism integration. Evidences have shown that infrastructure plays a critical role in the tourism industry in Singapore (Low & Heng, 1998), in Southeast Asia (Page, 2000). Page observes that “the future prospects for further growth in tourism will be contingent upon regional cooperation to assist in the greater integration and development of transport modes upon which the region’s tourism industry relies” (Page, 2000). Several international airports (Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam) in region have become gateways for tourists. Cheap air fares among the ASEAN members have been promoted to encourage intraregional tourism. In addition, legal framework has been a main issue to collectively and regionally develop tourism. ASEAN Tourism Agreement was adopted at the ASEAN Ministerial Submit in Phnom Penh in November 2002. Agreement emphasizes the need to strengthen, deepen and broaden cooperation in tourism among ASEAN Member States and among their private sectors in the light of the complementary nature of their tourism attractions and the need for ASEAN cooperation in making travel into and within ASEAN easier and more efficient. The agreement aims to improve the efficiency and competitiveness of ASEAN’s tourism services.

In overall, states in Southeast Asia are active in promoting and developing tourism policies. They design policies and implement them at different levels with ideologies and complex power negotiations behind the scene. Tourism is not only a catalyst for socio-economic development but also a tool for national, regional integration and reconciliation, and the creation of cultural identity and image. The above discussion has

illustrated the diverse ways in which government is involved in tourism planning and development, and the ideology behinds it.

## **TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN CAMBODIA**

Tourism has been strongly developed in Cambodia since the 1960s. However, civil war had seriously damaged tourism industry in the 1970s and 1980s. The statistics for the period of 1970s and 1980s are not available due to records were not conducted during the time. Tourist arrivals have increased dramatically from the 1993 to 2007 with an annual increase average of about 30 percent. East Asian tourists contribute largest amount to the tourist arrivals to Cambodia. Korea is the top and Japan is the second which account for about 25 percent of the total tourist arrivals to Cambodia.

Tourism has become one of the most important industries contributing to economic development in Cambodia. Tourism is the third largest contributor to the Cambodian economy after agriculture and textile industry and second biggest income generation after the textile industry. In 2005, income from tourism accounted for 832 million US Dollars, or about 13 per cent of the Cambodian Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and it provided annually about 200,000 jobs for the Cambodian people. In 2006, tourism generated revenue of 1,594 million US Dollars, about 16% of Cambodian GDP, and provided about 250,000 jobs (Ministry of Tourism, 2007). It is safe to say that tourism is one of the main contributors to Cambodian economic development and the government really takes it seriously in respect to planning and management.

Besides the economic effects of tourism, the Cambodian government also views tourism as an effective tool to promote the cultural values and identity of Cambodia which had been lost due to the external intervention from neighboring countries (Thailand, and Vietnam), French colonialism and the prolonged civil war and upheavals. While Cambodians had been aware of Angkor at the time of its discovery by the international explorers, they did not see the ruins as “evidence of a Cambodian Kingdom” (Edwards, 1999). Before the French Protectorate, people living near the Angkor Monument regarded the monuments as a religious site. They did not think of Angkor as a symbol of national pride (Edwards, 1999).

Angkor has become the symbol of Cambodian identity and nationalism since Cambodia got independence from France in 1953. “Nationalism has been based on collective memories and oblivions. Since Angkor was appropriated by Cambodian nationalism, the ‘glorious’ age

of Angkor has been memorized as the ‘true’ past of the nation” (Sasagawa, 2005). After centuries of socio-cultural transformations and changes, particularly after the colonial period, the Khmer traditions have been reconstructed through what Hobsbawn and Ranger call the “invention of tradition” (Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1983). Cambodian culture and traditions are products of an intellectual construct together with the international and external forces (Ledgerwood et al, 1994). Tourism, a global phenomenon, is one of the exogenous factors influencing the reconstruction of Cambodian culture. Tourism provides incentives for the national and local government to rediscover things which are believed to be related to Cambodian culture and identity in order to attract tourists. Tourism can also help to improve the image of the Cambodian state. It is argued that the Cambodian state considers tourism as the main contributor to socio-economic development, and to improvement of Cambodia’s image and identity (Chheang, 2008).

