Diversifying Livelihoods in Remote Areas
Facilitating Conditions and Barriers to Successful Community-Based Tourism Enterprise

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Abstract
Over the past few decades, community-based tourism (CBT) has been explored as a poverty alleviation strategy in rural and marginalized areas. Since its emergence in the 1980s, the concept has been endorsed for taking a community-centered approach to development by highlighting the locals’ role in ensuring social empowerment, raising income levels and contributing to environmental conservation, thereby aligning with the principles of sustainable development. However, past research has shown that despite its noble intentions, CBT bears a high risk of failing, meaning that it does not always deliver the outcomes it intends to.

The purpose of this thesis is to identify and analyze the factors that enable and inhibit success of CBT development in rural and marginalized communities. Using an intensive case study strategy, the data collection for this thesis took place during a one-week field trip to the Mayan community of El 20 de Noviembre, Mexico. The data was collected using three methods: eight semi-structured interviews, three participant observation occasions and field notes that were collected on all days spent at the case community. The findings were analyzed using inductive-oriented analysis techniques, and the findings were then reflected with the pre-existing literature on the subject.

This thesis contributed to the understanding of conditions that facilitate and inhibit CBT success by identifying a number of internal and external factors, a majority of which can be reflected with past case studies with a number of new, emerging factors specific to the case community. Due to differing perceptions within community, this thesis (1) confirmed notions in past research that the understanding of the word ‘community’ in CBT should be strengthened and adapted to local context in order ensure a harmonious and sustainable development of the enterprise. The results also showed that (2) certain community dynamics such as class can have a restricting effect on benefit distribution, job creation and participation. Such restrictions should be examined and resolved in order reduce the risk of social dilution in the long run. With a wide array of barriers identified, such as developments needed in capacity training, infrastructure development, marketing and promotions, this thesis (3) advocates for a long-term ‘facilitator’ to support the community in CBT development with a respect for the factors and community values. Considering the dynamic nature of communities, it is also important to monitor and evaluate the factors on a periodic basis in order to adapt to community evolvement. After strategies for the resolving of these factors have been comprised, the community can move onto next phases of CBT development according to its strategy.

Keywords Community-based tourism enterprise, sustainable development, poverty alleviation
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1. Introduction

This introductory chapter lays the background and provides justifications for this thesis. After introducing the research overview and describing the case community, the chapter concludes with the statement of research question and objectives, which will guide the subsequent literature review, methodology and analysis of findings of this thesis.

1.1 Research overview

Since the inclusion of sustainable development on the global agenda, tourism has been frequently explored as poverty alleviation strategy in rural areas of the developing world. Although the introduction of an additional source of income is regarded as an attractive livelihood diversification strategy, it is also heavily criticized for income leakages, unwanted environmental impacts and strengthening of inequalities (UNTWO, 2005). As a response, international development organizations and conventions (e.g. UN World Tourism Organization, World Summits) have set guidelines and objectives for tourism planners to refocus the industry to prioritize the needs of the host community (Tervo-Kankare, 2017). This have subsequently led to the emergence of alternative tourism forms both, where focus is given to local control, empowerment and capacity building (Dangi and Jamal, 2016). Among these forms, community-based tourism (hereafter CBT) has gained popularity especially in rural and marginalized areas for promoting economic viability, social inclusion and environmental conservation - thereby supporting the principles of sustainable development (Tosun, 2000; Stone, 2015). Since its emergence in the 1980s, CBT has been endorsed for taking a bottom-up approach to linking tourism development to poverty alleviation, where the local community is given the autonomy to develop and manage its own tourism enterprise. Furthermore, it offers itself as an opportunity for alternative economic activities, something commonly considered essential in rural developing areas (Harris and Vogel, 2019).

Despite its purpose and appeal, past case studies has shown that CBT enterprises exhibit a high probability of either delivering some of the intended outcomes, or none at all. As a result, the studying of the factors affecting the outcome of CBT enterprises is gaining traction in the academia in the form of lists and models; though the number of these studies still remain limited without further advancements on the topic. There is evident that the success of a CBT enterprise is dependent upon many interlinking factors upon its set up as well as when it is up and running. These factors may take many interchangeble terms, though most commonly referred to as critical
success factors, success predictors and inhibitors or facilitating conditions and barriers to implementation (e.g. Lucchetti, 2013; Hamzah, 2014; Okazaki, 2008). As the context of communities differ vastly from one another, CBT studies are often conducted as case studies. While the academia and tourism planners agree that the basic principle of CBT is ‘community-owned’ and ‘community-managed’, there is evidence that application of it from theory to practice is dependent on the context of the community in question (Dodds et al., 2016). As a result, differing views exist on which factors in the end can be considered a facilitating condition or a barrier to successful CBT development. Identification of these factors can lessen the risk of failure when appropriate measures are taken to address the challenges.

The aim of this thesis is to understand the facilitating conditions and barriers to successful CBT development of a rural and marginalized community that is still in its early stages. Utilizing a real-life case study, the qualitative methodology of this thesis will address both internal and external factors, which are then analyzed and reflected with those already studied in literature. Studying these factors in relation to literature is important not only to the case community through being treated as a unique case study, but also for the research community and tourism planners alike to increase the understanding of the factors predicting the success of a CBT enterprise and those which may hinder it. This way, CBT at a given destination can be planned with awareness of the possible outcomes. The community that this thesis will use as a case study is El 20 de Noviembre, a rural and marginalized Mayan community in Mexico.

1.2 Case study background: El 20 de Noviembre

El 20 is an indigenous Mayan community of approximately 420 inhabitants in the southeastern state of Campeche, municipality of Calakmul, Yucatan peninsula of Mexico. El 20 is located in a highly marginalized area in the heart of a diverse jungle. The community was founded in 1971, when a group of people from a Mayan town Dzibalche moved to the location due to governmental distribution of the land. As of 2016, the area on which the community lives consists of 35 000 hectares, where each family owns land on the area. This figure, however, is smaller at the time of writing this thesis as the community has had to sell land in order to gain income. The community has an elementary school, a few small shops, a church and a sheriff. The few economic activities that the community practices are woodcraft, textiles, forestry and agriculture. The community places a high value on the survivability of itself and the forest that surrounds them. El 20 became part of national forest protection programs due to their voluntary preservation of the surrounding jungle. While these programs grant the families of El 20 small amount of money for their efforts,
it restricts the extent to which the families can use the surroundings for agricultural and livestock activities. Traditionally, the community has supported itself through subsistence farming, which most commonly has been watered using rain and well water. This, however, has been challenged during the past few years due to heavy droughts and contamination of the well water, leading the village to investing in water from outside sources.

1.2.1 Aalto Lab Mexico
Since 2012, El 20 has been the subject of the Aalto Lab Mexico (hereafter ALM) project. ALM is an interdisciplinary project initiated by Claudia Garduño Garcia, who in 2017 completed her doctoral dissertation titled ‘Design as Freedom’ for the community of El 20. ALM is formed through the collaboration of Aalto University, Tecnológico de Monterrey (Mexico City Campus), Universidad Autonoma de Mexico, Centro de Estudios Superiores de Diseño de Monterrey and University of Calakmul. The project unites students, mentors and experts from different disciplines and sectors to work on several interconnected sub-projects, each addressing a challenge which the community faces. These have previously included the development of a cultural brand, building of La Casita (eco-hostel), and analyzing and adapting to the available water quality and quantity.

More recently, issues regarding limited access to healthcare, absence of reliable income and lack of precipitation have paved the way for the emergence of two new themes: economic security and CBT – both which are closely linked to one another. Economic security refers the community’s ability to afford basic living needs, which, in the case of El 20, is sometimes compromised, especially if there are unforeseeable expenditure shocks, such as medical emergencies (Kansikas et al. 2018). The economic security sub-project therefore seeks to find affordable solutions from the healthcare point of view. CBT, in turn, is a strategy, which intends to mitigate the gravity of expenditure shocks for the long run by gradually increasing the income level of the community. At the same time, the community gets to share its cultural identity with the visitors while securing its livelihood.

1.2.2 Craftwork in El 20
One of the main income sources in El 20 derives from craftsmanship (‘artesanía’). For some families, the percentage that the sales of craftwork constitute household incomes can vary from 20 to as much 95 percent (Visit Calakmul, 2018). Nearly all of the adult population in El 20 engage in some form of craftwork. The forms include embroidery (50%), hammock weaving
(20%), woodcraft (15%), apiculture (10%) as well as stone carving (5%)\(^1\). Those practicing craftworks are organized in approximately 20 ‘artisan groups’, where those who produce the same craft category belong to the same group. For example, locals who weave hammocks belong to the same artisan groups and they take turns selling the products. Out of the 20 groups, only five are legally established, meaning that they also pay taxes for the products that they sell. However, due to the limited marketing capabilities and support some of the remaining groups receive, eight groups are also interesting in becoming legally established (Visit Calakmul, 2018). According to the research conducted by ALM in 2017, some craft makers also fear becoming legal for tax reasons, because it would mean paying taxes from the little income that receive from their products (Dahlberg et al. 2017).

1.2.3 CBT development in El 20

As of 2017, the sources of income in El 20 are very limited. As a result, CBT has gradually become a possibility for the community increase sales from selling of crafts and also contribute to job creation. Especially in the absence of rain, the community’s food production and water collection are affected, leading the community to use their money to buy food and water to survive. As mentioned, the limited of amount of income is especially pressing from the perspective of being able to afford medical care. In 2013, ALM has co-created with El 20 a strategy, artesanía para el bienestar (eng: artistry for well-being) that helps the community to gain access to health services through the selling of local crafts. In this strategy, a portion of the income made from crafts is put aside in a communal fund for the whole community. The aim, in the long run, is to find a medical insurance that would cover the whole community. This, however, is still an investment too large for the community.

According 2017 field trip findings, it was learned that El 20 is willing to host tourists and that the community is looking into expanding its CBT enterprise (Dahlberg et al. 2017). According to the same research, the community wishes to develop a CBT enterprise so that it reflects and connects the values voted most precious to the community: water, nature, health and children. The community however identifies the biggest challenge right now to be very limited number of incoming tourists, possibly as a consequence of limited infrastructure, external communication and partners. This has resulted in low sales of crafts, meaning that artesanía para el bienestar has not been enough to cover more than one or two medical emergencies annually. Furthermore, it has

\(^{1}\) According to estimates by Visit Calakmul (2018)
also been identified that the community rarely gets together to share thoughts on tourism related matters, resulting in not everyone being involved in touristic activities. This suggests that there is a need to search for opportunities to support CBT development in a way that respects the community’s values, needs and wants as well as planning for higher inclusion. Thus, there is still a long journey ahead before CBT can fully be embraced.

1.3 Study significance

The research conducted for this thesis is relevant from three main perspectives: the case community, the research community and the sustainable development agenda.

Firstly, this thesis has been planned to provide a more in-depth understanding of the internal and external factors affecting CBT development specific for the context of the case study. Based on previous studies in El 20, there is evidence to suspect that there are currently many issues and possible causes of conflict, which may hinder the future success of the enterprise, and these issues deserve to be studied further in detail. For instance, although literature suggests participation to be a cornerstone to CBT development, participation as a practice might not be something that is already part of the local culture, meaning that participation is something that needs to be nurtured and developed together with the wider community over time. In the case of El 20, it would be vital to understand the reasons and causes to limited internal participation and understand its consequences for the future of the enterprise. Reflecting the data from this thesis with past case studies can improve the understanding of the practices and success factors which prevail in the industry. The significance of the research of this thesis in this aspect is thus supplementing a better understanding of the community context in relation to CBT development to minimize the risk of failure.

Secondly, this thesis has been planned to contribute to the literature of CBT studies, which is built upon case studies of communities that have or is in the process of setting up CBT, models and theories. The case of El 20 is exemplary of a community that is setting up CBT as a method of livelihood diversification. When discussing CBT development, past research has frequently addressed the importance of acknowledging that each community is unique with its own needs, challenges, resources and individual locals, and therefore it is important to treat the case study as its own unique case. Furthermore, studying previous case studies can still help to gain a wider understanding of some facilitating conditions and barriers that have been commonly identified.
Thus, adding a new case study through this thesis to the CBT research could make the growing study of CBT more comprehensive.

Lastly, the study of CBT development can in the long run promote national and international objectives of sustainable development (e.g. Ashley and Garland, 1994). The intended impacts of successful CBT are to approach poverty alleviation with consideration to the economic, social and environmental well-being of the society, and thereby aligning with common objectives of sustainable development (e.g. Sustainable Development Goals and World Summits). Furthermore, this thesis also supports the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People, which states that the indigenous (in this case the Mayan) have the right to ‘determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development’ (United Nations, 2007) by hearing out the individual locals. The question that remains, however, is whether the CBT enterprise will be successful, and therefore studying its underlying factors are important. Thus, the work of this thesis can hopefully contribute to addressing the global poverty alleviation agenda in a way that respects the rights, knowledge and awareness of the locals, even if it is on a tiny scale.

1.4 Research questions

The main purpose of this thesis is, with the support of extensive literature research; to examine the factors contribute to the development of a successful CBT enterprise.

The thesis aims to answer the following research question:

- What are the factors that enable and inhibit successful CBT development?

In order to answer the research question, the following research objectives will be addressed:

- to gain a deeper understanding of community motivations, perceptions and values
- to gain a broad overview of community context and dynamics
- to contribute to the literature of CBT development in rural and marginalized contexts through the examination of a single case study.
2. Literature Review

The following literature review concentrates on the concept of community-based tourism in rural and marginalized areas and approaches it from three main perspectives. First, it introduces community-based tourism as a concept and reflects it with the principles of sustainable development. Second, it discusses the common practices and theories of CBT development. Finally, the literature review summarizes the factors contributing to the success of a CBT enterprise. The final section of this literature review provides a theoretical framework for this thesis.

