

Chapter 3:

Literature Review.

Impacts of alternative types of tourism in rural village communities in less developed countries.

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3. Literature Review.

3.1 Introduction.

The first phase of this research project involved a comparative literature review of studies which focused on the impacts of alternative forms of tourism in village communities in less developed countries. The aim of the review was to identify the outcomes village communities were receiving from tourism development and the factors which appeared to determine these outcomes. Only studies which involved village communities and alternative types of tourism were included in the review.

This study reviewed fifty-nine academic and non-academic papers. The articles for review were identified through data based searches and manual searches of journals in tourism and other related fields.

An extensive search of the following databases was conducted: Science Direct, Current Contents, Carl Uncover, Social Sciences Index-Proquest, Tour (a bibliographic database covering leisure, recreation, tourism, sport and hospitality) and Academic Search Elite-Ebsco Host.

Keywords used for searchers included a combination of the following terms: development, tourism, social impacts, anthropology, ethnicity, social change, indigenous, culture change, rural, third world, communities, village, ecotourism, alternative tourism, nature based tourism, less developed countries, third world and developing nations.

An intensive manual search was also made of the following journals; Annals of Tourism Research, Journal of Sustainable Tourism, Journal of Tourism Studies, Journal of Travel Research, Rural Sociology, Tourism Management, Tourism Recreation Research, Contours and Cultural Survival Quarterly. Further less extensive searchers were made of the following journals: Orbit-Voices from the Developing World, Development in Practice, Journal of Development and Change, Journal of International Development and World Development.

Studies were purposely chosen to include academic, empirical based research reports as well as publications from non-academic backgrounds including magazines such as Contours (produced

by the Ecumenical Council on Third World Tourism) and the Cultural Survival Quarterly. The major reason for adopting such a broad approach was to increase the number of studies available for review and to seek the view of those groups who are directly involved with tourism and village communities in developing countries. Unfortunately only a few papers were available from tour group managers or others directly involved in the operation of tourism in village communities.

Each study once identified, was reviewed according to the outcomes it produced for the village community and the range of factors which were considered to be important in determining the success or otherwise of tourism development. The constant comparative method (as discussed in the research design) was used to identify sub groupings of categories. These categories were continually revised as new groupings of outcomes and causal factors emerged from the studies selected for review. It was only after each study was individually coded and categories for outcomes and causal factors identified that the process of comparing cases for similarities and differences could begin.

3.2 Outcomes.

The outcomes identified in this study are classified according to the broad categories commonly used by tourism researchers (Mathieson and Wall 1982). These categories include: Economic, Socio-Cultural and Physical (Environmental). In reality it is somewhat simplistic to classify the outcomes this way given the diversity of outcomes and the interconnectedness of many of these outcomes. Nevertheless this approach has been adopted as it is used by many of the researchers in the studies reviewed.

3.2.1 Economic Outcomes.

All of the studies reviewed highlight that tourism *was* providing *economic benefits to villagers* in rural village communities, although, the level of this economic benefit varied immensely within the studies.

The village communities where tourism had brought *substantial economic benefits* included: South Pentecost Island village communities in Vanuatu (Burlo 1996) Loboit Soit and Emboret

villages in Northern Tanzania (Christ 1998); villages in Senegal(Echtner 1999); Achuar village communities in Ecuador (Rodriquez 1999) and village communities in the Mt Everest Region. (Stevens 1993) In the case of Loboit Soit and Emboret villages more than \$40,000 in tourist fees have been paid to the two villages. These funds have been spent on maintaining a village borehole and water pump, expanding the village school and purchasing food for villages during a drought. (Christ 1998)

In contrast to these examples were others where tourism development had provided *few economic benefits to the village communities*. These included the: Gales Point community in Belize (Belsky 1999); a village community within the Komodo National Park in Indonesia (Walpole and Goodwin 2000); an Akha village community near Chaing Rai (Toyota 1996); village communities in the Mustang Region of Nepal (Shackley 1994); village communities in Sulawesi, Indonesia (Ross and Wall 1999) and a village community in Ngada, Flores, Indonesia (Cole 1997)

In regards to the distribution of benefits thirty five out of the fifty nine studies highlighted that *economic benefits of tourism development were only flowing to individuals* within the villages and not the whole community. In the other twenty studies the *benefits of tourism flowed to all members of the community* - often in the form of a communal fund or project. Six of these communities have set up arrangements within their communities so that economic benefits flow to individuals who complete tourism related work whilst also contributing to a communal fund. These communities include: the Zabalo community in Ecuador (Borman 1999); the Capirona Community in Ecuador (Colvin 1994); Huaorani Community in Ecuador (Drumm 1998); Garifuna, Mayan and Kekchi Village communities in Belize (Edington and Edington 1997); Iban Longhouse communities in Skrang (Kedit and Sabang 1993) and the Achuar village communities in Ecuador (Rodriquez 1999)

The distribution of economic benefits within the communities also provided some interesting outcomes. In particular was the fact, that in five of the studies much of the *economic benefits of tourism were being cornered by local elites*. Often this was as a result of their favoured economic position when tourism first started within the community.