### **Hun Sen’s Speeches on Tourism: The Discourse of Power**

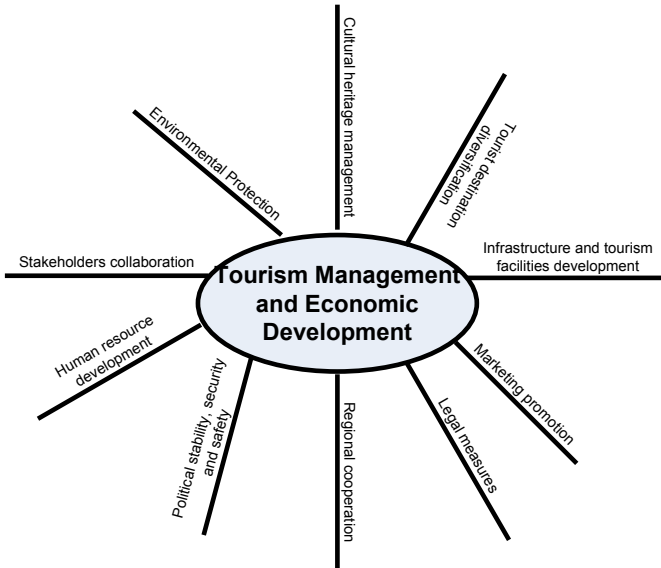
To further understand the politics and public policy of tourism development and planning in Cambodia, textual analysis of the speeches and talks by the Prime Minister Hun Sen is necessary since the speeches influence the agencies issuing and implementing tourism policies. In Cambodia, the Prime Ministers’ talks are very influential since Cambodia is strongly embedded in a patronage system and a top-down decision making process (Chan & Chheang, 2008). The Ministers and other national and local authorities are willing to design their policies and implement them in accordance with the speeches made by the Prime Minister. It is, therefore, necessary to code and analyze the speeches of the Prime Minister in order to understand tourism planning and management policies in Cambodia.

Speech is a verbal record of a communicative act and a text which “permits communication over time and space, and permits words and sentences to be examined both within and out of their original contexts” (Goody, 1977, cited in Xiao, 2006).

The textual analysis of the power discourse for Cambodia’s tourism is made possible by reviewing all the speeches by Hun Sen from 1998 to April 2008 which are available in English language at Cambodia New Vision homepage (<http://www.cnv.org.kh/>). Only important speeches pertinent to tourism development and planning were selected and analyzed. As a result, twenty eight speeches were found and coded. According to the contents of the speeches, the constructs of the power

discourse could be drawn which tourism and economic development at the centre and other variables supporting the centre.

**Figure 1.** The constructs of power discourse



## DISCUSSIONS

The tourism issue has figured quite remarkably in these speeches. From them, a discursive diagram can be drawn in which tourism as economic development is the hub while other issues play as spokes such as security, infrastructure, stakeholders collaboration, natural and cultural heritage preservation, tourism products development and marketing, travel facilitation, human resource development and trainings, and regional cooperation and integration.

### **The Hub: Tourism and economic development**

The speeches focus more on the economic benefits of tourism. The government views tourism as one of the most effective tools in poverty reduction in Cambodia through employments, tax revenues, and other spillover effects in other sectors, particularly agriculture, handicrafts and

souvenirs production, and construction. Tourism is one of the top five national development priorities of Cambodia. In addition, tourism play a vital role in realizing the Cambodian national development strategy called “Rectangular Strategy” focusing on promoting economic growth, employment, equity and efficiency in public sector.

The speeches many times mention about the role of tourism in socio-economic development in Cambodia. This demonstrates the attentions paid by the Cambodian government in respect of the perceived and real benefits deriving from tourism industry.