2.1 Sustainable development in the tourism industry

The movement of promoting local participation in tourism decision-making became mainstream following several conferences and reports, such as the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment, 1992 Rio Summit and the 1987 Brundtland Report. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (2017) asserts that sustainable forms of tourism should support the principles of sustainable development through conservation of natural heritage and biodiversity. Often, “sustainable tourism development requires the informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, as well as strong leadership to ensure wide participation and consensus building”, suggesting that the planning and monitoring of sustainable tourism requires careful attention for it to achieve its goals in practice (UNTWO). In the context of tourism in the developing world, the focus has been shifted for communities to be seen as a resource in developing and managing touristic activities in order to maximize local benefits (Stone, 2010). Alongside with other new forms of tourism, the concept of CBT emerged in literature during the 1970s-1980s and has been discussed as one alternative to the traditional mass tourism activities, where the community acts as the owner of the tourism enterprise (Stone, 2010; Zapata et al., 2011; Tolkach et al., 2014).

2.1.1 Definition of community

Before going deeper in to the concept of CBT, the ‘community’ element in the movement should be first examined. Although the literature body recognizes communities to be a central element for sustainable tourism development, little attention has been paid to examine its relevance to the outcome of tourism development. This is partly because the term ‘community’ is frequently been the subject of debate for having varying definitions (Tesoriero and Lfe, 2006; Barrow and Murphree, 2002). A basic definition for ‘community’ often lingers on three key elements: location, interest and attachment. These elements are not mutually exclusive as locals of a community can
fall into more than one category concurrently (Shahmirzadi, 2012; Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011). Of these elements, location is most frequently used to characterize a community, as geographical boundaries are easiest to define and often play an important role on community identity. The second element, communities of interest, incorporates social movements, formal and informal (or both) groups, where individuals become part of this community voluntarily (Shahmirzadi, 2012). Attachment, in turn, is often referred to when communities are defined by a common culture or identity, which can further be divided into smaller ‘sub-communities’ based on other characteristics such as age, gender or customs. These three elements in most cases define a specific way of inhabiting a common place, which makes up a socio-ecological system, where web of social relations, sense of territory and a way of working collectively (or lack of) characterizes a community (Zielinski, 2018).

Since the conception of CBT, scholars have prevalently addressed the importance of defining a community, as this plays an important role in how locals manage the enterprise and subsequently receive benefits from it. A common misconception omnipresent in literature is that communities are homogenous and harmonious entities, who operate under a strong local leadership which holds the community together, creating the assumption that full participation can be expected (Zielinski, 2018). In reality, communities encompass individuals who are divided based on age, gender, family relatedness, socioeconomic status and interpersonal relationships, and the resulting power struggles and conflicting values is often overlooked in CBT studies (Litka, 2013; Daltabuit Godás et al. 2007; Blackstock, 2005). Ignoring such factors can then result in a situation where only few are empowered (Hall, 2003), meaning that CBT would not be operating to yield the benefits it intends to. Additionally, to communities not being homogenous, it is also important to acknowledge that communities are not static. Communities are all dynamic in nature, meaning that they act, interact, evolve and change as a result of larger internal and external forces as well as created and re-created through social interactions (Bridger et al. 2006; Shahmirzadi, 2012; Brennan et al., 2010). Thus, defining communities on a case-by-case basis to acknowledge the ways that locals operate is important for CBT development to create a sounder plan to suit the local context.

2.1.2 Community-based tourism enterprises

CBT can be defined through many varying terms (community-based ecotourism, rural tourism, homestay, indigenous tourism etc.) and definitions, of which most center on similar themes of
empowerment and local control. While many are applicable to this thesis, for simplicity and consistency this thesis applies the term community-based tourism (CBT) and defines it as

‘small scale tourism in economically less developed rural areas in the Global South, where local people are active actors in tourism development’ (Höckert, 2009)

Similarly, CBTs in communities are also described through varying terms, such as CBT projects, initiatives, ventures and enterprises, and this thesis will use the term enterprise for consistency. For the purpose of this thesis, a CBT enterprise can be defined as a

‘Sustainable, community-owned and community-based tourism initiative that enhances conservation and in which the local community is fully involved throughout its development and management and they are the main beneficiaries through community development’ (Manyara and Jones, 2007)

CBT is most commonly developed in remote, rural, improvised, marginalized, economically depressed, indigenous, ethnic minority areas and people in small towns (Muganda, 2009). Such communities are often described to engage themselves in traditional, participatory or agricultural economic system in which the use and exchange of goods with little financial or occupational change are shaped by long traditions (ibid.). The way of production and sharing of goods within these types of communities can be seen as an advantage for development of CBT, especially when it comes to viewing the enterprise as well as its benefits as communal (Ndlovu, 2015). Often, the communities considering CBT development may do so due to challenges in finances or resource scarcity and thus, they seek for livelihood diversification. This type of approach is explained in development economics as a way to spread risk by not relying on only one source of income, which otherwise might commonly be farming (Banerjee and Duflo, 2007). Velasquez (2005) however makes an important note about diversifying livelihoods through CBT development, that it should be one of the methods to spread risk and should never compromise the traditional means of income generation.

When developing planning for CBT development, the primary aim in such cases should be to ensure that the local communities have a high degree of control of the tourism product and distribution of its economic benefits (Scheyvens in Stone, 2010). While doing so, the relationship between locals and tourists is intended to be a mutually beneficial exchange, where locals benefit
through the discovery of natural and cultural heritage and locals obtain heightened awareness and pride from their nature and culture function as a source of socio-economic well-being (Ndlovu, 2015). For it to be able to do so, established CBT enterprises need be characterized by the following criteria:

1. CBT is located within a community land
2. CBT is owned and benefits one or more community members in a way that generates benefits for the community
3. CBT is managed by community members where the community has decision-making power over the tourism enterprise (Zapata et al., 2011)

Despite the promotion of CBT during the past few decades, past studies indicate CBT enterprises to have a high failing rate. Goodwin (2006) describes in his evaluation of CBT projects that oftentimes the projects do not need generate enough profits in order to contribute to improved livelihoods. Another is also reliance on external funding. The lack of financial viability is confirmed in several other studies, e.g. Mitchel and Muckosy (2008) to be a common outcome of CBT projects. Despite this common outcome, CBT is still pursued in certain locations do to its potential impacts if the enterprise is successful. The prerequisite is that those managing and supporting the development of the enterprise must possess appropriate skills and knowledge to ensure the sustainability CBT (Zielinski, 2018).

### 2.1.3 Types of community-based tourism

In a case study discussion paper conducted on communities in Namibia, Ashley and Garland (1994) categorized four types CBT enterprises, each with different characteristics and impacts. Although the specific terms of these four types are not used to describe CBT projects in every case study, the characteristics are still present, and it is worthwhile to inspect the possible forms CBTs might take. These types and their implications are summarized in the below Table 1.

#### Table 1: Comparison of four types of CBT approaches (adapted from Ashley and Garland)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Welfare and economic growth</th>
<th>Empowerment</th>
<th>Conservation</th>
<th>Tourism product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up-market lodge</td>
<td>Increased economic activity</td>
<td>Possibility of disempowering, as resources are taken away from the locals</td>
<td>Low impact; benefits and understanding how revenue comes is not very known by locals</td>
<td>Increase in capacity and geographical dispersion, but not product diversity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited local benefit distribution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Welfare and economic growth</th>
<th>Empowerment</th>
<th>Conservation</th>
<th>Tourism product</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Potential infrastructural development • Potential for resource degradation • Some jobs created</td>
<td>• If locals are employed, some may gain new skills e.g. English speaking</td>
<td>• No institutional development of resource management</td>
<td>• Revenue-sharing does not add a new service or product for tourists; might add appeal to certain tourists • Increase in capacity and geographical dispersion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private up-market lodge</td>
<td>• Increased economic activity, creation of jobs • Contribution to equity and poverty alleviation • May strengthen institutions • May increase community-led initiatives</td>
<td>• Community does not gain control or rights over tourist enterprise, but gains responsibility and control of revenue share</td>
<td>• Possible impact depending on the scale, distribution, and understanding of the revenue-share</td>
<td>• Increase in capacity, geographical dispersion and diversity of national tourism product, especially eco-tourism market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint venture</td>
<td>• Potentially high impact on local economic growth, poverty alleviation and equity • Wide distribution of benefits • Risks and costs to locals</td>
<td>• Community has greater control over tourism development • Community has negotiation rights • Community has resource rights • New skill and institutional developments are possible</td>
<td>• High impact due to transparency – does however depend on distribution of control within the community</td>
<td>• Increase in capacity, geographical dispersion and diversity of national tourism product, especially eco-tourism market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community enterprise</td>
<td>• High impact on local economic growth; some impact on the national</td>
<td>• High potential impact as the community plays a central role in controlling the</td>
<td>• High impact as benefits are transparently linked to tourism and wildlife</td>
<td>• Diversification of the tourism product, often for budget travelers or eco-tourists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These four types of CBT approaches reflect the progressive nature of how power, control and empowerment of the community grows as it moves towards full ownership of the enterprise. The first two, up-market lodge and private up-market lodge, are not owned nor controlled by the community, and thus the direct benefits and impacts are minimal. While there are possibilities for infrastructural upgrades, the economic benefits are often only distributed for those directly involved. In both cases, there is a possibility for environmental degradation, as there is no direct linkage between the locals and environmental conservation, and cultural dilution if the locals does not control the activities carried out in the community. This suggests that more involvement from the side of locals is required in order to have a higher impact on welfare and economic growth, empowerment and conservation for the locals. In the third level, joint venture, a third party and the community own the tourism enterprise, and both share the income from tourist activities. This method seems to ensure greater local benefits, as the community is considered a partner in the tourism enterprise. While there are still some limitations to empowerment, the transparency associated with ownership is believed to enhance conservation.

The final approach is community enterprise, in which case the local community owns and manages its own tourism enterprise, often with the support of an NGO. Out of these four types, the authors conclude that the more involved the community, the more direct benefits and higher empowerment is yielded directly to the community. This resonates with notions outlined in other studies of what benefits CBT is intended yield while respecting with the principles of sustainable development. This confirms that the ideal scenario to allow the community to manage its tourism enterprise on its own. According to the authors, tourism that empowers its community can, in the long run, contribute to the national objectives of the country and facilitate national economic development. Jones (2005) however argues that despite the philanthropic nature of this form of CBT, it is
important to address the community’s business capacities to run the enterprise in order to provide more stable social assets to ensure sustainable operations in the future.

2.1.4 Sustainable community-based tourism

The discourse on integrating tourism aimed at sustainable development and CBT continues to grow as more communities engage in CBT development, and is in fact encouraged to foster more sustainability-oriented practices in the field (Dangi and Jamal, 2016). Many sustainable tourism models are often discussed in combination with CBT due to sharing similar themes with each other (Ndlovu, 2015). CBT in most cases is portrayed as a strategy, which reflects the principles of sustainable development through integration of social, environmental and economic sustainable development factors to poverty alleviation (Rodrigues and Prideaux, 2018). As such, the basic concepts of CBT (enhancing quality of local life, protecting cultural and natural heritage and providing economic opportunity to locals) applies the objectives of sustainable development (McCool and Bosak, 2016). Again, at the heart of this process is ‘community engagement and development’, meaning that it is distinctive from sustainable tourism development models for prioritizing locals’ control and power in directing development (McCool, 1999; Ellis, 2014; Ndlovu, 2015). These specific ambitions and expectations of sustainability are then what scholars often use as a criterion for evaluating and measuring success of CBT enterprises. Thus, it is worthwhile to examine further the specific impacts on the three pillars expected from CBT.

Socio-cultural impacts in CBT

Socio-cultural impacts of CBT often surround the themes of local empowerment as well as protection of cultural identity. Social empowerment can be defined as ‘the extent of political control over the tourism industry through ownership, law or planning; particularly control exercised at a local level’ (Clark et al. in Lenao & Saarinen, 2015). In other words, the increased autonomy the host community has over its own resources and tourism enterprise through local participation and decision-making. As mentioned, increased autonomy and control are considered as some of the most important cornerstones to the concept of CBT, because it ensures empowerment and thereby sustainability of tourism in remote areas (Snyman, 2012; Höckert, 2009; Dolezal, 2013; Salazar, 2012). The idea that successful CBT enterprises result in empowerment has led several case studies to attempt measuring the social impacts in CBT projects. For instance, a study of three CBT destinations revealed the social benefits derived from CBT had in fact been greater than the economic benefits because, as a result, those who were involved had been able to learn new skills, gain perspectives on different cultures from tourists.
and improve their English skills (Vierros, 2017). A 10-year study of the Kokoda Track, Papua New Guinea communities found that the local communities had been enabled to effectively communicate its opinions and priorities to the planning process – something it had not been able to do before (Reggers et al. 2016). Other sustainable socio-cultural impacts from a well-managed tourism enterprise are increased cultural understanding, a boost in the want to preserve local culture and development of tourism facilities that also benefit locals (Ånstrand, 2006).