Compounding this was the outcome, identified in five studies, *that foreign interests were obtaining some of the benefits* from tourism development in some village communities. Often these foreign interests were people who had come to the village communities as travellers and had returned to take advantage of business opportunities, which they subsequently developed.

Combined these outcomes show that the benefits of tourism development in rural village communities are not necessarily flowing to the average village member. Given this it is not surprising then that studies also showed that *tourism was causing division* within the village communities over the distribution of income. Two further studies (Daniel 1998; Mulligan 1999) identified divisions within communities over the pace and level of tourism development.

One of the outcomes considered by village people to be a negative result of tourism development was the *rise in land and food prices*. Six studies highlighted this. Of these studies four focused on the rise of food prices (Hitchcock 1993; Stevens 1993; Robinson 1994; Shackley 1995) while the remaining two concerned the rise in prices of land within the village community. (Smith 1994; Mulligan 1999)

Other major outcomes of tourism development on the economies of village communities was the role of tourism in helping to *convert the traditional economies* found in some of the villages into the market and cash economies predominate in nearly all societies today. Two studies (Stevens 1993; Hatton 1999a) highlighted this fact. However in these cases it is perhaps unfair to suggest that tourism was the only reason for this change in economic relationships within the community.

The final economic outcome identified by the studies was the role of tourism in providing much needed *job opportunities* to village members. Surprisingly only 14 studies specifically indicated this outcome. However given the broad range of studies reviewed (with varying intents) then this is understandable. Five of these studies classified the jobs created as low paid or semi skilled.

Table 3.2.1 highlights the positive and negative outcomes from tourism for rural village communities in less developed countries.

Table 3.2.1 Positive and negative economic outcomes from tourism for rural village communities in less developed countries.

Positive Outcomes.	Studies.
Income to individual members and households within the community from accommodation, selling of traditional crafts etc.	The majority of studies state or infer this outcome except those studies where the outcomes from tourism are totally communal.
Communal funds for village communities, which were either distributed evenly too individual members or used to develop village projects.	(Sofield 1991; Caslake 1993; Colvin 1994; de Vidas 1995; Burlo 1996; Matzke and Nabane 1996; Edington and Edington 1997; Christ 1998; Drumm 1998; Honey 1998; Schaller 1998; Zeppel 1998; Borman 1999; Echtner 1999; Honey 1999; Rodriquez 1999; Stonza 1999; Hatton 1999a)
Job opportunities for village members.	(Borman, 1999; Bartsch 2000); (Brockelman, 1990; Caslake, 1993; Chopra, 1991; Colvin, 1994; Drumm, 1998; Hatton, 1999b; Hitchcock, 1993; Hitchcock, 1997; Long, 1996) (Matzke and Nabane 1996) (Place, 1998; Robinson, 1994; Rodriquez, 1999) (Saul 1999)(Smith, 1994; Stevens, 1993; Telfer, 2000; Thoma, 1998; Walpole, 2000; Brockelman and Dearden 1990; Langoya and Long 1997; Bookbinder, Dinerstein et al. 1998)
Communal funds as well as income for individual members and households within the community.	(Kedit and Sabang 1993; Colvin 1994; Edington and Edington 1997; Drumm 1998; Borman 1999; Rodriquez 1999)

Negative Outcomes.	Studies.
Foreign interests were obtaining some of the economic benefits.	(Smith, 1994; Chopra, 1991; Shackley, 1994; Place, 1998; Campbell, 1999)
The distribution of income or the pace and level of tourism development was causing division within the community.	(Smith 1994; Mansperger 1995; Daniel 1998; Alexander 1999; Belsky 1999; Mulligan 1999; Saul 1999)
Rises in food and land prices	(Hitchcock, 1993; Stevens, 1993; Robinson, 1994; Shackley, 1995; Smith, 1994; Mulligan, 1999)
Local elites were obtaining the majority of economic benefits	(Dearden 1996; Long and Wall 1996; Place 1998; Belsky 1999; Campbell 1999; Saul 1999)
Job opportunities created by tourism were menial and low paid.	(Chopra 1991; Hitchcock 1993; Hitchcock 1997; Place 1998)

3.2.2 Socio cultural Outcomes.

A surprising outcome common to many of the studies was the role of tourism in stimulating either a *resurgence of interest or a strengthening of a village's commitment to traditional practices*. Nineteen of the studies reviewed highlighted this point. While this portrays an optimistic outcome of tourism development on the traditional culture of village communities it

should be remembered that the collection of studies reviewed is broad and the intentions of the authors varied.

