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PPT
pro-poor tourism

Pro-poor tourism initiatives in developing countries: Analysis of secondary case studies

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Preface

This paper was written as a contribution to a project on 'pro-poor tourism strategies.' The pro-poor tourism project is collaborative research involving the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), the Centre for Responsible Tourism at the University of Greenwich (CRT), together with in-country case study collaborators. It is funded by the Economic and Social Research Unit (ESCOR) of the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

The project reviewed the experience of pro-poor tourism strategies based on six commissioned case studies. These studies used a common methodology developed within this project. The case study work was undertaken mainly between September and December 2000. Findings have been synthesised into a research report and a policy briefing, while the 6 case studies are all available as Working Papers. The outputs of the project are:

Pro-poor tourism strategies: Making tourism work for the poor. Pro-poor Tourism Report No 1. (60pp) by Caroline Ashley, Dilys Roe and Harold Goodwin, April 2001.

Pro-poor tourism: Expanding opportunities for the poor. PPT Policy Briefing No 1. (4pp). By Caroline Ashley, Harold Goodwin and Dilys Roe, April 2001.

Pro poor Tourism Working Papers:

No 1   *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism, Wilderness Safaris South Africa: Rocktail Bay and Ndumu Lodge.* Clive Poultney and Anna Spenceley

No 2   *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism. Case studies of Makuleke and Manyeleti tourism initiatives: South Africa.* Karin Mahony and Jurgens Van Zyl

No 3   *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism. Case study of pro-poor tourism and SNV in Humla District, West Nepal.* Naomi M. Saville

No 4   *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism: NACOBTA the Namibian case study.* Nepeti Nicanor

No 5   *UCOTA – The Uganda Community Tourism Association: a comparison with NACOBTA.* Elissa Williams, Alison White and Anna Spenceley

No 6   *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism. Tropic Ecological Adventures – Ecuador.* Scott Braman and Fundación Acción Amazonia

No 7   *Practical strategies for pro-poor tourism: a case study of the St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme.* Yves Renard

No 8   *Pro-poor tourism initiatives in developing countries: analysis of secondary case studies.* Xavier Cattarinich.

All of the reports are available on our website at:

http://www.propoortourism.org.uk.

Acknowledgements

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Acronyms

ACWPT	Amboseli Community Wildlife Tourism Project
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIESEC	Association Internationale des Etudiants en Sciences Economiques et Commerciales
ATEC	Asociación Talamanqueña de Ecoturismo y Conservación
CBO	Community-based organisation
CRT	Centre for Responsible Tourism, Greenwich University, UK
CTP	Cultural Tourism Programme (Tanzania)
ICCO	Interchurch Organisation for Development Cooperation (Netherlands)
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development, London
IMF	International Monetary Fund
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute, London
PPT	Pro-poor tourism
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SNV	Netherlands Development Organisation
TNC	Transnational corporation
TVS-REST	Thai Volunteer Service – Responsible Ecological Social Tours
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

Contents

1. Review of the Literature

1.1 Introduction

According to estimates from the World Development Report 2000/2001, almost half of the world's 6 billion inhabitants live on less than US$2 a day, and a fifth live below the international poverty line - less than US$1 a day (World Bank, 2000a, pp3-4). While the number of people who live below the poverty line declined between 1987 and 1998 in some regions – most notably East Asia and the Pacific – in most developing countries the number continues to rise. Poverty is particularly acute in South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, which are home respectively to 43.5% and 24.3% of the people in the developing world who subsist on less than US$1 a day.

While extreme income poverty persists in many developing countries, they have also experienced considerable growth in international tourist arrivals and receipts. During 1998/1999, East Asia experienced a growth rate in tourism arrivals of 11.1%, the Middle East 16.2%, Africa 7.8%, and South Asia 8.3%, all of which are well above the global average of 4.0% (WTO, 2000, p4). Between 1990 and 1997, tourism was either an important sector of the economy (accounting for more than 2% of GDP or 5% of exports), or growing rapidly (aggregate growth greater than 50%) in almost half of the low income countries, and in virtually all of the lower-middle income countries (Deloitte and Touche, IIED, and ODI, 1999, pp5-6). Tourism is significant in eleven of the twelve countries which hold 80% of the world's poor. Moreover, tourism has become the world's leading source of export earnings, if international tourism receipts and international fare receipts are combined (WTO, 2000, p13).[1] In light of these statistics, some analysts believe that the tourism industry can play a significant role in poverty reduction.

Many studies report on the general impacts of tourism in developing countries, whether social, cultural, economic, or environmental. However there is no research on specific initiatives being implemented by different actors (governments, donors, NGOs, private companies, and community groups) to make tourism more 'pro-poor', nor on the impacts that these have had on various 'poor groups.' This paper is a preliminary effort to document pro-poor tourism (PPT) strategies and initiatives and to assess the challenges and successes they have experienced. The first part of the paper defines key concepts and introduces the main ideas that underpin current approaches to poverty reduction. It also reviews research on tourism in developing countries. The second section analyses the empirical data which supplements a broader research project on PPT initiatives undertaken by the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), and the Centre for Responsible Tourism (CRT, University of Greenwich). The third section draws out lessons and implications for stakeholders.

1.2 Conceptual definitions

1.2.1 Poverty and the poor

Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon that consists of a 'lack' of certain things upon which human health, well-being, and autonomous social functioning depend, including the ability to meet

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[1] International tourism and fare receipts are based on international transportation to the destination country and accommodation. Those figures overlook domestic tourism and fail to distinguish between regional and international tourism, and the former two are particularly significant to developing countries and the poor who reside within those countries. Likewise, foreign exchange receipts do not include the economic contributions made by 'food and drinks, supplies to hotels, local transport and attractions, guiding, handicrafts and souvenirs,' areas in which the poor are more likely to be active (Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin, 2000, p1).

'basic needs' (i.e., food, shelter, clothing, etc.). This lack may consist of insufficient income, consumption or assets, entitlements, rights, or security (ODI and AIRD, 1999, pp7-8). Thus, there are both material and non-material dimensions to poverty.

From a materialist point of view, income is the most widely adopted (if also narrow) measure of poverty. A consensus among donors has established an international poverty line which distinguishes the 'poor' as those who live on less than US$2 per day (in 1985 terms adjusted for purchasing power parity), while people living on less than US$1 per day are classified as 'extremely poor.' International development targets call for the reduction by half of the proportion of people who live in extreme poverty by 2015 (Hanmer, Healy and Naschold, 2000). While the international poverty line is useful for stimulating political action and for measuring progress according to a specific dimensions of poverty, it is based on a reductionist conceptualisation of poverty (ODI and AIRD 1999, p8).

Consumption-based indicators tend to be more reliable for measuring the material dimensions of poverty because they can assess shifts in the quantity of things that people use (e.g., the amount of food consumed and types of items purchased), which do not necessarily correlate with monetary income (Maxwell, 1999). Assets-based approaches include material and non-material dimensions that are discussed as forms of capital. Poverty can consist of insufficient material assets like physical and environmental capital (e.g., facilities, land and natural resources) as well as financial capital (e.g., money and credit), or a lack of non-material assets like human capital (e.g., education, skills) and social capital (e.g., organisational networks and organisational strength).

Insufficient access to or ability to develop various types of capital at times is related to one or more entitlement failures. The concept of entitlements gained recognition through the work of Amartya Sen (1981) on famines, but it is relevant to poverty reduction theory in general. Essentially, an entitlement is a claim upon resources that is sanctioned by formal or informal socio-cultural, political, legal, or economic mechanisms. An 'entitlement failure' occurs when those mechanisms deny certain people access to the resources upon which they depend for their health and well-being. Thus, for Sen, poverty is synonymous with suffering from an entitlement failure or a denial of rights. The issue of rights and entitlements raises issues around power or powerlessness which also has become recognised as a central component of poverty. Accordingly, poverty is a 'lack of voice,' or influence within the socio-political sphere. Other rights-based definitions stress that poverty manifests itself as a denial of the rights to personal dignity, autonomy, and social inclusion, of the right to equality between social groups, and of the right to political freedom and security (ODI and AIRD, 1999, p7).

Returning to a more material-based definition of poverty, empirical research points out that poverty can be both chronic and transient (ODI and AIRD, 1999, p9). In the latter case, changing economic circumstances (which may in turn be connected to political or environmental factors) push some people 'in and out of poverty.' In other words, during certain periods some people may become poor, and also more poor, but at other times the same people may be relatively affluent. Hence, *vulnerability* to changing circumstances and susceptibility to deprivation of basic needs, material assets, and/or income/consumption is therefore another dimension of poverty.

Although certain dimensions of poverty may prevail in particular temporal and geo-political contexts, generally it is more useful to view poverty as a complex phenomenon that often includes some or all of the above dimensions. Moreover, it is worth noting that the defining characteristics of poverty also are invoked as its causes (e.g., a persistent lack of income or material assets might be declared the cause, as well as the symptom, of poverty). The causes can constitute a set of interlocking vicious cycles, for example, illness may prevent someone from working, leading to a decline in income, which may in turn result in the inability to procure enough food or medicine,

leading to a further decline in health. This may necessitate the sale of material assets in order to obtain the, thereby increasing individual vulnerability to changing economic circumstances while also leading to a decline in socio-economic status and influence in the community, etc. Thus, poverty must be viewed as a process as well as a phenomenon.

Finally, poverty may be defined both objectively (absolute) and subjectively (relative) (ODI and AIRD, 1999, p10). The international poverty line is based on an absolute definition of poverty. Subjective/relative definitions determine poverty in comparison to other groups within a given society. Strategies that rely on absolute/objective definitions aim to raise the standard of living of all people to a common minimum standard. Strategies that rely on relative/subjective definitions aim to reduce societal inequalities.

All of these definitions of poverty however, are constructed, usually by those who are not poor, and imposed on 'poor' groups. While the validity of externally imposed definitions of poverty and the labelling of particular groups as 'poor' are contestable, a discussion of these issues is beyond the scope of this paper. This paper adopts an 'external view' of poverty for the sake of convenience.

1.2.2 Country classification

The terminology used to categorise countries is always problematic, if only because it ignores the fine gradations between them. The terminology is also loaded with political, historical, and ideological baggage (Marchand, 1994). For the purposes of this paper, the term *developing countries* refers to those countries that receive aid with an explicit or implicit objective of poverty reduction from one or more industrial countries. Other terms, such as *The South* and the *Third World* while also being laden with baggage and conceptual problems, will be used interchangeably with *developing countries*. *Industrial* or *donor countries* refer to those countries that provide developing countries with assistance for anti-poverty action. The latter also will be referred to as *the North, the West* or *developed countries*. They generally include the USA and Canada, Australia and New Zealand, North and West European countries, as well as Japan. The terms are used for convenience rather than accuracy.

1.2.3 Tourism

For the purposes of this paper, *tourism* refers to those industries that provide accommodation, transportation and other services (e.g. the sale of souvenirs and other goods, restaurants, guided tours, etc.) for visitors who come from outside the destination for a period of more than 24 hours and less than one year (WTO, 2000, p2). The visitors are commonly known as *tourists*. Visitors who spend less than 24 hours in the destination area are 'same-day visitors' (WTO, cited in Ghimire, 1997, p10). Tourism and tourists can be subdivided into three categories. *Domestic tourists* reside within the destination country; *regional tourists* come to the destination country from distinct yet neighbouring countries (i.e., from the same continent or sub-continent) (Ghimire, 1997, p10). While regional tourists are in fact 'international', in this study the term *international tourist* applies primarily to visitors who come from other continents. The WTO claims that the motivation for (domestic) tourist travel might include 'a) leisure, recreation and holidays, b) visiting friends and relatives; c) business and professional; d) health treatment; e) religion/pilgrimages; and f) other' (Ghimire, 1997, p10). This study focuses primarily on (a) leisure and recreation. Indeed, there are many valid reasons to travel, tourism conventionally is associated with leisure travel outside familiar areas (i.e., not in a place where people grow up and return to visit friends and family).

A distinction may also be drawn between mass and niche tourism. *Mass* or *mainstream tourism* is oriented toward large package tours and luxury hotels, while *niche tourism* in theory involves more specialised markets (e.g., adventure travel, cultural tours, ecotourism, etc.), smaller groups, and often 'simpler' accommodation. The latter is ostensibly more culturally and environmentally sensitive. Features of the niche, however, have also become incorporated into mass tourism operations. For example, package tours offered by luxury hotels sometimes include safari trips, treks and 'cultural visits.' Large numbers of people now participate in supposed alternatives to mass tourism, and numerous mainstream operators have adopted 'green' and 'eco' labels. It is therefore questionable whether ecotourism and other forms of niche tourism are truly more environmentally and culturally sensitive than mass tourism (Weaver, 1998, chapter 1).

Although it is beyond the scope of this paper to define and discuss every type of tourism that has proliferated in the last two decades, it is worth drawing attention to specific areas within the industry that have been particularly promoted by donors and NGOs:

- Green tourism: making the industry more environmentally sound by addressing problems of energy use and waste disposal
- Nature-based tourism/ecotourism: small-scale tourism that often occurs in or around conservation areas and which has as its primary objective the preservation of the environment
- Heritage tourism: tourism in historic areas that fund the preservation and restoration of buildings and monuments
- Community-based tourism: tends to be initiated or directed by local communities, or individuals within those communities, often to further community interests (DFID, 1999, p2).

These four areas often converge under the umbrella of 'sustainable tourism.' While sustainable tourism and community-based tourism have in certain cases benefited poor people and they do contain key principles of PPT, they are not identical.

1.2.4 Pro-poor tourism

Even though sustainable tourism projects increasingly seek to address economic, social and cultural concerns, the rhetoric of sustainable tourism focuses on protection and conservation. While local populations must reap some social or economic benefits from tourism, this is principally to assure their cooperation and support for the primary objective of conservation; the benefits that accrue to local populations are a bonus (DFID, 1999, p2). 'In contrast, pro-poor tourism aims to expand opportunities. Net benefits to the poor is a goal in itself, to which environmental concerns should contribute' (DFID, 1999, p2).

Although some community-based tourism enterprises have key objectives that go beyond conservation of natural environments and cultural heritage, PPT requires more than a community focus. According to DFID

'Pro-poor tourism generates net benefits for the poor (i.e. benefits are greater than costs). Economic benefits are only one (very important) component – social, environmental and cultural costs and benefits also need to be taken into account.

Pro-poor tourism strategies are concerned specifically with impacts on poor people, though the non-poor may also benefit. Strategies focus less on expanding the overall size of tourism, and more on unlocking opportunities for specific groups within it (on tilting the cake, not expanding it)'. (DFID, 1999, p1)

PPT is not restricted to community-based enterprises or to a particular segment of the industry, whether niche or mass. Ultimately, PPT consists of a set of principles rather than a distinct form of tourism. PPT *initiatives* represent practical steps that can transform strategies and principles into concrete action. For example, the enhancement of economic opportunities for the poor in tourism is one example of a PPT strategy. An organisation attempting to operationalise that strategy at the destination level might provide employment or casual labour to the poor, it could establish supply linkages with poor merchants or farmers and outsource some services (e.g., laundry), training programmes, or joint ventures with communities, among other options. These practical efforts are a few of the more obvious examples of PPT initiatives. The role of government may also be significant in enhancing or protecting poor peoples' access to tourism markets through different policy instruments. These could include making it compulsory to use local guides, establishing and enforcing ethical codes for labour and trade practices as well as zoning regulations, and promoting ethical consumption via public awareness campaigns (for other examples, see Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin, 2000; and DFID, 1999). Yet in order to maximise tourism's pro-poor potential, we must draw on lessons from current thinking on poverty reduction.

1.3 Poverty reduction: theory and practice

Successful poverty reduction efforts require complementary action at different levels - macro, meso, and micro levels (ODI and AIRD, 1999, pp3-6), including:
- enabling actions: structural reforms that facilitate poverty reduction (e.g., to promote private sector enterprises and participation);
- indirect/inclusive actions: general sectoral support (e.g., in education, health, infrastructure, agriculture, etc.) which may benefit the poor without targeting them directly;
- direct/focused actions: to remedy particular problems experienced by poor people (e.g., by helping to develop skills, education, increase productivity by facilitating access to land and microcredit, implementing specific infrastructure projects like water supply and sanitation, supporting women's initiatives, etc.).

A distinction may be drawn between strategic and practical actions: 'Strategic actions seek to contribute to creating an enabling environment in which poverty reduction can take place and tend to address underlying causes of poverty. Practical actions are those seeking to mitigate the manifestations of poverty' (ODI and AIRD, 1999, p4).

Since the causes and manifestations of poverty are multidimensional, numerous theories and approaches influence practical efforts to reduce poverty. Some theories (e.g., neoliberalism) stress the material dimensions of poverty and place emphasis on the role that economic factors play in poverty reduction, while others highlight the salience of socio-political factors (e.g., governance and civil society approaches). Yet due to tourism's potential to contribute to poverty reduction first and foremost in economic terms, the following theoretical overview will concentrate on perspectives that directly address the economic and livelihood implications of the industry for the poor. These perspectives include neoliberalism and its critics at the macro-level, and the sustainable livelihoods framework at the micro-level.

1.3.1 Macro approaches

Neoliberalism and economic growth

Many analysts agree that economic growth is crucial to poverty reduction. Neoliberal assumptions have guided the growth-based poverty reduction strategies of aid agencies in the industrial countries

and multilateral development banks. Neoliberalism is based on the premise that free interaction between individuals as economic agents will maximise the welfare of the greatest numbers in the global population (Underhill, 1994, p27). Accordingly, free market exchange patterns are self-correcting, and the benefits of growth in certain sectors of society will ultimately 'trickle down' to other sectors. Outward-oriented growth (i.e., export-oriented) based on 'comparative advantages' will stimulate growth most rapidly in developing countries which should in turn theoretically lead to faster poverty reduction. The key principles underlying outward-oriented neoliberal growth strategies are summarised in Box 1

Box 1 Key principles of outward-oriented neoliberal growth strategies

- Given low levels of domestic demand in many developing countries, growth in a range of economic sectors is largely dependent on gaining access to global markets via outward-oriented strategies.
- Outward-oriented policies are regarded as the least damaging in terms of micro-economic efficiency: they benefit total factor productivity more than any other popular policy option.
- Multiplier effects associated with foreign trade and tourism may facilitate long-term growth by expanding overall production and employment.
- Earnings from trade and tourism may foster macroeconomic stability by contributing to a more favourable balance of payments. This is important for attaining good ratings in international financial markets, and thus access to foreign loans and other investment capital.
- Such earnings may also provide foreign exchange for imported goods, particularly capital goods needed to increase the production potential of an economy.
- Rising volume in the external sector and increased competition within global markets are believed to create economic efficiencies associated with increasing scale economies and technological diffusion.
- Given these theoretical arguments, rapid economic growth among (especially) East Asian export-oriented New Industrialising Countries (NICs), as well as a series of country studies showing strong correlations between an outward-orientation and economic performance, is interpreted as empirical evidence supporting the externally-led growth hypothesis.

Source: Brohman (1996, p50).

In order to maximise market efficiency, neoliberal institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have traditionally supported the restriction of government intervention to the removal of political obstacles that may distort 'natural' market exchange patterns (Pauly, 1994; Underhill, 1994, p27). The curtailment of state responsibilities is one feature of the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) that the IMF imposes in order to liberalise (i.e., to give free reign to the laws of supply and demand) the markets of developing countries that have taken conditional loans.

As a poverty reduction strategy, the conventional neoliberal model has its flaws (see critical perspectives below), and institutions like the World Bank now acknowledge that rapid economic growth alone is insufficient to eliminate poverty. In the World Development Report 2000/2001, the World Bank notes that:

> 'Market reforms can be central in expanding opportunities for poor people, but reforms need to reflect local institutional and structural conditions. And mechanisms need to be in place to create new opportunities and compensate the potential losers in transitions. In societies with high inequality, greater equity is particularly important for rapid progress in reducing poverty. This requires action by the state to support the buildup of human, land, and infrastructure assets that poor people own or to which they have access.' (World Bank, 2000b, p7)

The Bank now considers that political empowerment of the poor (through increased accountability of state and public institutions, greater participation of the poor in decision making processes, etc.)

and the enhancement of security (reducing the vulnerability of the poor to economic disasters, crises, and risks) must occur simultaneously for growth to maximise poverty reducing opportunities.

All aid agencies in the industrial countries agree that economic growth is a precondition for poverty reduction, and that it will contribute in the following manner:

- 'by generating the resources that can enable governments to provide infrastructure and social services to a broad spectrum of the population;
- by increasing the demand for labour in developing countries. This increases employment and provides incomes for those in the residual market where many of the poor may be found;
- by increasing the demand for goods and services, some of which may be produced by the poor in the informal sector.' (ODI and AIRD, 1999, p17).

While most agencies agree on those general principles, there is less consensus on the specific form that growth must take. The World Bank recognises that the 'pattern or quality of growth' is important. Some agencies promote 'broad-based growth,' while others subscribe to 'pro-poor growth' (ODI and AIRD, 1999, p17).

Significantly, several definitions of broad-based growth exist, not all of which are concerned with maximising the welfare of the poor. The World Bank's notion of broad-based growth is among the most widely accepted. According to one summary of the Bank's interpretation:

'broad-based growth refers to a range of policies that promote labour-intensive employment and thus income growth. It is seen as being accompanied by an emphasis on activities which promote access by the poor to land, credit, infrastructure, and technology, and the facilitation of out-migration from resource-poor zones where poverty and environmental degradation are interrelated and where sustainable income-generating opportunities are limited. Such a growth path will be employment generating but whether it is pro-poor or not depends on both how much employment is generated, and on what happens to wage rates and hence the share of new income accruing to the poor.' (ODI and AIRD, 1999, p17)

In contrast to broad-based growth approaches, pro-poor growth requires that 'the poor's share of national income increases with growth where the poor's share of new income is greater than their existing share' (ODI and AIRD, 1999, p17). Some aid agencies contend that improving the access of the poor to financial capital via micro-credit programmes and support for small and medium businesses will make growth pro-poor. Others believe that it can be achieved 'by promoting an enabling environment for pro-poor growth which includes aspects such as liberalised trade, macroeconomic efficiency and 'getting prices right,' but also better regulation, fair competition, transparency and accountability' (ODI and AIRD, 1999, p18). Although broad-based growth and pro-poor growth are not necessarily synonymous, a number of aid agencies use the concepts interchangeably. While the criteria for pro-poor growth describe what donors and agencies should aim for and the means for identifying pro-poor growth patterns if they should occur, there is little consensus on how to achieve it. Thus, growth-based poverty reduction strategies involve a considerable amount of 'fumbling in the dark.'

Nevertheless, some analysts suggest that growth will be more favourable to the poor if:
- is labour intensive, especially of unskilled labour
- occurs in poor and isolated areas
- occurs in rural, agricultural, and small-scale service sectors

In addition, pro-poor growth depends on an existing equitable distribution of assets, especially in terms of land and human capital (ODI and AIRD, 1999, p18).

Governments usually promote tourism on the basis of its potential to contribute to macro-economic growth and job creation. Up to now, few governments (or private companies) have linked tourism development directly to poverty reduction efforts. As a highly sophisticated sector, strongly influenced by marketing skills, information technology and a few large Northern-based companies, tourism may seem an inappropriate sector to start in shaping pro-poor growth. However, as tourism is rapidly growing in many developing countries, takes place in some poor and isolated areas, and is relatively labour intensive, it is important to assess whether and how pro-poor principles can be adopted within the sector. While tourism in itself is insufficient as a poverty reduction strategy, it could be a significant component of a broader pro-poor economic growth strategy. Still, critics point out that the structure of the industry and the international political economy minimise the potential economic benefits that most developing countries and the poor can obtain from tourism.

Critical perspectives

Despite the World Bank's new three-pronged approach to poverty reduction and its more cautious statements on market reform, economic liberalisation remains at the heart of its approach. Yet since the 1960s and the emergence of neo-Marxist dependency theories in Latin America, critics of outward-oriented growth have argued that the structure of the global economy favours the industrial countries at the expense of developing countries. They stress that the liberalisation of Third World economies increases the dependency of 'peripheral' developing countries on the 'core' industrial countries instead of increasing their autonomy (Frank, 1966/1995). Similarly, it places domestic companies at a disadvantage against foreign companies and transnational corporations (TNCs) that compete in the same (and essentially non-competitive) domestic markets with more resources and highly skilled personnel. Contemporary critics of neoliberalism argue that, in the absence of effective means of redistribution, unrestrained economic growth exacerbates poverty and inequality, at the same time as creating an ecological crisis (Sachs, 1999). However, as one comparative study of the effectiveness of donor poverty reduction strategies illustrates, donors are uncertain how to deal with the issue of redistribution (ODI and AIRD, 1999, pp18-19).

The presence of powerful TNCs combined with market deregulation contributes to leakages and other negative consequences in Third World economies (Madeley, 1999). Although empirical evidence indicates that the effects of SAPs are neither homogeneous nor uniformly negative across all developing countries, 'adjustment programmes have had consistently adverse effects on the urban working poor, have had little demonstrated compensating ability to improve economic growth, have been unable to prevent widening inequalities and have not effectively protected those placed at risk' (Killick, 1999, p6). Conversely, empirical evidence also suggests that although market protection rarely benefits the poor, certain conditions must be met for the poor to benefit from trade liberalisation (Bussolo and Lecomte, 1999). Thus, SAPs are not as good for growth as initially suggested, and growth and liberalisation can benefit the poor but have not always done so (Weisbrot et al., 2000). Table 1 provides an overview of criteria to assess the extent to which outward-oriented growth strategies produce positive outcomes or 'maldevelopment' (i.e., exploitative outcomes that increase rather than decrease inequalities). The list is by no means exhaustive.

Table 1 Outcomes of outward-oriented growth strategies

Positive	Maldevelopment
• Linkages to the domestic economy	• Destruction, or failure to increase, internal linkages in the domestic economy
• Creation of employment and value-added	• Failure to create satisfactory levels of local employment, income and value-added
• Effect on external accounts and balance of payments	• Worsening balance of payments problems and foreign indebtedness
• Fostering genuine and appropriate technology transfer than merely technology relocation	• Transfer of inappropriate (and often capital intensive) technologies developed for factor intensities in the North rather than South
• Generation of jobs for skilled labour as well as local managers, technicians, and other highly trained personnel	• Loss of local skills and failure to create skilled jobs for the local population
• Establishment of favourable wages and working conditions relative to those prevailing in the country	• Intensification of labour exploitation
• Rise of relatively equitable social, sectoral and regional distribution of the costs and benefits of growth	• Inequitable distribution of the costs and benefits of growth

Source: Brohman (1996, pp50-51).

Most of the criteria in the left column would have to be met for outward-growth strategies - including tourism - to maximise their pro-poor potential. Critics point out that in developing countries, however, tourism (and growth and market liberalisation more generally) has so far often contributed to maldevelopment (see section 1.4).