According to UNEP, any form of economic development will bring some form socio-cultural changes to the host community. Some authors go as far as to describe socio-cultural changes as one of the evils in tourism development (Ånstrand, 2006). One of main reasons for this include the change or loss in indigenous identity, something that is also common in larger scale tourism development. While the idea behind CBT is reverse, there is still the risk that the community moves away from its own cultural identity due to new tourism practices or that external actors (e.g. in private up-market lodge) induce changes to the dynamics within the community. Furthermore, despite the knowledge on intended socio-cultural impacts resulting from CBT development, there has been some discussion on the distribution of such benefits. Several authors (e.g. Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Manyara and Jones, 2009) have noted that the failure of CBT enterprises can result from monopolization of benefits by elites within a community, even if there is an increase in shared communal benefits. This is a reflection of what is discussed earlier in this literature review, that defining how a community operates is important to identify the possible power hierarchies which exist in a community. This suggests that in order to take full advantage of the social empowerment which CBT promises; it is important to examine the factors which determine the extent to which social empowerment can take place in a community as a result of successful CBT development.

**Economic impacts**

As mentioned, case studies have often discussed CBT as a tool to enhance economic development through diversification of livelihoods. The participatory nature of CBT facilitates economic development in two main areas: the accrual of communal economic benefits and job creation (Mayaka, 2017). First, there is evidence that income deriving from the CBT enterprise can be invested in communal projects, such as water, health or education services, to bring benefits for everyone regardless whether they are directly involved or not (Strydom et al., 2017; Vierros, 2017; Garduño, 2017; Goodwin and Santilli, 2009). Vierros (2017), who studied three CBT enterprises in rural areas, confirmed that the income derived from tourists had indeed been invested in
communal services. Second, a case study done in Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust (2010) found that creation of opportunities is essential in promoting rural development, especially where new jobs had been created and production of local goods was supported (Sebele, 2010). Höckert (2009) supports this notion in her ethnographic study of three Nicaraguan communities by concluding that CBT does empower its locals through job creation.

Although many scholars acknowledge that there will be some income generated once tourists start coming in, some authors, such as Kiss (2004), argue that the distribution of those benefits can depend widely on whether the earnings become private or are invested into community projects. In either case, it is important to understand that certain distribution solutions can create friction between community members. A study in Romania, titled ‘we make more money now, but we don’t talk anymore’, found that introducing a new source of income have put local families in constant competition, leaving a negative impact on the social dynamics of the community (Ivan, 2017). This suggests that introducing a new source of income on common land can have some transformational impacts on the community and such risks should be treated with caution.

**Environmental impacts**

The development of any kind of tourism will inherently have an impact on the local natural environment one way or another (Tervo-Kankare, 2017). CBT enterprises differ from traditional forms of mass tourism in a sense that it aims to leave a minimal footprint on the environment. Kiss (2004) argues that CBT development could be used as a tool to conserve the natural environment of the local destination based on the principle that biodiversity generates economic benefits. This argument has been backed in other studies (e.g. Walter, 2013; Halstead, 2003; Sebele, 2010), where locals had in fact understood better the value of its nature a result of CBT development and thereby felt more inclined to protect it. The reason for such realization could be that the niche that CBT operates in often attracts visitors who desire ‘authentic experiences’, which results in deeper understanding of the value of the environment. The ‘protectors’ of the environment in these contexts should be none other than locals themselves due to their deep-rooted experience and knowledge they possess in the environment that they live in (e.g. Thaman, 2016; Varumo, 2016)

In other words, the local community should be the primary stakeholders when it comes to conserving its natural area. Kiss, however, argues that the success of conserving the local environment will depend greatly on the awareness and participation of the community (2004). This, again, emphasizes the importance of local participation in CBT developments.
2.2 Planning and development of CBT

Similar to business ventures, theories and models have emerged in the CBT domain to guide the planning and development of these types of enterprises. A study done on Australian State’s policy for indigenous tourism, a type of community where CBT is often developed, emphasizes that there exists no ‘one size fits all’ framework for tourism development. Rather, in order to facilitate long-term sustainable tourism, the approach should be collaborative, coordinated, and integrative with a special focus on diversity (Whitford and Ruhanen, 2010). Despite this, there still exist some guiding models, which raise some common issues that do affect the success of CBT enterprises.

2.2.1 CBT lifecycle model

As for most types of tourism, the lifecycle model of tourist destinations can be applied in the planning and development of CBT. The most notable and applied lifecycle model for tourism development was founded by Butler in 1980, a model which resembles product lifecycle graphs in business studies. According to the original model, a tourism destination grows through several stages over time: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation and stagnation. This model, adjusted to the development of CBT, was studied by Zapata et al. (2011) through several case studies in Nicaragua. The model is visualized in the below Figure 1.

![CBT lifecycle according to Butler’s model](image_url)

**Figure 1 CBT lifecycle according to Butler’s model (adapted from Zapata et. al, 2011)**

According to the model, CBT develops through three main stages, and depending on how it develops, it can take three different paths. The three main stages are exploration, involvement and development. During the *exploration* stage, the number of tourists discovering the destination is
small and there is limited involvement from the community in the tourism enterprise. In CBT development, the community has not previously linked their local assets to a tourism attraction, but rather the tourists are introducing the concept for the development of tourism services. Once the community has become adapted to the idea that they could provide a service, the tourism of the destination moves to the *involvement* stage. During this stage, when the potential of tourism achieving socioeconomic development is realized, the community starts thinking about ways to raise capital to support tourism activity. Zapata et al. (2011) discovered through a national survey that eight out of the total 34 communities failed to find funding to develop their tourism product. This indicates that lack of outside funding can prevent the community from moving forward to the next stages of tourism development. The authors however note that out of the surveyed communities, six were still able to raise funds to improve their facilities through their existing agricultural activities. This indicates that despite of external funding, there is still possibility for the community to operate on its own if their current activities can sufficiently support it. However, the same authors also emphasize that capital is not the only prerequisite to move forward with CBT, but also social capital is required in the form of knowledge and communicative skills, which can also act as an attraction for tourists (ibid.). Therefore, it is evident that in order for tourism to continue developing, the conditions of both physical and social capital must be investigated.

After investments into social and economic capital, the tourism moves to *development* and *growth* operation stage. During this stage, the number of tourists has been growing and the income that the community gets in return needs to be economically sustainable in order to support the growth. Depending on how the community manages the growth, the tourism can take one of the three paths: accelerated tourism growth, moderate tourism growth or total decline of tourism growth. According to the Zapata et al., if the tourism continues to grow, there are impacts that can be observed in terms of employment and income, skills and self-esteem, social dynamics as well as the environment. This indicates that there needs to be investigation into what kind of volumes of tourists the destination can hold before exceeding its carrying capacity, meaning that the existing facilities can no longer support the tourism growth. Thus, the most appropriate and sustainable mode of growth is low growth, as this does not bear the risks of exceeding carrying capacity as well as those related environmental and cultural degradation.

### 2.2.2 CBT planning process model

Extending on the requirements for successful tourism development by CBT lifecycle model, Pinel (1998) has introduced a *community-based tourism planning process model* (CBTP) to the literature
CBT. The blueprint of the model derived from a macro tourism-planning framework by Reid et al. (1993), which has then been adjusted to a ‘bottom-up’ approach. Koster (2007), who applied the model in their case study, found that utilizing the model is an effective way to approach CBT in an inclusive manner. The authors (ibid.) however call attention to examining the participation of locals, as this is the most difficult part of implementing CBT due to potential power structures. According to the model, the basis of CBT planning should be built from the awareness of community values and organizational needs to guide more locally appropriate tourism development that fits with the community context. This suggests that the enterprise should have the community as its central driving force, an important cornerstone for CBT projects. The CBTP model provides a more comprehensive elaboration on the concrete phases beyond the suggestions of the life cycle model as for what should be taken into consideration when developing CBT.

The model makes three assumptions:

1. That local capacity building and organizational development can be most effectively guided using the knowledge and insights of stakeholders
2. That most stakeholders can look beyond their immediate circumstances
3. That with community values identified, most stakeholders will move together toward acknowledged desires that respect the local area and community well-being (Pinel, 2013)

The model is visualized in the below Figure 2.
The first phase of the model is community assessment and organization development phase, where the community evaluates its own context and does an inventory on its social capital, both in feedback loops. The loops signify the periodic nature of the activities, meaning that the context and social capital can and should be evaluated in intervals, such as once during a year. During the social capital inventory loop, the community 'harnesses the experience, expertise, desires and support' (using a facilitator recommended). This approach has also been used in a CBT management model in Brazil, where it is strongly recommended to identify local resources, which may be used to support CBT development (Rodrigues and Prideaux, 2018). This activity complements other studies' findings where the skills and perceptions of the community are also taken into account additionally to other available resources for tourism development. This would mean that understanding what values, challenges and developmental needs the community has during the early stages of setting up, a CBT enterprise could foster greater inclusion of community members (Beeton, 2006).

Pinel (2011) however argues that alienation, turnover, attrition and burnout of community members can hinder the success of the tourism enterprise, which suggests that there should be
preventative measures taking place in order to minimize the effects of the mentioned potential barriers. Furthermore, personal dynamics within a community are also factors that should be studied, as these may cause conflicts as tourism development progresses (Pinel, 1998; Tosun, 2002; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Moscardo, 2008). Therefore, the advantage of carrying out a thorough assessment and evaluation of the community can allow the emergence of a common direction and at the same time help identifying possible sources of conflicts. Thus, during the first phase of planning for CBT, the research attests that understanding the local context in terms of knowledge, needs and social structure and allowing meaningful community input are vital guiding principles to CBT development.

The next phase, planning and preparation, moves on to conducting preparatory activities to develop the tourism product itself by the community. The findings and insights from the previous phase will guide the identification of how finance and funding is required, what kind of education and training efforts must be made, which research activities still need to be conducted and who would be the possible partners to create the product. Pinel (1998) stresses that the time needed to conduct these activities should be respected in order to allow a more inclusive cooperation from the side of the community. Reflecting with the CBT lifecycle model, the need to identify partners and conduct research, finances and funding, training and education implies that the tourism development is in between the involvement and development stage. Combining the research from both models, it is evident that gaining enough physical capital (in this case, funding, training and possible partnerships) becomes a crucial factor for success of this stage. A study done on 200 CBT projects across Latin America proved that CBT enterprises can in fact fail as a result of the community not having enough skills and knowledge to raise enough funds to support their infrastructural and service developments. The study found that ‘the most likely outcome for a CBT initiative is collapsing after funding dries up’, a notion which other subsequent studies have also validated to be a limitation (Aref, 2011; Mitchell and Muckosy, 2008). This implies that the community would need to possess enough resources and knowledge to successfully develop its tourism product, which the lack of may call for external support in order to minimize the risk of failure.

After the activities of both preceding phases have been ensured, the tourism development of the community moves onto to the delivery phase. During this phase, the community implements the product plan it has planned to deliver to its tourists. This phase is closely tied with the fourth phase, which is monitoring and adjustment, which then restarts the process once again. This signifies a
feedback loop for the planning model, where the tourism product is never final, but refined continuously to create a good fit for the community. In an inquiry to identify critical success factors to CBT, Lucchetti and Font (2014) observe this type of stage should be incorporated into planning, as it would provide the community with the insights on efficiency, best practices and issues that need to be resolved.

While the model ‘provides many useful links between planning concepts and tools that could be used to initiate and direct CBTP elsewhere’, it should be fine-tuned to fit each CBT planning scenario (p. 150-152). This best done through careful examination local insights, concerns, desires, common values and principles in order to create a best fit for the community, as was executed in Pinel’s case community (p. 162). This resonates with what has been earlier found in this literature review that there is no one perfect framework to apply to CBT enterprise planning and implementation and this should always be taken into consideration when proceeding with CBT plans. Despite this, the model still shares many similarities and depicts many common themes when compared to other frameworks conceived in other studies. The theme of local involvement, most heavily highlighted in the first two phases of the model, many other frameworks conceived in corresponding studies (e.g. Moscardo, 2008; Rodrigues and Prideaux, 2018). This suggests that while there is no one perfect framework, there exists a network of best practices identifiable from past and existing case studies, which can be used as a benchmark when findings methods best fitted for a community.

### 2.2.3 Community participation in CBT enterprises

The notion of community participation in tourism originates from the general concept of local involvement in development studies (Tosun, 1999). The concept has been widely endorsed for putting locals at the center of tourism development, yet at the same time it is contested for its ambiguity (Mayaka et al. 2017). Nevertheless, participation remains a rich concept, which can be understood different depending on the context. Tosun (2000) defines community participation to be a ‘a form of voluntary action in which individuals confront opportunities and responsibilities of citizenship such as self-governance, response to external decision that impact one’s life, and collaborative work on collective issues’. The World Bank (1995), in turn, defines it as ‘a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, and the decisions and resources which affect them’. Despite the variety of definitions, the general consensus among scholars and practitioners that promoting participation in tourism planning will
grant the locals the chance to be in charge of their own development in a way that respects the local culture and environment.

In the context of CBT, the willingness of the local community to participate is argued to be a strong predictor of the sustainability of the industry, whereas the lack of can become a major barrier to enterprise’s success, especially if outsiders make decisions ‘for’ the community. (Zielinski, 2018; Campbell, 1999; Tosun, 2000; Okazaki, 2008). The promotion of participation at CBT destinations encompasses the locals maintaining control of the enterprise by being involved in setting goals, objectives and implementation strategies (Kim et al. 2014). This means that involvement of locals in CBT goes beyond service provision (food, accommodation, activities) by keeping locals aware on enterprise activities and benefit distribution. This type of community involvement is especially crucial as it recognizes possible heterogeneity within a community and brings more views forward to the planning phase (e.g. Lew, 1989; Stone, 2015). The justifications to promote local participation in CBT are that the locals have a historical understanding of its destination, they are those affected by tourism development and that are an integral part of the tourism product (Muganda, 2009; Scheyvens, 1999). As such, by having locals leading CBT development, the likelihood of the community choosing paths most suitable for the local conditions is higher, the risk of unwanted negative impacts is lowered and traditional lifestyles and values can be preserved (Madrigal, 1994; Li, 2006; Stone and Stone, 2011).