An interesting outcome of the development of tourism within the village communities was the *emergence or reinforcement of management and political institutions*. Ten studies commented on this outcome. Nine of these studies highlighted how the development or reinforcement of existing management institutions was a major factor in determining the success of tourism in the village communities. Only one study (Belsky 1999) contradicted this finding. In this study the management structure implemented in the community had been designed by external agents and had not built on the institutions already operating in the community. Not surprisingly the management institutions implemented failed badly.

The *outcomes of tourism development for women* in village communities were mixed. Seven of the studies reviewed comment on the outcomes for women. These outcomes include: changes in traditional child rearing patterns, increased employment opportunities and social independence, greater work load, opportunities for leadership and management positions and increased opportunities for women in marginal positions.

In three of the case studies documented by (Hatton 1999a) women have assumed defining and controlling positions in relation to tourism development within their villages. This is a reflection of the endemic cultural and historical circumstances of the village communities as well as the belief that women in these communities were more reliable and payed more attention to detail than their male counterparts.

The *outcomes on the youth* of village communities were also mixed. Sixteen of the studies commented directly on the outcomes of tourism development on the youth of the village communities. Of these, five identified tourism as being a positive influence on the lives of young people in the village as it offered them the opportunity to remain in the village as they were able to receive an income from guiding or other tourist activities. In the case of (Stevens 1993) tourism development has also been a factor in luring young people away from their village community.

The interest of tourists in village culture has also reinforced the value of this culture for young

people within the village communities. Two studies (Michaud, Maranda et al. 1994; Borman 1999) highlight the role of tourism in providing young people with the incentive to learn about traditional culture so as to partake in tourism activities.

Interestingly another outcome related to the youth of the village communities was the role that tourism played in giving or in some cases transferring power relations from older members of the community to the younger generation. What this particular study (Matzke and Nabane 1996) shows is that as tourism gains in importance the political power invested in the younger members within the community increases as they are often the ones dealing with tourists and controlling the direction of tourism. This is especially the case if tourism becomes a major economic influence within the community. Conversely (Robinson 1994) suggested in his study that local political institutions were suffering because young people were away completing tourism duties.

The impact of tourism development on the curbing of emigration of young people from the village is another outcome that several studies identify. This is directly related to the increase in job opportunities for young people that tourism development brings. Although most studies infer this outcome only two (Hatton 1999a; Telfer 2000) specifically identify young people as the recipients of job opportunities created by tourism.

Some of the negative outcomes of tourism development for young people in village communities are the demonstration effect of the tourist's lifestyles on the aspirations of young people and the corresponding rise in begging by young people. Communities who had confronted and overcome these problems had set clear guidelines for tourists and tour companies to follow when coming to their village.

One of the outcomes that seven of the studies identified as being a positive effect of tourism development was *the opportunities for village members to interact with tourists* from backgrounds very different to their own. Seven studies demonstrated that local people enjoyed the opportunity to broaden their understanding of other people outside their own cultural group. One of the key ingredients in these successful interactions was the equal relationship between the two groups and the role of the tour guide/ tour operator in educating tourists about the cultural and social mores of

the village communities.

Some of the more negative outcomes mentioned in the studies highlighted that *local villagers suffered disruptions* when tourists came into their villages. Four of the studies identified these problems however most studies revealed that villagers were happy to put up with the disruptions if they could see direct economic benefits from the visitation or tourism development. Associated with these disruptions were complaints by villagers about the inappropriate dress or behaviour of tourists. Villagers considered this to be a lack of respect for their culture.

Table 3.2.2 highlights the positive and negative outcomes from tourism for rural village communities in less developed countries.

Table 3.2.2 Positive and negative socio-cultural outcomes from tourism for rural village communities in less developed countries.

Positive Outcomes.	Studies.
Resurgence of interest and/or strengthening of a villages commitment to traditional practices such as: Textiles: Architecture: Traditional crafts: Dress: Rituals: Music and dance: Maintenance of significant religious architecture and symbols: Commitment to traditional lifestyles:	(de Vidas 1995) (Cole 1997; Hatton 1999a; Hatton 1999b) (Colvin 1994; Hitchcock 1997; Bartsch, 2000; Drumm 1998; Hatton 1999a) (de Vidas 1995) (Burlo 1996) (Mansperger 1995; Cole 1997; Schaller 1998; Telfer 2000) (Stevens 1993; Cole 1997) (Burlo 1996; Hatton 1999a)
Emergence or reinforcement of management and political institutions within the village.	(Sofield 1991; Michaud, Maranda et al. 1994; de Vidas 1995; Matzke and Nabane 1996; Langoya and Long 1997; Honey 1998; Schaller 1998; Rodriquez 1999; Stonza 1999; Hatton 1999a)
Opportunities for village members to interact with people outside their own cultural group.	(Kedit and Sabang 1993; Robinson 1994; Wearing and Larsen 1996; Cole 1997; Cole 1997; Drumm 1998; Hatton 1999c)
Increased employment opportunities and social independence for women.	(Wilkinson, and Pratiwi 1995; Stevens, 1993; Hatton, 1999; Smith, 1994; Langoya and Long 1997; Saul 1999)
increased opportunities for leadership and management responsibilities for women.	(Hatton 1999a)
Increased opportunities for women in marginal positions.	(Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995)