Build up potential of tourism sector to become an important engine for economic growth and poverty reduction through job creation, increased income, and improving standard of living. (Hun Sen 07 February 2001)

The key sources of our economic growth continue to be tourism and the garments industry (Hun Sen 07 August 2002)

Tourism will offer us jobs and will also absorb some of our people's products (Hun Sen 25 January 2003)

Tourism continues to be at the forefront of Cambodia's economy (Hun Sen 4 September 2003)

Tourism is seen as an engine of growth with magnetic power attracting other sectors to develop and connect to it. Tourism in Siem Reap has attracted many Cambodians from other regions to come to find jobs. In other words, tourism pushes international people movement in Cambodia.

The tourism sector over here not only provides jobs for the locals but it also attract citizens from all over the country to come here, from nearby or far away, to work in tourism-related services and businesses (Hun Sen 08 December, 2005)

In order to reduce poverty effectively through tourism, the government pays special attention to employment and income creation for the local people. The government recognizes the leakage of tourist

revenues through the importation of materials and agricultural products from the neighboring countries to supply the needs of hotels and restaurants. To deal with this issue, the government encourages and supports local farmers and producers, particularly the farmers living in Siem Reap province, home of Angkor Wat, to produce these goods instead. “Once village once product” is considered as an effective tool in reducing leakages and promoting local community development.

30% of revenue from tourism was leaked out of country through imported foreign goods to serve the tourism sector in Cambodia. Therefore, to patch the leakages we need to develop some kinds of local production programs by conducting comprehensive study to find out the potential products that can be used to promote the local economy (Hun Sen 05 June 2005)

The strengthening of tourism infrastructure and the guarantee of the connection between tourism and agricultural field is a crucial factor for enhancing the living standard of the people (Hun Sen 20 November 2006)

## **The Spokes: Tourism management and development**

### ***Security and safety for tourists***

Political stability and security are among the most important elements in tourism development in Cambodia. After experiencing prolonged civil war and armed conflict, international tourists and travelers had an image of Cambodia as a dangerous place, famous for land mines and killings. Tourists started visiting Cambodia only from the mid-1990s when the armed conflict was over and security was restored.

The Cambodian government always emphasizes stability and security as the cornerstones of economic development and tourism promotion in Cambodia. Security at the tourist destinations is stronger than elsewhere in the country. Tourist police were created for preserving security and safety for the tourists.

[we] need to provide is safety, security for the Japanese investors as well as tourists (Hun Sen, 17 August 1999)

[political] stability and security in the country, which is vital for tourism development. (Hun Sen 27 February 2002)

[with] the security, political stability and social orders ensured the development of transport infrastructure, such as highways, rural roads and bridges, is a key to development of tourism (Hun Sen 08 May 2003)

[the] Royal Government has drafted a law on tourism management and implemented measures to strengthen the capacity of tourist police to provide security for tourists (Hun Sen 14 March 2005)

### ***Infrastructure and tourism facilities development***

Tourism infrastructure and facilities are the main priority in planning and development. The Cambodian government has tried to invest in building basic infrastructure such as highways, roads, electric power plants, water supplies, and international airports. With the support of the international financial institutions and donor countries, some basic physical infrastructure has been constructed but this is still at a very low level.

Tourism development requires the development of infrastructure and other tourism-related facilities (Hun Sen 28 February 2002)

[the] market is built is serving the need for tourist development in Siemreap as well. We have to take into consideration the need for building and strengthening the infrastructures (Hun Sen 18 March 2002)

A more comprehensive road network will open up and link Cambodia's economic and tourism opportunities (Hun Sen 20 June 2002)

[an] appropriate physical infrastructure in response to the basic need of development in tourism (Hun Sen 01 July 2002)

[o]pen-skies policy is the key policy innovation that has enabled the rapid growth of our tourist industry (Hun Sen 06 December 2002)

***Stakeholders collaboration: private, NGOs, and government***

Collaboration between the public, private sectors and civil society is considered to be a factor propelling tourism development in Cambodia. The private sector plays an important role in providing tourism services while the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) support sustainable tourism and poverty reduction in Cambodia.