While participation is vastly promoted in CBT literature, in reality, local communities often experience little or no participation at all in the decision-making process (Bramwell and Yuksell, 2000). Some researchers have questioned the feasibility of community participation in practice, identifying several underlying barriers to it. Regarding internal factors, achieving harmony and consensus can be considered a romanticized concept, where it is assumed that real consensus can be reached because the community is a homogenous unit, sharing similar interests concerning tourism development (Jamal and Getz, 1995; Blackstock, 2005; Taylor, 1995). It should also be considered in some contexts, this type of “real consensus and true local control is not always possible, practical or even desired” (Salazar, 2012). This view can be seen in practice through many case studies, where local culture and relationships have played a strong role in how a community is organized. Issues such as power relations, elite groups, gender roles and personal relationships can hinder the possibility of an all-inclusive participation and arriving at a consensus. For example, communities organized in patriarchy can have women excluded from the decision-making process (Timothy, 2002). Regarding external factors, highly centralized governmental
systems often associated with developing countries, locals are often involved only through consultation and information (Tosun, 2000). Actively working on participation therefore is also important from the perspective of identifying and resolving a common barrier (lack of participation) which often hinders the successful implementation of the tourism project (Reid and Mitchell, 2009). This also means that possible local issues that affect the implementation can be raised and dealt with early on, and tourism can be developed in harmony with the social climate of the community (Okazaki, 2008).

Another factor which affects whether high participation levels can be achieved is the community’s knowledge and capacity to control the local resources for tourism purposes (Cole, 2006). Common issues such as lack of education and business knowledge, and conflicting vested interests must be overcome ‘before public involvement can be embraced’ (Addison in Okazaki, 2008), suggesting that doing major implementations before that can be counterproductive for the community. Furthermore, it is argued that the locals are most likely to support tourism development if they genuinely understand the potential benefits and feel invited to participate in tourism planning (Mak et al. 2017; Inskeep, 1994; Tosun, 2006). This means additionally to having the knowledge and capacity to participate, opportunities and barriers to doing so should also be identified. Many case studies (e.g. Walpole and Goodwin, 2000; Ponting et al. 2005; Saufi et al. 2014) confirm that without adequate opportunities, local participation can be quite limited.

Despite these critiques, the literature does not point towards participation to be regarded as an impossibility. Rather, it suggests that embracing local participation will require a considerable amount of time, effort, and possibly investments in training. This calls for a further study into the social context of the community in order to understand the current level of participation, and what conditions support and limit local participation for that specific community and what are the appropriate strategies to go forward.

**Ladder and typology of community participation**

Arnstein proposed one of the most notable theories on citizen participation in 1969, which has been also discussed in CBT case studies. Although the model was not originally specific for the tourism domain, Tosun (1999) recognized its usefulness in his subsequent studies and has since been a popular tool among scholars to assess the level of community participation in tourism projects (especially CBT). Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation has been adopted to understand the expected and actual participation of the local community in tourism development
The ladder recognizes that there are different hierarchical levels in community participation, which are translated to eight rungs addressing levels of citizen participation through different levels of power distribution. These eight rungs are divided into three levels: the bottom two rungs are represented as non-participation, the middle three as degrees of tokenism and the final three as degrees of citizen power. The ladder is visualized in the left of the below Figure 3.

![Figure 3 Arnstein’s ladder of citizen participation and its corresponding typologies based on Tosun (Adapted from Tosun, 1999)](image)

On the first level, non-participation, the tourism enterprise is controlled by an outsider power and the community holds little or no decision-making power on tourism development. The second, tokenism, the community can offer opinions on the tourism project. The final rungs, citizen power, describe real participation where the community is responsible for the decision-making over the tourism enterprise. The final level is seen as the ideal outcome, as this is where the community has been empowered to make decisions themselves and are in control of their tourism development.

Based on Arnstein’s model, Tosun (1999) translated Arnstein’s levels into three corresponding categories specific for tourism development: coerced, induced and spontaneous participation. Similar to Arnstein, Tosun (2006) advocates for spontaneous participation to be the best type of participation, as the community becomes empowered to make decisions and manage its own tourism development. These two models have been used vastly as descriptive tools to evaluate the expected and actual levels of participation in several case studies. Okazaki (2008), who studied both frameworks in his CBT case study, argues that identifying the current level of participation is crucial, because otherwise, there will be a lack of coordination when implementing plans. These
evaluations then give pathway to reflect on what needs to be done in order to move from one level to the next on the ladder.

**Promoting community participation in practice**

While there are abundant of studies on the importance of participation as well as its lack-of, only a few have suggested practical strategies to promote participation (Bello et al. 2016). Due to the barriers discussed, there are not many case studies where the community has reached the final level of the ladder, and many communities have stayed at tokenism, the middle level (Dolezal and Burns, 2015). A few authors have however attempted to take a more practical approach to overcome the limits to participation. One method used in CBT studies to gather local views and opinions regarding tourism planning has been roundtables, surveys, questionnaires and interviews. This can give an overview of the perceptions that the locals in order to aid the tourism planning. However, hearing out different views does not necessarily translate to a more participatory decision-making process due to possible structural inequalities within the community (Blackstock, 2005). Others, (e.g. Timothy in Satovuori, Jamal and Getz, 1995; Okazaki, 2008), attempt to facilitate participation through practical steps and actions with the common theme of awareness and acceptance raising on potential benefits and opportunities that come with CBT development. Methods such as informal and formal meetings ran by the community itself are encouraged, as doing so under the mandate of outsider tourism planners can lead to lower power held by the community.

A crucial part of the process should be considered is the importance of recognizing and understanding the barriers to community participation. Jamal and Getz (1995) do encourage the community factors to be studied empirically so that potential problems inhibiting collaboration can be recognized and conditions facilitating ‘shared visions’ can be advanced. Okazaki (2008) supports this by also encouraging elaborate information dissemination in order achieve higher levels on Arnstein’s ladder. Achieving higher levels in the ladder can be challenge, as inducing inclusive participation requires the community to be well organized, which is not always the case in CBT settings. Recognizing the lack of coordination in these types of tourism enterprises, Jamal and Getz (1995) developed six propositions with practical steps for each stage of CBT development. The propositions include:

1. Recognizing a high degree of interdependence in planning and managing the project
2. Recognizing that there are invidiual and mutual benefits from collaborating
3. A perception that decisions made will be implemented
4. Including key stakeholder groups in the process
5. Selecting a legitimate convener to initiate and facilitate CBT planning
6. Formulation of clear aims, objectives and self-regulation and

Based on previous literature, the authors divided CBT development into three main stages: problem setting, direction setting and implementation. The facilitating conditions for each step and their recommended actions are detailed and require a considerable amount of time and organizing, for which the authors (ibid.) highly recommend appointing a convener (i.e. an outside facilitator) to initiate and facilitate the process. The key aspect that the authors have put forward is the inclusion of the community in driving clear aims and objectives, which should give out the perception that whichever decisions are mutually made, they will be implemented. The full process can be found in Appendix II. A more recent case study done in two protected areas in Malawi suggested a somewhat similar approach, which called for better coordination at the local level with the help of well-trained facilitators (Bello et al. 2016). The authors suggested six practical strategies to be utilized through community meetings to enhance participation: public awareness and education; capacity building; creation of linkages; use of appropriate participation methods; involvement of appropriate community organizations and decentralization and coordination of relevant management organizations (ibid.). With the help of focus groups divided based on age and gender, barriers set forward by community dynamics were able to be tackled to an extent. Both of these approaches (Jamal and Bello et al.) attest that meaningful and inclusive participation is possible; however, the process of organizing, planning and coordination, as found earlier, is a time and resource consuming effort.

2.3 Developing a successful CBT enterprise

This literature review so far has shown that there are plenty factors that play a role in the process of planning, organizing and implementing plans for a CBT enterprise. It has also become clear that many of such factors relate and overlap each other. The purpose of this chapter is to summarize the factors presented in literature, dividing them into facilitating conditions and barriers to successful CBT development. Success in CBT’s can be defined as an enterprise that fulfills the definition of CBT, brings economic, social and environmental benefits and promotes the community’s own values.

2.3.1 Facilitating conditions
Facilitating conditions in this context will refer to the factors that make the success of the enterprise more probable. The facilitating conditions of CBT development can be divided into two main groups: internal and external factors. Internal factors are those that are present within the community itself, such as social and infrastructural capacity, local culture and economic conditions. In the context of this thesis and respecting how its case study locals of perceive their environment, the geographical factors will also be considered as an internal factor. External factors, in turn, are those set forward by the operating environment, such as the economy, the tourism industry and potential partners. The facilitating conditions identified from literature are summarized in the below Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Facilitating condition</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Internal</strong></td>
<td>High participation, awareness levels; understanding of benefits</td>
<td>Tosun, 2000; Tamir, 2015; Choi and Murray, 2010; Lucchetti and Font, 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The tourism enterprise is community owned</td>
<td>Scheyvens, 1999; Mitchell &amp; Reid, 2001; Hipwell, 2007; Trejos &amp; Chiang, 2009; Zapata et al. 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attractive destination</td>
<td>Lucchetti and Font, 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism does not exceed the carrying capacity</td>
<td>Höckert, 2009; Satarat, 2010; UNTWO 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recognition and respect for heterogeneity within a community</td>
<td>Tamir, 2015; Daltabuit, 2007; Stone, 2015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Business knowledge and information about how to run tourism activities</td>
<td>Dodds, 2015; Rodrigues and Prideaux, 2018; Lucchetti and Font, 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Respecting local values, contextually appropriate approaches</td>
<td>Salazar, 2011; Asker et al. 2010; Madrigal, 1994; Li, 2006; Stone and Stone, 2011; Goodwin and Santilli, 2009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive perception about tourism benefits</td>
<td>Tamir, 2015; Lepp, 2008; Choi and Murray, 2010; Ellis, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Focus on long-term sustainability</td>
<td>Giampiccoli and Mipuri, 2017; Dodds, 2015; Salazar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>External</strong></td>
<td>Funding opportunities</td>
<td>Nair and Hamzah, 2015; Dodds, 2015; Mitchell and Muckosy, 2008; Goodwin, 2006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.1 Barriers

In the context of this thesis, barriers refer to the factors that can hinder the success of a CBT enterprise. Similar to facilitating conditions, the barriers to success in CBT development can also be divided into two main groups: internal and external factors. These factors are summarized in the below Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Barriers</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Conflicts, marginalization, elite domination</td>
<td>Litka, 2013; Goodwin, 2006; Stone, 2010; Sebele, 2010; Reed, 1997; Satovuori, 2016; World Bank, 2013; Rozemeijer, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited local capacity</td>
<td>Dodd and Ali, 2018; Goodwin, 2006; Stone, 2010; Zielinski, 2018; Getz and Carlsen, 2000; Lucchetti and Font, 2013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Absence of benefit distribution mechanism</td>
<td>Zielinski, 2018; Asker et al. 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inadequate infrastructure</td>
<td>Goodwin, 2006; Stone, 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weak tourism assets</td>
<td>Goodwin, 2006; Stone, 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low participation and awareness</td>
<td>Goodwin, 2006; Stone, 2010; Tamir, 2015; Tosun, 2015; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Okazaki, 2008; Timothy, 1999; Kim et al. 2014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tourism intercepting with traditional means of income generation</td>
<td>Litka, 2013; Veslasquez, 2005; Asker et al. 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weak leadership, disorganization</td>
<td>Zielinski, 2018; Jamal and Getz, 1995</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Barriers to CBT success based on literature
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Barriers</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Poor marketing</td>
<td>Gascon, 2013; Stone and Stone, 2011; Sebele, 2010; Sundjaya, 2005; Jamal and Stronza, 2009; Lapeyre, 2010; Rozemeijer, 2000; Ellis, 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of external support</td>
<td>Goodwin, 2006; Stone, 2010; Zielinski et al. 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of funding / dependence on external funding</td>
<td>Goodwin, 2006; Stone, 2010; Mitchell and Muckosy, 2008; Zielinski et al., 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited of access to tourism markets</td>
<td>Lucchetti and Font, 2013; Dixey, 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>External</td>
<td>Inadequate governmental policies; complicated bureaucratic process, overlapping legal land use rights; lack of political support</td>
<td>Nelson, 2004; Ogutu, 2002; Saufi et al., 2014</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4 Literature review summary and theoretical framework

The following theoretical framework is constructed on the basis of the literature reviewed and applied to the context of this thesis.

![Theoretical framework of this thesis]

Figure 4 The theoretical framework of this thesis

The literature review of this thesis started with reviewing CBT as a concept, and gradually going deeper into its principles and processes which take place when developing the enterprise. Through the examination case studies, theories and otherwise relevant studies, it is evident that CBT has certain antecedents to its development, which ultimately determine the outcome of the project. In this context, the antecedents refer to factors which can facilitate or act as a barrier to successful
CBT development. Identifying and acting upon these factors also advances the enterprise’s potential to achieve social empowerment, economic development and environmental conservation – all that will also reflect the specific needs of the community. In order to achieve this state of operations, there are many factors which must be studied and acted upon prior to moving forward. This approach also reflects the important first steps to CBT development suggested by many studies (e.g. CBTP model), which encourage the whole community context to be studied thoroughly. This thesis thus will be studying the current community context of the case study in order to identify the factors predicting future success of the enterprise. While doing so, this thesis will also aim to understand the community’s desires and hopes for the future of its development. The above Figure 4 visualizes the theoretical framework of this thesis.
3. Methodology

The following chapter will provide the methodological foundations that the empirical part of this thesis is built on.