Increased Opportunities for youth to remain in the village due to tourism generated income.	(Smith 1994; Echtner 1999; Stevens, 1993; Robinson, 1994; Langoya and Long 1997)
Increased interest by youth in traditional village activities.	(Michaud, Maranda et al. 1994; Borman 1999)
Increase in political power for youth within the village Community.	(Matzke and Nabane 1996)
Reinvigorated the role of elders as transmitters of traditional culture	(Drumm 1998; Michaud, Maranda et al. 1994)

Negative Outcomes.	Studies.
The management institution created in the village by external agents caused division within the community and was considered a failure.	(Belsky 1999)
Increased workload for women.	(Toyota 1996)(Stevens 1993; Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995; Saul 1999)
Changes in traditional child rearing patterns.	(Wilkinson and Pratiwi 1995)
Young people copying and aspiring to the material goods that tourists brought with them to the village.	(Mansperger 1995; Hitchcock 1997; Daniel 1998; Echtner 1999)
Youth begging from tourists.	(Dearden 1996; Echtner 1999)
Disruptions to village life.	(Colvin 1994; Mansperger 1995; Drumm 1998; Hatton 1999a)
Weakening of commitment to traditional: Rituals/Ceremonies. Lifestyles, obligations and relationships. Art sites, burial sites ;	(Stevens 1993; Binkhorst and Van der duim 1995; Crick 1997; Saul 1999) (Dearden 1996; Toyota 1996; Mulligan 1999; Saul 1999) (Hitchcock 1997)
Disquiet among some villagers due to the inappropriate dress or behaviour of tourists.	(Long and Wall 1996; Daniel 1998; Hatton 1999a)

3.2.3 Physical impacts of tourism.

The other major outcome common to many of these studies was the role of tourism in protecting and enhancing the natural environments surrounding many of these village communities. This is a major aim of ecotourism and in some areas is the reason why tourism has come to many of the village communities sourced in this study.

However in this area the review of studies tended to show that tourism is providing mixed outcomes in regard to the protection and conservation of natural areas in and around village communities.

Eighteen studies discussed or mentioned the outcomes of tourism development on the environment within or surrounding village communities. Of these studies nine emphasised the positive role that tourism development in or near village communities was having on the *conservation of the natural environment including wildlife*. In all of these studies village residents (who have had to alter their lifestyle in some way) were obtaining direct economic benefits from the conservation of the nearby landscape and wildlife.

In these nine studies tourism development was having the following environmental benefits: protection of a Howler Monkey population, Belize (Edington and Edington 1997; Alexander 1999); reduction of poaching in the Khao Yai National Park, Thailand (Brockelman and Dearden 1990); conservation of land and wildlife surrounding Maasai village communities in Tanzania (Christ 1998); conservation of the Komodo National Park (Hitchcock 1993); conservation of a hippo population in KwaZulu Province, South Africa (Honey 1999); conservation of coral reefs offshore from the village of Desa Jungut Batu, Indonesia (Long and Wall 1996) and protection and conservation of wildlife surrounding the village of Masoka, Zimbabwe (Matzke and Nabane 1996).

In contrast to these positive outcomes were the studies which stressed that tourism was having a *negative effect on the physical environments within* and surrounding village communities. In these studies tourism development was causing the following environmental problems in or around village communities: the accumulation of garbage, deforestation, pollution of land and water supplies and erosion. In the case of (Belsky 1999) tourism development had produced a backlash against conservation-especially by those not benefiting economically from tourism.

Table 3.2.3 highlights the positive and negative outcomes from tourism for rural village communities in less developed countries.

Table 3.2.3 Positive and negative physical outcomes of tourism for rural village communities in less developed countries.