1.3.2 Micro approaches

Sustainable livelihoods

The positive outcomes of outward-oriented growth strategies listed in Table 1 may be necessary to maximise the pro-poor potential of those strategies, but they are not sufficient. They represent enabling macro-level conditions that require corresponding direct micro-level action in order to translate into effective poverty alleviation efforts. The period from 1940-1980 was characterised by top down, homogeneous approaches to micro-level poverty reduction strategies. However, the sustainable livelihoods approach which has emerged over the course of the last decade or so, stresses the need for local participation and a 'fit' between strategies, the existing livelihoods of the poor, builds on poor people's assets and environmental limitations (Carney, 1999). Thus, for tourism to become an effective poverty reduction strategy, it should *complement* the existing livelihoods of the poor by providing an opportunity for economic diversification without disrupting or substituting those livelihoods (Ashley, 2000). If the costs to the poor (whether economic, social, or environmental) of participation in tourism should outweigh the benefits, then it is not an appropriate pro-poor strategy. The suitability of tourism as a pro-poor strategy evidently will vary by social and environmental context.

Other considerations

The approaches outlined above emphasise the economic dimensions of poverty reduction. Yet poverty is multidimensional, so a number of other factors are relevant to poverty reduction. At the macro-level, the development of 'good governance' and civil society, the extension of entitlements to the poor, and in some cases conflict resolution can also contribute to poverty reduction. At the micro and meso levels, the development of human and social capital (i.e., education and organisational strength/networks) as well as asset redistribution can help alleviate poverty. A more detailed discussion of those factors unfortunately is beyond the scope of this paper due to spatial and temporal constraints.

From an empirical point of view, a recent comparative evaluation of donor policies and the effectiveness of their projects in developing countries indicated that successful interventions ultimately depend on the following four elements: appropriate targeting, gender sensitivity, participation, and sustainability (Cox and Healey, 2000, chapter 6).[2] Those findings reinforce the validity of the sustainable livelihoods approach.

1.4 Review of tourism research

Four primary motivations drive tourism development:
- Private commercial gain
- Macro-economic growth objectives
- Environmental and/or cultural conservation
- Rural development

Source: Ashley (2000, p8)

Commercial gain is probably the single most important objective underlying tourism development, and the private sector therefore is a leading force in the industry. Governments, especially those that have adopted neo-liberal economic policies, consider tourism a powerful engine of macro-economic growth and job creation, and therefore encourage the industry's development (Brohman, 1996, pp49-50). NGOs and some governments are increasingly pushing 'small scale' niche tourism (e.g., ecotourism and cultural tourism) as a means of funding environmental, wildlife, and cultural conservation projects. Finally, governments, NGOs, communities, and even international donors have recently begun to explore tourism's potential as a springboard for rural development and poverty reduction.

Tourism is an industry driven primarily by commercial interests. While this means there may be limits to its pro-poor potential, it does have a number of characteristics and advantages over other sectors. Considering the size of the industry and how it already affects millions of poor people, 'a marginal improvement could generate substantial benefits' (DFID, 1999, p2). For example:

- 'Because the **customer comes to the 'product'**, there are opportunities to make additional sales. By comparison, a factory producing shirts cannot sell the customer a cup of tea and rickshaw ride as well.

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[2] An in-depth discussion of those elements is beyond the scope of this paper. Targeting refers to the extent to which poverty reduction initiatives have been tailored for the needs of particular groups or communities. Gender sensitivity is crucial to poverty reduction efforts because women experience poverty differently than men through inequality. Moreover, women are more likely to spend their income on the health and education of their children than are men. Projects that seek the participation of their intended beneficiaries during planning and implementation tend to have a higher success ratio than 'top-down' initiatives. Sustainability can be measured from an institutional, financial, technological, or environmental point of view (Cox and Healey, 2000, chapter 6).

- There is some evidence that tourism is **more labour intensive than manufacturing** and employs a higher proportion of women.
- Unlike many other traded-good industries, it has **potential in poor countries and areas** with few other competitive exports.
- Tourism products can **be built on natural resources and culture** which are assets that some of the poor have.'

Source: DFID, 1999, p2 (emphasis in original).

While the poorest (i.e., the destitute and very ill) are unlikely to benefit directly from tourism, the 'less poor' like street vendors, casual and unskilled labourers and craftsmen could benefit from a restructuring of the industry. In turn, benefits could be redistributed on to poorer relatives and neighbours, thus benefiting more people indirectly.

Research on tourism in developing countries has mostly focused on the general economic, environmental and socio-cultural impacts of the industry. The industry has many potentially beneficial impacts, but in practice these have been frequently outweighed by the negative consequences for local populations (Brohman, 1996; Burns, 1999; Iwersen-Sioltsidis and Iwersen, 1996; Lea, 1988; Sinclair, 1998). According to John Brohman's criteria (see the section on neoliberalism and macro-economic growth), tourism has contributed to maldevelopment in many developing countries. While a comprehensive review of tourism impact studies is beyond the scope of this paper, Tables 2 to 4 provide an overview of tourism's potential positive and negative economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts. No distinction is made between mass tourism and other forms of tourism in the tables, because in practice all types of tourism share the same potential impacts. Likewise, macro and micro level effects are not separated. The impact lists are by no means exhaustive.

Up to now, governments and aid agencies have promoted enclave-oriented mass tourism due to its perceived macro-economic benefits (see Table 2). In practice, however, the foreign domination of the industry's most lucrative components (i.e., marketing and client procurement, international transportation, and food and accommodation) has resulted in substantial leakages:

'on average, about 55% of tourism expenditure remains outside the destination country, rising to 75% in specific cases such as The Gambia and Commonwealth Caribbean (DBSA), but as little as 25% for large economies such as India' (Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin, 2000, p3; also see Brohman, 1996, pp55-57, and Sinclair, 1998).

Table 2: Economic impacts of tourism

Benefits	Costs
1. Financial • Foreign exchange earnings • GNP • State taxes • Income: for businesses and for individuals • Contributes to balance-of-payments	**1. Financial** • Leakages and/or negative balance-of-payments effects; imports, repatriation of profits • Opportunity costs (e.g., livelihood conflicts, investment costs, infrastructure maintenance costs) • Inflation • Higher land prices • High fluctuations in revenue due to seasonality or economic recessions
2. Employment • Creates jobs • Opportunities for training	**2. Employment** • Often part-time • Low paid • Low skilled (expatriate non-locals often occupy more skilled positions) • Seasonal • For women (i.e., higher workload and responsibilities) • May take employees from other sectors or livelihood activities
3. Development • Broadens economic base (i.e., diversification) • Intersectoral linkages can occur • Multiplier effects • Encourages entrepreneurial activity • Infrastructural provision • Improvement of social services • Promotes regional development in underdeveloped areas	**3. Development** • Dangers of dependency and neo-colonialism with foreign/non-local ownership • Lack of coordination with other economic sectors • Low multiplier and spread effects outside of tourism enclaves • Utility and infrastructure supply problems

Source: adapted from France (1997), Brohman (1996, pp53-59), Ashley (2000, p23), and Iwersen-Soltsidis and Iwersen (1996).

Table 3: Social and cultural impacts of tourism

Cultural impacts	
Costs	**Benefits**
1. Disappearance, degradation or commodification leading to a loss of authenticity of: • art and music • handicrafts • dance • ceremonies • architecture • dress • food 2. Tourist opposition to aspects of local culture (e.g., hunting, slash-burn agriculture)	1. Renaissance and/or retention of: • Art • Handicrafts • Dance • Ceremonies • Restoration of monuments

Social impacts	
Costs	**Benefits**
1. Local resentment resulting from the 'demonstration effect' 2. Moral problems: • Crime • Prostitution • Gambling • Decline of traditional beliefs and religion 3. Health problems, e.g. AIDS 4. Strains on local hospitality become intolerable 5. Employment in tourism can be dehumanising 6. Adverse effects on family and community life 7. Neo-colonialism, erosion of local control 8. Unbalanced population structures 9. Displacement of local peoples by parks	1. Locals gain through: • Women given a level of independence • People break out of traditional, restrictive roles • Community empowerment

Source: adapted from France (1997, p103), and Weaver (1998, p21).

Table 4: Environmental impacts of tourism

Benefits	Costs
• Conservation of natural areas and wildlife • Environmental appreciation • Rehabilitation and often also transformation of old buildings • Introduction of planning and management	• Energy costs of transport • Loss of aesthetic value • Noise • Air pollution • Water pollution and the generation of waste • Disruption of animal breeding patterns and habits • Deforestation • Impacts on vegetation through the collection of flowers and bulbs • Destruction of beaches, dunes, coral reefs and many National Parks and Wilderness Areas • Change of landscape – permanent environmental restructuring • Seasonal effects on population densities and structures • Loss of access to agricultural/grazing land, water sources, etc.

Source: adapted from France (1997, p83), and Ashley (2000, p23).

Due to the lack of communication between foreign dominated tourism enclaves and other sectors in the local economy, the multiplier effects of the industry are frequently lower than anticipated (Brohman, 1996, p56). The tourism industry is also accused of reinforcing

> 'longstanding (neo)colonial patterns of socio-economic and spatial polarisation' (Brohman, 1996, p57). More specifically within the Caribbean, for example, tourism studies have noted a structural tendency toward spatial polarisation within both the modern tourism industry, based on resort enclaves in the most desirable coastal locations, and the older plantation-based economy, rooted in concentrated landholdings within the most desirable agricultural locations. The result has been the construction of a 'plantation tourism landscape . . . [which] is characterised by the juxtaposition of an elite resort-based coast with an impoverished labour-supplying interior, thereby attesting to the tendency of tourism to perpetuate the structural and spatial inequalities (i.e., underdevelopment) of the plantation system' (Weaver 1988:319).

Essentially, tourism has reinforced the core-periphery structure of the traditional plantation economy; this reflects both the inherent characteristics of the tourism industry itself and its adaptability to pre-existing socio-spatial structures. A pronounced spatial dichotomy has evolved in much of the Caribbean between a privileged (tourist and elite) space along choice spots of coastline and a underprivileged space in the interior of many countries. Similarly, a study of the spatial organisation of tourism in Fiji found that traditional patterns of development rooted in the colonial past have been reinforced by the tourism industry (Brohman, 1996, p57).

Evidently, the spatial polarisation of the tourism industry in many developing countries, the limited multiplier effects, and the lack of linkages with other economic sectors are more than macro-level

problems.[3] Indeed, they manifest themselves at the micro level as restricted opportunities for the poor. Mass tourism enclaves likewise receive a great deal of criticism for their unsound environmental practices and for the contempt many of their clients hold toward local cultural norms (e.g., by appearing scantily clad in public, via overt displays of affection, consumption of alcohol in open areas, and 'worse' things like the solicitation of sexual services from local residents, etc.) (Brohman, 1996, pp58-59; Poirier and Wright, 1993; Smith, 1989).

The SAPs imposed by the IMF on many developing countries have created an uneven playing field on which domestic tourism enterprises in developing countries are at a disadvantage compared to foreign businesses and especially transnational corporations. In order to meet the exigencies of SAPs, many developing countries 'have to direct their economy towards exporting goods and services, devalue their currency, cut down public expenditure in health and education, and privatise government-owned enterprises' (Kalisch, 2000, p5). Those conditions have impeded local peoples in many developing countries from obtaining the skills and capital required to compete effectively with TNCs. Moreover, developing countries with SAPs are pressured by multilateral institutions to liberalise their economies, thereby granting TNCs with greater expertise and capital the same rights to domestic markets that 'weaker' local entrepreneurs have.

In some countries, 'over-liberalisation' of the tourism industry has impacted negatively on communities. For example, the Egyptian government privatised a large portion of the country's tourism assets in the years following its standby agreement with the IMF in 1991. By 1993, private investment in the Egyptian tourism sector had reached 100% (Gray, 1998, p103). But the privatisation and liberalisation of tourism in Egypt has occurred in the absence of an overarching plan, which has created problems. At present [1998], Egypt has no long-term plan for tourism development, no strategic plan for what types of tourists it aims to attract or where they should come from, and has opened up vast areas of land – often prime real estate along the coast – to development projects. In fact, there are few areas not currently designated for tourism development. This has been done without any assessment or planning for potential problems from such rapid development. These include damage to the environment, dissatisfaction from local residents, rapid social and economic change and inequity in economic distribution, and an oversupply in the sector leading to a collapse in investment and employment. As a result, Egypt may fall victim to the 'tourism cycle', where a destination becomes destroyed or damaged to such an extent that tourists no longer want to visit it. This self-destructive aspect of tourism has already been felt in other parts of the world, such as Thailand, Mexico and the United States.

The cycle may already be underway in Egypt, along the north-west coast, according to a study by Soraya Altorki of the American University in Cairo (AUC). Altorki explores the effects of tourism development on Marsa Matruh, a town which has expanded threefold in 30 years largely as a result of tourism. Its population is 35,000 people, with 54 hotels. This study suggests that any benefits from tourism, such as increased employment, construction and the like, have been overshadowed by the problems of increased imports, agricultural decline, the emergence of tourist 'enclaves', greater local resentment of tourists, and social problems such as alcoholism and the beginnings of a prostitution industry. The study suggested that 'quantity has overpowered quality' – a case of over-liberalisation (Gray, 1998, p108).

Gray (1998) adds that 'the privatisation programme has been widely questioned, as its financial benefits appear to be minimal – especially in the case of hotels and most other tourism assets, where it is only land and property, not management techniques and technologies, which are being transferred to the private sector' (p109). What remains unclear from Gray's article is the extent to

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[3] Other notable economic problems related to tourism are its high infrastructure costs (especially when the infrastructure has only limited use beyond tourism operations) and its vulnerability to seasonality and annual climatic variations as well as global economic recessions (Brohman, 1996, pp56-57; Sioltsidis-Iwersen and Iwersen, 1996).

which privatisation and liberalisation of the Egyptian tourism industry have benefited local entrepreneurs vis-à-vis foreigners and TNCs. Yet since 80% of the mass tourism sector is dominated by TNCs and because the principles of free trade and economic liberalisation benefit – although not necessarily exclusively – TNCs (Kalisch, 2000, p4), one can justifiably assume that TNCs have taken the lion's share of Egypt's tourism industry.

Research suggests that smaller-scale niche tourism has been more successful at addressing the economic, socio-cultural, and environmental problems that are associated with enclave-oriented mass tourism. Brohman writes that

> 'lower multipliers have been associated with highly concentrated, large-scale, foreign-owned tourism complexes, while higher multipliers have been connected to more dispersed, small-scale, locally owned operations that tend to be better linked to the local economy. Studies of the Cook Islands by Milne (1987) and of Thailand by Meyer (1988), for instance, report that small, locally owned firms have been more successful in generating income, employment, and government revenue than larger, internationally-owned establishments.' (Brohman, 1996: p56).

Certain countries also view small-scale niche tourism as having greater potential for increasing local multipliers by enhancing links with agriculture and other sectors (Forsyth, 1995). Moreover, small-scale niche tourism tends to reduce spatial inequalities through wider dispersal of enterprises. This should, in theory, stimulate tourist mobility and a more even distribution of tourism expenditure (Brohman, 1996, p57). Finally, due to its smaller scale, niche tourism is portrayed as a more environmentally and culturally sensitive strategy for rural development.

Nevertheless, one should be cautious and avoid romanticising or idealising the benign aspects of small-scale niche tourism. While there may very well be model small-scale tourism enterprises that meet the criteria for socio-culturally and environmentally sensitive development that simultaneously provide significant economic benefits to marginalised rural populations, in many cases the benefits may be illusory. First, many tour operators currently promote a 'green' or 'eco' label in order to cash in on the sustainable tourism trend while operating 'standard' and less environmentally sensitive practices. Second, 'more of less' can be equally as harmful as 'less of more', i.e., more widespread small-scale tourism can have equally if not more negative socio-cultural and environmental effects than more concentrated mass tourism operations (Munt and Higino, 1993/1997; Weaver, 1998, pp6-8; Wheeller, 1991/1997). Finally, the ethic of 'community participation' which underlies many small-scale tourism enterprises may obscure intra-community inequalities. An analysis of community dynamics is required to reveal who comprises the 'community', who makes decisions, how they are made, and who ultimately benefits from community-based tourism development. Communities are not homogenous and in some cases elites or certain segments may benefit at the expense of others (Belsky, 1999).

Understanding both the potential and pitfalls of tourism is a necessary first step towards making the industry more pro-poor. What is absent from most micro-level analyses, however, is a comparison of the various positive and negative impacts that tourism may have in a particular location and how they relate to the specific livelihood objectives of the local population. It is one thing to identify 'positive impacts'; it is another to consider how they fit with the livelihoods of the poor, according to PPT principles. For example, one of the disadvantages listed in Table 2 is that few tourism jobs for local people in developing countries are full-time. This assumes that full-time wage work is the most desirable form of economic activity. However, this view does not take account of how wage employment fits with existing livelihood activities of the local population. Similarly, a combination of different livelihood options reduces the risk of overdependence on what can be an unreliable industry. Table 5 provides an example of tourism impact analysis conducted from a livelihoods

perspective in Namibia. In the Namibian scenario, tourism does not displace other livelihoods, rather it tends to complement them, although some conflicts and negative effects still occur.[4]

The distribution of both positive and negative tourism impacts varies across social groups. While generalisations are difficult to make due to the particularities associated with each tourism site, a few words concerning the effects of tourism on women and on the poor in developing countries are warranted. A review of tourism research in Asia reports that in most case studies, there are 'economic gains for all sections of the local community, with the sections that are already better off tending to gain more than others' (Shah and Gupta, 2000, p37). Rapid tourism development and non-local investment tend to marginalise some segments of local communities by exacerbating the inequalities between the poor and those who have more capital. When the poor benefit from tourism, it is usually as street vendors or casual labourers (e.g., porters or 'low level' assistants in hotels, lodges, and tour organisations) (Shah and Gupta, 2000, p37). Concerning the role of women in tourism, Shah and Gupta (2000) write that 'women find most opportunities in the informal sector, with activities ranging from collection and sale of firewood and carrying loads from road-heads, to shops and teashops [and handicrafts] and managing guesthouses in their own right' (p38).[5] While some critics might question just how 'beneficial' informal sector or casual labour really is and to what extent it represents 'genuine' participation in tourism, for people with relatively few skills and education the benefits can be substantial in the absence of alternatives (Shah and Gupta, 2000, p29). Limited research suggests that the informal sector (and hence the poor) caters disproportionately to the needs of domestic rather than international tourists (see section 3).

Although the poor tend to bear the brunt of the negative environmental impacts that tourism sometimes causes, poor women generally suffer most. For example, in the Manali area of Nepal 'deforestation linked to fuel for tourism made it harder for village women to collect fuel, fodder and leaves for mulching and manure' (Shah and Gupta, 2000, p38). Conversely, sexual exploitation in tourism affects both men and women (Shah and Gupta, 2000, p39). All of these problems must be addressed in order for tourism to become pro-poor. Evidently, in many situations and contexts tourism will *not* be an appropriate strategy for poverty reduction, whether due to socio-cultural, environmental, livelihood, or other factors. Yet in places where it may be appropriate, the fact that tourism seldom has maximised its pro-poor potential means that there is considerable scope for improving the structure of the sector and enhancing the opportunities that the poor may derive from it, *some of whom already are* participating in the industry

As Brohman (1996) remarks:

> '… if stress is not placed on the creation of local linkages to spread the benefits of growth in social, sectoral, and regional terms, neoliberal outward-oriented strategies risk replicating the vicious cycles of polarisation and repression so commonly associated with past export-oriented development models. What is missing from strategies that focus only on increasing international trade or tourism is a concern for the broader development goals of raising living standards of the popular majority and promoting more balanced growth among different economic sectors and geographic regions. In the absence of well-developed linkages between the external sectors and the rest of the economy, a limited and polarised form of development takes place that cannot act as a stimulus for broadly based development.' (p50)

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[4] Especially noteworthy in Ashley's research is the observation that tourism can also influence the development of social and human capital as well as other economic/livelihood effects. Ashley (1998, pp339-340) discusses conservation impacts separately from livelihood impacts.

[5] Shah and Gupta (2000) state that 'while definitions may blur, it is useful to distinguish between participation in the formal sector (such as hotels), the informal sector (such as vending, boating) and in secondary enterprises which have linkages (such as food supply)' (p28).

Table 5: Potential key impacts of tourism on livelihoods in Namibia

Livelihood objectives/concerns	Negative effects of tourism	Positive effects of tourism
Fulfilment of needs		
Cash	• Requires start-up investment	• New earning opportunities from employment, casual sales, community contracts
Food	• Wildlife damage to agriculture • Lost access to veld foods	• Food security via cash earnings of poor • Improved resource management
Physical security	• Disturbance of aggressive animals	—
Cultural values	• Intrusion of Western cultural values • Commercialisation of local culture	• Spiritual value of wildlife • Revitalisation of traditional skills/culture for tourism
Accumulation of assets		
Natural resources[a]	• Increased competition for RNR of tourism value • Loss of access to RNR in exclusive tourism areas • Exacerbated conflict with neighbours affects RNR negotiations	• Enhanced collective management • Improved co-operation with neighbours affects RNR negotiation
Physical savings	—	• Investment of tourism earnings in livestock
Financial assets	—	• Long term: community equity in tourism
Social capital	• Local conflicts over control of tourism assets undermines social capital • Imposition of developments by outsiders	• Empowerment: • Stronger social organisation for tourism management • Confidence to challenge government/outsiders • Recognition of the community from others (e.g., government planners) • And hence influence over external organisations and events
Human resources	—	• Training, skill development
Strategies/priorities		
Cope with drought	• Competition for drought resources (grazing, veld foods)	• Income continues in drought • Collective income earned for drought-coping • Decreased vulnerability
Diversify	—	• an additional livelihood opportunity
Minimise risk	• Risk: investment may fail; tourism may slump	—
Maintain adaptability and flexibility	• earnings are lagged, requires high initial inputs: not flexible	—

Source: adapted from Ashley (1998, p338), and Ashley (2000, p23).

Notes: a: RNR = renewable natural resources

In order to maximise tourism's poverty reduction potential, multiple strategies may be required that combine action at the destination, at national policy level, and internationally. Since one organisation cannot operate effectively at all three, complementary actions by different stakeholders are required at all levels to enhance the positive outcomes of PPT. The destination level relies primarily on initiatives by private companies, NGOs, and poor communities themselves.[6] Nationally the governments can reduce obstacles to informal sector participation. For example, government can ensure that siting regulations grant local entrepreneurs access to tourism markets. They can also enhance the assets of the poor upon which tourism products can be built through, eg, land tenure and educational programmes, as well as enhance their participation in decision making processes that affect their livelihoods (DFID, 1999, p3). Internationally, the promotion of responsible consumer and business behaviour and the establishment of enforceable international industry codes of conduct can also contribute towards poverty reduction potential of tourism (Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin, 2000, p6).

Insights from the three approaches to poverty reduction surveyed earlier in this report suggest that in order to become successful, the design and implementation of PPT strategies and initiatives must incorporate the following elements:

- **Participation**: poor people must participate in tourism decisions if their livelihood priorities are to be reflected in the way tourism is developed.
- **A holistic livelihoods approach**: the range of the livelihood concerns of the poor – economic, social, and environmental, short-term and long-term – need to be recognised. Focusing simply on cash or jobs is inadequate.
- **Distribution**: promoting PPT requires some analysis of the distribution of both benefits and costs – and how to influence it.
- **Flexibility**: blue-print approaches are unlikely to maximise benefits to the poor. The pace or scale of development may need to be adapted; appropriate strategies and positive impacts will take time to develop; situations are widely divergent.
- **Commercial realism**: ways to enhance impacts on the poor within the constraints of commercial viability need to be sought.
- Learning: as much is untested, learning from experience is essential. PPT also needs to draw on lessons from poverty analysis, good governance and small enterprise development.'

Source: Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin, 2000, p6.

A glaring omission in the literature is an analysis of the specific actions that NGOs, community groups, private companies, and governments are undertaking to make tourism more pro-poor, and the impacts that these initiatives have had on the livelihoods of the poor.[7] Once again, it is one thing to state what should and should not be done to make tourism pro-poor, but it is a completely different thing to evaluate the effectiveness of specific initiatives undertaken by particular actors in particular socio-cultural, economic, political, and environmental circumstances. This study represents a preliminary attempt to fill this gap in research.

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[6] The various 'actors' involved in tourism are defined in section 2, methodology.
[7] A recent study indicated that while some donors are engaged in various aspects of tourism, few currently employ it as an explicit poverty reduction strategy (Deloitte and Touche, IIED, and ODI, 1999).

2. Methodology and Data Analysis

2.1 Methodology

The purpose of this project is to conduct a wide overview of existing PPT initiatives and to contribute additional (f less systematically researched) case study material to supplement the core case studies of the ODI, IIED and CRT study on PPT initiatives (see Appendix 1 for the list of core case studies). In accordance with the objectives of the ODI, IIED, and CRT study, the project investigated who is implementing PPT initiatives, what those initiatives are, and how they are being implemented.

The analysis contained in this report is based on a review of the relevant research literature (both published and unpublished), and on the results of two series of questionnaires and telephone interviews with organisations that claim to practice PPT. The research is exploratory and, due in part to the limitations of the data, no attempts are made to test the hypotheses that one could generate from various theoretical frameworks nor to interpret the results from those perspectives. Nevertheless, insights from the sustainable livelihoods, neoliberal, and critical perspectives are invoked where relevant.

2.1.1 Defining the actors

Several types of actors are involved in tourism. The term 'actor' refers to types of organisations distinguished according to their stake in tourism. The questionnaires targeted the following actors:

- **Private sector companies** These are formal commercial enterprises which operate independently of the state. Along with consumers, they are arguably the driving force of the tourism industry. While the vast majority of private companies are motivated by profit and commercial gain, in some cases they operate on a non-profit basis (e.g., Porini Ecotourism in Kenya).
- **National, regional and local governments** These include the official authorities governing a country or parts thereof. The category also includes various government departments at different levels who may have conflicting objectives (e.g., a national, regional or local tourist board and national parks and resources authority). National governments frequently promote tourism as a macro-economic growth strategy (micro-economic for local governments). In certain cases governments also include tourism in environmental and/or cultural conservation efforts, as well as in strategies for rural development.
- **International donors** This is a large category that includes institutions like the World Bank, the United Nations, and the foreign aid agencies of the industrial countries, among others. Some qualify as international government organisations, some as transnational government organisations, and others as parastatals. This report does not distinguish between them. While they have diverse objectives (often including a poverty reduction focus), these institutions tend to provide financial or other forms of support to tourism development without profiting from these developments directly. Donors sometimes include tourism in broader Third World development strategies, most commonly for macro-economic growth objectives, but increasingly also for environmental/wildlife conservation and rural development. Tourism is seldom invoked by donors as a distinct strategy for poverty reduction, although many currently are reconsidering their positions on tourism support (Deloitte & Touche, IIED and ODI, 1999).
- **Local, national, and international NGOs** These are formally recognised organisations that are in theory independent of both states and the private sector, that are a part of civil society, and

which tend to operate on a non-profit basis. A plethora of NGOs exists representing virtually every area of social concern (from environment, human rights, to AIDS awareness, etc.). Several NGOs use tourism primarily as a strategy for environmental/wildlife and/or cultural conservation, and/or poverty alleviation. Some operate at the local level and work very closely or even emerge out of the activities of communities, while others target the broader national and international spheres. For the purposes of this study, registered charities are considered NGOs.