3.1 Research process

According to Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008), research is rarely a linear process. This means that along the process, new insights and information may surface, resulting in reformulations, corrections and revisions to the original plan. Therefore, the research process of this thesis took place as a cyclical process, where the steps were frequently reflected with one another (Maylor et al., 2005). The research process of this thesis is visualized in the below Figure 5.

![Figure 5](image-url)  
*The research process of this thesis (adapted from Maylor et al. 2005)*

3.1 Research strategy

3.1.1 Research philosophy

The ontological standpoint of this thesis is interpretivism, which assumes that reality is socially constructed. This thesis aims to understand how a rural and marginalized community perceive reality in the context that they live in. The epistemological standpoint of this thesis is also interpretivism. This means that the socially defined reality of the research subject can be
understood through interpretation of different social interactions and values that people hold (Saunders et al. 2009). These philosophical standpoints will guide the research approach, strategy, methods and analysis of this thesis.

3.1.2 Intensive case study research

The main approach of this thesis is a qualitative research. The nature of the research objective of this thesis suggests that the data, which needs to be collected, will be used to understand and interpret a real-life context rather than test hypotheses or theories (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). According to Yin (2011), a qualitative study is appropriate when studying the meaning of people’s lives in real world conditions and as well as the perspectives of the participants of the study (p. 8-9). Therefore, the appropriate approach to identify the perceptions of a real life community will be qualitative methods.

For this thesis, an intensive case study strategy was chosen. A case study research is a strategy in which the researcher concentrates on the dynamics of a single empirical setting and tries to understand the context of it (Eisenhardt, 1989). This approach was chosen because it allows an in-depth exploration of the research subject from ‘the inside’ and develop an understanding of the perspectives of those involved in the study (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). Yin (2009) suggests that the construction of a single-case study can also contribute new knowledge towards existing literature, which in this case is the development of CBT enterprises. Therefore, the complexities of the research subject of this thesis was studied as a single-case study in its own unique setting.

As opposed to an extensive case study research, an intensive (or in-depth) case study shows interest in the case itself, where the researcher intends to understand also the unique social and cultural context of the case rather than using the case to relate to existing theories or phenomena (Mills et al., 2010, p. 93-94). In intensive case study research, the researcher engages in an in-depth interpretation and construction of the case. Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008) argue that the justification of intensive case study approach stems from the uniqueness and exceptional nature of the case context. Therefore, an intensive research into the case study can allow a more in-depth interpretation of subject while respecting the uniqueness of the community.

According to Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008), a common challenge in intensive case study research is relating the study subject to theoretical concepts with empirical investigations, which engage readers to learn and take action. The same authors also suggest that theory is an important
part of an intensive case research, but it is easier to make conclusions after having understood the context of the case study. With these considerations, the findings of this thesis are still be reflected and discussed with past literature.

3.2 Data collection methods

The primary data collection methods of this thesis took part during a one-week field trip with ALM to El 20 from 22nd to 3rd of March 2018. Yin (2003, p.83-107) argues that to ensure validity and reliability of a case study research, the researcher should make use of multiple sources of data that later allows an analysis that is coherent with the research questions. Myers (2013) supports this by advocating for data collection based on multiple sources in order to ensure a deeper grounding and analysis of the study subject. Thus, as a way to ensure validity and reliability, the three methods of data collection were semi-structured interviews, field notes and participant observation. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals while participant observations were done during the workshops and meetings, which took place during the field trip. Field notes were recorded on a daily basis. The process of data collection is visualized in the below Table 4, where each colored cell under a week day represents that the activity described in the left column is conducted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sat 17.3</th>
<th>Sun 18.3</th>
<th>Mon 19.3</th>
<th>Tues 20.3</th>
<th>Wed 21.3</th>
<th>Thurs 22.3</th>
<th>Fri 24.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interviews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field notes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ejidatarios</td>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>observation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>meeting</td>
<td>workshop</td>
<td>with craft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>makers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

The first method used are in-depth semi-structured interviews with the case community. In case study research, in-depth interviews are often used as a primary source of empirical data (Eriksson
and Kovalainen, 2008), as they allow a deep insight into the perspectives of the study subject. This method suits the ‘how’ nature of the first research question of this thesis, which aims to unveil the community perceptions on life in El 20 and CBT development. Semi-structured interviews usually entail pre-prepared topics and themes that ensure a systematic collection of data while keeping the tone closer to being a guided conversation (Yin, p. 88-89). With this in mind, the pre-prepared topics were asked in manner where questions were kept open-ended in order to encourage flexibility in responses that are rich in detail. The questions were also designed to give room for emergence of other relevant issues that the participants see worth mentioning.

During the field trip, a total number of seven interviews were conducted in order to ensure variety in responses. Of these seven interviews, six were voice recorded and one was recorded in the form of writing notes. Additionally, to the interviews conducted during the field, one interview was conducted after via Facebook chat. The selection of interview subjects was based on accessibility and availability while respecting their local routines. Thus, the interview selection was aimed to kept as random as possible in order to avoid bias selecting only those that have prior been involved in ALM activities. The purpose of this is to also hear the perceptions of those who have not been involved in development discussions during this history of ALM activities in El 20. As a result, two of those interviewed during the field were familiar to the author, while the rest were unknown. Although the initial aim was to interview both ejidatarians (landowner families) and non-ejidatarians, the ‘randomized’ interview selection only managed to target ejidatarians. The interviews utilize five pre-prepared themes inspired by literature. The themes and their purposes are described in the below Table 5. As mentioned, the research process can result in reformulations of the original plan, and that is what happened with the interview format. After the first two interviews, some of the questions had be reworded in order to be better understood by the interviewees. Both interview guides can be found in Appendices Ia and Ib.

Table 5 The pre-prepared themes and their purposes of semi-structured interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Perception of life in El 20</td>
<td>To identify the values that individual community members hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To understand the factors that make life special and challenging for the community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness on development projects by ALM</td>
<td>To identify current involvement in development projects by individual community members</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Theme | Purpose
---|---
The interviewees participation in CBT | To identify current level of participation
| To identify the potential for more involvement and reasons for lack of involvement
Potential impacts of CBT development | To identify the potential impacts of developing CBT enterprise in the case community

#### 3.2.2 Participant observations

The second method used in this thesis were participant observations. During the field trip, participant observations were done on three occasions: ALM’s meeting with ejidatarios, ALM’s, ALM’s workshop on tourism and a discussion with craft makers led by ALM. The details and purpose of these meetings are summarized in the below Table 6.

**Table 6 Participant observation during the field trip**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meeting</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meeting with the ejidatario board</td>
<td><em>Ejidatarios</em> are original settlers of El 20, who hold decision-making power in the community. The purpose of the meeting was for ALM to present its weekly program to the board and discuss the feasibility of the on-going development projects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism workshop</td>
<td>During the field trip, ALM arranged an ‘open call’ to invite everyone interested in tourism to participate. The purpose of the meeting was to brainstorm possible tourism activities in El 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion with craft makers</td>
<td>The purpose of the discussion was to reflect on the success of <em>artesania para el bienestar</em> strategy and discuss the future next steps.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During these workshops, the on-going exchanges between the participants and insights were recorded. According to Yin (2003, p.94), participant observation makes it possible to gain access to see reality from the perspective of an insider. In the context of this thesis, observing the interactions of community members can provide first-hand insights into some emergent issues and other factors that may act as a facilitating condition or barrier that semi-structured interviews might not reveal. According to Gill and Johnson in Saunders et al. (2009), four forms exist for the participant observer: complete participant, complete observer, observer as participant, and participant as observer. In the context of this thesis, the researcher took the role of observer as participant, or in other words, a ‘spectator’ (Saunders et al. 2009). This means that the researcher
attended the workshops without taking part in the activities in the same way as other participants who play a more central role did (ibid.).

During the workshops, hand-written were made based on primary observations and conversation insights. According to Delbridge et al. (1994), a diary is a good method of recording what has happened and what was said during the meetings. Therefore, descriptive observations on what goes on during the workshops were made. This means that attention was paid to observing the key participants, their activities, the attendant processes and emotions involved (Robson, 2002). According Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), the researcher should write a memo by the end of the day while the data is still fresh in mind. Following this method, observations were recorded in the form memos after the workshops.

### 3.2.3 Field notes

In addition to participant observation, field notes were recorded in and outside of the workshops. According to Van Maanen in Eisenhardt (1989), field notes are “an ongoing stream-of-consciousness commentary about what is happening in the research, involving both observation and analysis”. This means that the field notes will be brief words or phrases written down on the field (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). However, in order to save time and avoid excessive data, observations relevant to research were prioritized when recording field notes.

### 3.3 Data analysis methods

This thesis applies inductive-oriented data analysis methods. This means that the emerging themes, categories, activities and patterns in data are recorded and analyzed rather than those emerging from pre-formulated theoretical propositions (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). This technique is used because due to the interpretivist nature of this thesis, it is important to prioritize the data deriving from the social context of the case rather than from pre-existing theories. However, it is important to note that using inductive analysis will not completely exclude concepts from prior research. Rather, elements discovered from literature review are used to sensitize (i.e. give a general sense of direction) the empirical data into the analysis (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). In this thesis, content analysis techniques are used to guide data analysis.

The interviews from the field trip are recorded through two means: audio record and handwritten notes. After being recorded, the interviews are transcribed, meaning the content is reproduced into text. After transcription, the empirical data will be organized and labeled using thematic coding.
for interpretation purposes. In other terms, the data is be classified under specific labels based on similarity. After organizing and labeling, the classified data will be compared for any patterns and relationships. The same ideology is used for data from participant observations and field notes. After all data is analyzed using thematic analysis technique, they are reflected with pre-developed propositions in previous literature (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). In the context of this thesis, the findings are be discussed as facilitating conditions and barriers to CBT development.

A critical issue to consider in data analysis of this thesis is that the data will be in fluent Spanish. The level of researcher’s fluency Spanish language is B1, which in the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages translates to independent user of the language. It is thus important to acknowledge in the limitations of this research that while the researcher was able to comprehend the main points of conversation, the understanding of some complex elements from the interviews and participant observations can be hindered by language barrier. This has been taken into consideration by the use of translators.

3.4 Trustworthiness of the research

According to Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008), there are three main ways to evaluate the trustworthiness of a research: reliability, validity and generalizability.

Reliability refers to the extent, which the chosen methodology yields consistent results (Sanders et al., 2009). According to Robson (2002), the main threats to reliability are participants not giving truthful responses and the researcher understanding the responses with a bias. In order to reduce the possibility of interviewees giving limited responses, the purpose of the thesis will be clearly stated for relevant participants and the use of specific scientific words will be reduced to common terms. During the interviews, at least one facilitator who have been working with El 20 since 2012 accompanied the interviews in order to increase the credibility of the research among the participants. Furthermore, the company of the other ALM members will also reduce the possibility of making biased observations and interpretations, as the interviews were reflected afterwards to clarify interpretations.

Validity refers to the extent, which the chosen methodology gives findings, as they appear to be (Sanders et al., 2009). The limited number of interviews is acknowledged as a limitation when making conclusions from the research. In order to supplement the data collection from interviews,
the data collected from participant observation and field notes are used to make the data more comprehensive. This way, the findings can be supported with a more comprehensive set of data.

Generalizability refers to the extent, which the chosen methodology yields results that are generalizable to other research settings (Sanders et al., 2009). This limitation affects this thesis because it only represents one case community and does not reflect the conditions of other case studies. However, the aim of this research is not to formulate theories generalizable to every communities developing CBT, something that is characteristic to case studies (Eriksson and Kovalainen, 2008). Therefore, this limitation is outweighed by the potential of gaining relevant insights to one specific context. Furthermore, the findings from this thesis can still give insight to other similar communities and add to the body of knowledge, even if it cannot be generalized.

### 3.5 Ethical considerations

Research ethics refer to the way, which the research is conducted in a moral and responsible way to all those involved (Sanders et al.). As the study subject of this thesis is a real-life community, it is important to consider the ethics involved in the research process. Issues such as participant protection were discussed during the interviews by clearly stating what this thesis aims to study and how interviews are relevant to it. Questions relating to whether the participant wants to remain anonymous, whether they consent to the interviews being recorded and results being published in this thesis were also asked.

Furthermore, it is acknowledged that the findings of this thesis were based on limited number of research methods, therefore any conclusions made from this thesis does not necessarily reflect the conditions of the wider community. This has been communicated to those working on the ALM project so that any future development plans relating to CBT will not be conducted in a way, which takes the views presented in this thesis as the only truth without the consultation of the wider community or further research. Acknowledging this is important from the perspective of the community, as this should hopefully reduce to risk of making actions plans based on a limited amount information that would harm the community in the long run.
4. Findings

The following chapter will present the empirical findings based on the methodology outlined in the previous chapter.