Positive Outcomes.	Studies.
Conservation of landscapes and wildlife.	(Hitchcock 1997, Christ 1998)(Edington and Edington 1997; Alexander 1999, Matzke and

	Nabane 1996, Hitchcock 1993, Honey 1998, Christ 1998)
Increasing villagers understanding of the benefits of conserving the landscape and wildlife surrounding their communities.	(Edington and Edington 1997; Langoya and Long 1997; Schaller 1998; Alexander 1999)
Infrastructure improvements linking village communities to more developed areas.	(Hitchcock 1993; Smith 1994; Wall 1996)
Conservation of coral reefs.	(Long and Wall 1996)

Negative Outcomes.	Studies.
Destruction of plant species.	(Hitchcock 1997)
Pollution of water sources.	(Hitchcock 1997; Dearden 1996; Daniel 1998; Smith 1994)
Accumulation of litter.	(Hitchcock 1997; Stevens 1993; Daniel 1998)
Soil erosion.	(Smith 1994; Hitchcock 1997; Stevens 1993)(Daniel 1998)
Forest degradation.	(Robinson 1994; Smith 1994; Stevens 1993)(Hitchcock 1997; Cochrane 2000)
Waste disposal.	(Robinson 1994; Smith 1994; Dearden 1996)

3.3 Causal Factors.

Just as there are outcomes common to many of these studies there are also key factors that consistently appeared to determine the success or otherwise of tourism in rural village communities.

A review of the studies suggests that these key factors include: the *level and distribution of economic benefits*; the *cohesive or communal nature of the community*; the *role of external bodies such as tour companies, conservation groups and government agencies*; the *level of local involvement in tourism development*; the *importance of tourism as an economic base for the community*; the *development and use of organisational structures within the communities*; the *pace and size of tourism development* and the *role of the tour guide*.

In many of the studies reviewed it was a combination of these factors rather than one specific factor that determined the outcomes that particular village communities obtained from tourism in their communities.

The cohesive or communal nature of the community is a key factor that is mentioned in fifteen of the studies reviewed. In these studies the communal nature of the community (or lack of)

is a major reason given for the success or failure of tourism to deliver positive outcomes for members of village communities.

Three of the studies reviewed (Place 1998; Belsky 1999; Mulligan 1999) demonstrate that communities that have no defining ties such as kinship or social networks or political structures that bind the community together struggle to cope with the pressures that tourism development brings—especially if the economic benefits are limited. In the above mentioned studies tourism development has brought division within the community over the distribution of economic benefits and over the pace and level of tourism development.

(Belsky 1999) in particular is very critical of the tourism development in the community she studied because no attention was paid to analysing the community or how community history, institutions and social processes might affect outcomes on the ground. In this case a management model was devised and introduced by an external agent without taking into account the role of local institutions.

(Place 1998) like (Belsky 1999) highlights how the atomistic nature of the village community of Tortuguero was one of the major reasons why the benefits of increased tourism development flowed to local elites and outside interests rather than local community members.

In contrast to these studies are others such as (Kedit and Sabang 1993; Colvin 1994; de Vidas 1995; Matzke and Nabane 1996; Edington and Edington 1997; Borman 1999; Telfer 2000) where the cohesive nature of the community has been a critical factor in providing outcomes for village members in these communities.

In these communities the benefits of tourism are spread throughout the community either through a communal/project fund or through initiatives undertaken within the community which spread the benefits of tourism for all those involved. These initiatives include rotating the responsibility for looking after tourists (accommodation and meals) throughout the community. These types of initiatives are less intrusive and disruptive to village life and give members more time for other activities such as farming, family duties, crafts, fishing etc.

A key feature of these communities and others reviewed is the *use of management and political structures within the communities* to cope with the changes and demands of tourism development. In these communities either indigenous or introduced political and management structures give voice to the community, ensuring that it is the community that develops, drives and benefits from tourism in the village. The communities in the following studies (de Vidas 1995; Matzke and Nabane 1996; Hatton 1999a) have all used existing village institutions to help with the introduction and development of tourism in their communities.

(Hatton 1999a) in his discussion of the Songup Folk Village on Cheju Island in Korea reveals how the community uses a range of associations such as the women's association, the youth association and the older persons association to develop and run tourism in their community. These villagers actively demonstrate the importance of good communications within the village and the need to ensure the involvement of the entire community.

In many of the studies reviewed external agents (tour operators, government bodies and conservation groups) have initiated the development of tourism in conjunction with village communities. The role played by these external agents is an essential factor in determining the outcomes received by village communities. The outcomes for village communities of these developments have been mixed and have depended on the willingness of the external agents to spend a great deal of time in planning with the villages involved. In the most successful tourism developments the external agents have also spent much time in capacity building (such as education and training) within the communities or have provided other essential services for the communities such as marketing or business skills.

Some of the least successful tourism developments involving external agents (Hitchcock 1993; Daniel 1998; Belsky 1999; Mulligan 1999) have provided few outcomes for local people predominantly because external agents have given local people few opportunities to be involved in the planning and development of tourism within their communities.