- **Community groups** Also known as community-based organisations (CBOs), for the purposes of this study community groups refer to a formal or informal association of residents from a particular geographic locale (e.g., one or more villages and possibly nearby areas). All the residents of a village may participate in a tourism venture, or involvement in tourism may be limited to a subsection of the residents. In this study, individual entrepreneurs who are not directly and solely employed by a tourism company or other organisations active in tourism are included in the category of 'community groups.' Although a 'community' is in reality much more complex than this definition suggests (see Belsky, 1999), this does not affect this study directly because the analysis does not rely on the perspectives of communities, but on those of tourism companies and organisations.

Finally, while 'tourists' or 'travellers' were not included in the questionnaire categories nor was their input solicited, they are a vital component of this inquiry and hence require definition. Tourists are the consumers of tourism products whose desires determine demand in the industry (see the section on conceptual definitions for a more detailed discussion of the term).

2.1.2 Data collection

A structured screening questionnaire (see Appendix 2) was sent by e-mail to a non-random and 'non-enumerated' sample of potential businesses and organisations that claim to practice PPT.[8] These candidates were given the opportunity to read concise background materials on the project (see DFID, 1999, and Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin, 2000). The object of the screening questionnaire was to gauge the extent of their involvement in PPT activities. This included an idea of how many organisations/companies claim to be active in PPT, what kinds of activities they have engaged in, and to obtain an estimate of the number of poor people who may benefit from the initiatives.

It may be argued that the questionnaire is tautological since 'initiatives' and 'impacts' overlap. For example, 'more jobs' is listed as an impact in the questionnaire and 'employing poor people in tourism jobs' is listed as an initiative. Nevertheless, it is possible that a tourism enterprise has generated more jobs without employing people directly (e.g., it may find tourism employment for them with other organisations). Similarly, one can work with the poor to address the environmental impacts of tourism without actually producing substantial improvements in the use of natural resources.

Responses to the first questionnaire formed a pool from which a restricted number of candidates were asked to complete a more detailed follow-up questionnaire or telephone interview. Respondents had the option of returning the completed screening questionnaire via e-mail, completing it on-line via the ODI web site, or returning it by fax or postal mail. The deadline for inclusion in the study was 3 November 2000.

Candidates were first identified in the following way:
- All entries in Mark Mann's *Community Tourism Guide* (Mann, 2000) that were active in developing countries and had an e-mail address were included on the distribution list (n =

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[8] The sample was 'non-enumerated' in the sense that the sampling frame did not contain a fixed number of cases (see footnote 11).

107).[9] While the author did not assume that all necessarily pursued PPT strategies, the literature does suggest that small-scale, community-based enterprises are more likely to engage in PPT than larger-scale, mass tourism enterprises. The questionnaire was e-mailed to candidates on 13 October 2000.

- Calls for study participants were posted on the Planeta.com electronic notice board and forum on 20 October 2000, and were disseminated on the Green Travel electronic mailing list on 23 October 2000.[10] Planeta.com is devoted to ecotourism in Latin America (member n = 107). Green Travel is one of the most popular electronic lists on sustainable tourism (subscriber n = 563). The call was also submitted to Tourism Concern's notice board, but the latter did not display the message. The assumption was that enterprises that are committed to environmentally and socially responsible tourism, whether in the niche or mass tourism sector, would also be more receptive to pro-poor ideals.
- Prior contacts and an internet search using a combination of key words such as 'responsible,' 'poor,' and 'poverty' with 'tourism' produced a few more potential candidates (n = 12).

The total N to whom the questionnaire was sent/advertised was at least 119 (based on the Mann guide, prior contacts, and the internet search, but excluding the electronic lists and forums), and possibly much greater.[11] 25 of the e-mail addresses to which the screening questionnaire had been sent directly had 'fatal errors' (i.e., the questionnaire could not be delivered to them), effectively reducing the initial N. While some potential candidates may simply have changed their e-mail addresses, the significant decline in the starting N may equally be a reflection of the harsh commercial and political realities that many community-based tourism enterprises face, whether they are involved in PPT or not.

The study relied exclusively on electronic means to contact potential candidates due to time constraints. Thus, a high number of candidates with limited access to electronic media were excluded from the study. In light of the focus of this enquiry, the exclusion of these candidates is especially significant because they may represent the 'poorest' (in terms of their resources) of PPT enterprises. Conversely, large-scale tourism enterprises that do not subscribe to the Green Travel list also had little opportunity to participate in the study, which also has significant implications for the conclusions.

A total of 19 organisations/companies returned the screening questionnaire. Two of them (from Alaska, USA, and Manitoba, Canada) were excluded from this analysis due to the geo-political focus of the current project on developing countries, even though the former might have qualified as ventures that promote PPT among indigenous populations. One probably can attribute the relatively low rate of returns to one or more of the following factors:
- lack of interest or involvement in PPT principles;
- the brief period of time which was allowed for completion of the questionnaire, especially in relation to busy organisational/business schedules;
- English may not have been the first language of some candidates, and the language of the questionnaire may have discouraged them from completing it (Ron Mader, who established Planeta.com, suggests that 20-30% of his forum's audience is comfortable with Spanish and not

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[9] Questionnaires were not sent to NACOBTA in Namibia, the Karakol Intercultural Programme in Kyrgyzstan, CC Africa , Lisu Lodge in Thailand, or Gambian tourism enterprises, either because they were already selected as core case studies for the main PPT project (i.e., involving field work), because they currently were involved in other projects in which PPT research team members were engaged, or for discretionary reasons.

[10] The call for study participants on the Green Travel list was delayed by a few days due to technical problems.

[11] One should note that on the one hand, list subscribers and forum members are not necessarily involved in tourism enterprises (e.g., they may be researchers or socially/environmentally concerned tourists), which may reduce the respective n of those media. On the other hand, non-members are able to view messages posted to the Planeta.com forum, which potentially increases the number of industry members who knew about the PPT study.

English). Once again, the scope and timing of the project did not permit the creation of a multilingual questionnaire;

- perceived lack of knowledge or access to accurate information that would be helpful for answering the questionnaire;
- technical difficulties with the questionnaire attachment
- considering questionnaires to be annoying with little practical application

One respondent wrote a short essay without completing the questionnaire, and that reply was included in the pool of potential follow-ups. Ultimately, follow-up questionnaires were sent to 16 respondents (see Data Analysis below), all of whom had expressed their willingness to participate in the next phase of the study.

The follow-up questionnaire was semi-structured (see Appendix 3). The aim was to allow the respondents to explain in their own words the contexts in which they operate, what PPT initiatives they pursue, how they have affected various poor groups, and the successes and challenges they have experienced.[12] The follow-up questionnaire was sent on 15 November 2000, with a completion deadline of 3 December 2000. Representatives of 7 organisations participated in the follow-up study (one of them had not completed the screening questionnaire). Some respondents preferred to participate in a telephone interview. The latter lasted between one and two hours and generally followed the structure of the questionnaire, with which the respondents were given time to familiarise themselves. Questionnaires completed via interview were returned to the interviewees to confirm the accuracy of the responses transcribed by the interviewer.[13] Some interviews/questionnaires were completed shortly after the 3 December deadline (due to technical problems or conflicting schedules between the researcher and the interviewees).

2.1.3 Caveats

The veracity of the web site information and of the questionnaire and interview results could not be verified independently due to time and financial constraints. Therefore, when assessing the data, the following caveats apply:

i. Questionnaire/interview results consist of estimates that are primarily based on subjective impressions and experiences rather than 'objective' figures. In addition the results from each case are not entirely comparable (e.g., respondents have employed different conceptions of poverty, etc.).

ii. The sample size is very small and does not represent the full spectrum of actors, strategies, and initiatives involved in PPT. While the sampling technique makes it difficult to determine how 'typical' the actors and initiatives included in this study are, they probably constitute a 'middle stratum' of those ventures. On the one hand, other ventures probably exist that have even fewer commercial and technical resources than those included in the study, and hence little if any 'electronic representation.' Consequently, they may be more ephemeral operations. On the other hand, this project has received no direct input from large-scale mass tourism enterprises. While the research literature on the mass tourism sector tends to be very critical of its activities

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[12] While local sourcing is discussed as a distinct issue in the follow-up questionnaire, in the screening questionnaire it was subsumed under the heading 'new opportunities for small businesses and the informal sector.'

[13] Only direct quotations taken from questionnaire responses are acknowledged in text as 'follow-up questionnaire data.' All other attributions in the analysis to respondent views also come from questionnaire or interview results, but are not cited formally. Interviews were not transcribed verbatim, which explains why the direct quotations only come from specific respondents (i.e., René Schärer of Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde/Instituto Terramar and David Lovatt Smith of Amboseli Community Wildlife Tourism Project).

    in developing countries (and its commitment to PPT principles is questionable), the lack of input from that sector remains a significant weakness of this study.

iii. Information gleaned from the web sites of various enterprises (without questionnaire/interview follow-ups or more objective means of assessment) may be exaggerated and may represent public relations pitches rather than a genuine commitment to PPT.

iv. The project did not obtain input from representatives of the poor groups the PPT initiatives affect due to the limited resources available for the study. Thus, the assessment of these initiatives and their reported effects are based entirely on the perspective of the heads of organisations or businesses, most of whom are white Westerners.

v. While the follow-up questionnaire does ask respondents to discuss the challenges that they have experienced with various aspects of pro-poor tourism, the questions disproportionately probe into their beneficial activities rather than negative impacts that the poor may have experienced.

Despite the methodological flaws and caveats, the contributions to the study may be defended on the following grounds:

- The project is not an in-depth evaluation of the impacts that different initiatives have had on poverty reduction. Rather, it provides a preliminary sketch of the actors involved in PPT and the strategies and initiatives they have pursued. The project is a springboard for further research. In light of the dearth of information about PPT, the claims that the study participants make are to an extent more important than the accuracy of the claims.

- The respondents provide essential insights into the challenges that confront PPT, whether for the poor groups they affect or for the organisations/businesses that promote PPT principles.

- The respondents are active in Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the South Pacific. Thus, the study includes insights from each of the 'developing continents.'

- Mass tourism operators have been excluded since none were located on the internet who advertise their pro-poor or socially (as opposed to environmentally) responsible activities, which made it extremely difficult to locate PPT initiatives among them. The emphasis on niche tourism rather than mass tourism ventures in this study may reflect a genuine dichotomy in the industry regarding the current orientation of different sectors of the industry toward PPT.

- While greater emphasis is given to the beneficial than negative impacts, it is worth stressing again that the focus of the study is on initiatives and not on impacts. Whenever relevant, the report discusses negative impacts that arise in the research literature.

2.2 The data

2.2.1 Screening questionnaire results

Table 6 Screening questionnaire respondents by country and organisation type

Organisation	Country	Comm. Group	Local/ Nat'l NGO	Int'l NGO	Private Co.	Local gov.	Nat gov.	Int'l donor
(Amigos de) Prainha do Canto Verde, Instituto Terramar	Brazil	X	X					
Toledo Ecotourism Association	Belize	X						
ATEC	Costa Rica		X					
Vida para el Bosque A.C.	Mexico		X					
Cultural Tourism Programme	Tanzania	X	X					(X)
Amboseli Community Wildlife Tourism Project	Kenya	(X)	X					
TVS-REST	Thailand		X					
Planet Club	Hungary (Nepal)	(X)		X				
Initiatives for International Dialogue	Philippines			X				
Ecotour Samoa Ltd.	Samoa				X			
Rocamar Tours	Mexico				X			
Planeta.com	Mexico				X			
IntoAfrica UK Ltd.	UK (Kenya, Tanzania)				X			
Porini Ecotourism	Kenya				X (non-profit)			
US Bureau of Land Management	Honduras	(X)						X
Asian Dev. Bank	Southeast Asia	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	(X)	X

Notes:
- 'X' represents the type of organisation each organisation represents, while '(X)' represents collaborators.
- An ecotourism specialist working in Honduras for the U.S. Bureau of Land Management sent a written response without filling out the screening questionnaire.
- Sisi Kwa Sisi Cultural Tourism is the Mbeya module of the CTP.

Table 6 indicates that the majority of those who returned the screening questionnaire identified their respective organisations as community groups or local/national NGOs. Because the major difference between the two in several case studies are the extent to which their organisational status and activities are officially recognised (i.e., their level of 'formality'), this analysis will discuss them together. The second largest category of respondents consisted of private companies. Other respondents included international donors and international NGOs. When identifying the type of

organisation to which they belonged, some respondents included the other participants in their initiatives (e.g., ADB, the Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania), while some did not indicate explicitly what type of organisation they belonged to (e.g., Sisi Kwa Sisi Cultural Tourism in Tanzania). With the exception of local NGO/community groups (for which a dual label has been permitted), others who declared multiple type have been narrowed to one after further research. Collaborators remain in the table, but are identified in parentheses.

Tables 7 to 9 report the estimated number of poor people who benefit from the different initiatives. Because they are primarily based on estimates and a subjective understanding of the definition of each impact type, the results are not standardised and are hence not directly comparable. They are included here simply as a reference point that highlights the positive impacts that different organisations claim their PPT initiatives have had on the poor. The results are reproduced as they were presented by respondents in the screening questionnaire, and inconsistencies (e.g., reporting community funds in terms of a monetary figure rather than the number of people who benefit from the funds) have not been corrected unless noted.

The only area in which *all* respondents claim to have a beneficial impact for the poor is 'improved use of the environment and natural resources.' 'Funds for the community' is the second most common impact category, followed by 'more casual labour,' and then 'more jobs,' 'new opportunities for the informal sector and small businesses,' and the provision of 'skills or education.' 'Infrastructure development' was the area in which the fewest were active. Among community groups and local/national NGOs, 'new opportunities for small businesses/informal sector,' 'funds for the community,' and 'skills and education' followed 'improved use of natural resources' in frequency. Private companies placed relatively equal emphasis on environmental impacts, the creation of jobs and casual labour opportunities, and the funds they provide to communities. Once again, the results cannot be generalised due to the small sample size.

Collectively, respondents claim to have a simultaneous pro-poor impact in no fewer than four of the areas listed in the screening questionnaire, and five organisations have (or will have, in the case of the ADB) an impact in all areas.[14] Significantly, those who claim to have a positive impact in all areas cover the entire organisational spectrum (i.e., they include local/national NGOs and community groups, private companies, international NGOs, and international donors). Also, each type of actor reportedly has an effect in each impact area. If these claims are correct, then the question we must ask is: who is most effective at doing what, and under what circumstances?

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[14] For information on two ADB tourism projects in the Mekong sub-region that apparently have poverty reduction as an explicit objective, see http://www.adb.org/gms/pp_tour5.asp, and http://www.adb.org/documents/adbbo/reta/33029012.asp.

Table 7: Reported PPT impacts, community groups and local/national NGOs (by number of poor people who benefit)

Impact / Organisation	More jobs	New oppor-tunities	More casual labour	Funds for community	Skills & education	Infra-structure	Cultural	Power, pride	Use of environment
(Amigos de) Prainha do Canto Verde, Instituto Terramar	2	10	30	15	70	1100	150	300	1100
ATEC		X	X		X	X		X	X
Vida para el Bosque A.C.		15	5	All					All
Toledo Ecotourism Association	150	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
Amboseli Community Wildlife Tourism Project	100s	X many	XX many	XXXX	X	XX	X		XXXXX
Cultural Tourism Programme	50	X	200	50,000	50		50,000	50,000	X
Sisi Kwa Sisi Cultural Tourism	30)	600		US$1.25 per tourist	20	1000	1000+	1000+	1000+
TVS-REST				100	100		100	100	100

See Table 9 for notes

Table 8: Reported PPT impacts, private companies (by number of poor people who benefit)

Impact / Organisation	More jobs	New opportunities	More casual labour	Funds for community	Skills and education	Infrastructure	Cultural	Power, pride	Use of environment
Ecotour Samoa Ltd.	100	30	50	300	150	150	150	10,000	4,000
Rocamar Tours	5	7	7	50		X			150
Planeta.com	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
IntoAfrica UK Ltd	X		X	X			X	X	X
Porini Ecotourism	20 families (100+)		X varies	X (KShs 1,000,000)	20 personnel employed; 2 classrooms built (50 children); bursaries paid for students (10+ children); 1 person sponsored to work in vehicle workshop in Nairobi	60 kms of roads & telephone installed, borehole pump repaired, waterhole dug for livestock			Semi arid land unsuitable for cultivation turned into wildlife conservancy

See Table 9 for notes

Table 9: Reported PPT impacts, International NGOs and donors (by number of people who benefit)

Impact \ Organisation	More jobs	New opps	More casual labour	Funds for community	Skills & education	Infrastruct.	Cultural	Power, pride	Use of environment
Planet Club	200	150	50	500	50	1000	X	X	X
Initiatives for International Dialogue[a]	5000 ind.	5000 ind.	5000 ind.	5000 ind.	460	5000 ind.	5000 ind.	460	5000 ind.
Asian Dev. Bank[b]	TBD	TBD	TBD	TBD	TBD	TBD	TBD	TBD	TBD
US Bureau of Land Management	X	X	X	X	X	X			X

Notes to Tables 7 to 9:
- For the full column headings, see the questionnaire in Appendix 1.
- Some respondents provided no quantitative estimates. The number of 'X' were inscribed by the respondents, and several 'X' presumably indicate areas where the organisation has had a particularly significant impact. Others provided monetary figures or lists of benefits without referring to the number of poor people that benefit.
- Some entries have been amended in light of follow-up questionnaire results (Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde did not cite improved infrastructure as an impact area in the screening questionnaire, but it was an important feature in their follow-up questionnaire; and they cited 350 beneficiaries of environmental actions in the screening questionnaire, which was changed to 1,100 when returning the follow-up questionnaire).

a) 'ind.' - indirect beneficiaries
b) TBD – to be determined

Table 10: Initiatives implemented, by actor category

Initiative	Community groups, local NGOs (N = 8)	Private companies (N = 5)	International NGOs, donors (N = 4)	Total (N = 17)
Employing poor people in tourism jobs	5	4	2	11
Buying supplies from the poor for tourism	2	3	1	6
Employing poor casual labourers	2	4	2	8
Providing training and education in tourism	8	2	4	14
Proving credit to small enterprises	2	2	0	4
Support to small enterprises/informal sector	4	1	3	8
Donating profits from tourism operations to local development projects/charities	4	3	0	7
Collecting funds from tourists for local development projects/charities	3	3	0	6
Direct participation in infrastructure improvement benefiting tourists and poor residents	4	3	1	8
Increasing participation of the poor in tourism policy	7	3	2	12
Revising tourism regulations to increase participation of the poor	4	0	0	4
Involving the poor in planning decisions	7	3	4	14
Supporting CBOs or groups of small producers in tourism	7	2	3	12
Helping the poor to negotiate with the private sector	4	2	2	8
Engaging in business partnerships with poor	3	2	1	6
Helping poor secure their rights over tourism assets (e.g., land tenure, etc.)	6	1	1	8
Working with the poor to address the cultural impacts of tourism	8	3	4	15
Working with the poor to address the environmental impacts of tourism	7	3	4	14
Other[a]	1	1	0	2

Note s:
▪ Some figures have been amended in light of results from the follow-up questionnaire.
a. 'Other' was cited by Sisi Kwa Sisi Cultural Tourism, who state that they are learning 'the philosophical aspect of every world culture,' and by Planeta.com (a web site) which did not specify what was meant by 'other.'

The magnitude of impacts varies enormously by organisation and impact area, as well as context. The impacts cannot be weighted however, due to the shortcomings of the data. The impacts are related to the implementation of various initiatives, as indicated in Table 10. Altogether, the most frequently cited initiative was 'working with the poor to address the cultural impacts of tourism.' 'Working with the poor to address the environmental impacts of tourism,' 'providing training and/or education in tourism,' 'increasing participation of the poor in tourism policy,' and 'involving the poor in planning/siting decisions' also figured prominently, having been cited by over two thirds of the respondents. While that general response pattern was typical of local/national NGOs and

community groups as well as international NGOs and donors, it differed somewhat for private companies. Among the latter, 'employing poor people in tourism jobs' and 'employing poor casual labourers' were the most frequently cited initiatives. Overall, the least cited initiatives were 'providing credit to small enterprises' and 'revising tourism regulations to increase participation of the poor.' It is interesting that while all respondents claimed to have a positive impact in terms of improving the use of natural resources and the environment, not all respondents work *with* the poor to address the negative environmental impacts of tourism. What remains unexplored is exactly how the implementation of the initiatives has produced the impacts reported in Tables 7 - 9. The follow-up questionnaire and interviews aimed to reveal this relationship with a subset of the initial respondents.[15]

2.3 Follow-up questionnaire and interview results

Unless otherwise noted, all data presented and discussed in the following sections are based on respondents' own reports. No attempts were made to verify the accuracy of these data independently due to time and financial constraints, and the reader therefore should exercise caution when evaluating the information provided.

2.3.1 Respondent profile

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[15] Maurice Adshead of Muir's Tours also was interviewed in the follow-up round, even though he did not complete the screening questionnaire.

Table 11 Characteristics of respondents and operations

Organisation	Area of operation	Main livelihoods	Type of tourism	Domestic/ International
Private companies				
IntoAfrica	• rural area covering 1/3 of Kenya and Tanzania • arid to semi-arid savannah and mountains	• predominantly (+/-90%) subsistence agriculture and cattle raising	• niche in mass tourism dominated market • trekking, wildlife safaris, cultural and rural tours	• international
Ecotour Samoa	• rural Samoa • tropical volcanic island	• 60% subsistence agriculture • fishing, tourism, timber, and emigrant remittances are also significant livelihood sources	• niche • adventure, ecotourism & cultural tours in coastal & rain forest areas	• international
Charities, Local/National NGOs, communities				
Amboseli Community Wildlife Tourism Project	• 5700 km^2 between Amboseli and Tsavo National Parks, Kenya • rural, arid and semi-arid savannah	• see IntoAfrica, above	• niche and mass tourism • emphasis on wildlife tourism	• international
Cultural Tourism Programme	• mostly Maasai communities in NE Tanzania • rural, arid and semi-arid savannah	• see IntoAfrica above	• Niche and mass tourism • Cultural tours	• International
Prainha do Canto Verde/Amigos/ Instituto Terramar	• Northeast Brazil • coastal village	• 90% from 'artisanal' fishing, lobster catches	• niche • coastal ecotourism and 'conference tourism'	• 90% domestic
Muir's Tours	• Nepal + other countries	• mostly subsistence agriculture	• niche • trekking, adventure tourism, cultural tours and homestays	• international
International NGOs				
Planet Club	• Nepal	• subsistence agriculture	• niche • rural tourism & presumably trekking	• international

Private companies

- **IntoAfrica UK Ltd**
  Interview respondent: Mr. Chris Morris, director (http://www.intoafrica.co.uk).

IntoAfrica UK Ltd is the partner company and UK booking agent for IntoAfrica Eco-Travel Kenya and Into-Africa Eco-Travel Tanzania. The three are referred to collectively in this report as IntoAfrica. IntoAfrica specialise in rural and cultural tourism as well as wildlife safaris and trekking expeditions. The company engages in niche tourism in what Mr. Morris perceives is a region where 'mass tourism ventures' with a predominantly international clientele dominate approximately 90% of the market. He adds that wildlife safaris and treks frequently are mass tourism rather than niche tourism products, if only because they are add-ons to package tours offered by coastal luxury hotels. He states that tourism was for a long time the leading source of foreign exchange for Kenya, but competition from other safari destinations has led to some decline in the Kenyan market. Tourism in Tanzania is not quite as well established as in Kenya, but it is growing.

IntoAfrica's area of operation includes about a third of Kenya and Tanzania, comprising numerous communities and tribal groups. IntoAfrica deals mostly with the Maasai, Kikuyu, and the Wachagga. The Maasai villages generally average between 30 and 100 inhabitants, and the Kikuyu villages are two to three times larger due to better farmland. The Wachagga live in densely populated farmlands on the fertile and well watered slopes of Kilimanjaro. The Maasai tend to live in the semi-arid to arid savannah. Mr. Morris estimates that subsistence agriculture and cattle raising are the main source of livelihoods for 90% of the inhabitants of rural Kenya and Tanzania.

As far as the 'pro-poor' orientation and initiatives of the company are concerned, Chris Morris originally approached rural communities in Kenya and Tanzania to see if they were open to the idea of receiving white tourists. Once the communities agreed, IntoAfrica UK Ltd worked with each to identify projects that the company could contribute to. The company's ethics are posted on its web site:

> 'We operate in a competitive market but believe that local people must see rewards from tourism if they are to have an interest in safeguarding their environments. Our support of schools, self-help projects and employment of local guides contributes to the long-term sustainability of communities managing their own natural resources. We employ qualified mountain guides, wildlife experts and local guides as part of our team. They are effective communicators – not simply there to drive vehicles and cook.' (http://www.intoafrica.co.uk)

With the exception of Chris Morris, the company is completely staffed by native Kenyans and Tanzanians. The poor benefit especially from casual labour opportunities, but a limited number of jobs are available to more skilled individuals. The company also is highly active in local sourcing.

IntoAfrica has taken many tourists to the Dutch SNV assisted Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania (see below). The company visits community projects and associations, and also makes cash donations to these projects on behalf of its clients.

- **Ecotour Samoa Ltd**
  Interview respondent: Dr. Steve Brown, co-director (http://www.ecotoursamoa.com).

Ecotour Samoa Ltd conducts ecotours on the tropical volcanic islands of Samoa. Ecotour Samoa Ltd is active in community-based wildlife/adventure/ecotourism in coastal areas and rain forests, with a strong cultural component. It is involved in niche tourism, and its clientele is international. There are 600 beds available in Samoa in small resorts and larger hotels. 30% of visitors include at

least one overnight 'village stay' in their itinerary, and that trend is increasing. No major hotel chains are currently represented in Samoa. Both local communities and the government (as expressed in its latest 10-year national tourism plan) are opposed to mass tourism. This is due to the perceived negative impacts in Fiji, which receives an estimated 300 - 400,000 visitors a year, and the Cook Islands over the past twenty years. Still, one major hotel chain is currently discussing the possibility of building a complex in Samoa.