4.1 Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews for this thesis was conducted with eight interviewees, of which three whose names will be kept anonymous and will be referred to in this thesis by the order number they were interviewed by. The below Table 7 summarizes the interviewees by name, occupation and whether the interviewee comes from an ejidatarian family i.e. those who were the original settlers of the community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Ejidatarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ophelia</td>
<td>Craft maker (wood, embroidery, hammocks), tourist host</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosa</td>
<td>Entrepreneur, craft maker (embroidery, hammocks), tourist host</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee #3</td>
<td>Shopkeeper, entrepreneur, craft maker (jewelry)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilma</td>
<td>Health promotor, craft maker (embroidery, hammocks)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee #5</td>
<td>Craft maker (embroidery)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee #6</td>
<td>Farmer, bee farmer, shopkeeper</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonio</td>
<td>Farmer, bee farmer, shopkeeper (employed externally)</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miriam</td>
<td>Craft maker (wood, embroidery), tourist host</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.1 Perception of life in El 20

All interviewees described the life in El 20 to be ‘different’ and ‘unique’ for several reasons. All of the responses included physical descriptions El 20 as a place to live: the quietness, tranquility and pureness of air of living close to nature as opposed to living in bigger towns and cities. Wilma and Antonio, for instance, explicitly mentions the abundance of birds and trees in El 20 to be something that makes life in El 20 special. Rosa, in turn, describes her life, living close to family and nature, to be a happy one. Miriam says that as long as the land allows the community to work on fields, life is good. As for values, the interviewees identified love, family, health, water and respect for one another as well as companionship to be the most important values in life. Wilma, through her occupation as a health promotor, stresses health, to be of primary importance to all the residents in El 20. This is complemented by Ophelia and Antonio, who themselves have had struggles with their health, as well as Interviewee #5, whose three-year-old son suffers from
asthma. Interviewee #6 adds that life is special in El 20 thanks to God and the work he gets to do with his African bees. Love, parents’ knowledge, and respect and honesty in work are also mentioned as important values in life.

For me, health is the most important thing for this community. Everything else comes second or third. (Wilma)

Two major challenges were raised about life in El 20 by the interviewees. Firstly, the uncertainty about getting medical care (treatment and medicines) including the finances to cover the medical costs and a car ride to the city when someone gets sick is something that is mentioned by all interviewees. Wilma, the health promotor of El 20, describes how ‘not a day passes by’ where someone comes to ask her for medicines, which not always is available. Interviewee #5, whose son suffers from asthma, describes how her family has resorted to borrowing large sums of money in order to cover costs for her son’s medical care. Arranging rides to the hospital can also become challenging, as the community relies on those who own a car in the village to drive them in case of emergencies. Antonio also describes his appendix removal requiring him to sell his turkeys in order to cover the costs. Rosa and Ophelia, while being one of the biggest contributors to artesania para el bienestar, say that the emergency fund is depleted after one of two medical emergencies.

That hardest is when my son falls sick due to his asthma. When we work, we have to work for money, and it is hard, very difficult because if there is no work, I have to search for money from someone who can borrow money for medicine. Sometimes, it takes up to fifteen days for him to get better. Also, we have to find someone to take us to the hospital. So, lack of work equals lack of money. (Interviewee #5)

The second challenge identified by the interviewees is the limited amount work available in El 20. Due to bad crops during low rain season, the livelihoods of men are challenged and thus those (women) working with handcrafts expressed their wish to sell more in order to support their families. Interviewee #5 describes the ‘lack of work’ to equal the ‘lack of money’, while #3 says that the lack of work makes people move to bigger cities – only people who have their ‘parents knowledge’ (ejidatarians) have steadier sources of income in El 20. Ophelia adds the ‘the point is not to get rich’, but rather, to be able to provide families with basic needs to life. Interviewee #6 was the only interviewee who stated that there are no difficulties in life in El 20, as God helps him.
through the ‘highs and lows’ that he encounters in his daily life, including the long journey he has to make in order to get water for his family.

4.1.2 Knowledge and involvement on development projects

Out of the seven interviewees, Rosa and Ophelia are the most knowledgeable about the development projects going on in El 20, as these two are the main hosts during ALM field trips. The remaining interviewees describe to have ‘heard’ about them through others and desired to hear know more about them. The consensus shared by all interviewees is that while these projects address challenging problems, they are beneficial to their families as well as the community. For example, before it was known that the water is not of drinkable quality, as some people have gotten sick from drinking it. Now, the locals know the reason for it, and are happy that something is being done to address the lack of water quality and quantity. Wilma adds that while these projects are good, she believes that especially with the plans on getting a microinsurance for the community (a preliminary project developed by ALM in 2018), ‘research is needed’ and information must be delivered to the community so the community itself can be decide what will happen next. Interviewee #3 was the only who did not have any knowledge on these projects, but he works more closely with Pro-Natura and Mundo Maya. These organizations bring him tourists and also provide educational workshops on how to present and sell handcrafts to tourists.

4.1.3 Participation in touristic activities

All the interviewees participate in touristic activities one way or another, although some define being ‘involved’ as being directly part of the decision-making in the tourism committee. Ophelia, Rosa and Interviewee #3 have their own workshops where they sell their handcrafts, while #5 and her mother sell handcrafts through someone else. Wilma is part of a craft group, where they rotate once during a period of time to sell hammocks. However, due to her mother’s sickness, she might have to quit the group because she is unable to put as much time and effort into making products. Wilma and Interviewee #5 sometimes rely on the word of mouth that there are visitors who might be interested in buying handcrafts and raise the issue of not always knowing when there are tourists in El 20. Interviewee #6 and Antonio sell foodstuff in their shops and are both involved in selling products of bee farming. All of the interviewees want to have a bigger role but identified the lack of tourists to act as a barrier to sales and accommodation services. Interviewee #3 is primarily involved in tourism, saying that he has been the manager of his jewelry shop for two years and also gives different kinds of workshops for visitors brought in by Pro-Natura.
The ideal scenario described by the interviewees is for tourism to grow a little, but not to the level of a mass tourism destination such as Cancun, where, according to Wilma, you might get drunken people causing trouble. Interviewee #6 further addressed the need to develop facilities to support incoming tourists. Wilma adds that she wants a sign in front of her house that informs visitors that she sells handcrafts (something that few other craft makers have) so that the tourists would know that she sells handcraft products. This would require support from Pro-Natura.

Both Ophelia and Rosa identified that currently those who have a contract with tourism operators tend to receive more tourists to their workshops compared to those who do not have a contract. According to Rosa, there are tour buses which occasionally visit several communities in the area on the same day. This means that tourists stay for a very short period of time and do not stay overnight. Ophelia also addressed the issue of the sporadic nature of incoming tourists, explaining that even if tourism operators contact her to bring tourists to her workshop, it does not come without terms and conditions on how the profit is shared. Ophelia further noted that the tourism committee of El 20 only consist of ejidatarian men, explaining her input on major decisions only go so far. None of those interviewed during this field trip were part of the tourism committee.

4.1.4 Potential impacts of CBT

While the consensus was for tourism to grow, the responses differed from one another when asked about the potential impacts of CBT to the quality of life in El 20. The responses included growing in business and additional sales in handcrafts, foodstuff and services, which would bring more money to the families the interviewees’ families. Especially the female interviewees stated that they could contribute more to their family and lessen the risk of bad crops on the families’ economic situation. With additional money, a better quality of life would be provided for these families as well as to the community. Antonio explicitly that more incoming tourists would mean he has more work, and with more work he will be able to provide better ‘health, food and education’ to his daughter. Interviewee #6 added that with a growth in tourist numbers, there will be more work available and less locals will have to leave the community to search for jobs outside.

Ophelia, however, identified the challenge related to tourism growth to be keeping El 20 the way it is. She explained in the past, there have been people who have wanted to ‘buy’ El 20 or turn it in to a tourism resort that did not go in line with the community’s own values. As an example, she described one tourism operator who wanted to turn El 20 into a spa resort, with a bar and nude ‘beach’ included – which goes against the religion of the community. According to her description:
‘Maybe you [the tourism operator] will bring us a million dollars, but it goes against our own values.’ Ophelia, however, does wish for tourism to complement the lack of work and money in the community, but emphasizes that it must grow according to local values. Interviewee #3 describes that the small growth in tourism will do good for the community not only financially, but also in terms of cultural and natural preservation. According to him, the community began to lose touch with its own culture approximately eight years ago, but with tourists coming in, the locals acted as motivators to one another to bring back its handcrafts.

4.2 Field notes

According to Eriksson and Kovalainen (2008), an essential part when preparing for analysis of findings is reduction of data to those closely connected to the research question and/or making a summary of the data. For the purpose of this thesis, the field notes are summarized and filtered under three categories based on their nature and relevancy to the subject of this research. The first category is community context and the field notes are based on observations on the community factors in relation to CBT. The second category tourism product and the field notes are based on observations on potential attractions and descriptions of the condition of current and potential tourism facilities in the field. These notes are also recorded on different insights gained on accounts of the locals which help to shape the understanding of the community relationships.

4.2.1 Community context

During the second day in the field, the ALM team participated in an ejidatarios meeting. On each Sunday once a month, the representatives from original settler families gather to discuss matters of the community. It is obvious that the board is male-dominated, with only five women present during the meeting. According former labbers, the board is supposed to only be consisting of males. The right is passed down to the first son of the family each generation. If a woman is present during the meeting, it is often because her husband has passed away, and the there is no son to pass the title to or the son is too young to attend meetings. Most families in El 20 on however do have the ejidatarian title, with very few exceptions: those that have moved from outside of El 20 or those that have been revoked the right to the title. Although having to pay taxes to the board, being an ejidatarian also entitles the families to certain benefits, such as receiving funds and getting jobs from the board.
During daytime, only women and kids are present in the village, because men work on fields and in the jungle during daytime, while women cook, take care of children and do the housework. An observation made from interviews and discussions with locals is that despite the patriarchal structure of the community and men doing the ‘hard’ physical work, the women try to support their families and community economically through selling of handcrafts. Women are also very skillful and knowledgeable in managing money and providing financial resources for the family. Rosa, for instance, is considered an entrepreneur. She has expanded her handcrafts into a brand, ‘Hilos de Vida’ (threads of life). The role of the women is becoming more important as food production is not as good as before. According to one woman, the families are buying more food but ‘cannot affect food production’, so they need to seek other more reliable ways to provide for the family.

It became evident from the work of Carolina Kansikas (ALM economist) conducted on the field that the main sources of income in El 20 came in the form of subsidies from Procampo, Prospera and UPG. Procampo is available only for those who own a piece of land i.e. ejidatarian families. Prospera (previously ‘opportunidades’) is given to mothers in exchange for children staying in education. UPG, in turn, are given on the basis of forest protection. Due to the short-term nature of Mexican government bodies, the continuity of these subsidies is uncertain. The board of ejidatarios often distributes works to be done in the community (e.g. construction, maintenance, promoting interests of the community) to ejidatarios; in such cases the income comes internally from the community. Other from these mentioned sources, the community remains self-employed, mainly in agriculture (subsistence farming), handcrafts and apiculture, with rare examples of some being employed externally (Kansikas et al., 2018). There is evidence that differences exist in income distribution between ejidatarian families and non-ejidatarian families, where the latter has a lower level of household income (ibid.).

The community has a few immigrants who have moved from elsewhere to reside in El 20, often non-permanently (i.e. they are not always living in El 20). It became apparent from conversation with locals as well as from the previous field trip (2017) that immigrants often feel like outcasts. It is noted that, some immigrants have ideas for sustainable living in El 20. For instance, a late biologist had a watering system for crops, which utilized water from fish tanks in his yard, while another couple had set up dry-toilets for themselves, which does not require water usage. There was also a newly built house on a large field, which was several times bigger than local housings
and which did not follow the traditional local infrastructure. While it was known to be owned by an outsider, it is unclear why and by whom it was built there.

The current health insurance system of the community is insufficient in the sense that it does not cover hospital expenses to other states, which may have more specialized services for more complex sicknesses, which creates income shocks to the families. Evidence from the semi-structured interviews as well as the work of Kansikas (2018) indicated that healthcare expenses remain one of the top sources of expenditure (apart from water, electricity and education bills) which creates challenges for families economically. Health emergency expenditures can, in fact, amount to more than an annual of income of that household (Kansikas et al., 2018). Due to this, families resort to borrowing money from others in the community and selling own assets (e.g. land) in order to be able to cover the expenses.

In El 20, alcohol is prohibited due to religious reasons. Therefore, no alcohol is available in stores nor is it socially acceptable to consume it in the community. During one evening, as some of the student team were descending from a small hill, a drunken man was spotted with a beer bottle in his hand. Afterwards it was told that these types of ‘drunks’ do exist, but they are not accepted in the community and are considered ‘outcasts’. According to another, there have been more drunks in the community lately. It was also noted that no one smoked in the community and there were not cigarette remains anywhere on the ground.

### 4.2.2 Tourism product

A tourism product can be defined as the ‘sum of the physical and psychological satisfaction it provides to tourists during their travelling en route to the destination’, focusing on the services and facilities available to meet the needs of the tourists (BIEAP, 2012). The following section thus describes the attractions and facilities that were recording in the form field notes during the field trip.