In the case of (Daniel 1998) all of the tourism decisions affecting a particular hilltribe community (Northern Thailand) such as tourist flows and behaviour were made by Chiang Mai

based tour operators. The village communities in the study completed by (Hitchcock 1993) were not consulted on the restrictions placed upon their lifestyle by the creation of the Komodo National Park in Indonesia and due to their lack of skills and education were unable to take advantage of the benefits of increased tourism visitation.

In Evatra Village, South East Madagascar the members of the village are being marginalised from decision making about land issues in their village and about the future of tourism in their community because they are not consulted by tour operators about their future plans.(Mulligan 1999) In this case the national government wholly supports the tour operator because it wants to increase tourism to the area.

(Place 1998) when discussing the development of tourism in the Caribbean village of Tortugero, Costa Rica highlighted how external tour operators were directing the course of tourism development. In this case government and institution policies encouraged foreign tourists and discriminated against small local enterprises.

Cases however showing positive and productive outcomes from tourism development between external agents and village communities also exist. These involve private tour operators, government departments and conservation groups.

The most positive examples of tourism development between tour operators and village communities include: the partnership between Rainforest Expeditions and the community of Infierno (Stonza 1999); the arrangement between the South Pentecost village communities and the tour agency, Tour Vanuatu (Sofield 1991); the Kapawi Ecotourism Project between the private tour operator Canodros S.A and the Federation of Ecuadorian Achuar Nationalities(Rodriquez 1999); the arrangement between the village community of Deas Jungut Batu and Bali Hai Tours (Long and Wall 1996); the relationship between the tour company Tropic and the Huaorani Community in Ecuador (Drumm 1998); the lease agreements between Dorobo Tours and four Maasai villages in Tanzania (Christ 1998) and the lease arrangements between the Tanzanian Villages of Loboit Soit and Emboreet and the tour company Oliver's Camp (Christ 1998).

The key factors that determined the success of these relationships was the extensive amount of planning that was needed; a commitment on the part of the private tour operator to bear the financial costs and risks of capacity building (education and training) and the involvement of local people in meaningful roles by tour companies. (Hitchcock 1997)

Such extensive planning often took a lengthy period of time (in one case several years) and required much patience from the tour companies who were not used to the amount of time local communities took to make decisions. (Christ 1998) when discussing the role of the private tour operator Oliver's Camp and two Maasai villages suggests that the tour company had to put a "considerable amount of time and money into educating the local villages about the tourism operation itself, the potential economic benefits to the community, and the long term conservation benefits for their community owned land."(p185)

The relationship between the Peruvian Tour Company Rainforest Expeditions and the village community of Infierno provides an excellent example of the positive outcomes that can be achieved between private operators and village communities. In this case (Stonza 1999) the two parties agreed to split the profits of their partnership 60% to the community and 40% to the Tour Company. They also agreed that in twenty years time the entire operation would belong to the community. In return for this the village community agreed to maintain an exclusive contract with Rainforest Expeditions.

As in the other cases mentioned much capacity building was needed by the company to successfully develop the tourism program with the village community. Inevitably a great deal of time was needed in planning the tourism development.

This case also highlights the essential role that tour companies can play in marketing and promoting tours to village communities. In many cases the role of tour companies is essential, as local village communities don't have the necessary marketing and business skills to promote and market the forms of tourism occurring in their communities. The use of the tour agency, Tour Vanuatu by the South Pentecost Village Communities (Sofield 1991) is an excellent example of this positive relationship. In this case the tour agency receives a 3% commission from the South

Pentecost Tourism Council to promote the unique “naghol” event internationally for the village communities. Thus both sides profit from the relationship although in regards to the “naghol” the community still retains complete control over the logistics of the event such as the number of jumps to be performed and the numbers of tourists allowed at each jump.

National Governments and their administrative bodies have also made a positive contribution to the development of tourism within village communities. In the following cases (Matzke and Nabane 1996, Hatton 1999a) the role of government subsidies and personnel were essential in the successful development of tourism in these communities.

Other key factors determining the success of tourism development in village communities was the *level of local control* exhibited by village communities. Practical steps that communities have taken to control tourism include: *limiting the size of tour groups; limiting the length of visitation, siting tourism accommodation outside of their village communities and determining the roles they would play in any tourism development within their communities.*

Village communities that have taken these initiatives include: Stamang Iban community, Malaysia (Caslake 1993); Huaorani community, Ecuador (Drumm 1998); village communities in Senegal (Echtner 1999); Desa Jungut Batu community, Indonesia (Long and Wall 1996); Lau Village communities, Solomon Islands (Michaud, Maranda et al. 1994); Achuar village communities, Ecuador (Rodriquez 1999); indigenous Quichua communities of Rio Blanco, Ecuador (Schaller 1998); village communities on South Pentecost Island, Vanuatu (Sofield 1991) and the village community of Infierno, Peru (Stonza 1999)