Samoa is home to approximately 200,000 people, about 40,000 of whom live in the capital, Apia. There are about 330 villages in Samoa ranging from 100 to 2000 inhabitants. 60% of the population depend on agriculture as a primary source of livelihood. Coconut, copra and cocoa have become the main crops since taro crops were virtually wiped out by a fungal disease in 1993. Fishing, timber and tourism also are significant components of the Samoan economy.

Ecotour Samoa Ltd conducts seven day ecotours that overnight in a select number of 'eco-villages' on the island 'that do it best.' The company has helped transform approximately twenty communities into eco-villages via the implementation of green technologies and by promoting environmental awareness. It markets the villages and takes the tourists to them for cultural/ecotours and overnight stays. Clients are lodged in traditional thatched huts (usually on sandy beaches) that are built by villagers. By bringing the tourism market to the villages (instead of the villagers having to go to Apia to find work/access markets), Ecotour Samoa Ltd provides them with new economic opportunities. Local people earn income from cooking, guiding, cleaning, building, and from the sale of local produce to tourists. Ecotour Samoa Ltd reportedly rely on local sourcing for 90% of the food that tourists eat on their tours, and for building materials that are used in tourist accommodation. Ecotour Samoa Ltd actively promotes environmental awareness and conservation through a range of projects that aim to make more efficient use of the country's remaining forests, while simultaneously generating new livelihood opportunities for rural villagers. Increased income from ecotourism contributes to greater self-sufficiency, and reportedly to greater community empowerment. Ecotour Samoa Ltd is also active in cultural conservation projects and infrastructure development (e.g., freshwater tanks), and it supports training/educational programmes (both for villagers and guests).

Charities, local/national NGOs and community groups

Due to the blurred distinction between some community groups and local NGOs that responded to the follow-up questionnaire, both types are dealt with together in this section.

- **Amboseli Community Wildlife Tourism Project (ACWTP)**
  Questionnaire respondent: Mr. David Lovatt Smith, consultant.

The ACWTP is a certified and registered national NGO in Kenya. It acts as a broker between the communities that own the land and the tourist organisations that seek to develop tourist opportunities in the area. Staff do not confine their advice to a particular kind of tourism, whether mass or niche, but they do specialise in wildlife tourism. They leave the decision concerning the most appropriate type of tourism development to the 'experts' (i.e. the developers). The ACWTP's area of operation partially overlaps with that of IntoAfrica UK Ltd. The NGO is active in the Maasai-owned area between the Amboseli and Tsavo National Parks, a rural area of 5,700 km[2,] consisting of semi-arid to arid savannah. About 17,000 people live in the area, most of whom subsist on cattle ranching. Other livelihood sources include tourism and employment in large cities.

ACWTP's pro-poor initiatives focus on educating the poor about the economic benefits they could receive through wildlife conservation for tourism. More specifically:

'Seventy-five percent of Kenyan wildlife exists outside the National Parks, but within community-owned land. The area we work in has sufficient wildlife for tourism opportunities, but the communities do not know how to exploit them. They do not even have knowledge of simple trading. They have never received benefit from the wildlife they live amongst and often cannot believe others would pay to come and see it. Initially, therefore, we have an information gap which we are trying to fill through a mobile video education team. We then assist in identifying suitable areas to set aside for tourism. Once they are agreed we introduce the communities to a number of reputable tour operators or developers who would like to develop the areas for tourism. Finally we assist communities in their negotiations with the developers.

We are sensitive to the wishes of communities while taking into account their ignorance of the potentials involved. We are, for example, advising one community over a development for an international hotel and golf course on the slopes of Kilimanjaro. On the one hand this would give enormous employment to people who cannot afford even the very basics of life – clean water and a daily meal, but on the other hand might, if not done with great sensitivity, have a deleterious effect on their culture [author note: and the environment!]. The dilemma which constantly confronts us is whether their culture and way of life should be preserved at the cost of the lives of the poorer element.' (David Lovatt Smith, follow-up questionnaire data)

- **Muir's Tours**
    Interview respondent: Mr. Maurice Adshead, UK director (http://www.nkf-mt.org.uk).

Muir's Tours is the trading arm of the Nepal Kingdom Foundation, a charity that aids the poor in Nepal as well as in several other countries. The organisation arranges a variety of adventure tours (e.g., rafting, trekking, biking, climbing, etc.), as well as homestays and cultural trips. It participates in niche tourism with an international clientele. In terms of PPT initiatives, while Muir's Tours does provide casual labour opportunities to the poor, the main focus of the organisation's operations consist of raising funds to support both its own development projects in destination areas and the activities of a select group of other charities and NGOs that seek to improve the environment and the living conditions of the poor. Due to the limited scope of this project, the interview with Mr. Adshead focused on the operations that Muir's Tours is undertaking in Nepal (other destination countries include Thailand, Peru, the Western USA, Samoa, Fiji, India, Tibet, Pakistan, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Namibia, to name but a few). In addition to rural development projects, Muir's Tours also tries to divert trekkers from the well-populated destinations of Everest and Annapurna in Nepal and toward the Makalu-Barun area. The latter receives just 1% of the trekkers who come to the country, and its residents have therefore had few opportunities to diversify their livelihoods and improve their living standards similar to neighbouring regions.

- **The Association of Residents of Prainha do Canto Verde (Associaçao dos Moradores)/Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde/Instituto Terramar**
    Questionnaire respondent: Mr. René Schärer, coordinator
    (http://www.fortalnet.com.br/~~fishnet).

Prainha do Canto Verde is a coastal fishing village in the municipality of Berberibe, in the state of Ceará, in the semi-arid north-east of Brazil. The village has 1,100 inhabitants, and 90% of the income in the village is generated by the 'artisanal' fishing of fish and lobster. The community has complete control over its own ecotourism project, which is administered by a local tourism council. It was awarded top honours in the ToDo! contest in socially responsible tourism in 1999 by the German NGO Studienkreis für Turismus und Entwicklung (see http://www.studienkreis.org).

In contrast to the other case studies, 90% of its clientele is domestic, including a special market for 'middle class meeting/conference tourism.' The other 10% of visitors are individual foreign tourists, most of whom come from Switzerland, Germany, France, Austria, the UK, and other European countries. In an article in the winter 2001 edition of the *Intercoast Network Newsletter*, Mr. Schärer states that 'the little fishing village offers simple but functional accommodations, restaurants and meeting facilities for events with up to 40 visitors; walking tours over dunes to mangroves and sweet water lagoons.' While Prainha do Canto Verde practices niche tourism, tourism development in the north-east of Brazil has taken the form of mass tourism through a programme called PRODETUR (Promotion of Tourism Development) with large scale financial engagement by the InterAmerican Development Bank (IDB), the federal government, and the state government. According to Mr. Schärer, while PRODETUR's statement of intent indicates that the project should benefit the population in the area, 'this doesn't happen because the trickle down effect doesn't work' (follow-up questionnaire data).

The community's tourism council has produced the following mission statement: 'develop eco-tourism in a communitarian way to generate income and promote the well being of the whole population, preserving cultural values and the natural beauty of the region' (see web site above). Funding from Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde has provided basic tourism infrastructure including:
- community guesthouse
- the school (i.e., training) restaurant Bela Vista
- beach restaurant
- several private restaurants
- Sole Mar guesthouse
- guest rooms for rental
- jangadas for sailing trips
- meeting rooms for the library

Source: http://www.fortalnet.com.br/~fishnet/efolder_pte1.htm

As a pro-poor initiative, Mr. Schärer writes:

'The project employs only two people directly, but creates additional income and part-time employment in local tourism. The project also creates employment in construction and trash collection for poor labourers. The project provides training for everyone who wants to participate and also in the local school. The project has a rotating fund for small loans (5% interest) for tourism development up to US$500.00 with the possibility to approve higher value projects. So far the payback rate is 100%. The project has a central office (tourism coordination) to provide support for local entrepreneurs such as reservations, guest reception, and meetings of all tourism providers. Since a part of the tourism infrastructure (guesthouses and meeting rooms) belongs to the community organisation and the school there is a direct benefit by rental of the facility. The local Tourism Cooperative (being founded) also provides 20% of its profit for a social and education fund. Foreign tourists particularly often make donations to the community since they find the prices for accommodation and meals very low… Everybody participates in the discussion, planning and execution of tourism policy in the community. Small producers (fishers, subsistence agriculture, and handicraft) participate in the local cooperative. The project is a strong supporter of the fight of the local community against a large real estate company that is trying to expel the people from the land where the first residents settled around 1860. The project works with the poor to preserve the cultural identity of the population in the school and community events. There is a school book which was produced to this effect. Regular courses about sexuality and drugs and against child prostitution [are also offered]. The project provides courses, seminars aimed at the

preservation of the ecosystem; the community is known for its leadership in the field of environmental education and protection.' (Follow-up questionnaire data; also see the community's web site and the Studienkreis web site, both cited above).

The NGOs Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde and Instituto Terramar provide financial and institutional support which help the community progress toward its goals. Both NGOs emerged in the 1990s with the specific purpose of supporting the village in its struggle against land speculators as well as predatory fishing off its coastal waters. Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde consists of 200 of René Schärer's friends and some Swiss organisations that help finance the village's sustainable development projects (including tourism). Instituto Terramar was founded in 1993 by René Schärer and a group of volunteers in order to provide technical assistance and support to coastal communities in the state of Ceará by adapting and transferring positive experiences from Prainha do Canto Verde to the former. Instituto Terramar is funded by ICCO in Holland. The ties between Prainha do Canto Verde, Amigos, and Instituto Terramar illustrates the interdependence that characterises the relationship between some communities and NGOs.

Other respondents

Two other respondents returned the follow-up questionnaire. Their answers, however, often were incomplete and lacked specificity. Still, due to the limited number of case studies that were available for analysis, they are included in this report if only to provide additional support (or counterpoints) for the observations and assertions made by the other respondents. In many cases, more specific background data have been obtained from organisations or other web sites rather than from the questionnaires.

- **Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP)**
  Questionnaire respondent: Miet (http://www.infojep.com/culturaltours/whatis.html).

The CTP is a local NGO that works with Maasai communities in Tanzania. CTP shared with Prainha do Canto Verde the ToDo! award in 1999 for socially responsible tourism. Due to the absence of a descriptive statement in the follow-up questionnaire, the following overview of the organisation and its activities is taken directly from the Studienkreis evaluation of the organisation and its activities:

'The CULTURAL TOURISM PROGRAMME is a network of local communities operating independently from each other, groups offering their individually developed tour package all over the country in different locations. The Tanzanians speak of so-called 'modules.'

The offers vary just as much as the groups and the different regions. Cornerstones of the various offers include hiking tours, trekking tours, and imparting knowledge about the cultural heritage of the Maasai tribes and their history. The tourists also learn quite a bit about the 'wildlife' (also about the less spectacular but no less interesting African fauna), the flora and the way it is used for medicinal purposes, or simply about East African agriculture.

The visitors are shown whatever the surroundings can offer. The tourists can look at a cheese manufacture, or else visit a smithy where the Maasai spears are hammered, sometimes they are taken to a cattle market, to a local healer or even to modern development projects.

The 'modules' offer programmes lasting from half a day to a full week's stay. For overnight stays there are homestay possibilities, guest houses, hotels or camping sites. Accommodation is simple, clean and it is equipped with the basics needed.

An essential element of these programmes is the invitation to take part in the communal life…

Different 'modules' can be combined to an overall package. On the basis of brochures visitors (or travel agents looking for supplementary programmes) can inform themselves in advance about the various offers. They can choose the target regions and attractions and they get detailed information on the costs for each offer. Therefore, at the time of the booking, everybody knows what to expect and also what to pay. He will neither be cheated nor disappointed. With this system there is no touting and no bargaining…

The guest pays his invoice on the spot to the respective service provider, travel agents contact the module co-ordinator. Service providers are the ... guides (who receive the guests and take care of them during their stay), but service providers are also the guest families, the hotels or women's groups being in charge of the catering. Also included are some parts of the local population which are also involved as active participants in the package – e.g. during a visit to a 'boma' (a compound where several Maasai families live together).

The guides – five to ten in each module – as well as the other people involved are ordinary villagers. Farmers, teachers, students, housewives, men and women. The 'and' needs to be emphasised since the Tanzanian society is so much dominated by men.
[…]

Modules [14 total at the time of writing, but now numbering 17] exist predominantly in smaller villages of less than 5,000 inhabitants, but also in the town of Lushoto. There is a contact office and a co-ordinator in each module.
[…]

The CULTURAL TOURISM PROGRAMME in Arusha is the central coordination office for all these modules with presently 5 employees. The idea was developed here, and the project is supervised and further developed from here. The office is mainly responsible for the communication between the modules and the intermediary agencies.' (http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html)

While an estimated 132,000 people in Tanzania are employed in the tourism industry, 110 of the 148 agencies that operate in Tanzania are based in Arusha (the gateway to the national parks), and the majority are run by foreigners. 'Only 48 agencies are actually run by Tanzanians, mostly by local Indians, even less are owned by indigenous Africans' (http://www.studienkreis.org/engl.wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html). Moreover, because tourist activity is concentrated in national parks with no human settlements, indigenous populations have few opportunities to tap into the market. On the contrary, tourism generally has been a nuisance because 'photo-safaris' have commodified the cultures of the Maasai and other tribal groups (cf. van der Cammen, 1995/1997). The CTP represents an attempt to empower local communities by giving them a direct stake in and some control over the industry. Equally important, it ensures that module guides steer clear of bomas that want absolutely no contact with tourists. All methods that can help ease the effects of the drought and food shortages in Tanzania are welcomed, and tourism is considered to be one avenue whereby some relief can be generated more or less independently (http://www.studienkreis.org/engl.wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html). The Dutch aid agency SNV has financed the CTP and controlled its expenditures since 1995, and it also has organised training for guides. The agency is supposed to withdraw from the project in 2001 due to its perceived economic and institutional sustainability. The Tanzanian Tourist Board finances all of the CTP's advertising efforts and helps promote the programme to both local and international tourist agencies. While the CTP's clientele consists primarily of foreign tourists, the project is able to

accommodate independent travellers as well as larger package tours (follow-up questionnaire and http://www.studienkreis.org/engl.wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html).

- **Planet Club**
  Questionnaire respondent: Ms. Rabindra Nakarmi (http://www.planetclub.org).

The Planet Club loosely qualifies as an international NGO by virtue of its connection to AIESEC, the world's largest international student association which has chapters in more than 87 countries. The Planet Club consists of 'young professionals counting nearly 80 members from over 40 countries, and 5 continents of the world' (http://www.planetclub.org/aboutus/history.zhtml). The organisation promotes sustainable development projects via student traineeships in member countries which feature research in governmental, academic, and private sector enterprises on sustainability issues and potential solutions to sustainable development challenges. Its strategies for achieving environmentally sustainable development include 'leading the way by stimulating changes in the attitude of our societies, [environmental education] and promoting the new role of business through the global network' (http://www.planetclub.org/aboutus/history.zhtml). According to Ms. Nakarmi, the Planet Club initiated a small scale ecotourism project in rural Nepal, which served as a learning process for both the students from the Planet Club and the villagers.[16] Although the follow-up questionnaire does provide some impressionistic answers about areas in which the ecotourism project has had an impact, Ms. Nakarmi did not provide a detailed description of the project itself, nor was any information available on the organisation's web site.

While the subsequent analysis is restricted to the above case studies, several other enterprises that exhibit PPT potential would also be worth investigating given more time and resources. Some of those enterprises are listed in Appendix 4. One enterprise that especially stands out is the Toledo Ecotourism Association in Belize, due to its innovative rotation system between host communities. While contact was established with them, time constraints prevented its representatives from completing the follow-up questionnaire or participating in a telephone interview.

2.4 Case study definitions of the 'poor'

In the absence of readily available region-specific indicators and in recognition of the diverse manifestations of poverty around the globe, respondents were asked to define in what way the people in their area of operations are 'poor.' They also were asked to estimate what proportion of the local population was poor, and to distinguish between different poor groups whenever possible. Some respondents identified poverty in absolute terms, others in relative terms. Respondents emphasised the material dimensions of poverty, i.e., on insufficient income and inability to meet basic needs (e.g., food). The implications of these different interpretations of poverty for PPT will be addressed later in this report. It is worth noting that while the majority of respondents referred to reliance on subsistence level agriculture/cattle raising in their characterisations of local poverty, they did not necessarily this with poverty. Rather, reference to subsistence agriculture/cattle raising denotes a lack of diversification in productive activities which reduces the ability to meet 'basic needs' (especially food/nutritional requirements) during 'lean times' quite difficult.

Kenya and Tanzania

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[16] The name of the village and its specific location in Nepal were not mentioned by the respondent.

Parts of Kenya and Tanzania are currently experiencing severe drought which has exacerbated poverty in parts of those countries. According to David Lovatt Smith:

> [In the rural area between the Amboseli and Tsavo National Parks] The poor are the majority of the population – those who rely entirely on their livestock for income. The only non-poor are the so-called 'leaders' of the communities who have access to outside funds, e.g. funds which are meant for distribution to the community in general but which get siphoned-off beforehand, or those people who are lucky enough to get work outside the area. The vast majority are extremely poor and are receiving Food Aid at present (follow-up questionnaire data).

Chris Morris agrees and adds that Kikuyu and Maasai communities are poor by the standards of developed countries, and even by the standards of African countries. Health care is minimal, there is little access to running water (none among the Maasai). Cash income from crops and other sources is very limited. It is difficult to estimate their income in relation to the international poverty line, but he states that US$1 per day averaged among household members seems appropriate. Socio-economic status is generally measured by number of cattle and children, so cash is of secondary importance. Stratification exists within the communities (with more than 90% of the population living at subsistence levels while a wealthy, educated, and powerful elite represents approximately 1% to 5% of the population). The elites constitute a 'hangover' from colonial times, and they practice what is termed by some as 'Black colonialism' i.e., they often exploit their own people. The respondent for Tanzania's Cultural Tourism Programme merely stated that the people in its area of activity are 'economic poor' without providing details. Comments from the Studienkreis researcher that evaluated the CTP corroborated the statements made by Chris Morris regarding the prevalence of droughts and food shortages in the country (http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html).

Nepal

Rabindra Nakarmi writes that in Nepal, the local people with whom the Planet Club interacts are poor in the sense that many barely have two meals a day, they lead a subsistence-level existence, and they have few alternatives to agricultural work for income. Maurice Adshead adds that while the Sherpa are well off socio-economically compared to other peoples in Nepal, by Western standards almost everyone in the country is poor.

Samoa

Steve Brown suggests that in Samoa, the 40,000 who dwell in Apia tend to be wealthier (i.e., have jobs, cars, a higher income, etc.) than those who live in rural areas. As a general rule, the further a community is from Apia, the poorer it will be due to difficulty accessing agricultural markets (the only real agricultural market on Upolu Island is in Apia, with another smaller market on Savaii Island). While there are no homeless or starving people in country, there is a low but detectable level of malnutrition among rural inhabitants. People have very little cash, and therefore have difficulty paying for school fees and supplies, imported food and clothing, and transportation costs (i.e., bus fares). Villagers will go to virtually any lengths to earn cash, including the deforestation of their environment to supply the timber industry. Perhaps 1 in 20 people in rural areas has a job (e.g., some own shops, or a bus, are teachers, etc.), but most survive from subsistence agriculture. Thus, 75% of Samoa's population, if not more, could be considered 'poor.' The economy depends on emigrant remittances and foreign aid to support a level of imports much greater than export earnings. Tourism has become the country's most important growth industry. The economy faltered

in 1994, as remittances and tourist earnings remained low.[17] Production of taro, the primary food crop, has dropped 97% since a fungal disease struck in 1993. The rapid growth in 1994 of the giant African snail population in Samoa is also threatening the country's basic food crops of vegetables and root crops. The communal orientation of the culture ensures to a certain extent that resources and responsibilities are shared *within* communities, and there seems to be very little stratification in rural villages.

Brazil

René Schärer asserts that in Prainha do Canto Verde, all the residents are poor. In a good year for the lobster fishery, a family of four can earn up to US$150 per month, while in a bad year the figure can be as low as US$80. He remarks that a monthly household income of US$250 and fish for consumption (estimated value of US$60 a month) would be considered 'non-poor' in the village and surrounding areas. Mr. Schärer adds:

> 'Most people are indebted to local small mercantile shop owners, who in turn are indebted to the merchants in the larger towns of Beberibe or Arcati, both about 35km away. Some people are poorer, especially widows with children, families with alcoholic fathers or sons who basically survive on the support of the family or from the fishermen who always give some fish to the very poor.' (Follow-up questionnaire data).

2.5 Prioritising PPT impacts

The quantitative estimates of the economic, socio-cultural, and environmental impacts of various initiatives compiled in tables 7 to 9 paint one portrait of the tourism industry's potentials. But these estimates may be misleading in the absence of contextual data. For example, Ecotour Samoa Ltd claims that 10,000 rural Samoans benefit from the company's initiatives for cultural or social enhancement, and that a greater number of poor people experience socio-cultural as opposed to environmental or economic benefits. However does this mean that social/cultural enhancement is the most significant (positive) impact the company has on the poor? The follow-up questionnaire/interviews asked respondents to rank the poverty impacts of their activities in terms of their perceived significance for the poor. The prioritisation of impacts listed in Table 12 differs markedly by respondent, and also with the quantitative estimates summarised in Tables 7 - 9. Due to the size of the sample, no pattern could be established between type of organisation and prioritisation of impacts.

To return to the example given earlier in this section, while Steve Brown contends that more rural Samoans benefit from the cultural impacts than from any other, in terms of its significance to the poor he considers it one of the least important (ranked 9th out of 11). 'More jobs' was among the most highly prioritised impacts, ranked first by two respondents (the Planet Club and the Amboseli Community Wildlife Tourism Project), and second by four respondents. Thus, six out of seven respondents cited 'more jobs' among the two most significant impacts

The second most widely cited impact was 'local sourcing.' For five of the seven respondents, it ranked as the third and fourth most significant impact of their initiatives. Interestingly, two respondents ranked 'other' as the most important effect of their activities. For Amigos de Painha do Canto Verde, 'land tenure' was the most significant (anticipated) outcome of tourism, while Steve

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[17] Tourism has become much more important to the Samoan economy since then. Steve Brown asserts that Samoa's 'marine/adventure operators on-island realise that they need a separate Association as we are now a multi-million dollar business based in the rural villages – all good news for the rural communities' (personal communication, 28 November 2000).

Brown of Ecotour Samoa Ltd declared that in Samoa it was 'more cash' for some villagers. Other impacts that have been ranked as most significant are 'funds to the community/charitable giving' (Muir's Tours), 'more casual labour' (IntoAfrica), and 'community empowerment' (Cultural Tourism Programme, Tanzania). The two impacts that were accorded the least importance were infrastructure development and improved use of natural resources/environment. The latter is especially surprising considering a) it was the only area in which all of the screening questionnaire respondents claimed to have an impact, and b) the ecotourism orientation of many of the enterprises. Some categories overlap, however, so that 'local sourcing' and 'new opportunities for small businesses and the informal sector' may have been used interchangeably by some respondents (eg Muir's Tours); 'charitable giving' may have contributed to a variety of projects, some of which might otherwise have been classified as 'infrastructure development.' It is worth noting that in the follow-up questionnaire or interviews, some respondents claimed to have an impact in areas that they had not identified when responding to the screening questionnaire. Presumably, the structure of the follow-ups prompted the respondents to give greater thought to the results of their activities or clarified the definitions/context of certain impact categories in the screening questionnaire. Finally, *what the respondents believe are their most significant impacts on poverty may not correspond to the priorities of diverse poor groups themselves*.

Table 12: Respondents' prioritisation of impacts

Organisation / Impact	Prainha do C. Verde	Planet Club	Muir's Tours	Cultural Tourism	Amboseli	Into Africa	Ecotour Samoa
More jobs	11	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**2**
New small bus./ informal sector opps	5	6	**4**	7	**2**	_	**4**
More casual labour	**2**	**4**	8	8	5	**1**	5
Local sourcing	7	5	**4**	**3**	**3**	**4**	**3**
Funds for community, charitable giving	8	**3**	**1**	9	8	**3**	11
Increased skills, education	**3**	7	7	**4**	**4**	_	6
Improved infra-structure	9	10	**3**	10	8	_	7
Cultural/social enhancement	10	8	6	5	8	**4**	9
Increased community empowerment	**4**	**2**	10	**1**	7	**4**	8
Improved use of nat. resources	6	9	9	6	6	**4**	10
Other	**1**	_	_	_	_	_	**1**

Note: Numbers in bold indicate the four most important impact areas cited by each respondent.

2.6 Overview of initiatives

The following sections provide an overview of economic, cultural, environmental, policy, and other initiatives that the respondents have implemented. Because the follow-up questionnaire required that respondents discuss only initiatives related to their four most significant impact areas, and because temporal constraints likewise prevented the exploration of all PPT initiatives implemented by the respondents during the interviews, the overview is not comprehensive.

2.6.1 Economic initiatives

Economic initiatives consist of actions that enhance the participation of the poor in the industry, whether via direct employment, as casual labour, or via local sourcing and economic linkages with small businesses and the informal sector. Economic initiatives also manifest themselves through educational programmes that provide the poor with the skills and knowledge they require to work in the tourism industry. All respondents claimed that they involve the poor directly in tourism activities. In some cases they were employed by the enterprises in question, in other cases the existence of those enterprises enabled the poor to develop or start their own tourism-related ventures.

Employment and wages

Based on their review of tourism research in five developing countries, Shah and Gupta (2000) suggest that 'local participation in the formal sector is highly variable, participation in the informal sector is often considerable and very important, while linkages are often critical in handicraft production but variable or limited in other sectors' (p28). From those observations, one might hypothesise that if tourism will generate economic opportunities for the poor, one will find more of these opportunities in the informal sector than in the formal sector (also see Dieke, 1994, p621). While the following analysis suggests that this hypothesis holds true in some cases, in others it does not. One must interpret the results with caution, however, as not all respondents share the same definitions of 'jobs' and 'casual labour.' Similarly, most of the data is impressionistic and incomplete. Finally, few respondents made distinctions between different 'poor groups,' although efforts were made to discuss how various initiatives affect women. The economic initiatives implemented by the respondents are summarised in Table 13.