**Attractions**

There are several aspects of El 20 that the community, its partners and tourists consider as attractions in the village. The following Table 8 summarizes the aspects of the community had recorded upon observing El 20’s potential for CBT.
**Table 8 Field note recordings on attractions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attraction</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nature</td>
<td>Nature is identified by both visitors and locals as one of the main attractions of El 20. Being located in the heart of a jungle, El 20 gives the tourists an opportunity to immerse in the nature. The activities available include hiking, walking and exploring the flora and fauna. A nearby river also allows swimming. Rogelio (tourism manager) mentioned that explorations for hiking trails and canoeing routes are continuously being explored. During the fieldtrip, ALM students were warned about poisonous snakes in the jungle and encouraged caution when entering the jungle late at night. Furthermore, the jungle also has jaguars, but no one has seen them in years. One of the rivers in the area also has crocodiles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>The Mayan culture of the locals is one of the main reasons that tourists are drawn to the destination. This includes food and lifestyle. It was also found that El 20 also has a history with music, dancing and making of musical instruments, although these activities have not been practiced in a long time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apiculture</td>
<td>There are several people who farm bees and use honey to make local products, such as different creams as well as pure honey. One interviewee, Rosa, has stated this to be one of the activities that tourism operators would bring tourists to see on their day trips. The interviewee #6 has also expressed his wish for this aspect in tourism to grow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birdwatching</td>
<td>Located in the heart of a tropical jungle, El 20 is home for thousands of species of birds, including endangered ones. For international visitors, such as ALM students, toucans, colibrís and parrots are considered exotic. For bird enthusiasts and nature photographers, even better. The community has bird guides to find the best spots to see birds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handcrafts</td>
<td>The handcrafts in El 20 come most in the form of textile works (hammocks, clothing items), wood works (small household items, furniture), also handcrafts made from stone and materials found from nature. Such products are unique to the culture and many (especially wooden and jewelry) are made from local natural materials, all coming with its own story. These products are what, especially the women, take pride in making and would wish to sell more. The portion of those practicing handcrafts is especially high among women and acts as one of the main sources of income to them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archeological sites</td>
<td>Several Mayan ruins are accessible from El 20 by either car or foot. These ruins are different from others that they are completely untouched and located in the middle of the jungle. The ALM team was taken by car to the ruins with a local who was knowledgeable in the history of them. The road leading to these stops are even in a worse condition than the road leading to El 20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astronomy</td>
<td>The sunrises, sunsets and night sky in El 20 are very unique and visually pleasing. Stargazing only became considered as a potential tourism activity this year via a question asked by a labber. Milky Way can be seen in the night sky of El 20.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tourism facilities
Upon observing the current tourism facilities, several aspects were recorded. Food and accommodation services are available, although it is suggested through conversations with locals that more would wish to be informed about incoming tourists so potential roles could be exploited. Two observation towers were under construction during the field trip, and after the conversation about stargazing with Rogelio, the towers could also become a place to observe the night sky, sunrise and sunsets. Despite the ongoing water projects, the visitors were encouraged to save water, and ALM did so by bringing its own drinking water to the field and using water for showering only when needed.

The locals themselves have identified several facilities requiring improvement. Firstly, the road to El 20 is in very bad condition. This is something the locals have acknowledged through feedback from tourists as well as their own experience, but it is not within their control to get it fixed. Secondly, El 20 as a destination is not easy to find, as it is located on a side road next to a military checkpoint without any road signs of its existence. There is, however, one very worn out sign on the way to El 20. Thirdly, there is no phone connectivity in the community, unless hiking up a mountain. There is, however, a café where tourists as well as locals can pay ten pesos per hour for an internet connection.

Tourism development
El 20 has its own tourism planning committee, which consists of Rogelio, the president, and a few other ejidatarian men from the community. The committee has been established to guide the tourism development in El 20 and is in charge of facility improvement, connecting El 20 with external partners as well as coordinating service provision for incoming tourists. One of the main partners to the tourism committee is Pro-Natura and its sub-organization Visit Calakmul, both which introduces El 20 as a destination to those visiting the Calakmul area and provides some level of support to the community in terms of tourism development. Developments and additions to the tourism product are continuously under work. For example, the construction of observation towers was finished during the period of the field trip and jungle routes are explored for their potential for hiking and canoeing. According to Rogelio, the communal benefits received from tourism are shared equally among ejidatarian families. According to Miriam, non-ejidatarians also receive benefits, for example in the form of jobs.
4.3 Participant observation

As discussed in the methodology chapter, the participant observations were carried out on three occasions during the field trip. On the first Sunday, ALM met with ejidatario board, the local decision-making governmental body of El 20, to present the field trip plans. On the following Monday, an ‘open-call’ styled tourism workshop was arranged for the whole community in La Casita. The next day, a roundtable discussion was arranged with selected craft makers.

4.3.1 Meeting with ejidatarios

The purpose of this meeting was to present the board of ejidatarios with a proposal by ALM on the planned activities of the upcoming week. As mentioned, the board was dominated by males and was led by the board’s president. Additionally to the board, the meeting was attended by Claudia (project coordinator), the 2018 ALM team, Julia (the author), Alan (mentor) and Brenda (labber). The following activities were proposed: designing and testing a water filter to soften the hardness of ground water, conducting economic surveys, conducting semi-structured interviews (for this thesis), arranging workshops and the possibility of building an artificial lake and building more common areas.

The board, with several issues and questions raised, approved all of these plans. For instance, the board questioned the feasibility of such development plans. Several members of the board expressed their frustration with the local governments on not going through with the plan, failing on a plan or not addressing problems at all. For example, on one occasion, a water tank was built and it contaminated the water. According one board member, ‘plans like these are important, everyone knows that our water is running out, but it’s always just talk’, and this was agreed with several other board members also on development projects in general. As such, one member said ‘we must do it on our own’, for example, the building of the artificial lake rather than having the government involved. Other board members agreed on this, adding that participation and awareness is definitely required from the side of the community, so that the community is in control of what goes on in their ejido rather outsiders taking over projects without sharing it with the community. According to one board member, the ultimate goal should be so that ‘benefits [of the projects] will be shared to everyone in the community’.

\[\text{We want you here. The community will always support you. (Ejidatarian board member)}\]
During this meeting, it became clear that the community (represented by ejidatarians) place a lot of trust in ALM and view it as an entity that protects the community’s rights and hears out its opinions. There seemed to be a lot of frustration in the air when spoken of other entities that had one way or another excluded the community from on-going projects on its own land. Those who were voicing their opinions seemed to act so in unity, meaning that they shared the same frustrations on past development projects.

4.3.2 Tourism workshop

ALM arranged an ‘open call’ for tourism planning during field trip, encouraging all those interested to join in the workshop. The turnout was quite even between females and males, with some children and teenagers joining in, amounting roughly to 15 participants. Additionally to the participants, Claudia (project manager), Brenda and Carolina were facilitators to the workshop, and the Julia (researcher) and Alan (mentor) were observers. The workshop started off with the participants listing things they do on a daily basis, and then listing activities that might be interesting for tourists. The activities listed included: photography, food, adventure, hiking, traditional dances, music instruments, dressing, workshops and adventure. This activity was especially enjoyed by the children, as they got to present parts of their day, which they found to be most interesting. Dancing was listed by some of the adults as one of the most cultural and traditional activities that could be shared with tourists. This became a topic that the participants became interested in, because traditional dances and music are things that the community have ‘forgotten’. One participant, however, pointed out this to be a controversial issue due to the community’s religion. According to this participant, whereas the tourists would be free to dance, some from the community might refrain from this themselves. Another participant, however, said that there is a group of dancers in El 20 who practice Mayan and Yucateca dances, that could arrange a musical performance and even classes. As another response to the comment about religion, one participant said ‘our culture is wearing off, because we are not keeping up with it’. Other participants agreed with this, adding that tourism could be one way to protect their culture.

There was evidence that a difference exists between the perception of the ‘tourist’ and the locals about the pricing of a product. After listing and discussing the potential touristic activities, the participants were then instructed to suggest prices for them. After this, the water team (who only entered the room when this activity started) were asked about how much they were willing to pay for the same without knowing what the locals had suggested. A dance instructor suggested the price of one Jarana Yucateca (a local dance) class to be 20 pesos (approximately 0.85 euros),
while the tourists said they would be willing to pay 600-800 pesos (25-35 euros) for the same class. The same happened when suggesting a price for Mayan language classes. The participants seemed initially surprised about this outcome, but later on it seemed to be a source of ‘food for thought’ to them. The mentioned phenomena was also experienced later in Ophelia’s workshop. While purchasing a hand embroidered painting of a toucan made on locally sourced wooden frames, the researcher misread the price of the product to be 825 pesos (approximately 36 euros). She thought this product was rather cheap considering the uniqueness of the local materials as well as the amount of work that has gone behind making it. However, the correct price of the product turned out to be 225 pesos (approximately 9 euros), four times cheaper than what the ‘tourist’ was willing to pay for it.

The overall atmosphere of the workshop contained excitement, as the small workshop allowed everyone to pitch in their ideas and opinions. It seemed to also be thought provoking for some of the participants, possibly due to not having previously discussed their potential roles in tourism. Furthermore, judging from the participants’ own accounts on their work, they have not previously been very much involved in ‘formal’ tourism talks in the community. However, they feel the need to get more involved because the ‘culture is wearing off’. The workshop was concluded with the introduction of several new activities added to the tourism product of El 20. These included: trekking and kayaking, Jarana Yucateca dance classes, Mayan language courses and stargazing. For these activities, final prices, which were more appropriate for the market, were drafted.

4.3.3 Roundtable discussion with craft makers

During the field trip, a roundtable discussion was arranged on the status of artesanía para el bienestar. The participants included five females and one male; all have been participants of contributing to the emergency fund. Additionally to the participants, Claudia, Carolina and Brenda were facilitators, and Julia and Alan were observers. During this discussion, the participants shared their thoughts and insights regarding the concept.

As already mentioned, the emergency fund has only been successful when there have been sales, and even when there are, the fund is quickly depleted after one or two medical emergencies. As such, the participants emphasized the fact that while the idea is good, the sales of handcrafts have been extremely low resulting in the fund not working to its fullest capacity. Rosa, for example, had not sold any hammocks during the previous year. According to one participant, ‘not everyone has the heart to help’, meaning that when tourists buy products, not everyone is willing to donate
to the fund and some even try to bargain. According to the participants, this makes receiving profits difficult, especially now that cost of materials has increased. As a result, the participants have been forced to raise the prices of the products. The reason for this is also that, for example, Ofelia and Rosa, really need the money for medicines and paying back debts from previous medical emergencies. There was also discussion about raising prices, as this would bring more profits and contribute more to the fund, but there was uncertainty around this. Main concerns were competition between locals and whether anyone will be buying the products. The participants also expressed their frustration with tourists bargaining without knowing the meaning of the product or the effort that has gone behind making such handcrafts.

It [raising prices] is a good idea, but we cannot aim that high yet. If we fly that high, we will fall. (Rosa)

Contrasting with the tourism workshop, which focused on creativity, the roundtable participants approached the discussion with a degree of seriousness with a lot of consideration to potential risks. The participants found identifying solutions to the challenges mentioned to be of grave importance, as their approach to their work address a greater challenge confronting the whole community. The discussion concluded with several development points for the concept. Firstly, the products can go through a little bit of price increase. This way, even if the sales are low, the participants can make a little bit more income. Secondly, it was discussed that the prices of the products could differ between the local and the stronger currencies. The purpose of this was also to allow a slightly higher income. Lastly, the participants discussed the possibility of doing work on the marketing of the products, for example, through product story-telling and making ‘brands’ and ‘ratings’ for the craft makers.
5. Discussion

The following chapter will provide a more in-depth analysis of the findings presented in the previous chapter in broader themes and in reflection with the concepts presented in the literature.

5.1 Nature of the CBT enterprise

El 20’s tourism enterprise is managed by the community itself with some help from the outside local agencies, main partners being Pro-Natura and Mundo Maya, and the collaboration network resulting from ALM’s involvement. The tourism committee of El 20 consists of a president, Rogelio, and several other ejidatario men. According to Rogelio, if there were to be income deriving from tourists staying on common areas (which are currently under construction) the money will be redistributed to all ejidatario families or invested in communal facilities. This set up is closest to be defined community enterprise in accordance Ashley and Garlands’ (1994) classification for types of CBTs as well as many other definitions of the concept, meaning that it has the potential to deliver high net benefits in terms of welfare and economic growth, empowerment, conservation, tourism product. Furthermore, as Litka (2013) has observed in her own case study of a Mayan community, a strong governance, political and social influence of the ejidal system protects the community’s local agency on their daily management of tourism. This type of set up fulfills Zapata et al. (2011)’s criteria for CBT, where the enterprise is located within the community land, is owned by and benefits one or more community members in a way that generates benefits for the community and is managed by community members where the community has decision-making power over the tourism enterprise. Furthermore, the establishment of a tourism committee to manage the enterprise locally is considered to be an important step towards achieving empowerment and local control (Jamal and Getz, 1995).

In accordance to the tourism life cycle model, El 20 applies the characteristics of moving from exploration to involvement stage (Figure 6). The number of incoming tourists is very few, resulting in low sales in tourism goods and services, something that the interviewees expressed their hopes to change in the nearby future. The motivation in this case stems from the need to avoid risk from failing crops through diversification, something that often is a characteristic for families living in poverty (Banerjee and Duflo, 2007). Especially the women, in this case, want to contribute more to their families through provision touristic goods and services, implying that the potential of achieving socioeconomic development through tourism is recognized in the community. The significance of being at stage where the community is moving from exploration towards
involvement stage is that the community at a crucial point in CBT development, as the next steps in the process will determine whether the enterprise will stagnate or achieve growth.