I urge the Ministry of Tourism to work closely with the Ministry of Environment, the Ministry of Land Management, Urbanization and Construction, as well as with relevant ministries, provincial and municipal authorities to develop the entertainment sector and to improve services to cater for tourists. (Hun Sen 27 February 2002)

The most crucial issue is to work in partnership with the private sector to implement all action plan related to tourism sector development (Hun Sen 27 February 2002)

[we] shall work closely with the private sector to develop tourist destinations (Hun Sen 16 November 2002)

I would like to appeal to all people, officials in all ministries and institutions, related authorities, private sector, development partners, national and international non-government organizations to continue providing your support and contribute to the development of Cambodia's "*Cultural and Natural Tourism*" sector to develop a successful and sustainable tourism sector (Hun Sen 12 November 2007)

### ***Cultural heritage preservation***

The Cambodian government considers cultural heritage preservation is the cornerstone of tourism development in the country. Cambodia is attractive to international tourists due to her unique culture and history.

Culture has contributed and is contributing to the country's development through its promotion of cultural tourists...The conservation and promotion of advancement of the national cultural heritage and civilization is an absolute will and determination of the Royal Government (Hun Sen 01 July 2002)

Cambodia will seek to promote the sustainable management of our heritage and natural resources through specific policies and measures, so that these contribute to continuing national growth while remaining intact as national patrimony (Hun Sen 06 December 2002)

[in] order to prevent child trafficking and sex in tourism and with support from World Vision and other organizations, we have established Council for safety in tourism, which is in the process of active implementation (Hun Sen 16 November 2004)

### ***Environmental protection***

Environmental issues are quite new for Cambodia especially within the framework of tourism development. The incorporation of environmental protection and tourism development started from the end of the 1990s when the environmental issues came to the surface in Angkor Park and other tourist destinations. The main environmental concerns are the increasing problems of solid waste and river pollution.

Attention should be given to developing measures to promote the protection of the environment and our cultural heritage according to the concept of "sustainable tourism development" (Hun Sen 27 February 2002)

We are also encouraging ecology-friendly tourism management, to ensure the sustainability and permanent

beauty of the monuments and Siem Reap (16 November 2002)

Historical, cultural and natural tourist sites have been managed and reorganized with good protection of natural and cultural environment (Hun Sen 08 May 2003)

### ***Human resources development***

Tourism education and trainings have been just introduced and developed in Cambodia since the early 2000s. Human resources in tourism planning and development are the big challenge for the country. Therefore, training and education in tourism is given special attention by the government.

The important work is the training of human resources to a level of high knowledge and with sufficient capability in both national and international standards (Hun Sen 01 July 2002)  
Tourism vocational training schools were established; technical staff and employees have been trained both at home and abroad (Hun Sen 08 May 2003)

### ***Tourism products marketing and promotion***

There are many tourism products in Cambodia but the problem is that marketing and promotion of the products is still very poor. Currently, most of the tourists come to visit Cambodia to see Angkor and not other places. It is necessary to promote other cultural and natural attractions for tourists in order to keep them to stay longer in Cambodia.

[the] Royal Government encourages the development of access to eco-tourism destinations such as Monduliri and Ratanakiri, beach tourism in our sea access areas to the South, the upgrading of Kang Keng airport in Sihanoukville and the promotion of initiatives such as the night markets (Hun Sen 07 August 2002)

The Royal Government is preparing a master plan for tourism development and diversifying tourist destinations into other cities such as Sihanoukville (Hun Sen 14 March 2005)

We need to transform from “Natural Tourism” to “Man-made Tourism” which depends mainly on processing and services (Hun Sen 08 December, 2005)

In the future, there will be a systematic connection of the four priority regions and it will transform Cambodia into a key destination country in the region...tradition and culture, and people’s friendliness is also a major tourist attraction (Hun Sen 5 March 2008)