Table 13 Economic initiatives implemented by respondents

Organisation	Jobs	Casual labour	Opportunities for the informal sector and small businesses	Local sourcing	Training/Education
Private companies					
IntoAfrica UK Ltd	• 1 permanent full-time employee in Nairobi • 8-10 part-time workers roughly = 3 full time posts • Tanzania has 2 full-time posts and 8-10 part-time posts = approx 3 full-time jobs • All jobs go to native Africans with 'Western' skills, none of whom really qualify as poor	• Kenya and Tanzania each hire 60-100 (approx 5-10 full-time posts); casual labourers (porters, local guides, etc.) over the year • 2 porters per client • most casual labourers are poor • fewer than 20% of opportunities go to women • women paid directly for dance performances	• tourists brought to local markets to buy jewellery, souvenirs • Beneficiaries difficult to estimate, but approx. 90% of beneficiaries are poor	• 95% of food (and charcoal for cooking) purchased from local markets	• on the job training
Ecotour Samoa Ltd	• approx. 100 jobs in 20 villages (expected to double in the next 12 months) • approx. even split between men and women	• 50	• 30	approx. 90% of food on 7-day ecotours and materials to construct tourist accommodation are locally sourced	• 150 beneficiaries • hands-on training for local guides by overseas volunteers
Charities, local/national NGOs, communities					
ACWTP	• 'hundreds' of jobs in various businesses (80% estimated to be taken up by poor people)	• 'many'	• 'many,' but 'small minority' compared to those with tourism jobs • few 'small enterprise people' are poor	• encourages developers to buy food supplies from local farmers • developers keen if good quality provisions	• mobile video education team on economic potential of wildlife tourism • applied for funding for small training college
CTP	• 5 at coordination office in Arusha • approx. 50 across 17 modules • opportunities to both men and women	• approx. 200 across 17 modules	• more opportunities, but no details or quantitative estimates	• food and supplies presumably are mostly if not totally sourced locally	• guide training provided by CTP at private school in Arusha (organised by SNV)

(Amigos de) Prainha do Canto Verde, Instituto Terramar	• 2 jobs in tourism co-op	• 30 (12 cooks, 8 members of 'coffee break group,' 5 guides, and 5 working in guesthouses/ restaurants) • other related opportunities in construction, trash collection	• 10 small businesses (restaurants, guesthouses, etc.) • 10 small handicraft producers	• school garden and 100 fishermen supply food for tourists	• many tourism-related courses offered by community/NGOs, gov. agencies, universities • several hundred participants, both poor and very poor
Muir's Tours	• 1 in Kathmandu	• 50-60 opportunities a year • mostly taken up by men	• see local sourcing	• rely on local sourcing for almost everything	• computer training offered by NKF

IntoAfrica UK Ltd provides jobs and casual labour for natives of Kenya and Tanzania. As a matter of fact, Chris Morris(the owner) is the only non-African in the company. The outcome of IntoAfrica UK Ltd's economic initiatives conform to the pattern hypothesised above. Chris Morris calculates the jobs and casual labour his company has provided in the following way:

> 'I (IntoAfrica UK Ltd) employ 1 guy permanently in Nairobi. IntoAfrica Kenya employs 8-10 part timers which maybe take up 3 full time posts. Then there are loads of casual workers, porters, local guides, etc., maybe 60-100 over a year but equivalent to about 5-8 full time posts.
>
> IntoAfrica Tanzania has a woman director (Emmy Moshi, woman office receptionist and computer person, two or three casual women preparing packed lunches etc.), two full time posts and about 0.5 part time [i.e., the other half]. IntoAfrica Tanzania employs 8-10 part timers which maybe make up 3 full time posts. Then, like Kenya, there are loads of casual workers, porters, local guides, etc., maybe 60-100 different ones over a year but again equivalent to about 5-10 full time posts.' (Personal correspondence, 30 November 2000).

Among the part-time employees are guides, drivers, and cooks. All of the jobs are held by Africans with 'Western skills,' none of whom really qualify as poor according to Mr. Morris. In terms of casual labour, IntoAfrica have 2 porters per client, and between January and November 2000, the company had approximately 150 clients. The vast majority of the porters and other casual labourers are poor, but less than 20% of the opportunities go to women.[18] It is worth noting that casual labour does not always go to the same people, and that most casual labourers rely on the extra income from tourism to supplement other livelihoods.[19]

While the data is more sketchy from the ACWTP, the employment patterns they report differ significantly from those reported by IntoAfrica (and CTP), even though they operate in the same general area. The ACWTP does not itself employ people in the tourism industry. Rather, they act as brokers between tourism developers and local communities, so the employment generated by their activities is with other businesses. In the screening questionnaire, David Lovatt Smith indicated that the ACWTP has provided hundreds of jobs in tourism in the Amboseli region. In the follow-up questionnaire, he estimated that 80% of the all people employed in Amboseli area tourism developments are poor (but he concedes that he has no hard facts to go on). Mr. Smith reports that the creation of jobs for the poor has been more significant than the provision of casual labour or support for small businesses:

> 'In our opinion the poor (and we mean the starving at this juncture) are the ones whose immediate relatives are perfectly employable but who have no work locally [i.e., they have no elite ties]. The ones who are potential business entrepreneurs are not so important. They will use their initiative for some business sooner or later, and are probably on 'the committee' anyway! They are in the small minority. Where we have been successful in creating developments, the employees in the development and their families have been the most affected by supplementing their income from livestock with their monthly salaries. The self-

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[18] IntoAfrica pay women directly for their traditional dance performances.

[19] That observation is consistent with the findings of other studies (e.g., Ashley, 2000). As Shah and Gupta (2000) remark, 'sometimes, the tourist season coincides with the lean season, when the availability of other income opportunities is low' (p30). Nevertheless, it is not always clear what some labourers do when they are not working in tourism. Peter U.C. Dieke (1994, p623) comments that in The Gambia, the low tourist period corresponds with the rainy season (during which most intensive farming activity takes place), but that indigenous hotel workers do not return to farm work during that period. How they support themselves in the off-season is unknown.

employed and the small enterprise people are not a significant number.' (Follow-up questionnaire data).[20]

Wages from employment are especially significant because most of the funds from tourism development that should be redistributed throughout the community are appropriated by the elites:

'… the sums earned by these 'poor' people through employment is less than 50% of the total sums earned from the development i.e. including rent and bednight fees which (should be divided amongst the communities but which actually) go to the 'elite' members of society which have managed to secure a position on 'the committee'! Rent and bednight fees work out at around 70% of the total income from the development, the rest being employment and sale of crafts. (We are trying to persuade the developer to pay over the going rate in salaries and less for bednight fees).

The wage packet of one person is known to benefit **at least** ten others and that is why we ensure the contract with the developers includes a clause making it obligatory for the developer to employ only local people in the development.' (Follow-up questionnaire data, emphasis in original).

What did not transpire in interviews with Chris Morris or in David Lovatt Smith's written response is that the employment of native Kenyan personnel and the promotion of local sourcing have been cornerstones of Kenyan tourism policy since 1988.

The policy includes the following points:

'Kenyans must be employed on a preferential basis, with the exception of the most senior personnel, whom the investor may appoint as desired. Hotels and lodges are required to keep imported foodstuffs to a minimum, using Kenyan products whenever possible.' (Olindo, 1991/1997, p94)

The question whether IntoAfrica and ACWTP's employment for poor Kenyans and promotion of local sourcing reflect a genuine commitment to PPT principles or mere adherence to policy guidelines is irrelevant. The bottom line is that they do provide employment and other economic opportunities for the poor.[21] Indeed, the extent to which the Kenyan government is able to enforce that policy is questionable. Ultimately, the impact of the Kenyan government's tourism policy on poverty levels is worthy of investigation. However, the allegations of official corruption that were raised by both respondents who operate in Kenya and by other sources do call its pro-poor potential into question (see section 2.7).

The different labour patterns reported by IntoAfrica and the ACWTP could be attributed to the limitations of the methodology and data, or to the different roles of these enterprises (i.e., private company vs. NGO). Perhaps NGOs are more likely to create jobs (rather than casual labour) for the poor in tourism than are private companies? The results reported by CTP, Muir's Tours, Prainha do Canto Verde, and Ecotour Samoa Ltd suggest that this view may be too simplistic. Indeed, in these case studies there is no relationship between organisation type and employment patterns.

The CTP employs five people at its central coordinating office in Arusha (http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html), but screening questionnaire

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[20] Nevertheless, in the screening questionnaire he indicated that 'many' benefit from casual labour and new opportunities for the informal sector and small businesses.
[21] As will be illustrated further in this report, IntoAfrica engages in a number of other PPT initiatives that take it well beyond the minimum requirements required by government policy.

results indicate that as many as 50 people may have tourism jobs throughout the 17 existing modules, while another 200 may benefit from casual labour opportunities. Due to the seasonality of tourism in Tanzania, most tourism jobs generated by the CTP are temporary, and income from those jobs supplement income gained from subsistence, including cattle raising and agriculture (http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html). Ultimately, the CTP is an initiative that aims to improve the economic conditions and living standards of small (mostly with a population lower than 5,000 inhabitants) rural Maasai villages in Tanzania, and it is on that basis that the CTP has received financial support from SNV.

Muir's Tours currently provides approximately 50-60 casual labour opportunities a year in Nepal. These are distributed between 20 and 30 people, all of whom are considered poor. Few of the opportunities go to women, unless the client group consists primarily of women, in which case Muir's Tours insists that Nepali women be part of the expedition. So far, Muir's Tours has only provided one person in Nepal with a job - their in-country representative (the Nepal Kingdom Foundation employs two people on a full-time basis). While the number of new opportunities Muir's Tours generates for the informal sector and small businesses depends on market conditions, the organisation is committed to local sourcing (see below).

In Prainha do Canto Verde, the community's tourism project 'employs only two people directly, but creates additional income and part-time employment in local tourism. The project also creates employment in construction and trash collection for poor labourers' (follow-up questionnaire data). Tourism has provided the following opportunities in the community:

- Jobs: 2 young people work for the Tourism Cooperative
- Casual labour: 5 tourist guides
                   12 chefs who cater to tourist groups
                   8 members of a 'coffee break group' who cater to meetings and conferences and clean meeting rooms
                   5 people who work in guesthouses and restaurants
- New opportunities for the informal sector and small businesses:
                   10 businesses (e.g., restaurants and inns)
                   10 small handicraft producers sell products to the community tourism shop

All the beneficiaries are poor (some of the casual labourers are 'very poor').

Ecotour Samoa Ltd has reportedly generated 100 jobs in tourism throughout Samoa's twenty or so eco-villages, as well as 50 casual labour opportunities and 30 new opportunities in small businesses and the informal sector. Steve Brown anticipates that the number of jobs will double in the next twelve months. It is noteworthy that Dr. Brown stated that casual labour is unpaid. Also, the tourism jobs in which some Samoans engage would be considered casual labour by other observers. Among men, tourism jobs include building/constructing guest huts, guiding, fishing, and cooking. Among women, jobs include cooking and cleaning.[22] What makes these activities 'jobs' in Samoa, however, is that they are components of family-run enterprises and their primary livelihood activity. Ecotourism has become the primary income and livelihood source for several families since the sharp decline of taro exports in 1993. Some villagers are more active than others in ecotourism, and they provide jobs to other family members and community residents as opportunities arise. While Ecotour Samoa has been instrumental in establishing the country's eco-villages, the jobs have been provided indirectly by the company. Furthermore, the eco-villages do not depend entirely on Ecotour Samoa for their clientele.

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[22] Women's community groups also look after 'legendary sites,' act as interpreters, collect entrance fees, etc.

Steve Brown stresses that the most significant economic benefit generated for the poor in rural Samoa is an increase in the cash income of some families. Prior to the promotion of ecotourism, the gross annual income of rural villages was reportedly virtually nil due to the collapse of the taro export market. Since Ecotour Samoa initiated its operations six years ago, a number of eco-villages have earned impressive gross annual incomes. Steve Brown produced the following figures:

- 1 village earns a gross annual income of US$200,000
- 2 villages earn a gross annual income of US$100,000
- 3-4 villages earn a gross annual income of US$50,000
- 6 villages earn a gross annual income of US$20-30,000
- The remaining eco-villages earn a gross annual income of US$5-10,000

Ultimately, individual families (rather than entire communities) earn most of the income generated by tourism.

Local sourcing
Both the private companies and the community groups/local NGOs in this study promote local sourcing. IntoAfrica, Ecotour Samoa and Muir's Tours are particularly active in that domain. IntoAfrica's Tanzanian and Kenyan partners purchase 95% of their food, as well as charcoal for cooking, from local markets, which are generally run by poor merchants. Clients are taken to rural community markets and are encouraged to buy jewellery and souvenirs from the poor in order to bypass middlemen. Chris Morris stated that he sources locally because he wants to see economic benefits reach as many of the people from the communities IntoAfrica's clients visit as possible. He contends that he has had few disincentives for buying locally. Health reasons could have been a concern with the food they purchase, but trained IntoAfrica staff do most of the cooking themselves, and there have not been any problems so far. ACWTP encourages developers to purchase food supplies from local farmers, which they are willing to do if the quality is satisfactory.

Ecotour Samoa insists that villagers provide tourists *only* with local foods (no imports) on their 7-day ecotours, and that beachside huts should be built *strictly with local materials* (i.e., no tin roofs, glass, or paint) and by traditional methods. Thus, local sources produce upwards of 90% of the food consumed by visitors and the accommodation. Ecotour Samoa insists that villagers respect these requests out of a desire to preserve the 'authenticity' of their culture, for the sake of both villagers and tourists. The company introduces tourists to local farmers, fishermen, and women's committees, and they acquire food and goods. Ecotour Samoa wants the poor to maximise the profits that they can earn from tourism. In Steve Brown's words, 'tourism brings markets to the villagers, instead of the villagers having to go to the markets.' The company's emphasis on the preservation of cultural 'authenticity' is discussed in the next section.

Muir's Tours also relies almost exclusively on local sourcing. Nothing has deterred them from sourcing locally in Nepal, except for the occasional local shortage. Maurice Adshead states that these shortages can be avoided by planning ahead. If a community is informed in advance of the needs of a trekking party, they usually will have the goods available.

In Prainha do Canto Verde, René Schärer notes that 'local sourcing is working and will increase as demand rises due to additional tourism' (follow-up questionnaire data). Currently, 100 fishermen supply the food consumed by tourists, the community tourism shop sells the handicrafts produced by local residents, and the school garden supplies vegetables.

Training

Several respondents stated that they promote training or educational programmes in tourism for the poor. In some cases, the training is formal, while in others it is more informal. Some of the respondents are directly responsible for training the poor, while others rely on external assistance. Ecotour Samoa promotes an informal training system that depends on volunteers from outside the communities. According to the company's web page :

> 'Marketing efforts are encouraging educational tourism activities as well as Eco-Researcher and Eco-Volunteer activities, all designed to help train selected ecotourism guides within the 20 or more Eco-Villages. This is primarily a hands-on training programme and relies on two things: having relevant environmental development projects as well as frequent visitation by both overseas or local visitors . . . As an Eco-Volunteer . . . you can also help train local ecotourism guides by simply explaining the needs of overseas visitors, and ways in which to meet those needs.'

Ecotour Samoa screening questionnaire results suggest that 150 Samoans have benefited from this form of training.

CTP provides direct training (organised by SNV) for its potential guides. The latter are selected by 'module coordinators,' and they must possess a good knowledge of English, trustworthiness and reliability. Candidates who meet those requirements follow several days of instruction in a private school in Arusha. CTP pays for the training costs, but it does not compensate for the working days that the candidate has lost while undergoing training. Thus, only those who are truly dedicated to the programme will enrol in the course. One commentator notes that while the quality of the CTP guides he dealt with was remarkably high, the Training Manual of the Professional Tour Guide School in Arusha 'is a very modest paper and definitely not good enough to prepare local people who have never so far been involved in tourism for their future tasks' (http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html). Evidently, the CTP does not reach the absolute poorest, since few of them have the English skills required for the training programme.

René Schärer writes that in Prainha do Canto Verde, 'over the last three years a lot of courses have been carried out to prepare adults and adolescents for tourism and to raise awareness of the negative impacts reaching more than 100 people' (follow-up questionnaire data). Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde coordinates the following courses for the community:

Table 14 Tourism courses in Prainha do Canto Verde, by number of poor and very poor people enrolled and service provider

Courses	No of courses	Participants (poor & very poor)	Providing course
Cooking	2	30	Community/NGO
Hospitality	1	24	Community/NGO
Ecotrails	3	30	University
Tourism guides	3	30	University
Various handicrafts	5	100	Community, government agency
Cooperativism	6	25	University
Associativism	1	30	NGO
Sexuality and drugs	4	120	NGO
English	1	30	Government agency
Small business admin.	1	10	Small business assoc.

Source: René Schärer, follow-up questionnaire data.

The courses are open to the residents of Prainha do Canto Verde as well as to members of neighbouring communities. The courses are funded through the ecotourism project's innovative stakeholder programme, and also through registration fees. Similarly to CTP, Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde note that free courses are of little value because everyone turns up just because the sessions are free, and not out of a strong commitment. Participants in the courses are asked to contribute with a symbolic amount - US$5-10 per course for community members with a US$6 annual membership fee, and somewhat higher fees for non-members. Additionally, revenue from tourism supports education for 200 school age children in the community.

IntoAfrica provides on-the-job training for staff (e.g., e-mail, computer skills and customer service for office staff, and cooking, guiding, etc., for field staff). ACWTP has applied for funding to establish a small training college 'where local men and women can learn the basic skills required for hotel work' (David Lovatt Smith, follow-up questionnaire data). Maurice Adshead reports that in Nepal, the Nepal Kingdom Foundation is active in computer training, but neither the charity nor Muir's Tours currently provide education or training in the hospitality industry. Rabindra Nakarmi notes that some Nepali villagers are taught basic English and the cooking skills required to meet the needs of foreign tourists, but NGOs other than the Planet Club provide that instruction.

All respondents agree that tourism ventures have made significant positive impacts to the living standards of the poor in the areas where they operate. Some are now 'less poor' than they were in the period preceding tourism, and in some cases a few individuals have 'escaped poverty' altogether. Chris Morris states that some people who start as porters can work their way up to guide status, and can earn a decent living from the latter occupation. The connections that one local guide made via his occupation enabled him to pursue a higher education in the UK. Wealthy English clients and their friends paid his tuition, living expenses, and airfare so that he could undertake a one-year MSc course at the University of Kent. It is unlikely that he would have been able to develop that connection if he had not been employed in the tourism industry. David Lovatt Smith writes that in Kenya, 'only those corrupt enough to be on 'the committee' or the skilled workers in the hotels [are no longer poor]. The ordinary employees are no longer 'very poor' – depending on how many relatives amongst whom they have to distribute their salary!' (Follow-up questionnaire data). In Tanzania, guides and those who provide accommodation in the CTP modules have made significant supplementary earnings
(http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html).

Likewise, Steve Brown asserts that those rural Samoan families that are committed to community ecotourism do very well, and the industry has allowed some of them to move out of poverty or at the very least to decrease their dependency on emigrant remittances. In Prainha do Canto Verde, René Schärer asserts that 'an estimated 70 people have earned additional income from tourism and today consider themselves [and their families] less poor and also see opportunities for the future' (follow-up questionnaire data). Evidently, this project's methodology makes it impossible to determine accurately the extent to which the standards of living of the poor have improved with the introduction of tourism to their locales.

2.6.2 Socio-cultural initiatives

Socio-cultural initiatives aim to minimise the negative impacts that tourism can have on the social fabric of local communities, and to preserve their physical heritage (e.g., temples, monuments, etc.). Table 15 summarises the socio-cultural initiatives that the respondents pursue.

Despite all respondents reporting a beneficial impact in terms of socio-cultural enhancement in the follow-up questionnaire and 'working with the poor to address the negative cultural impacts of

tourism' being the most widely cited initiative in the screening questionnaire, there are few examples of concrete initiatives in this area. All organisations, however, pursue a participatory approach to tourism planning, which supposedly increases the cultural sensitivity of their activities.

Table 15 Socio-cultural initiatives implemented by respondents

Organisation	Initiatives
Private companies	
IntoAfrica	• Participatory approach to tourism activities and development projects in communities
Ecotour Samoa	• 'cultural conservation projects' (no details given) • insist that clients conform with all local norms • insist that villagers maintain 'cultural authenticity' • all tours done in consultation with community leaders
Charities, communities, and local/national NGOs	
ACWTP	• tourism plans developed in consultation with community leaders
CTP	• participatory approach to tourism planning • guides explain to tourists when photography is acceptable
Muir's Tours	• participatory approach to tourism planning
(Amigos de) Prainha do Canto Verde	• various 'awareness courses' have prevented any negative cultural impacts of tourism from affecting the community • participatory approach to tourism planning • 150 residents participate actively in 'cultural events'

While the topic was not explored in detail with Steve Brown, his response to the preliminary screening questionnaire suggests that tourism has brought cultural benefits to 10,000 villagers in Samoa. 'Cultural conservation' projects are mentioned on Ecotour Somoa's web site (http://www.ecotoursamoa.com), but none are described in detail. The villagers presumably benefit from Ecotour Samoa's insistence that villagers maintain their 'cultural authenticity.' The company's clients are expected to conform to all aspects of local culture, including adopting local dress, going to church with the locals if they are in a village on a Sunday, etc. Likewise, the company insists that the villagers use only traditional techniques and locally available materials when designing accommodation for visitors. Yet many questions emerge from that approach to cultural enhancement. On the one hand, it is quite possible that the villagers voluntarily and enthusiastically meet the demands of Ecotour Samoa, and that the promotion of local identity may indeed instil pride while simultaneously serving as a useful marketing tool for the company. On the other hand, one wonders to what extent Samoan culture is being 'fossilised' and commodified, and the extent to which some villagers may find this artificial adherence to 'tradition' coercive and stifling. Do rural Samoans benefit equally from Ecotour Samoa 'cultural initiative,' or do the benefits accrue disproportionately to the company? As Ecotour Samoa develops its tours in consultation with village chiefs and only on the terms that the latter find acceptable to their communities, adherence to traditional practices is reportedly entirely voluntary.

The ACWTP and IntoAfrica also rely on a participatory approach to conduct their activities. David Lovatt Smith writes:

'We are very sensitive indeed to the impacts that tourism can bring on this rural community. In consultation with the leaders, we therefore set out carefully and unequivocally the parameters within which the developers and tour operators communicate with the community

at large, and the ways in which the all-important cultural exchanges are carried out between the tourist clientele and the communities.' (Follow-up questionnaire data).

The main concern that emerges from consultations with community leaders, especially in areas where social stratification is quite pronounced or elite corruption is common, is the extent to which leaders are truly concerned with the socio-cultural, environmental and economic impacts that tourism might have on their people, particularly the poor. In some cases, one might justifiably suspect that leaders have little sympathy for the well-being of the poor, and they may assure incoming tour operators that the entire community approves of the operations when this might not be true. While the participatory 'initiatives' constitute good practice in theory, they may have unintended adverse effects in practice (see section 2.7.2 for an example relating to the Maasai).

René Schärer declares that Prainha do Canto Verde has experienced no negative cultural impacts because of the type of tourism that the community promotes and the 'precautions' it has taken. Indeed, 'to the contrary there is an increased awareness among residents that they want to go a different way than other well-known resorts where the social and cultural fabric has been destroyed' (follow-up questionnaire data). Both adults and children have taken a number of tourism-related courses, including workshops on the dangers of drugs and child prostitution. The community has witnessed the fate of the nearby fishing village of Canoa Quebrada, 'whose rise to tourist fame has meant that the local fishers scarcely retain any land title, the village has deteriorated into a 'broadway' jumble of restaurants and taverns, and drugs and sex tourism are not unknown' (http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99brasilien.html). The entire community of Prainha do Canto Verde participates in the planning and execution of the village's tourism policy. Also, 150 residents participate actively in 'cultural events' (no details obtained), and they apparently reap the greatest cultural benefits (according to the results reported in both questionnaires).[23]

While some populations may be concerned about tourism's negative cultural impacts, others downplay its threat:

'Who do the tourist think they are? We have had the German colonialists here, the English and we have the Tanzanian government. All of them have tried to change us. But all attempts have failed. Why do you believe that the tourists will be more successful?' (A Maasai person, quoted in http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html).

In the absence of independent assessments, 'hard' data, and the input of the poor themselves, it is difficult to assess exactly how successful each of the above cultural initiatives has been, and what their respective strengths and weaknesses are.

2.6.3 Environmental initiatives

Environmental initiatives aim to minimise the environmental damage caused by tourism. The initiatives that the respondents have undertaken are summarised in Table 16. Ecotour Samoa's environmental initiatives benefit 4,000 villagers, who are primarily located in inland villages and coastal communities where intact forests remain. The company's environmental initiatives include environmental awareness education, garbage collection, the introduction of waterless and non-electrical compost toilets. They also include the creation of a 'food forest' - 'a permaculture technique of growing all different food plants together in one expanding ecosystem' (Ecotour Samoa web site). One of the latter projects is already running on Manano Island at the Vaotuua

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[23] Likewise, CTP modules in Tanzania only become established after communities reach a consensus and agree to implement the tourism programme.

Beach Resort. The plant species involved in the project contribute to the general level of nutritional intake among Samoans, since the 'average rural Samoan' consumes insufficient quantities of fruits and vegetables, and also improves soil fertility. Samoa's flora and fauna are assets for tourism which can produce longer term benefits than the immediate harvesting and sale of timber and other natural resources. Thus, the existence of the company itself helps to preserve the environment for Samoa's population while also providing rural villagers with a new income source. Nevertheless, some inland villagers currently feel that the economic benefits of tourism have not compensated for the losses they currently are experiencing due to 'locking-up' their land and resources. Thus, while arguably beneficial in the long run, some of Ecotour Samoa's environmental initiatives (i.e., substituting ecotourism for logging) conflict with the immediate needs of certain communities.

Table 16: Environmental initiatives implemented by respondents

Organisation	Initiative
Private companies	
IntoAfrica	• not explored
Ecotour Samoa	• environmental awareness education
	• garbage collection
	• introduction of waterless and non-electrical compost toilets
	• creation of a 'food forest'
	• ecotourism as alternative to timber felling
	• 4,000 direct beneficiaries
Charities, community groups, and local/national NGOs	
ACWTP	• tourism as strategy for wildlife conservation
Cultural Tourism Programme	• none mentioned
Muir's Tours	• reforestation programmes
	• environmental education
(Amigos de) Prainha do Canto Verde, Instituto Terramar	• environmental education
	• garbage collection and disposal system
	• compost toilets and solar panels
	• campaign against predatory fishing practices
	• Turtle Protection Group

Tourism is an integral part of village life in Prainha do Canto Verde, and the entire community is committed to an environmentally sustainable lifestyle. Environmental education is taught in the classrooms, the community has developed a garbage collection and disposal system, it is experimenting with compost toilets and solar panels, and it has waged a war against predatory fishing practices and banned the catch of immature spiny lobster since 1993. Mr. Schärer states that the demands for food generated by tourism have a negligible impact on fisheries, especially in comparison with the predatory practices that are employed to supply export markets. A group of children have formed a Turtle Protection Group, who encourage the local fishermen to protect the hawksbill turtles that occasionally nest near the community. 30% of the revenue from tourism goes to the community, part of which goes to the solidarity and education fund which finances a host of programmes including some of the efforts listed above. The entire village (population 1,100) benefits from the environmental initiatives, precisely because they were initiated by local villagers via consultations with and supported by their fellow residents.