In the Stamang Iban community in Malaysia the village community has determined that tour groups would be small in number, only stay for short periods of time and would not be consecutive. (Caslake 1993) The Huaorani Community on the Rio Shiripuno in Ecuador have set similar limits in their community. In their relationship with the private tour company -Tropic- the village has taken the decision to limit the amount of guests to eight per month for stays of no longer than six days. They have also decided that the accommodation used by visitors would be situated away from the village community (45-minute walk). (Drumm 1998) The community of Rio Blanco in

Ecuador has decided upon the same strategy for tourism in their community. (Schaller 1998)

Inevitably the difficulty faced by these communities is finding the balance between too much tourism and too little.

The village community of Zabalo in Ecuador provides another method used by one village community to control tourism. (Borman 1999) Randy Borman argues in this case that a key component of the success of tourism in the village of Zabalo in Ecuador has been the community's decision to be guides for the tourism experience not the objects of the experience. This has allowed the community to determine the correct level of tourism visitation so as to make tourism economically viable without encroaching on the key elements of the village's culture.

Other studies that demonstrate a clear link between the success of tourism development (by providing positive outcomes to village communities) and the level of control exhibited by the local people include (Sofield 1991; Stevens 1993; de Vidas 1995; Thoma 1998; Borman 1999; Echtner 1999; Stonza 1999; Hatton 1999a) and (Matzke and Nabane 1996). Control for tourism in all of these communities rests predominantly with the local people.

Another key factor, which appears to determine the role and outcomes of tourism in village communities, is *the level and pace of tourism development in relation to the original economic base of the community*. Eight studies (Alexander 1999) (Campbell 1999) (Michaud 1997) (Robinson 1994) (Stevens 1993) (Long and Wall 1996) and (Hatton 1999a) highlight that tourism in these communities has been incorporated into the villagers economic base without disrupting the predominant form of economic livelihood of the community. In these cases tourism has provided an additional form of income for the villages without destroying or completely replacing the original economic base of the community.

In the village of Ostinal in Costa Rica (Campbell 1999) the impacts of tourism have been ameliorated due to the fact that more than 70% of the community still rely on egg harvesting and that tourism only provides an additional income for those involved. Given the unequal distribution of tourism income predominantly to local elites and foreigners it is perhaps fortunate that this is the case otherwise the impact of tourism could be far greater.

In the case of (Stevens 1993) this income from tourism has been very substantial and is far greater than that obtained from their original agricultural activities. Nevertheless, the seasonal nature of tourism has ensured that subsistence agriculture still continues for nearly all of the Sherpa families.

(Michaud 1997) when studying the impact of tourism on the village of Ban Suay in Northern Thailand shows how the majority of the community still perceive traditional agriculture either subsistence or cash orientated as the most desirable and economically rewarding activity. The job of hosting tourists in the community has fallen to marginal members of the community who in many cases no longer have the physical capabilities to continue agricultural activities. Not surprisingly (Michaud 1997) concludes that tourism is having only a minimal impact on the community.

(Hatton 1999a) like (Michaud 1997) paints a fascinating picture of how tourism has been incorporated into the economic base of the Songup Folk village on Cheju Island, Korea. In this case the subsistence base of the community has not been threatened as women control and organise tourism in the village thus allowing men to continue their traditional roles as agricultural producers.

Another important factor in determining the success of tourism in village communities is the *level and distribution of economic benefits* that villagers derive from having tourists within their communities. Not surprisingly the village communities that obtain and spread the substantial economic benefits from tourism are those that are most satisfied with their interaction with tourism development. However exceptions exist such as (Cole 1997) where the locals perception of tourism is overwhelmingly positive even though the economic benefits from tourism are minimal. In this case the benefits as perceived by the village members are sociocultural rather than economic.

As mentioned earlier all of the studies report that village communities are receiving some economic benefits from tourism however the level and distribution of this income varied enormously between village communities. Those communities that have successfully handled the level and distribution of economic benefits from tourism have adopted the following strategies:

- The majority of the community has chosen or tolerates the benefits of tourism flowing to a small section or individuals within the community. Examples of this approach include; (Michaud 1997)
- The level of tourism development and the economic benefits of tourism are substantial enough to ensure that the majority of individuals within the village benefit from tourism development irrespective of the lack of cohesiveness or co-operation within the community. Examples of this approach include the Sherpa village communities in the Everest National Park. (Stevens 1993) Tourism in these types of communities tends to cause problems when the benefits of tourism are not substantial enough to flow to the majority of members within the community.
- The community has structured tourism development so that the economic benefits flow to individual members as well as the general community. Examples of this approach include; the Zabalo community in Ecuador (Borman 1999); the Capirona Community in Ecuador (Colvin 1994); Huaorani Community in Ecuador (Drumm 1998); Garifuna, Mayan and Kekchi Village communities in Belize (Edington and Edington 1997); Iban Longhouse communities in Skrang (Kedit and Sabang 1993); the Achuar village communities in Ecuador (Rodriquez 1999)
- The community has structured tourism so that the economic benefits flow to all members of the community. Examples of this approach include; South Pentecost Island village communities in Vanuatu (Burlo 1996); Loboit Soit and Emboreet villages in Northern Tanzania (Christ, 1998); villages in Senegal(Echtner, 1999) and Achuar village communities in Ecuador (Rodriquez, 1999)

Inevitably there are some communities where tourism has caused disruption or division. This has been due to the fact that the benefits of tourism have been too low to make much of a difference to household livelihood security or that some members of the community have not received the benefits of tourism development.

The final factor that the studies identify relates specifically to tour operations in village communities and the *role of the tour guide*. Five studies (Binkhorst and Van der duim 1995; Long and Wall 1996; Toyota 1996; Cole 1997; Borman 1999) highlight the important role the tour guide

plays in determining the outcomes that village communities receive. (Toyota 1996) when discussing the impact of tourism in a hilltribe community in Thailand believes the role of the tour guide is very important because they not only mediate the interaction between villagers and travellers but they also through their explanation and interpretation of hilltribe culture construct and expose the image of hilltribe people to the visitors.

(Cole 1997) in her discussion on the role of the tour guide stresses the educative role that the tour guide plays in informing tour passengers of the appropriate behaviour and dress required when visiting village communities. You would expect this role to be essential in reducing the outcomes identified earlier such as the disruptions to village life and the lack of respect felt by some communities from inappropriate passenger behaviour.

An interesting perspective on the role of the tour guide is provided by (Long and Wall 1996) who highlight the positive role that local or indigenous tour guides can play in the presentation of their own village communities. (Long and Wall 1996) show how the employment of three village members from the village of Desa Jungut Batu on Nusa Lembongan in Indonesia greatly enhanced the presentation of the village for participants visiting the village on a Bali Hai Tour. (Borman 1999) as mentioned earlier discusses the importance his village of Zabalo placed in being guides for the tourism experience not the objects of the experience. He firmly states that being guides for the experience was an essential element in controlling tourism in their village.

3.4 Conclusion.

This study through a review of fifty-seven articles on alternative types of tourism in village communities has attempted to identify some of the common outcomes obtained by these communities. The major benefits that local people want from tourism is without doubt the economic and employment benefits that come from tourism development. Often these village communities are in marginal positions in relation to their ability to adjust to the modern realities of market economies. Tourism offers them the opportunity to improve their lives. With these economic benefits however have come problems in relation to the distribution of these benefits

within the community. Inevitably conflicts have arisen as the benefits of tourism flow to local elites or foreign interests.

Other outcomes of tourism development have involved the role of women and young people within these communities. The studies on average demonstrate that the roles for women and young people in these communities have been improved through the introduction of tourism. Of course examples also show that in some instances tourism has produced negative outcomes for these groups such as the increased workload on village women and the incidence of begging among young people.

The revitalisation and reinforcement of traditional practices appears to be a major positive outcome for village communities of tourism development. This contradicts to some extent the rather negative impressions that many researchers have found when researching this area of tourism in less developed countries. Other outcomes generally considered to be positive for village communities were the opportunity for village members to communicate with people outside of their immediate cultural groups.

The final outcome identified in reviewing these studies is that tourism in the remote rural regions of the world is having only a marginal impact on the protection and conservation of natural areas close to village communities. As with all the other outcomes there are studies, which are the exception to this, where tourism is not only making a very positive impact on peoples lives but also on the natural environment surrounding their communities.

A review of the studies also highlighted the key factors that consistently determine the success or otherwise of tourism in rural village communities. These key factors include: the level and distribution of economic benefits; the cohesive or communal nature of the community; the role of external bodies such as tour companies; the level of local involvement in tourism development; the importance of tourism as an economic base for the community; the development and use of organisational structures within the communities; the pace and size of tourism development and the role of the tour guide. In many of the studies reviewed it was a combination of these factors rather

than one specific factor that determined the outcomes that particular village communities obtained from tourism in their communities.

The review provides examples of successful tourism ventures in village communities and the factors, which determine this success. Correspondingly it also highlights tourism ventures that have provided few outcomes for village communities and the factors that have contributed to this lack of success. The identification of these outcomes and key factors has obvious implications for the field research phase of this study, as many are particularly relevant to the village communities Intrepid visits in Asia.

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