### ***Legal measures (Visas)***

Cambodia was the first country in Southeast Asia to introduce an e-visa. This provides great convenience for the tourists. The visa procedure is very simple. The tourists could get visas at border checkpoints and at international airports. In addition, visa simplification goes to next step which facilitates travelling procedures and transportations for tourists within the regional framework. For instance, Cambodia has adopted the implementation of “Single Visa” between Cambodia and Thailand on 17 December 2007. This is the key in travel facilitation and a regional role model to facilitate tourists’ entry, without having to apply for visa at many locations, meaning that they can apply for their visa at a single place only in order to visit Cambodia and Thailand. Single Visa Agreement will also be applied to Cambodia-Vietnam, Cambodia-Malaysia, and Cambodia-Singapore in the future.

To encourage tourists to spend more time and money in Cambodia, the Royal Government has implemented actions to ease travel and entry: streamlined issuance of visas, especially for ASEAN citizens (Hun Sen 4 September 2003)

To attract more tourists, Cambodia and Thailand are prepared to introduce the ACMECS Single Visa by adopting the ACMECS minus X formula. We will set up an IT system to facilitate this visa scheme (Hun Sen 3 November 2005)

The Open Sky policy and other active policies to ease and facilitate transportation, policy on offering Visa on

Arrival, Visa K and E-Visa are showing off their attractiveness to tourists (Hun Sen 5 March 2008)

### ***Regional cooperation***

Cambodia always considers regional integration as its top foreign policy. In terms of tourism development, Cambodia needs the support from the regional groupings such as ASEAN and the Greater Mekong Subregion to create a joint policy to attract more tourists to come to the region. Bangkok and Hochiminh International Airports are the main gateways for tourists coming to visit Cambodia.

Apart from making efforts to expand the domestic market for tourism products, we are conscious of the great potentials of ASEAN and the Greater Mekong Subregion. (Hun Sen 27 February 2002)

ASEAN should be pro-active in enhancing intra-ASEAN cooperation in other areas by utilizing all ASEAN internal growth potentials, such as cooperation in tourism. This can be implemented by transforming ASEAN into a single tourism destination (T-ASEAN) (Hun Sen 11 March 2002)

Apart from the efforts deployed to open up domestic tourist markets, we are conscious that there is a great potential to link up the ASEAN and GMS tourist markets (Hun Sen 15 May 2002)

ASEAN as a Single Tourism Destination (Hun Sen 04 November 2002)

In addition to trade and human resource development, areas of cooperation include tourism, advanced informational technology and health care (Hun Sen 05 November 2002)

[the] true partnership between Asia and Europe will help strengthen economic, tourism and trade relations and promote investments (Hun Sen 07 October 2004)

I urge ASEAN and China to accelerate the development of tourism in the region, through linking key tourist destinations in ASEAN and China, implementing "open sky policy" and facilitating tourist visa, in order to increase the flow of tourists into our region (Hun Sen 19 October 2005)

## CONCLUSION

The state plays an important role in tourism planning and development in Southeast Asia in general and Cambodia in particular. Through analyzing the speeches made by the Cambodian Prime Minister Hun Sen and the discourse of power implied in them, the study has shown that there are nine main measures necessary for developing the tourism industry in Cambodia: 1. Security and safety for tourists 2. Infrastructure and tourism facilities development 3. Collaboration between stakeholders, including private sector, NGOs, and government 4. Cultural heritage preservation 5. Environmental protection 6. Human resources development 7. Tourism products marketing and promotion 8. Legal measures such as availability of visas 9. Regional cooperation

In a political system in which the power of the Prime Minister is relatively absolute, the words of the Prime Minister are equivalent to national policy. To understand tourism development and planning in such a political system, it is necessary to analyze the speeches of the head of the government. Analyzing the discourses of power is therefore another way of looking at tourism planning and development in developing country.

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