Muir's Tours (via NKF) educates people in remote areas of Nepal about environmental sustainability and the 'three Rs' (reduce, reuse, recycle). They are also active in reforestation programmes.

David Lovatt Smith replied that ACWTP's main purpose 'is to secure the wildlife and to show the people how to make use of it. It is their only means of a second income. Indeed, we realise and teach them that their very salvation is linked to the wildlife and the enormous benefits it could bring them' (follow-up questionnaire data). Yet the non-equitable redistribution of the profits from tourism among Maasai communities in Kenya breeds discontent among some of the poor who have sacrificed their access to land for the establishment of wildlife sanctuaries (see section 2.7.2). Ultimately, the same limitations on data and the availability of independent assessments and input from poor people prevent us from drawing firm conclusions about the positive and negative impacts of the environmental initiatives.

2.6.4 Policy initiatives

None of the respondents are directly involved in tourism policy or regulation, therefore they have not directly increased the participation of the poor in the policy process. Ecotour Samoa assists networking between villages, visitors, government departments, aid agencies, regional environmental/development agencies, as well as various tourism industry bodies. The company also has had input into Samoa's latest 10-year National Tourism Plan, which included input from other stakeholders, including rural villages, but most of that input was oriented toward conservation and environmental issues. IntoAfrica is only indirectly involved in the policy process. The company has collaborated with SNV on the promotion of the CTP in Tanzania. Otherwise, it attempts to influence policy by setting an example, and informal discussions with contacts on diverse councils. David Lovatt Smith remarks that due to hierarchical power relations in Maasai communities, Maasai leaders jealously guard their positions and have no desire to give the poor any input into policy matters. Like IntoAfrica, Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde seeks to influence tourism policy 'through the example of our success with presentations at seminars and conventions in universities and local government events' (René Schärer, follow-up questionnaire data). Mr. Schärer adds: 'through the NGO Instituto Terramar we carry the example to over 50 communities in the state of Ceará alone and are preparing to discuss the possibility of future community tourism projects in their villages' (follow-up questionnaire data). Thus, Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde and Instituto Terramar attempts to give poor communities a major role in tourism planning.

2.6.5 Other initiatives and impacts

The respondents also contribute to poverty reduction through other initiatives, which are briefly discussed below.

- **Empowerment**

Chris Morris claims that IntoAfrica contributes to the empowerment of Maasai women by paying them directly for their services and via contributions to the Narok Women's Lobby Group. In Samoa, ecotourism has contributed to the empowerment of individuals by reducing their dependence on emigrant remittances, and by respecting the terms that communities have established for tourism. Likewise, tourism has helped the residents of Prainha do Canto Verde to maintain their independence, thereby increasing community self-esteem. While CTP cited increased community empowerment as the most significant outcome of tourism, it did not elaborate on how this has been achieved. Muir's Tours only conduct its operations after the agreement of the communities involved has been secured. Communities are empowered by their position of authority in the development

process and also by the educational opportunities that related projects bring. Interestingly, Muir's Tours does not seek out communities that could use their assistance. Instead, other NGOs refer communities to Muir's Tours.

- **Land tenure**

In many ways, land tenure contributes to community empowerment. According to René Schärer, land tenure is the most significant (anticipated) tourism outcome for the residents of Prainha do Canto Verde. The community has been battling against a real estate company for 20 years, the case is in the court and the decision is taking a long time to emerge. The Community Tourism Project has strengthened the resolve of the people and especially the young to go all the way in this fight. It has also given the community a higher public profile, both in Brazil and internationally so that it is almost unthinkable that they can lose the case. In the end all the 1,100 inhabitants will benefit by having their land tenure secured (follow-up questionnaire data).

Yet in some cases, tourism exacerbates conflicts over land use. Those conflicts will be discussed later in Section 2.7.

- **Charitable giving/funds for the community/infrastructure development**

These three initiatives are discussed together, if only because the latter often is dependent on the former two. For Muir's Tours charitable giving is the main purpose of its operations, and the organisation makes no profit from its tours. As the trading arm of the NKF, it raises funds for education, health, preservation and conservation projects, among other things. Some of the charity's current projects include establishing water filtration systems in various villages, and supplying schools with books and other teaching materials in underprivileged areas of Nepal. Muir's Tours/NKF finished constructing a school in the village of Panglang in the summer of 2000. More schools and community health centres are planned for the Bhote Kosi area near the Tibetan border. In the area south of Jiri, the absence of roads has prevented villagers from reaping the benefits that increased trade opportunities have brought to neighbouring regions. Muir's Tours/NKF recently participated in the construction of a road at the request of local communities in the area, which benefits 300-400 people.

In addition to NKF, Muir's Tours also supports the following charities and NGOs 'that improve the environment and the lives of the poor of many areas of the world': Tourism Concern, Survival International, World Wide Fund for Nature, The John Muir Trust, The Central Tibetan Government (in India), and American Indian Heritage Foundation (http://www.nkf-mt.org.uk/about_us.htm). Because reliance on one destination is very risky and it can limit the amount of funds that can be raised, Muir's Tours has expanded its operations beyond Nepal. Other areas of operation include Thailand (its second most popular destination), the Western US (specialist trekking and cultural tourism on Indian reservations), Ecuador, and Peru, among others. Over the past year, Muir's Tours has sent between 150 and 200 clients on its tours, 60-65% of whom go to Nepal. Although the bulk of tour revenues are spent on projects in the destination country (in collaboration with other charities and NGOs), a small percentage of all operations always goes back to Nepal.

IntoAfrica contributes funds to communities and supports development projects in the following ways:

- Village camps: US$10 per client per night;
- Maasai Development Association, Kenya ('works to enable local people to participate fully in political, economic, and social development decisions with respect for their culture's values'): US$5 per client per visit to projects;

- Barabaig Community, Tanzania (marginalised group of semi-nomadic pastoralists): US$20 per client per visit, which provides direct funding for community efforts to run a local school and establish legal claims to traditional lands;
- Morijo Primary School, Loita Hills, Kenya: US$5 per client per visit/night have paid for the construction of the school and support for a teacher;
- Narok Women's Lobby Group, Kenya: US$5 per client per visit.[24]

Donations also provide food, school materials and uniforms. The company's approach to giving has recently changed due to the misallocation of funds by local councils. The company used to pay funds publicly to a group of community elders for agreed upon projects. Thus, everyone in the community knew how much had been given, to whom, and for what purpose. Yet due to the misallocation of funds, IntoAfrica tries to spread the funds further in the community, especially among women. Many charitable donations now go straight to women or school teachers. Still, this method does not always prevent some men from taking the income out of women's hands.

A village development fee is included in CTP's activities in Tanzania, which represents approximately 10% of the tour price. That fund then subsidises or finances communal endeavours, part of which benefits the poorest who would otherwise receive no benefits from tourism:

> 'In Longido a cattle dip was established. With this dip it is expected to keep the cattle of the settlement free from parasites. In Ng'iresi a small house was built to serve as an additional class room; from 2000 onwards the children of widows will be sponsored so that they can afford to attend school. The crudely stamped mud floors of the classrooms in Mulala have been concreted, the still missing windows and doors will be installed shortly. In the Usambara Mountains a small school building was constructed so that the farmers' children are also able to attend primary school. In other locations roads have been repaired, a health clinic is financed, teaching materials have been purchased with the aim of creating an environmental awareness among pupils.'
> (http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html)

Ecotour Samoa has provided the 20 plus eco-villages with potable water tanks that benefit both tourists and local residents. Also, most youths in rural Samoa have very little money and few options for entertaining themselves, and there is a very high suicide rate among them. Proceeds from each 7-day ecotour go to the development of an eco-camp for youths (both local and from overseas), which will help them get involved in tourism, environmental education, and internet/computer education. Steve Brown expects the camp to be running by 2002, and it should provide employment for one family.

René Schärer writes that in Prainha do Canto Verde:

> '70% of the tourism revenue goes to a wide variety of service providers, while 30% goes to the community as a service provider in the form of rental of community-owned infrastructure including two guesthouses, souvenir shop and meeting rooms of the community and the local school, as well as the solidarity and education fund. This fund is for community services, professional courses, adult courses and emergency help for needy families (not used so far). A community council suggests how this fund should be applied at the annual meeting of the

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[24]The NWLG is a 'voluntary association of Maasai women. Their aim is to sensitise Maasai communities to the importance of education for their girl children, who, because of oppressive cultural practices and a traditionally inferior social position receive little or no formal education. The NWLG is an association of parents, teachers, councillors, an inspector of schools and other stakeholders. They operate educational awareness rallies in rural areas and work through schools, chiefs, and local councils to promote their work' (http://www.intoafrica.co.uk).

cooperative. About 12% of the economic turnover comes from tourism (it probably was almost nil 5 years ago and is likely to climb to 20% in another 5 years) [and] in addition one would have to include the manufacture of handicraft which adds another 8%, some of this production is not sold in the village and some of it is exported (about US$5,000 a year).' (Personal correspondence, 8 December 2000).

Mr. Schärer estimates that in 1999 tourism generated about US$2000 for the community organisation, and he anticipates an increase of 50% for 2000. Tourists donated an additional R$1,000.00 to the community in 1999. The community organisation has used the funds for administration costs, community transport, waste removal, health projects, legal fees related to their land dispute, and other things. In the near future, 20% of the profits will go to the community's social and educational fund (follow-up questionnaire data).

2.7 Challenges

The follow-up questionnaire and interviews identified a number of challenges that facing PPT. These include barriers that impede the participation of the poor in tourism activities, as well as factors that restrict the poverty reduction potential of the initiatives. While a distinction is made between the challenges faced by the poor and those faced by specific organisations, in reality challenges to the latter frequently affect the former, and vice versa.

2.7.1 Challenges for the poor

- **Lack of education**

Maurice Adshead asserts that the poor often are not accustomed to the expectations and needs of foreign tourists. This limits the participation of the poor in the industry. Chris Morris concurs with those observations, citing lack of education and ('Western') skills as the main obstacles that inhibit the greater participation of the poor in tourism in Kenya and Tanzania. David Lovatt Smith specifies that the Maasai have little understanding of Western trading practices and of the potential economic revenue that wildlife preservation could generate for their communities.

- **Lack of marketable assets**

Steve Brown identified this as one of the greatest barriers to poor people's involvement in tourism. From his perspective, the most marketable asset in Samoa is a sandy beach. If a village is not in the vicinity of a sandy beach, then they will have trouble participating in tourism. All of the sandy beaches are already being used for community tourism, and inland villages have greater difficulty attracting tourists. Increasing tourism to villages without beaches therefore constitutes a major dilemma. One coastal village without a beach has come up with a successful alternative: its residents have built tourist accommodation *on the water*. One inland village has created a walkway beneath the rainforest canopy (i.e., a 'treetop walk') with foreign aid, which has generated a gross annual income of US$25,000.

- **Lack of accommodation/facilities**

Steve Brown states that in Samoa, the lack of separate accommodation for tourists in some villages decreases their potential. While the occasional tourist may enjoy a homestay with a family in a traditional home, both tourists and locals usually prefer to have separate accommodation within a village, for privacy. In Nepal, the lack of lodges in the upper reaches of the Makalu-Barun region discourages many trekkers from going there. Maurice Adshead states that to be economically viable, a trek in that area requires ten to twelve people who will sleep in tented camps. Because that

arrangement is unacceptable to many trekkers, the inhabitants of the Makalu-Barun area are unable to benefit from tourism the way the residents of neighbouring regions have.

- **Lack of financial capital**

When asked whether the Maasai had lodges of their own or could provide accommodation to visitors within their communities, Chris Morris stated that they do not possess the financial capital required, with the exception of the wealthy elites, who make few efforts to redistribute income from tourism throughout the communities. Thus, in some cases lack of accommodation and facilities also is a function of insufficient financial capital.

2.7.2 Challenges for maximising the poverty reduction potential of tourism

- **Corruption**

This was cited as a major obstacle by both respondents who operate in Kenya, where corruption is reported in local government and park management. According to the respondents, this 'corruption' is partly related to cultural norms where benefits are shared with the extended family rather than redistributing returns through the wider community. In Kenya, Maasai Mara – the largest national park in the country – is controlled by the local Narok County Council which is dominated by influential Maasai members. Chris Morris asserts that income generated from national parks does not fund as many conservation programmes as it should (also see Cheeseman, n.d.). While some of the income does support schools, clinics, etc., most of it stays in the hands of 'the few' (i.e., park administrators and their families). David Lovatt Smith writes:

'So often we are told by the 'poor,' 'Oh it's no use having a community wildlife sanctuary here. Our leaders will pocket all the money and we shall end up with neither land nor money!' The extent of corruption is unbelievable. It is every man for himself.' (Follow-up questionnaire data).

These observations contrast sharply with the more optimistic tone of earlier research by Olindo (1991/1997, p94). Olindo believed that the official mechanisms that had been implemented to minimise favouritism and the misappropriation of funds in Amboseli and Maasai Mara National Parks were promising.

- **Government opposition**

The Association of Residents of Prainha do Canto Verde and associated organisations have persevered against direct opposition from the state government of Ceará and the Brazilian government:

'The main challenge is the lack of support from State and Federal Government and the multilateral banks. As a matter of fact there is outright opposition of the Government of the State of Ceará to this kind of initiative, despite the fact that we have shown that there are alternatives [to mass tourism]. The Governor hates our guts! Period. There also is little or no support from European Governments.' (Follow-up questionnaire data).

The Prainha do Canto Verde/Instituto Terramar web site suggests that the government of Ceará has disrespected the agreement which helped it secure US$800 million in 1989 from the InterAmerican Development Bank (IDB) for the development of tourism infrastructure by failing to include resident populations and NGOs in the consultation process (http://www.fortalnet.com.br/~fishnet/efolder_pte.htm). The opposition of the state and federal

governments to small-scale initiatives represents a major obstacle for the implementation of other PPT initiatives in Brazil.

- **Threats to land tenure**

This has been a particular concern among the residents of Prainha do Canto Verde. Between 1991 and 1995, armed gangs acting on behalf of real estate firms attempted to expel the residents of the village in order to appropriate their land for commercial development. These acts of intimidation followed judicial proceedings by the real estate agents in the late 1980s to obtain sections of the village beach. The community has struggled against the real estate agents for 20 years, and the case is still before the courts. According to David Lovatt Smith, some Maasai communities in Kenya also fear that the establishment of wildlife sanctuaries will curtail their land rights while generating insufficient compensation because of elite corruption.

- **Conflicts of interest/lack of cooperation and livelihood priorities**

The Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania and the Planet Club both listed conflict of interest or lack of cooperation as obstacles for maximising tourism's poverty reduction potential. While the responses of both organisations gave few details, they suggested that intra-community cooperation is a challenge, especially when residents have little patience for benefits that may only materialise in the longer-term. These challenges probably reflect conflicting livelihood priorities, as identified by Ashley (2000) in Namibia (e.g., declining access to agricultural or grazing land for local residents due to tourism/conservation projects). The ACWTP likewise may find it hard to 'convert' the Maasai to the cause of wildlife tourism/conservation because of unresolved conflicts over livelihood priorities. As mentioned previously, some inland communities in Samoa remain unconvinced that the conservation of their forests for ecotourism for possible long-term gain is preferable to the immediate financial gains they can obtain from harvesting their timber.

- **Environmental pressures/land management regimes**

Because some of the respondents work in ecotourism, it is natural that they should stress the need to preserve the environment as a pre-condition for maximising the industry's poverty reduction potential. In many cases, the environment constitutes an asset that the poor can sell while reducing the depletion of natural resources. Thus, Arden Andersen of the US Bureau of Land Management writes:

'As with many places, protection of the natural resources in the [Rio Platano Biosphere reserve in Honduras] are critical if we want to realise the potential benefits of ecotourism. Unfortunately, the pressures from outside influences are growing every day. These include illegal logging, increased immigration to the Sico/Paulaya area on the edge of the reserve, increased colonisation within the reserve, increased deforestation for cattle grazing and proposals to create new road access near the reserve. I feel confident we can work with the people already living in the reserve to achieve a sustainable lifestyle while protecting the integrity of the reserve but we cannot do this if there is no effort to stop the influx of new settlers coming in with a slash and burn mentality from other parts of the country. This is obviously a tough question with no easy answers. The destruction caused by the rains of Mitch falling on deforested hills should have provided clear evidence for the people and government of Honduras that their current land management practices are not sustainable in the long run.' (Written response to screening questionnaire).

- **Lack of demand/sales**

At the time of the interview (21 November 2000) Ecotour Samoa was only booked at 10% capacity for the coming year. They had 500 touring days booked (80 people on 7 day ecotours), but could handle ten times that amount. According to Steve Brown, Samoa currently receives 25,000 tourists a year, which is a ratio of approximately 1 tourist for every 7 locals (compared to the Cook Islands,

where the ratio is 7 visitors to 1 local). He estimates that Samoa has a carrying capacity of 4 locals to 1 visitor, and he would like to see tourism increase to that level (but not beyond). Travel agents have difficulty selling trips with Ecotour Samoa because they perceive that they receive bigger commissions from big hotels and tour operators. Moreover, because Ecotour Samoa is a small company, travel agents consider a partnership with them as risky due to its assumed lack of long-term financial stability.

Maurice Adshead concurs. Muir's Tours has been trying to entice clients away from the popular trekking routes of Everest and Annapurna and toward the Makalu-Barun area, which currently receives only 1% of trekkers in Nepal. The Makalu-Barun area requires better promotion and facilities if its inhabitants are to receive more benefits from tourism. The homestays that Muir's Tours arranges in Nepal also suffer from a lack of demand. While Muir's Tours is in favour of limits to tourism expansion to minimise negative cultural and environmental impacts, the enterprise still requires a certain level of demand to fund its charitable activities. For private companies (and even some communities), a lack of demand would obviously have devastating commercial results. Indeed, Chris Morris commented that, even though he wants to restrict the growth of IntoAfrica in order to minimise economic dependency and to prevent the disruption of traditional activities (and to avoid increased administrative burdens), the company would be much more financially secure if it grew a little more via higher sales. Thus, the financial insecurity of certain small-scale enterprises currently threatens the existence and expansion of their PPT initiatives.

- **National/international policies and regulations**

While no respondent referred specifically to the effect of documents like the European Union's *Package Holidays and Package Tours Directive* or the UK's *Package Travel Regulation,* these documents may present a significant barrier to PPT. According to Keith Richards of the Association of British Travel Agents (ABTA), the latter effectively discourage the use of local tourism enterprises in developing countries (presentation at Fair Trade in Tourism Forum, London, 21 November 2000). Under those regulations, UK-outbound tour operators are legally responsible for anything that happens to their clients overseas, even when doing things that are not part of the package (unless the tourists demonstrably ignore their advice, e.g., by dancing a jig in front of an elephant). Thus, the outbound operators cannot recommend a local tour/event unless they have vetted it. Big companies refuse to take risks and therefore are reluctant to promote 'adventure tours' with small and/or local in-bound tour operators, which represent an important segment of the niche market in developing countries. Many niche operators evidently 'take risks' every day (e.g., by working with local people). Maurice Adshead notes that it is difficult to make indigenous in-bound tour operators aware of those 'extra-national' policies and to make them act in accordance with them, but this has not become a major constraint for Muir's Tours.

- **Management and prevention of local jealousies**

Chris Morris reported that jealousies occasionally arise between casual labourers (e.g., 'why was X chosen to be a porter on this expedition and not me? It's my turn!', etc.).

- **Eurocentric biases**

Chris Morris admits that his European views can create dilemmas. Should he deal with 'local problems,' even if the dispute resolution mechanisms of locally communities differ markedly from the 'English way'? If yes, how? Is it really his responsibility to interfere and to impose his Eurocentric views on African communities? While Eurocentric biases were not mentioned by other respondents, they emerge as an implicit concern in some of their answers as well. While one respondent stressed his openness and sensitivity to the needs of communities, there also is a hint of neo-colonialism in the tone of his answers:

'The 'poor' do not understand the potential of wildlife tourism in their area. This ignorance leads to wrong decisions about tourism and the benefits it can bring (if done properly). . . Presentations and discussions aided by a video film are the best and quickest way to show ignorant communities where their future lies.' (Follow-up questionnaire data)

The extent to which this kind of rhetoric prioritises the interests of the poor rather than those of developers is debatable.

2.7.3 Comment

With the exception of the CTP (for which unwelcome photography remains a problem), all respondents claimed implicitly or explicitly that the communities experienced minimal negative impacts as a result of their tourism activities. On the contrary, they claim that those activities are overwhelmingly beneficial. One should evidently view those claims with some scepticism. Yet if they are correct, then they confirm that tourism can indeed be more pro-poor. The sample size was too small to reveal a pattern between particular types of actors and specific challenges. In the case studies, there appears to be a great deal of overlap between the problems or challenges experienced by the private sector, and those experienced by community groups and NGOs.

2.8 Lessons

While the actual effectiveness of the case studies discussed in this report has yet to be confirmed by independent observers, their experiences are encouraging. Although some reservations were expressed, most respondents were optimistic about the application of pro-poor practice to a broader segment of the tourism industry. Respondents made the following statements:

- 'Yes, with appropriate support our pro poor strategy can work in many communities provided they have control of land tenure or are willing to face the real estate tycoons. It should be possible to apply pro-poor strategy in mass tourism destinations, as a matter of fact, governments that receive money from multilateral banks or other institutions should be obliged to develop pro-poor tourism strategies through NGOs (governments are unable to develop and carry out such strategies themselves).' (René Schärer, Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde/Instituto Terramar, Brazil, follow-up questionnaire data).

- Maurice Adshead believes that home stays can be undertaken on a wider scale, but never as a mass tourism product. For tourism to become more pro-poor, industry members must have the will to redistribute funds and opportunities more equitably in the destination area. While that redistribution is no easy task, he is optimistic that the industry can move toward that goal.

- Regarding the CTP in Tanzania, the evaluator from Studienkreis wrote:
  Of course, this small project will hardly bring about much change in the underlying conditions, e.g. in the unequal distribution of foreign exchange earnings from tourism. As explained by the project co-ordinators, the people participating in the programme are not so much interested to know whether the major share from the tourism business continues to go to the mainstream entrepreneurs; what they are interested in is the small share which they can earn themselves in order to improve their livelihood and that of their families (http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99tansania.html).

- One of Steve Brown's colleagues in Fiji intends to learn from Ecotour Samoa's successes and failures. He is currently modelling Vanua Tours, an ecotourism company, on Ecotour Samoa to

provide an alternative to the current mass tourism in Fiji. Ecotour Samoa has entered into a dialogue with the Aggie Grey's Hotel, the largest hotel in Samoa, – in order to help it become more environmentally sustainable. Ecotour Samoa also takes hotel clients on its tours. Steve Brown believes that the positive response he has received from the Aggie Grey's Hotel indicates that mass tourism ventures can also become more environmentally sustainable, provided they make increasing use of solar power, compost toilets, etc. Yet this shift will require more dialogue between major environmental organisations (e.g., UNEP, etc.) and big tourism companies. Ultimately, visitor education about local cultures and environments will create the most significant shifts in the industry.

- Chris Morris concurs with Steve Brown. He asserts that if changes are to occur in the tourism industry, they must be consumer-led. If consumers explicitly ask a company what they do for the environment or the local population, only then will the company consider these concerns (i.e., 'if the local communities would benefit more from our activities in the region, then client Y would have made a booking with us'). Thus, the key to making tourism more pro-poor (or pro-environment, etc.) is to raise consumer awareness about the social, environmental, and cultural impacts of tourism. Otherwise, the profit margins of package tour operators are so tight that most are unlikely to address environmental and social concerns in the absence of external pressure. IntoAfrica UK clients pay between 10% and 30% more than standard package tourists, which enables the company to pursue the social agenda it has established.

- David Lovatt Smith writes that he has 'many years of experience of wildlife tourism in East Africa, particularly in Maasailand. It is probably a microcosm of what occurs in other areas. The main things learnt over this period are:

  i. Give the developer as long possible as for his investment. At least 20 years. Then he will look after his investment and make sure the wildlife, which is his main attraction, lasts.

  ii. Let the experts, the tour operators/hoteliers, decide what kind of development there should be in a particular area. They are the experts. Leave it to them. The community will need the maximum return on the land they have given up. Only the experts will know how to achieve that. The communities will not be concerned about whether there should be mass tourism or not.

  iii. Don't be concerned about too many tourists spoiling the wildlife. We hear a great deal of rubbish spoken about wildlife being harassed by tourists. I have been in African wildlife conservation for almost 50 years and I am convinced that the only animal that can sometimes be disturbed by too many tourists is the cheetah. Most animals congregate around tourist lodges as a visit to any will confirm. Management is the key, and a good developer will manage his area properly because he wants a return on his money for years to come' (follow-up questionnaire data).

3. Implications for Stakeholders

It comes as no surprise that a report that draws on a very limited sample should generate more questions than answers. Some questions concern the dynamics of PPT, while others have more direct policy implications for donors. The list is by no means exhaustive.

3.1 Conceptualisations of poverty

An assessment of tourism's potential impact on poverty must first determine which 'type(s)' of poverty are being targeted. Conventional wisdom suggests that tourism will be a more effective agent of poverty reduction when poverty is defined primarily in terms of insufficient income. Indeed, while the economic impacts of tourism were not always ranked the most high among respondents, they arguably generate the most common and immediately tangible results. Nevertheless, the limited data on which this analysis is based also indicate that there are other impacts which may also be considered beneficial under a broader definition of poverty. Tourism can

- increase individual and collective dignity and autonomy via greater empowerment and land tenure; contribute to gender and other forms of equality *if* the benefits and costs) are redistributed equitably;
- contribute to the development of human and social capital among the poor (see Ashley, 1998, pp330-331);
- reduce vulnerability to some economic and environmental shocks by promoting economic diversification[25]
- if managed wisely, also contribute to the protection of the natural assets of the poor (e.g., wildlife and natural resources).

As has been stated several times, the poorest may not be able to take full advantage of the opportunities that tourism may bring. Still, the value of the employment and casual labour opportunities generated by tourism for 'poor' and 'very poor' non-elite Maasai in drought-stricken Kenya and Tanzania and for poor peoples in other contexts should not be underestimated. In theory, the poorest could benefit from tourism through the establishment of community social programmes funded from tourism revenue, as in Prainha do Canto Verde, or through community projects (e.g., the installation of potable water tanks, schools, health care centres) like those supported by the CTP, IntoAfrica, Muir's Tours, and Ecotour Samoa

Obviously, there must be marketable assets in the region where the poor live for tourism to become an effective poverty reduction strategy. These assets can be cultural or natural, and their successful promotion ultimately is a marketing issue. Tourism is not a panacea for poverty reduction and sustainable development, but in some cases its positive impacts can be significant. Where tourism is an appropriate strategy depends on the socio-cultural and environmental context in which it will be implemented, and on how the *type* of tourism development is likely to address specific dimensions of poverty.

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[25] Of course, tourism can also increase inequality and vulnerability and decrease autonomy, depending on how it is implemented.

3.2 Domestic and regional tourism vs. international tourism

Among the case studies included in this report, only one (the Association of Residents of Canto Verde) relied primarily on domestic tourism to support its operations. Very little research has investigated the economic, environmental and socio-cultural effects of domestic and regional tourism in developing countries. Some observers contend that the promotion of domestic/regional tourism may reduce leakages, fluctuations in tourist arrivals due to weather conditions or international political/economic crises, and possibly even negative socio-cultural and environmental impacts (Ghimire, 1997; also see Shah and Gupta, 2000, p41). Conversely, they may increase economic linkages with (poor) local suppliers (e.g., see Timothy and Wall, 1997, pp333-334). While domestic and regional tourism in developing countries generally has been taken up by the more privileged classes, in certain parts of the world the 'leisure class' is expanding. This is especially true of China, India, the South East Asian NICs, and South Africa. Meanwhile, other countries with growing middle classes that have significant domestic tourism potential including Zimbabwe, Botswana, Kenya, Gabon, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, Morocco, Algeria and Egypt (Ghimire, 1997, pp17-18).

China, India, and South East Asia have experienced remarkable levels of economic growth in recent years, and prospects for domestic tourism are especially promising in those countries. Interestingly, domestic and regional tourism increased in several Latin American countries 'even during the period of economic recession as most households could afford to go on vacation in their home country or region' (Ghimire, 1997, p24). Furthermore:

'It is known that when standards of living rise, households worry less about subsistence needs and allocate more expenditure to leisure. People with increasing disposable incomes are more likely to have more diversified leisure interests and activities, involving even travel abroad, than are poorer households. However, a major impulse to domestic and regional mass tourism comes from the large and affluent middle class as well as from the aspiring low income classes. In some cases, poorer households may reduce spending on necessities to pay for vacations. For example, this phenomenon is occurring in urban and south-eastern regions of China (personal observation).' (Ghimire, 1997, p24)

Nevertheless, widespread poverty does constitute an impediment to the growth of domestic tourism in many countries (for e.g., Kenya, see Sindiga, 1996, p29). Even when domestic tourism 'takes-off,' the poorest (i.e., the destitute and the severely ill with the lowest levels of skill and/or education) are unlikely to reap directly its potential benefits.

Latin America has one of the longest histories of domestic and regional tourism in the developing world. It predates the Second World War in Argentina and Chile, and it was well established in Mexico and Brazil by the 1960s. Ghimire (1997) observes that 'in Brazil… local newspapers contain numerous travel advertisements proposing prospective national travellers, especially from the middle and lower classes, competitive prices for travel involving different regions activities and lengths of stay' (p18). This might partially explain the success that the Association of Residents of Prainha do Canto Verde has had in attracting more domestic than international visitors. Yet Ghimire (1997, pp21-22) raises a number of questions regarding the relative merits of domestic and regional tourism over international tourism. Will visitors from other parts of the country or neighbouring regions have values that are more compatible with those of the host culture? Will they be more respectful of the host environment because of its proximity to their own territories? Ghimire suggests that an environmental ethic is emerging among the middle classes, the elites, and the youth in many developing countries. Whether that suggestion is true has yet to be supported by empirical research. In Brazil (and Prainha do Canto Verde more specifically), it is worth noting that some

domestic tourists may be more disruptive than the sub-stratum of international tourists who are socially and ecologically-minded:

> 'Such apparent stringency in [Prainha do Canto Verde's] selection [of non-mass tourism oriented activities] also relates to the particular conditions of Brazil's domestic tourism where tourist groups may turn up unexpectedly in the village in their large coaches, maybe just for a brief picnic on the beach, which usually puts tremendous strain on the local people to have their privacy, their boats and their premises respected, and to make sure that no garbage is left behind. Similar situations arise not infrequently when there is an invasion of fast-moving excursion groups on their crosscountry enduro motor bikes or equally noisy beach buggies 'hitting' the village. This is when the modern Brazil of the nineties suddenly comes face to face with a world belonging to the thirties which still has traders on horseback plying the villages.' (http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99brasilien.html)

Thus, *the attitudes* of tourists are more relevant for respecting environment and cultures of host populations, than the point of origin. Certain tour packages may appeal to a group of like-minded people, and large groups who have little respect for the local environment and culture may consequently have more pronounced negative impacts than independent travellers. The domestic/regional vs. international tourism dichotomy is more relevant in terms of the greater pro-poor economic potential of the former. Because domestic and regional tourists may be more accustomed than international tourists to the food, accommodation and general comfort levels that the poor are able to provide, the poor have greater opportunities to cater to their needs(Shah and Gupta, 2000, p28).

Ghimire raises another crucial point about domestic and regional tourism in developing countries:

> 'Although major benefits generated may remain in the tourist localities, we do not know how these are or will be shared by different social groups. Local élites in association with urban business people may receive most of the benefits, while politically weaker social groups may face such negative repercussions as land dispossession, resource alienation, food shortages and increased economic hardship. These may result in increased social stratification, as well as growing conflict with tourists. The central issue is whether these processes are qualitatively different from those that result from international tourism.' (Ghimire, 1997, pp21-22)

While the inhabitants of Prainha do Canto Verde face the threat of land dispossession, the vast majority of tourism benefits have apparently remained within the village and have been spread equitably throughout the community. Moreover, the economic success of tourism in the village has provided the residents with ammunition to combat the real estate agents who would expel them from their land. Limited evidence suggests that the qualitative processes involved in domestic/regional and international tourism are similar, although the scale of the latter may magnify its impacts. Still, as pointed out above, the poor have a better chance of capturing a larger slice of the domestic tourism market than they do of the international market. How long Prainha do Canto Verde can remain successful when faced with greater competition from mass tourism development projects in the state of Ceará is uncertain.

3.3 Rationale for engaging in PPT initiatives

The rationale for engaging in PPT initiatives among host communities and the NGOs that work with them is evident: it is to enhance the welfare of those communities and the poor by maximising the potential opportunities and minimising the costs they face of participation in tourism. This was evident in the Prainha do Canto Verde and the CTP initiatives. The reasons for private sector

involvement in PPT is not so obvious. Indeed, a cynic would view these measures as simply another marketing ploy.

Naturally, both respondents who represented private companies were concerned about the profitability of their operations. But then neither is dedicated to the continued expansion of operations or the blind pursuit of profit. They have both expressed the wish to remain within certain limits, and that others should benefit from the additional opportunities that their companies can generate – the more who benefit, the better. A sense of social and environmental responsibility therefore is the primary factor behind their PPT initiatives. Of course, it takes more than goodwill to implement successful PPT initiatives in a highly competitive industry with low profit margins. While both respondents face tight operational constraints they have found ways to apply PPT principles, which suggests that other private enterprises and TNCs should be able to do the same.

3.4 Local vs. foreign ownership

Most respondents work with enterprises that have a significant level of local ownership. Chris Morris is the only European in the IntoAfrica partnership. His business partners are Patrick Wanjohi (IntoAfrica Eco-Travel Kenya) and Emmy Moshi (IntoAfrica Eco-Travel Tanzania), who are both nationals of their respective countries. Moreover, all of IntoAfrica's employees are natives of Kenya and Tanzania. Ecotour Samoa is directed by an Australian (Steve Brown) and his Samoan wife (Funealii Sooaemalelagi). Muir's Tours is represented by Maurice Adshead (British) in the UK, but is run by Nepal Kingdom Foundation, a Nepali charity based in Kathmandu. The Association of Residents of Prainha do Canto Verde reaps the benefits of its tourism enterprises, although it receives financial and technical assistance from Instituto Terramar and Amigos de Prainha do Canto Verde, and a Swiss national (René Schärer) is the representative of the latter organisations and the community's contact for the 'outside world.' The Board of the Amboseli Community Wildlife Tourism Project consists entirely of Kenya nationals, with the exception of the consultant (David Lovatt Smith), who is British. The Cultural Tourism Programme in Tanzania receives assistance from the Dutch SNV, but is completely directed by Tanzanians.

While it is difficult to draw conclusions about the influence of foreign or local ownership on the outcomes of PPT initiatives from such a limited sample, two things stand out. First, *all* of the organisations, whether community groups/NGOs or private companies, are partially if not completely owned by 'local' parties.[26] Second, many involve a partnership between local parties and Westerners. The Westerners apparently contribute to the enterprises by sharing their technical/business skills and by acting as preliminary contacts for potential Western clients. David Lovatt Smith acts as a broker between tourism developers and local communities. Chris Morris comments that Western clients often prefer to deal with a Western travel agent when they book trips to Africa, because it gives them greater confidence in the credibility and reliability of the in-bound/local tour operator. One should keep an eye on Tanzania's Cultural Tourism Programme when SNV withdraws its support from the former in 2001 due to its perceived financial and institutional self-sustainability. Other domestic-owned, socially responsible tourism projects in developing countries include the Association of Small-Scale Enterprises in Tourism (ASSET) in The Gambia, the Cooperative of the Community Museums of Oaxaca in Mexico, the Toledo Ecotourism Association (TEA) in Belize, Cooperna R.L. in Costa Rica, ORPIA and Corpomedina C.A. in Venezuela, CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe, Porini Ecotourism in Kenya, the Woodlands Network in Sri Lanka, Sua Bali in Indonesia, and TVS-REST in Thailand (see Appendix 4 for a more detailed list). It is worth investigating whether joint and equitable ownership of tourism

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[26] 'Local' in this context refers to ownership by nationals of the country in which the particular tourism enterprise is located.

enterprises between local parties and Western experts has greater poverty reduction potential than other ownership arrangements.

3.5 Factors affecting local sourcing

In theory, the expansion of economic linkages between tourism enterprises and rural communities has the potential to be one of the most beneficial PPT initiatives. All respondents made or pushed for, extensive use of local sourcing. In CBOs, that is not surprising. Yet the respondents from the private companies had few disincentives for obtaining food and other supplies locally from poor merchants. Nonetheless, the amount and reliability of supplies in poor, isolated villages can be particularly problematic. Maurice Adshead contends that sending advance warning about particular needs to communities from which trekking expeditions intend to pick up supplies is usually enough to ensure (in Nepal) that suitable goods are available at the appointed time.

Evidently, a 600 room luxury hotel will probably not find all the supplies it requires in the necessary quantity or quality at local markets. Commitment to local sourcing does not mean that companies must buy absolutely all their supplies locally. Rather, it means that whenever possible, an enterprise should contribute to the local economy by establishing trading relations with people in nearby communities. At the same time, enterprises (whether run by CBOs, NGOs, or the private sector) must ensure that tourism demand for local goods does not exceed local environmental capacity to supply those goods. For example, some farmers may be tempted to practice high yield yet unsustainable types of agriculture in order to meet tourism demand, which may produce short-term economic gains but losses in the long-run (Forsyth, 1995). Likewise, enterprises should avoid placing local suppliers in a position where they become entirely dependent on tourism for their income or where they have insufficient time to devote to other key livelihood activities (unless few other livelihood options exist).

3.6 Stratification, gender, cultural norms and redistribution

The results from respondents who claimed that the societies in which they operate are highly egalitarian and have relatively little social stratification suggest that tourism has produced more benefits in those communities when compared to regions with a higher degree of stratification. Ecotour Samoa and the Association of Residents of Prainha do Canto Verde report that the poor have benefited immensely from tourism, and that the benefits by and large have remained within the communities. While some residents in each locale may be less poor than others (e.g., village chiefs in Samoa), there are no elites in the rural villages in the conventional sense of the term, and a degree of sharing and redistribution are integral features of the local cultures. For example, René Schärer writes that in Prainha do Canto Verde 'some people are poorer, especially widows with children, families with alcoholic fathers, or sons who basically survive on the support of the family or from the fishermen who always give some fish to the very poor' (PPT follow-up questionnaire data). Moreover, there appears to be a relatively high level of gender equality in Prainha do Canto Verde and rural Samoa, and men and women in these places therefore seem to benefit evenly (in terms of numbers) from tourism. In Prainha do Canto Verde, the high level of gender equality may have been aided by the gender relations courses that are available in the community.

In Kenya, the opposite seems to be the case. Both Chris Morris and David Lovatt Smith report that corruption is rampant in Kenya, and that the small but powerful Maasai elites misappropriate many of the funds that tourism generates. As a result, while both respondents claim that the poor have benefited from their tourism operations in Kenya, they have not experienced its full potential. That may be due in part to the greater levels of gender inequality among the peoples of Kenya and

Tanzania (when compared to Samoa or Prainha do Canto Verde), and to the fact that women there are less likely to obtain jobs and casual employment in tourism than men. Chris Morris estimates that only 20% of the jobs and casual labour that IntoAfrica provides go to women. Significantly, his Tanzanian partner (Emmy Moshi) is a woman.

Sylvia van der Cammen (1995/1997) of the Dutch NGO Retour writes that Maasai leaders in Tanzania initially were reluctant to permit female participation in tourism. Due to the droughts that periodically afflict Tanzania, Maasai women – who have no income or possessions of their own – have sought to create new sources of income in order to meet the health and educational needs of their children. The men only relented after consideration of three points:
• the effects of the drought had been especially hard on the women;
• the oppression of women would offend and hence deter many foreign tourists from coming;
• they were told that they would not receive funding from aid agencies if women were barred from participating in the tourism project.

Maasai women eventually found jobs by making and selling bead work, and by cleaning campsites and cooking. Intense lobbying enabled them to retain the income they generated through the sale of their crafts. Significantly, Maasai women in Tanzania also work as guides within the framework of the CTP, but what proportion of guides they represent was not indicated in the data.

In Nepal, Maurice Adshead asserts that cultural norms dictate that most of the jobs and casual labour that are available in tourism (e.g., as porters, guides) should go to men, although Muir's Tours does insist that in-bound operators should hire women when client groups are composed primarily of women. The employment of women in Nepal's tourism industry seems to be dependent on the geographical region and the industry sector. Many women manage small guesthouses and restaurants in the popular trekking destinations of Langtang, Everest, and Annapurna. Indeed, more women than men are employed in the accommodation sector in those regions (Shah and Gupta, 2000, p38). Yet throughout the country only 1 in 8 are employed in the accommodation sector, and according to a 1991 survey only 2.8% of those employed in the safari resorts of Chitwan National Park were women. The Annapurna Conservation Area Project runs the Developing Women's Entrepreneurship in Tourism (DWET) programme, which provides flexible loans to women to initiate new income generating activities (Shah and Gupta, 2000, p38). Shah and Gupta (2000) remark that few studies take into account the factors that may influence female employment trends in Nepal, 'such as comparison with the employment of women in other organised sectors, the availability of trained personnel, cultural traditions or sexual discrimination' (p38). The experience of Muir's Tours suggests that cultural traditions partially determine the area of the industry in which women can participate as well as the extent to which they will participate. Whereas the Sherpa dominate the Everest region, a mix of cultural groups populate the Annapurna and Langtang routes, as well as the low land Terai.

The above observations beg the question: to what extent is tourism's poverty reduction potential dependent on the cultural characteristics of a community or region? This study attempted to verify the accuracy of the respondents' claims concerning cultural norms as well as (the relative absence of) gender inequality and other forms of stratification in their respective areas of operation. Still, this topic is worth investigating, because it intersects with two issues that are at the heart of contemporary approaches to poverty reduction. First, an emerging consensus suggests that pro-poor growth is more likely to occur in places where there is initially a relatively equitable distribution of assets. Second, there is general agreement that successful pro-poor actions depend on the inclusion of women. Thus, one would expect that if the observations of all respondents are indeed accurate, then more rapid progress in poverty reduction via PPT should occur in Prainha do Canto Verde and Samoa. Donors therefore must consider the extent to which they should support PPT initiatives where women do not have significant representation, and in contexts characterised by high levels of

inequality. Some PPT projects have potential broader benefits in both highly stratified and more egalitarian societies, through e.g schools and health services. Therefore, donors must consider whether their objectives may be better met through direct support to the latter without special provisions for PPT, or whether the additional economic and livelihood opportunities available through tourism make PPT ventures worthy of specific support programmes.

One must keep in mind that the data generated by this project does not permit a reliable comparative analysis. Thus, while it is *possible* that the impact of tourism on poverty may be greater in more equitable locations such as Samoa and Prainha do Canto Verde than in Kenya, its absolute impact upon the poor in the latter may be just as great. Context is crucial in poverty reduction analyses, and future research must take this into account. Conversely, an equally important question is: under what circumstances will tourism increase social stratification and potential conflicts, especially in previously egalitarian societies?

3.7 Participation

The more egalitarian societies in this study seem to encourage greater community participation in tourism than do the highly stratified ones. In Samoa, community tours are undertaken strictly on the terms of the communities via consultation with local chiefs and elders. All stakeholders in tourism (including rural villages) were consulted prior to the publication of the government's latest 10-year National Tourism Development Plan. Popular opposition to mass tourism development has been recognised and upheld in the Plan (i.e., the 'wishes of the poor' supposedly have been respected). Moreover, Wednesday night phone-in radio broadcasts allow people to have a say on issues like tourism, although the extent to which the rural poor have input in this process is questionable.

In Prainha do Canto Verde, René Schärer contends that 'everybody participates in the discussion, planning and execution of tourism policy in the community' (PPT follow-up questionnaire data). A portion of the revenues from tourism benefit the entire community, including residents who are not directly involved in tourism, by providing financial support to the community organisation for administrative costs, community transport, garbage collection, health projects, legal fees for the land tenure case, and educational programmes.

Tourism thus far has been unable to generate (nor has it been built upon) that kind of commitment to collective community welfare in Kenya, and that probably results from the lower levels of communal participation in local initiatives. Both IntoAfrica and the Amboseli Community Wildlife Tourism Project have solicited community input in their operations, but mostly from community leaders. IntoAfrica has changed its approach to charitable giving in light of the weak distribution mechanisms that has resulted from hierarchical power relations and corruption among the Maasai. David Lovatt Smith remarks that it is 'very difficult. The 'leaders' are jealous of their position and do not consider the 'poor' should have any influence whatsoever on what happens in their areas' (PPT follow-up questionnaire data).[27] The contrasting positions on the issue of distributing funds between village chiefs in Samoa and Maasai leaders once again highlights the salience of cultural context for poverty reduction strategies, including tourism.

The effects of broad community consultation and participation are significant for both residents and developers alike, and that principle is applicable to mass tourism as well as niche tourism. A comparative study of two recently built coastal resorts in North Sulawesi (Indonesia) indicates that

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[27] Some Maasai communities in Tanzania apparently present an exception to that rule, as suggested by the limited data available on the CTP. Whether a lower degree of stratification exists in certain Tanzanian Maasai communities and enables greater participation in tourism or whether other factors are at play could not be ascertained from the available data.

the different consequences experienced by each site's neighbouring agricultural/fishing communities are primarily attributable to differing developmental and managerial styles:

> 'Perhaps not surprisingly, the findings suggest that maintenance of local access to resources, local participation in the benefits of development through enhanced incomes and employment opportunities, and the provision of timely information to local people, can foster both positive local impacts and local support for new tourism developments. These are not new observations although they have often been stated in the absence of supporting documentation. Conversely, failure on these accounts may result in missed opportunities, leading to resentment which, in the extreme, could result in an adverse operating environment for the development. More positively, the study suggests that many adverse impacts may be avoided and positive impacts can be enhanced through sensitive management and implementation.' (Simpson and Wall, 1999, pp295-296)

While Simpson and Wall's study did not include an explicit poverty reduction focus, their conclusions are consistent with contemporary approaches to poverty reduction.

3.8 Corruption and government opposition

Whether at the local or national level, the corruption of government officials can have adverse effects for PPT initiatives. While the questionnaire/interview data suggest that official corruption is particularly problematic in Kenya, it also occurs in other countries. To mention but one example from the literature, Duffy (2000) suggests that despite Belize's extensive framework of environmental legislation and promotion of ecotourism as a major development strategy that combines economic growth and environmental conservation, informal links between international capital, local elites, and individuals connected to illicit activities make the application and enforcement of that environmental framework difficult:

> 'Government regulations designed to protect the environment are rendered ineffective when a junior arm of the state is opposed by more powerful interest groups that lie within and outside the state apparatus. The expansion of organised crime has resulted in the emergence of state facilitators and protectors of criminality and an institutional presence of massive drug producing, trafficking and money laundering entities. Consequently, these sets of interest groups are able to challenge elected governments for control of key state institutions, thereby ensuring that enforcement of legislation is impossible, and effectively preventing domestic political accountability.' (Duffy, 2000, p562)

The participation of local elites in invisible and informal networks evidently is not unique to Belize (or Kenya), and the lack of correspondence between stated objectives and the enforcement of related policy frameworks (e.g., applying funds from ecotourism for conservation projects) therefore can happen elsewhere as well. There is no reason to believe that PPT would find exemption from those problems.

Similarly, government opposition to PPT projects (e.g., in Prainha do Canto Verde) raises questions about the prospects those enterprises face in certain countries. In Brazil, the government appears intent on pursuing mass tourism and luxury resort development to the exclusion of small community enterprises. Corruption and official opposition may hinder the poverty reduction potential of PPT. Donors therefore must consider whether they should contribute to PPT projects when there is considerable corruption and/or opposition to these projects by the host government, even though the projects may have demonstrated a significant poverty reduction potential. While PPT initiatives must conform to certain government regulations (e.g., paying for camping fees to

the parks authorities in Maasai Mara National Park) and tour operators have little influence on how the authorities reallocate their funds, the poor may benefit from tourism by being paid *directly* for their services and by increasing local sourcing, even though the state or authorities do not act as intermediaries responsible for a 'trickle down' effect).

3.9 Agents vs. alternate booking systems

As all participants in the study are engaged in niche tourism and/or small scale enterprises, conventional travel agents are often reluctant to promote their products due to the perceived risks (in terms of reliability and/or safety) of their operations. Thus, while PPT enterprises may have the supply, travel agents may not generate the demand that will ensure the financial viability of those enterprises. Ecotour Samoa now relies on the internet to obtain most of its bookings, but it is still functioning below capacity. Still, Steve Brown expects that the internet (as well as the 2002 International Year of Ecotourism) will help his company reach its goal of 5000 selling 'ecotourism days' per year. Canada's International Development Research Centre is currently supporting a research programme on information and communication technologies and their impact on community-based sustainable tourism projects. The programme was initiated in Haiti and the Dominican Republic in 1999 (http://www.kiskeya-alternative.org). If communities obtained access to electronic media and possessed the knowledge to use them efficiently for advertising and booking purposes (even via a central booking system), PPT initiatives may experience greater success. It is worth pursuing further research in this area.

3.10 Market saturation

The goal of PPT is not to expand the tourism industry, but to unlock potential opportunities within it for the poor. Significantly, the majority of respondents referred to the importance of limiting the growth of the industry, and *self-limitation* is a feature of the discourse of most respondents. Moreover, all are making a conscious effort to increase the participation of the poor in tourism. Nevertheless, market saturation may be a concern for the future of these enterprises. Instituto Terramar intends to assist neighbouring villages that wish to implement the Prainha do Canto Verde model of tourism. Originally there were 24 communities but René Schärer now believes that only 5-7 of them could adopt the model successfully, because the others have already been affected by externally imposed mass tourism development (Schärer, personal correspondence, 8 December 2000; also see http://www.studienkreis.org/engl/wettbewerbe/todo/99brasilien.html). Nevertheless, he contends that there will be enough demand for them all to co-exist, although he does concede that it will take them some time to develop.[28]

On Boracay Island in the Philippines, what began in the mid-1980s as small-scale community tourism enterprises that catered primarily to backpackers has led to a doubling of the island's population, a dramatic change in livelihoods, and ultimately loss of control of the industry to new migrants by 1995:

'Increasing competition, low wages and rising prices were beginning to make their impact felt on the original inhabitants, especially on the poorer sections. Boracaynon entrepreneurs providing accommodation facilities in cottages were struggling to survive, and many,

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[28] The existence of the Toledo Ecotourism Association in Belize, however, is threatened by the construction of a through road funded by the World Bank that extends from Punta Gorda to the Guatemalan border, and by other major road projects related to the realisation of the Free Trade Zone between the USA and Latin America. These projects will bring an influx of mass tourism ventures to their area of operation (presentation by William Schmidt and Paula Adams at the Fair Trade in Tourism Forum, London, 21 November 2000).

especially women, who went under ended up joining the non-formal sector of tourism.' (Shah and Gupta, 2000, p40; also see Nicholson, 1997).

Some scholars view backpacker tourism as the first phase of an S-shaped sequence of developments that culminate in the establishment of luxury resorts before leading to market decay as a result of oversaturation (Hampton, 1998, p654). Two questions emerge from this hypothesis: a) is this sequence inevitable and can it stop at the small scale that caters to small groups of independent travellers or domestic tourists?; b) to what extent can the mass tourism sector become more pro-poor?

3.11 Industry regulations

As stated previously, the UK's *Package Travel Regulations* and similar pieces of legislation constitute a potentially great barrier to small-scale PPT initiatives. Can these regulations be restructured to reduce the disadvantages that niche tourism enterprises must overcome to prosper and to induce larger mass tourism ventures to become more pro-poor? As indicated previously, tourism companies must strive to include domestic labourers and entrepreneurs in their activities and expand economic linkages locally in order to make the industry more pro-poor, but TNCs are notorious for failing to do that. Angela Kalisch (2000) of Tourism Concern contends that the activities of TNCs should be regulated via internationally agreed policy commitments to environmental sustainability, and that TNCs should 'include greater transparency, accountability, and social responsibility in their trade practices' (p5). Part of this commitment includes increasing local participation in the enterprises of TNCs, whether through direct employment or local rather than centralised systems of sourcing. Voluntary adherence by TNCs to those policy commitments might mitigate some of the adverse impacts of SAPs.

Box 2: Fair Trade in Tourism

The UK-based NGO. Tourism Concern was established in 1989 with the purpose of promoting socially and environmentally responsible ethics in the tourism industry. Following a three year research project with the University of North London and the development NGO Volunteer Service Overseas, Tourism Concern launched the International Fair Trade in Tourism Network. Its objective is 'to strengthen the bargaining position of local destination interest groups, facilitate equitable market access for small stakeholders, raise awareness amongst consumers and influence international trade policy.' The Network is guided by the principles of fair share for all participants in a tourism enterprise (including host communities), democracy, respect (for human rights, culture, and the environment), reliability of service delivery, transparency (concerning ownership, information about enterprises and their losses and profits, etc.), and sustainability. One of the Network's priorities is the creation and implementation of a corporate code of social responsibility and accountability for transnational corporations and independent investors in tourism, which would be reflected in internationally agreed upon policies incorporating a focus on human rights, employee rights, and environmental protection. These policies also would include commitments to community involvement (with attention to the needs of the least advantaged among them), equitable supplier relations, stakeholder rights, and monitoring (http://www.tourismconcern.org.uk/fair%20trade/frame.htm).

The Fair Trade in Tourism Network's membership includes NGOs, researchers, as well as private sector companies. A similar network has recently emerged in South Africa. While it will take time before the impacts of these initiatives on the broader industry can be evaluated, they may represent the beginnings of a genuine shift in its structure and orientation.

While some tourism corporations have taken steps toward improving the sustainability of their operations by creating departments dedicated to environmental management issues (e.g., the German company Touristik Union International), many still engage in irresponsible practices (Kalisch, 2000, p4). Although a paradigm shift may be evident in the discourse of the smaller private operators who participated in this study, the extent to which other small scale operators and larger corporations are willing to take both environmental and social responsibility more seriously remains to be seen (see Box 2). Once again, the provision by donors of financial or other incentives to companies that practice PPT could induce a shift in the industry's level of social responsibility. Ultimately, the application of SAPs also should be re-evaluated.

3.12 Consumer awareness

Several respondents stated that consumer awareness about socio-cultural and environmental issues in the tourism industry and consumer pressure on tour operators are key to making the industry more pro-poor. Yet some researchers are sceptical that the social and environmental problems caused by tourism can be rectified by educational efforts (e.g., Wheeller, 1991/1997, pp62-63). Still, public awareness is a necessary first step towards the curtailment of the negative impacts of tourism. While the best way forward in this area is debatable, the distribution of information pamphlets at travel agencies outlining the principles of ethical travel may be effective. In association with Tourism Concern UK, the Gambia Tourism Concern has produced an in-flight video informing tourists about cultural norms in the country. Although the effectiveness of that tactic has yet to be assessed, if it is successful then similar videos on a range of tourism-related issues could be introduced on flights to other destinations. NGOs like Tourism Concern and the Ecumenical Coalition for Third World Tourism are likely to be helpful in that domain. The topic could also be introduced in social studies classes in schools.

3.13 Conclusion

The objective of this project was to document the specific initiatives that different actors are implementing in developing countries in order to make tourism more 'pro-poor,' and to gain insights into the challenges they have faced and the factors that have influenced their successes. Due to the limitations of the data and the methodology, the conclusions drawn in this report should be viewed as tentative at best.

'Improved use of the environment and natural resources' is the only outcome that *all* 17 actors/enterprises (i.e., international NGOs and donors, private companies, and local/national NGOs and CBOs) that responded to the screening questionnaire reportedly have in common. Most environmental initiatives pursued by the four local/national NGOs/CBOs and the two private companies that participated in the follow-up survey included environmental education. Other initiatives included reforestation programmes, the use of solar power and non-electrical compost toilets, and the creation of a 'food forest' (in Samoa). When the six respondents were asked to rank the order of significance of their impacts for the poor, however, 'improved use of natural resources and the environment' was not ranked among the most important impacts. Rather, the majority of participants in the follow-up viewed economic initiatives, such as job creation and local sourcing as most significant. While these findings may only reflect particularities among the follow-up cases, it is possible that they reveal a general trend: that many actors pursue initiatives that have beneficial environmental impacts, but that those initiatives and impacts are of secondary importance for the poor. Of course, what is lacking in the analysis are the voices of the poor themselves, and an analysis of the compatibility between various initiatives and the livelihoods of the poor. What is clear, however, is that respondents perceive that tourism generates more than economic benefits

among the poor. For Prainha do Canto Verde, the most significant impact is the anticipated contribution to land tenure, and for the CTP in Tanzania it is increased community empowerment.

All but one enterprise claimed in the screening survey to generate 'funds for the community,' and 'more casual labour,' 'jobs,' 'new opportunities for the informal sector and small businesses,' and the provision of 'skills or education' also figured prominently among the impacts reported by respondents. Of the latter, 'new opportunities for the informal sector' and 'skills/education' were more frequently cited by NGOs and CBOs as areas in which their PPT initiatives have had a significant impact, while private companies emphasised 'more jobs' and 'casual labour.' Donors and international NGOs were too few to identify a pattern from their responses. Of course, the quantitative estimates regarding the number of poor people who benefit from diverse tourism impacts varied dramatically from enterprise to enterprise, and the results are all relative (i.e., they must be viewed in relation to the contexts in which they occur). Again, the extent to which those impacts reflect the priorities of the poor themselves is uncertain.

In terms of specific initiatives, the one most frequently cited across all actor categories in the screening survey was 'working with the poor to address the cultural impacts of tourism.' The follow-up survey indicated that in many cases, 'cultural initiatives' involve little more than a participatory approach to tourism planning with local communities, and encouraging the poor to maintain their 'cultural authenticity' or restricting their exposure to foreign tourists. NGOs and CBOs frequently reported 'working with the poor to address the environmental impacts of tourism,' 'providing training or education in tourism,' 'increasing participation of the poor in tourism policy,' and 'involving poor people in planning/siting decisions.' None of the respondents that participated in the follow-up, however, had formal and explicitly pro-poor involvement at the policy level. Private companies were more likely to employ the poor in tourism jobs or as casual labourers. The least frequently cited initiatives among all actors were 'providing credit to small enterprises' and 'revising tourism regulations to increase participation of the poor.' Overall, infrastructure development was the least frequently cited outcome of PPT initiatives.

Despite the slight variations in the types of activities undertaken by NGOs/CBOs and private companies, the amount of overlap that is evident in their initiatives and reported impacts suggests that their roles may be converging. The follow-up data support that observation. On the one hand, private companies like IntoAfrica and Ecotour Samoa ensure that host communities benefit from their operations via their commitments to local sourcing, their direct or indirect contributions to regular and casual employment, and the community projects they are involved with. On the other hand, some NGOs and charities run commercial enterprises or programmes that provide the poor with jobs or casual labour (e.g., Muir's Tours and the CTP). Of course, this convergence may be exaggerated by the limited number of case studies analysed here.

The respondents state that several factors affect the extent to which tourism can become pro-poor. Some of them are particular to certain enterprises, while others are more widespread. Some pertain to factors that inhibit the poor from participating in tourism, while others pertain to factors that impede the industry's pro-poor potential. Factors cited by respondents that inhibit the poor from participating in tourism include: lack of human, physical, and/or financial capital, and in some cases a lack of marketable assets. Factors cited by respondents that impede the pro-poor potential of enterprises include: corrupt authorities and elites, government opposition to community-based tourism, land conflicts, lack of cooperation/conflicts of interest between residents, environmental pressures, low market demand for particular tourism products, and local jealousies. The factors evidently interact. Those that inhibit the participation of the poor impede the pro-poor potential of enterprises, and vice versa.

From a poverty reduction perspective, a few concerns emerge from the research. There is a great deal of variation in the extent to which women benefit from the PPT initiatives implemented by the respondents. In terms of labour or casual employment, women and men reportedly benefit quite evenly from community PPT initiatives in Prainha do Canto Verde and from Ecotour Samoa's initiatives in Samoa. Yet women represent fewer than 20% of the poor who benefit from the casual labour opportunities that generated by IntoAfrica in Kenya and Tanzania. Maurice Adshead reports that women in Nepal are also less likely than men to benefit from casual labour. Still, previous research in Nepal suggests that women from particular ethnic groups and in particular regions (e.g., Sherpa women in the Everest region) are successful at running guesthouses and restaurants.

Evaluations of donor projects indicate that women often play a key role in successful poverty reduction efforts. The issue of gender is closely related to inequality (i.e., respondents who reported working in areas with higher levels of stratification also indicated that women were subordinate to men in those communities, and therefore had fewer opportunities to benefit from regular or casual employment in tourism or other means of participation). Elite corruption in highly stratified societies often diverts many 'community funds' away from the poor (e.g., in Kenya). Donors that are considering funding PPT initiatives in locales characterised by high levels of gender and other forms of inequality will have to determine if and how initiatives can be structured to maximise their benefits for the poor, including women. The high levels of gender equality in Prainha do Canto Verde may be due in part to the gender relations courses that are taught in the community.

Nevertheless, several enterprises have measures in place to ensure that women and the poor who do not participate in tourism still benefit from it. IntoAfrica pay Maasai women directly for their dance performances and they ensure that customers can buy jewellery and souvenirs directly from them. This is an attempt to avoid the loss of their income to 'middlemen' and misappropriation by elites. Moreover, the company supports a Maasai women's group with financial contributions, and it funds the construction and operation of community schools, among other things. Muir's Tours, CTP, and Prainha do Canto Verde likewise implement a number of projects and educational/social funds that benefit the poor in the host communities. Thus, PPT initiatives can produce substantial benefits for the poor, even if the latter derive few economic benefits directly from tourism. Where the poor do benefit economically from tourism, their activities and the income they derive from it usually supplement other livelihood sources rather than substituting them. The outcome of the PPT initiatives surveyed in this report is economic diversification rather than economic dependency on tourism. Some exceptions to that trend exist. For example, tourism has become a primary livelihood source for some rural Samoan families, but that is due to the collapse of the taro market and the limited availability of other means of subsistence. Still, the impact of PPT initiatives in relation to the 'big picture' of poverty in the contexts in which the respondents operate could not be assessed with the available data.

A review of the literature suggests that in order for tourism to maximise its poverty reduction potential, the application of SAPs in developing countries should be re-evaluated and national and international regulations for outbound tour operators from industrial countries should be revised in order to facilitate partnerships with domestic operations in destination countries. TNCs must also alter their behaviour and act in a more socially responsible way. In this regard, most respondents indicated that the key to making tourism more pro-poor lies in consumer awareness and pressure on tourism businesses.

PPT principles are founded on a combination of elements from sustainable livelihoods, neoliberal, and critical approaches to poverty reduction. However, the empirical data outlined in this report evidently were insufficient to conduct detailed livelihoods analyses, or to fully evaluate neoliberal assumptions and the counter claims of critical perspectives with respect to the application and

impact of PPT initiatives in practice. Further research is required to confirm the case study data upon which these conclusions are based in order

- to undertake a more rigorous livelihoods analysis;
- to provide a more thorough assessment of the positive and negative impacts of PPT initiatives on the poor;
- to determine the extent and conditions under which market and non-market mechanisms will maximise tourism's poverty reduction potential, and
- to devise the most effective tactics for overcoming obstacles to PPT.

Additional inquiries should seek to quantify how many poor people benefit from local sourcing/economic linkages compared to jobs, casual labour, and other informal sector activities in a variety of locales. Ideally this should be undertaken in comparison with mainstream enterprises that do not have an explicit commitment to social responsibility or to the welfare of host communities), as there is a dearth of knowledge on that topic. Indeed, while many respondents claimed to rely on local sourcing for upwards of 90% of the food tourists consume on their tours, few respondents (other than René Schärer for Prainha do Canto Verde) could provide even the most general estimates of the number of people who benefit from local sourcing. The latter is, hypothetically, the sector in which the greatest number of tourism opportunities for poor people could be generated. Ultimately, the voices of the 'poor' themselves must feature more prominently in future investigations.

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Appendix 1 Core Case Studies

Country	Organisation/Case Study
St. Lucia	St. Lucia Heritage Tourism Programme
Ecuador	Tropical Ecological Adventures
South Africa	Wilderness Safaris
South Africa	Spatial Development Initiative Programme (SDI) and Community Public Private Partnership Programme (CPPP)
Namibia	Namibian Community Based Tourism Association (NACOBTA)
Uganda	Ugandan Community Tourism Association (UCOTA)
Nepal	SNV Village tourism, Humla region

Appendix 2: Tourism and Poverty Reduction Questionnaire

Please tell us how your organisation's initiative has benefited the poor by completing Table A1. Place an 'X' in the middle column ('yes') if your organisation's initiative has produced the benefits to the poor listed in the left column. *Whenever the answer is 'yes',* estimate approximately how many poor people have benefited from the initiative (tens? hundreds? thousands?). While the international poverty line defines the poor as those who live on less than US$1 per day (averaged among household members), we realise that other definitions of poverty may be more useful in certain contexts. You are therefore free to use the appropriate local standards for determining who is 'poor.'

Table A1 Impacts of tourism initiatives on poverty reduction

Benefits of the initiative *for the poor*	YES (X)	IF YES: approx. number of people who benefit from the initiative
• More jobs • New opportunities for informal sector & small businesses • More casual labour opportunities • Funds for the community • Increased skills/education • Improved infrastructure (e.g., roads, water, telephone) • Cultural enhancement • Increased community pride/empowerment • Improved use of natural resources/environment • Other		

Table A2: please tell us what kind of actions your organisation is taking to benefit the poor through the tourism industry.

Table A2 Pro-poor tourism initiatives

YES (X)

What is the organisation?
- Community group
- International NGO
- National/local NGO
- Private company
- Local/regional government agency/department
- National government agency/department
- International donor
- Other type of organisation

What initiatives has the organisation pursued?
- Employing poor people in tourism jobs
- Buying supplies from the poor for tourism
- Employing poor casual labourers
- Providing training and/or education in tourism
- Providing credit to small enterprises
- General support to small enterprises and/or informal sector
- Donating profits from tourism operations to local development projects/charities
- Collecting funds from tourists for local development projects/charities
- Direct participation in infrastructure improvement benefiting both tourists and poor residents
- Increasing participation of the poor in tourism policy
- Revising tourism regulations to increase participation of the poor
- Involving the poor in planning/siting decisions
- Supporting community-based organisations or groups of small producers with role in tourism
- Helping the poor negotiate with the private sector
- Engaging in business partnerships with the poor
- Helping the poor secure their rights over tourism assets (e.g., land tenure, etc.)
- Working with the poor to address the cultural impacts of tourism
- Working with the poor to address the environmental impacts of tourism
- Other

Thank you for your time and assistance.

Would you be willing to participate in a more in-depth follow-up study (YES or NO)?

If you are willing to participate in a follow-up study, please provide us with full contact details (name of the organisation, name of contact person and role in the organisation, postal address, fax and telephone number, e-mail address), and let us know which of the methods below is most convenient:

Name of organisation and contact details:

Preferred method for follow-up study:

    a) written questionnaire (can be faxed or e-mailed)

    b) telephone interview

    c) indifferent: both questionnaire and interview are fine

    d) neither is convenient (suggest your own alternative)

Reminder: all questionnaires should be returned at the latest by 3 November 2000.

Questionnaires should be returned to:

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The pro-poor tourism study is a collaborative project of: the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), and the Centre for Responsible Tourism (University of Greenwich).

Appendix 3 Pro-Poor Tourism Follow-Up Questionnaire

Organisation:
Contact person:
E-mail:
Web page:
Telephone:

Note: We may need to contact you by telephone in order to clarify some of your responses, so please provide us with your telephone number (including area codes).

Use as much space as you require to answer the questions.

A. Context

1. *Location* Where do you operate? How large is your area of operation (geography and population size)? What are the main sources of livelihoods? What are its geographical characteristics (e.g., rural or urban, arid land or tropical jungle, etc.)?

2. *Organisation/business* What is your organisation/business (e.g., private company; community group; local, national, or international NGO; government organisation, etc.)?

3. *Poverty* Who are 'the poor' in your area? Poor in what way? Are a majority or a minority of the population in your area poor? Please distinguish between different poor groups.

4. *Type of tourism* What type of tourism are you involved in (rural, urban, coastal, wildlife, cultural etc)? Do you consider your organisation/business to be involved in mass tourism (e.g., major resort hotels, large package tours, etc.) or niche tourism (e.g., small scale operations, ecotourism, community tourism, etc.)? Is mass tourism or niche tourism more common in your region? Is the market geared toward international or domestic tourists?

B. Pro-poor tourism strategies

Please give an overview of the types of pro-poor tourism activities your organisation/business is involved in. Please distinguish between activities that promote tourism in general, and what you do specifically to make tourism better for the poor (better than 'normal' tourism). Provide details about the different types of activities.
Note: the list of 'pro-poor tourism initiatives' from the previous questionnaire is attached at the end of this questionnaire and may be useful for answering this question.
Note: if your activities include expanding economic linkages between tourism enterprises and the local economy, or influencing the policy context, please see Section E for more details.

C. Prioritising poverty impacts

In the previous PPT questionnaire, you indicated several areas in which your organisation/business has an impact on the poor. Now please *rank* these impacts (from your perspective) in terms of their significance to poor people.
Note: Rank the most significant as '1', the next most significant as '2' etc.

- ❑ More jobs
- ❑ New opportunities for informal sector and small businesses
- ❑ More casual labour opportunities

- ❑ Local sourcing (e.g., buying supplies from the poor for tourism operations)
- ❑ Funds for the community/charitable giving
- ❑ Increased/skills education
- ❑ Improved infrastructure (e.g., roads, water, telephone, etc.)
- ❑ Cultural or social enhancement
- ❑ Increased community empowerment
- ❑ Improved use of natural resources/environment
- ❑ Other (*please specify*)

D. Who benefits and how

Having identified the main types of impact on the poor, please provide more details on *who benefits* from these impacts and *how they benefit*, as well as *how many benefit*. Please indicate the distribution of benefits between the poor and non-poor, and across different poor groups (specifically including women). Please also indicate whether these are impacts of your organisation's activities specifically, of tourism development in general, and/or of pro-poor interventions in tourism.

Note: For convenience, you may restrict your answers to the 4 impacts that you ranked as most significant above (but feel free to answer all of them if you have the time!!!).

- • *New economic opportunities* Has the pro-poor tourism initiative led to an increase in: regular jobs in tourism enterprises, casual labour in tourism, and sales opportunities for the self-employed/small enterprises? What is the balance between the three? To what extent are these filled by poor people? Have any efforts been made to increase uptake by the poor?

	Estimated number of new jobs/opportunities (total)	Whether taken up by 'poor' (estimated percentage of total, what kind of 'poor')
Tourism jobs		
Casual labour (temporary jobs)		
New opportunities for informal sector/small businesses (e.g., hawking, selling arts and crafts, etc.)		

Have some people earned enough from tourism that they are now no longer poor (or 'not-so-poor' rather than 'very poor')?

- • *Funds for the community/charitable giving* Is community income (*not* individual income) gained from: a) your business/organisation; b) other tourism businesses; c) tourists? If yes, please describe the source(s), the approximate amount the community obtains from each, and the uses to which the funds are put.

- • *Increased skills or education* What skills are being taught, and how are they being taught? Who is providing the training, and who is receiving it?

- • *Improved infrastructure (e.g., roads, water, telephone, etc.)* How has tourism affected the infrastructure in the region (positively and negatively)? How has it affected the infrastructure specifically needed by poor people? Have any interventions been made by you or others to enhance these impacts?

- *Cultural or social enhancement* If efforts are being made to improve the social or cultural impacts of tourism, what is being done? What results have been achieved, and *how do they affect the poor*?

- *Increased community empowerment* Has the community organised itself around tourism? Have they gained or lost any pride, self-esteem, or political influence from their involvement in tourism? How does this affect the poor specifically? Have interventions by your organisation or others focused on enhancing their empowerment?

- *Improved use of natural resources/environment* What is your business/organisation doing in the area of environmental or wildlife conservation related to tourism? Do poor people benefit or suffer from conservation? How?

- *Other* If you think your organisation/business benefits the poor in ways that are not listed above, please specify how it does so, and how many people these other initiatives affect.

E. Key issues for further exploration

- *Local sourcing/economic linkages* Do you do anything to encourage 'local sourcing'(i.e., tourism companies purchasing food, materials, and other supplies)? If so, what? If you are a tourism business, do you buy your supplies locally? From poor producers? Why? Have any factors encouraged or discouraged you to buy locally?

- *Policy* do you influence tourism policy to be more pro-poor? Or seek to improve the participation of the poor themselves in policy and planning? How?

- *Challenges w*hat are the main challenges you face in making tourism better for the poor? What are the main challenges the poor face in engaging with tourism in their area?

- *Wider application of pro-poor practice* do you think the pro-poor strategies of your business/organisation can be applied in other places? Can they be applied in mass tourism destinations? Why or why not?

Thank you for your assistance.
Please return completed questionnaires **by 3 December 2000** to:

Xavier Cattarinich
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Attachment:

List of examples of pro-poor tourism activities

- Employing poor people in tourism jobs

- Employing poor casual labourers
- Providing training and/or education in tourism for the poor
- Providing credit to small enterprises
- General support to small enterprises and/or informal sector
- Local sourcing/economic linkages
- Donating profits from tourism operations to local development projects/charities
- Collecting funds from tourists for local development projects/charities
- Direct participation in infrastructure improvement benefiting both tourists and poor residents
- Increasing participation of the poor in tourism policy making
- Revising tourism regulations to increase participation of the poor
- Involving the poor in planning/siting decisions
- Supporting community-based organisations or groups of small producers with role in tourism
- Helping the poor to negotiate with the private sector
- Engaging in business partnerships with the poor
- Helping the poor to secure their rights over tourism assets (e.g., land tenure, etc.)
- Working with the poor to address the cultural impacts of tourism
- Working with the poor to address the environmental impacts of tourism
- Other

Appendix 4 Enterprises with PPT potential

This incomplete and randomly ordered list of additional enterprises with PPT potential was compiled by consulting Mark Mann's *Community Tourism Guide* and via internet searches. Enterprises and initiatives that are part of the core case studies or which responded to the screening questionnaire and/ or follow-up questionnaire/interview are not listed in this table. No attempts have been made to verify the accuracy of the information obtained from the guide or enterprise web sites, nor whether all of the enterprises are still active.

Table A3 Initiatives with PPT potential

Country	PPT initiative	Type of agent (s) involved	Tourism sector
Bolivia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Indonesia	Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism (ECTWT)) indigenous tourism projects	Third World international NGO	Culture and nature (?)
The Gambia	Association of Small-Scale Enterprises in Tourism (ASSET): small-scale tourism enterprise development in poor communities	Private and community-based local enterprises	Coastal
Nepal	Specialist Trekking Co-operative (STC): Anglo-Nepali trekking co-op with registered charity, links with local economy	Tour operator with local communities	Primarily adventure travel, but also cultural trips and safaris
Mexico	The Cooperative of the Community Museums of Oaxaca: community museums and village tours/crafts demonstrations, etc.	Community-based NGO	Culture
Ecuador	Yachana Lodge: private lodge that funds a non-profit community development foundation and projects (Fundesin)	Private lodge; Fundesin receives oil company support	Nature and culture
Ecuador	Kapawi Ecolodge: private lodge with extensive links to local economy	Private lodge	Nature
Ecuador	Casa Mojanda Mountainside Inn and Farm: private lodge that runs its own community development foundation and projects	Private lodge and associated foundation	Nature and culture
Costa Rica	Cooprena R.L.: rural community co-ops that promote ecotourism projects	Community co-op	Nature and culture
Haiti	Destination DjonDjon: training and capacity building to promote 'alternative tourism' in poor rural communities	French NGO (AFVP)	Rural
Venezuela	Indigenous community ecotourism projects	Indigenous NGO (ORPIA), with assistance from IDRC and CNATA	Nature
South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Kenya, Botswana, Namibia	CCAfrica: Private tour operator that funds development projects in rural communities	Private tour operator	Wildlife
Zimbabwe	CAMPFIRE: Community-based ecotourism association with strong emphasis on economic development potential for local communities	Community NGO	Wildlife and adventure travel
Sri Lanka	Woodlands Network: training, capacity building, and promotion of community tourism; links with local economy	Women's self-help organisation	'Tea tourism' and culture/homestays
Indonesia (Bali)	Sua Bali: small resort with extensive links to local economy	Privately owned resort (owner is Indonesian)	Small scale holiday resort; culture
Venezuela	Corpomedina C.A.: community tourism with poverty alleviation as primary objective	Network of communities and foundations	Coastal, nature; primarily domestic clientele

Israel	International Centre of Bethlehem Programme for Alternative Tourism: development of tourism that will benefit marginalised Palestinians in West Bank	Community organisation/NGO (?)	Culture
Nepal	Tiger Tops jungle lodges and tented camps: private operator with links to local economy and welfare schemes	Anglo-American private tour/lodge operator	Wildlife safaris, adventure travel
Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe	Pipestone Travel Outfitters: tour operator that contributes 3% of trip prices to projects that benefit indigenous peoples/environment; links with local economy	Canadian private tour operator	Various forms of adventure travel; culture
Asia, Latin America, Africa, Australian outback	Community Aid Abroad tours: non-profit community tours with poverty alleviation objective	Australian NGO	Culture, educational tours and social development
Cameroon, Tanzania	Retour tourism projects	Dutch consultant firm specialising in tourism and sustainable development	???
Bhutan	Tourism Authority of Bhutan (TAB): government policy with potential pro-poor implications	Government	Trekking, culture
Caribbean and South America, Albania, Mongolia, Bolivia, Eastern Europe	Adventure Travel Society: various initiatives, including implementation of region-specific sustainable tourism programmes that will improve economic welfare of communities	US-based 'international consulting firm on sustainable development'	Nature, culture, and adventure travel
South Africa, Middle East, North Africa, Peru, Sri Lanka	Andante Travels: tour operator with links to local economies	British private tour operator	Culture
Russia, Armenia, South Africa, others	Progressive Tours: tour operator with partnerships in local communities	British private tour operator	Culture and educational tours
Namibia	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC): NGO that assists communities to establish community-based tourism ventures with a wildlife conservation objective	Namibian NGO with funding from USAID and WWF	Wildlife
???	British Airways: partnership with UNICEF to collect donations	British airline	(Airline)
World-wide (?)	Explore World-wide: Tour operator that supports a number of development projects around the world	British private tour operator	Adventure and safaris
South and Southeast Asia, Tanzania, Madagascar, Peru	Studiosus Reisen: private tour operator with programme of development projects and financial support in destination countries	German private tour operator	Adventure and culture (?)
Egypt, others	Imholz Reisen: established fund which is used to finance projects aimed at poverty elimination	Swiss private tour operator	Resort/luxury (?)
Nepal	UNDP/UNOPS Partnership for Quality Tourism Project: development of community-based tourism projects	IGOs	Nature and culture

Various destinations (?)	Tourism Watch: 'supports ecumenical development-based educational tours'	German NGO	Educational tours
South Africa	Dukuduku North Community ecotourism enterprise	Community enterprise with policy support from Natal Parks Board	Nature and culture
South Africa	Makuleke community ecotourism venture	Community enterprise co-managed with Kruger National Park staff with support of NGO (the Endangered Wildlife Trust)	Nature and wildlife
Zimbabwe	Noah's Eco-cultural Tours: individual venture with contributions to village fund and potential to expand and create further economic opportunities for villagers	Individual	Nature and culture