![Figure 6 El 20's position on CBT lifecycle](image)

Evident from findings, the facilities still need to be developed in order to support incoming tourists. Improving some of the facilities will require external funding, meaning that certain developments such as the expansion of La Casita (the eco-hostel) might still take some time. As for marketing, Rogelio, as well as some other locals, do so through local agencies, who for small fee spread the word of El 20 and its attractions and bring tourists and tour groups in. While the supporting role of partners is still rather minimal, the community has been successful in developing some facilities itself. Other facilities, such as a working water system, provision of transportation, improving the road conditions and tourism information still requires help and funds from the outside. As discussed in literature review, such assistance will be crucial in moving on to the next stage of tourism life cycle. As discovered through the semi-structured interviews, the most desirable is for tourism to grow a little to afford basic needs, but not too much so that it does not change the community too drastically. The description of the desired outcome matches the description of the ‘low growth’ tract of the lifecycle model. Considering the very low number of incoming tourists and the current state of facilities as well as connections to external actors, there is very little indication that El 20 will experience accelerated growth as a stage during its lifecycle, leaving low growth or no growth as the potential tracts for El 20.
Moving forward to achieving low growth stage, the desired outcome identified through empirical findings, will require El 20 to take into account several factors, which are reflected in the CBTP model. The first phase of the CBTP model purports that there needs to tourism awareness raising, identifying guiding elements as well as clarifying stakeholder relationships with consideration given to the community context and stakeholder perceptions and roles. In the case of El 20, the guiding elements have been identified in ALM’s past activities as well as further clarified via interviews. Based on these combined findings, connecting tourism to challenges in work, income, health and education as well nature protection are the guiding elements for the community. While these are only identified on more on an informal level, understanding such values, developmental needs and challenges during this early stage provides a strong foundation for the later stages of CBT (Beeton, 2006). El 20 also fulfills some of the processes of the second phase of the CBTP model, including product and program development, service and infrastructure development and improving marketing and messages to the outside world. Furthermore, according to a study conducted by Visit Calakmul (2018), some, but not all, craft makers have received training from local agencies SECTUR, Pronatura, CONANP and Mundo Maya. However, based on the findings, there is little evidence to show that the community has applied other processes suggested by the CBTP model for the first and second phases, meaning that certain activities still need to be undertaken in order to facilitate a more inclusive approach from a managerial perspective. The below Figure 7 reflects El 20’s progress on the model.

![Figure 7](image)

**Figure 7** Activities taken in El 20 (highlighted in red) during the first two phases of the CBTP model
5.2 Internal facilitating conditions and barriers

There are several internal community factors affecting CBT the case of El 20. Some of these are discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, and some that were not identified within the scope of the literature review.

5.2.1 Destination attributes

Destination specific attributes such as historical attractions, natural attractions and recreation facilities are the core determinants to a destination’s perceived ability to satisfy the needs of tourists (Vengesayi and Mavondo, 2009). As a premise to tourism development, several local tourism operators have recognized El 20 as a destination that could interest tourists through a wide array of said attributes as identified in the field notes findings in chapter 4. Being rich in these attributes has a high potential to bring tourists in, if developed further (Black et al. 2004; Ali-Knight, 2011). The development of El 20’s assets are currently something that is on the tourism committee’s agenda: during the field trip, the committee was exploring new hiking routes as well as building observation towers. Although destination attractiveness does not necessarily guarantee a successful CBT enterprise, being rich and unique in history, culture and nature does act as one of the pre-conditions for success.

5.2.2 Definition of community

As discussed in literature review, scholars have often emphasized the importance of understanding how ‘community’ is perceived at given CBT destination, as this will ultimately play a role in how locals manage the enterprise and how the benefit distribution mechanism will work. The evidence from this thesis shows that El 20’s definition of ‘community’ varies depending on who is asked. For example, some immigrants, who do not carry the title ejidatarian and do not receive the ejido grants, feel left out from the community. Miriam, however, stated that non-ejidatarians are part of the community and do receive benefits from CBT in the form of jobs. On the other hand, Rogelio, the tourism manager, says that benefits will be distributed only to ejidatarian families. Furthermore, it is evident that some families consider certain ‘drunks’ and ‘troublemakers’ to be outcasts from the community.

Thus, it seems that ejidatarian families are those who are principally considered to make up what is considered the ‘community’ in El 20, and even within this ‘membership’, there are differing opinions in who are ultimately considered to be part of it. This is an important reflection of the
fact that communities are not homogenous and always harmonious entities, and there may indeed be divisions among locals (Zielinski, 2018; Blackstock, 2005). For the purpose of CBT development, it will be important to further research how the different perceptions of ‘community’ will play a role in the management of the enterprise as well as how benefits will be distributed. Otherwise, the community bares the risk of internal conflicts arising from differences in benefits received and involvement (Hall, 2003; Litka, 2013; Daltabuit Godás et al. 2007).

### 5.2.3 Community dynamics

Destination attractiveness is something that pulls tourists in, but it is up to the community whether they are fit and ready to host them. As identified in the literature review, communities rarely come as an equal and homogenous group of people, and possible differences in power are something that is highly encouraged to take into consideration in tourism planning processes. The findings of this thesis share many similarities and also some differences to this argument. The case of El 20 exhibited that the community does in fact share many similar characteristics, life values and also face very similar challenges. The community itself is also aware of these shared challenges, and some of them actively work in order to relieve them for the community, as witnessed through the artesania para el bienestar concept, Wilma’s activities to improve health for the community and ejidatarian board meeting. Having a shared sense of values and challenges does act as a driver for ensuring CBT success in El 20’s case, especially when these common values are connected to the tourism strategy. When common values are connected to tourism planning, CBT development bears a lower risk unwanted negative impacts and traditional lifestyles and values are preserved. (Madrigal, 1994; Li, 2006; Stone and Stone, 2011).

As earlier identified, El 20 community is governed strongly by the ejidal and traditional patriarchal system. This is for example present in the council board of ejidatarios and tourism committee, both largely consisting of ejidatarian men. This means that those who truly hold decision-making power and receive benefits in the community are those who descend from the original settler families. According to several authors, this represents itself as an ‘elite’ or ‘kin’ group in the community, which may play a role in tourism benefit distribution in the community (Tamir, 2015; Blackstock, 2005; Taylor, 1995). In fact, the recognition of an ‘elite’ group did come up in discussions with Rogelio and Miriam, where there were differing views on whether non-ejidatarians also receive benefits from tourism. Despite a possible division formed by the ejidal system, Litka (2013) notes in her own case study of another Mayan community in Mexico that while conflicts can arise between ejidatarians and non-ejidatarian families, disputes can also occur
regardless of the *ejidatario* links, meaning that arguments within professions can extend beyond the ‘elite’ status. Various, the same author observes *ejidatarianism* in the context of tourism development to reflect the presence of a strong internal governance which facilitates the maintenance of this system (p. 362). Furthermore, operating within an *ejido* system, where most facilities are regarded as communal property, may also function more successfully with respect to natural resource management and local values (ibid.). Therefore, the existence of the *ejidal* system is not necessarily disadvantageous for CBT success, as El 20 does have a benefit distribution system in existence and there are communal facilities which get developed when there are funds. It would however be important to further study the relationship between *ejidatarians* and non-ejidatarians to understand whether the development of CBT will strengthen certain divisions within the community, as this can ultimately determine who will benefit from tourism development (e.g. Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Manyara and Jones, 2009).

Interestingly, despite the patriarchal system where men are perceived to hold a higher decision-making power in the community, the women of El 20 still play an important role in contributing to their families through economic means. For example, although Ophelia and Wilma stated that they do not take part in the activities of the tourism committee, both of them still contribute actively to the financial well-being of their families through selling of their handicrafts, provision of food and accommodation and actively seek ways to better their sales. Rosa, in turn, has created her own brand for her products and has done some marketing of her own, in the hope of providing a better future for her family. Furthermore, as witnessed through participant observations during the tourism workshop and roundtable discussion with craft makers, it seemed that the women held some degree of decision-making power in governing food and accommodation services as well as selling of their handcrafts. Moreover, the women are also able to affect the opinions of their husbands as well as talk to the tourism committee if they have new ideas regarding tourism development. The role of women in El 20’s case is something worth exploring further, considering the drive and skill that these women possess when it comes to ‘business’ knowledge.

### 5.2.4 Participation and motivation levels

According to authors (e.g. Tosun, Tamir, Choi and Murray), participation and motivation are some of the most important factors for developing a CBT enterprise that stays true to its definition and thereby a successful one. El 20’s participation in tourism currently happens formally through tourism committee, which makes decisions regarding the enterprise, builds external connections and develops facilities. Informally, some self-entrepreneurs practice their services independently,
host tourists, provide food, arrange workshops and sell handcrafts through their own connections to tour agencies. In reflection with Tosun (1999) participation typology, El 20’s current participation is most closely associated to be somewhere between the middle and the highest level of the ladder, degrees of citizen power/spontaneous participation. This means that the community itself is fully responsible for the decision-making over the tourism enterprise and external parties do not induce the participation, but rather, it happens out of free will (Tosun, 1999). The below Figure 8 visualizes El 20’s progress on these frameworks.

Figure 8 El 20’s participation according to Arnstein’s and Tosun’s frameworks

Tosun’s typology however seems to reflect more the community’s participation in the tourism industry in a bigger picture, where it occurs bottom-up and voluntarily. Despite being on the highest step on the ladder, how participation occurs in practice is still rather disorganized. Individual participation in the CBT enterprise is something that is not entirely recognized by some of the interviewees due to participation being understood as being directly involved in the tourism committee and making decisions from within it. Despite this, many of the women still hold decision-making power regarding the goods and services they provide as well as are able to contribute to the tourism committee discussions if they wish to. Thus, it seems that the participation levels in tourism are not as low as the interviews have indicated. It is evident that some of the women perceive their participation to be much smaller than what they are in reality and practice. This seems to be a reflection of Tosun’s own analysis of this level of participation, where there may manifest other dimensions under this type of participation, and thus it would be important to explore and define the internal participation understanding processes further.
Despite participation not being induced by external parties, it is important to recognize that there are high variations between individuals in their levels of participation. This is evident in the observation of the tourism workshop participants: many of them seemed to be less involved and hold less decision-making power to practical matters compared to those who were present during the roundtable discussion. This reflects some of the characteristics of ‘elitism’: for certain reasons, some people are more exposed to opportunities than others. In El 20’s case, those who are part of the artesania para el bienestar concept are more involved in the project compared to those who are not. Interestingly, this also became visible when contrasting the interviews between Rosa and Interviewee #3. Rosa mentioned a partial reason for her low level of sales is because nobody supports her work the same way as certain honey and jewelry craft makers who have connections to external entities. Evidently, Interviewee #3 is one of those who receive this type of support from Pro-Natura and Mundo Maya in the form of promotion, trainings and tour groups. This is a reflection of how those with certain social connections are more inclined to receive more benefits compared to others (Zielinski, 2018; Liu et al. 2012). The presence of certain hierarchies is however nothing new in the body of literature, but in El 20’s case, it will be important to understand how variations in participation will affect benefit distribution in the long run and whether it will create conflict down the line.

Although participation according to Tosun’s typology seems promising, at this stage it cannot be said with certainty whether the current level of participation will act as a facilitating condition or a barrier for the future of CBT development, because it is not currently fully exploited. Certainly, having full ownership of the enterprise, nearly all women practicing handicrafts and artesans doing rotations on selling products do give grounds to believe that El 20 has the potential of achieving high levels of participation. As of now, according to the accounts of Miriam and Rogelio, communal benefits are shared equally between ejidatarians and non-ejidatarians also receive benefits in the form of work generation. It is however evident that information regarding visiting tourists passes around very slowly; suggesting inducing higher participation levels will also require some internal organizing. Furthermore, the results from methods conducted indicated that there was motivation for further involvement if there were more tourists to come; meaning that participation currently is being hindered by a lack of work caused by limited number of tourists.

5.2.5 Linking tourism to personal and community values

An important characteristic to El 20’s tourism development is that the community does not see CBT as a means to simply ‘get rich’, but rather, to complement the challenges that the community
faces in life. Thus, the tourist numbers only need to increase by little. This reflects with what literature has found to be a central theme to CBT development, which is understanding that CBT is not the major engine for economic growth, but rather something that complements traditional means of income generation (Hernandez Cruz et al., 2005; Zanotti and Chernela, 2008; Velasquez, 2005). Furthermore, Litka (2013), who observed the development of tourism in a similar Mayan community, argued that ‘both tourism and the maintenance of lands are mutually dependent on each other for the overall welfare of the community’. The former serves as a means for immediate economic survival, while the latter is a representation of the community history and values (p. 360). The research of this thesis re-emphasizes what has been already established in previous studies in El 20 that the community wants to keep important life values closely linked to the outcomes of tourism. For instance, the community sees diversifying as a necessary way to make up for the bad crops as well as to prepare for possible health expenses for the family, and higher sales in touristic goods and services is also intended to better the lives of the families’ children. However, despite having CBT as an additional source of revenue, there is still a strong preference towards preserving local values, and tourism has acted as a means to facilitate it.

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_The point is not to get rich. I don’t need to get rich. I just need enough to money to cover basic needs._ (Ophelia)

_Maybe eight or more years ago, I did see any craft workshops here... But now, now that tourists who come have an interest in the culture that people have lost touch with - then, [we] become interested. It is like an encouragement for an artisan to say: ‘well, if someone else can do it, I can also do it; I think it is good work’. So, it acts as a motivation to keep going with the culture._ (Interviewee 2)

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What makes the case of El 20 interesting is that even without something that Jamal and Getz (1995) has identified as external coordination, many have already considered the impacts and risks that CBT might have on culture and nature. For example, those who have been interviewed identified that they do not want tourism to change their way of life or the nature. Ophelia explicitly mentioned how someone has once offered a good deal of money in exchange to making El 20 more of a ‘westernized’ tourist destination. This offer was turned down because it did not abide with the values of the community. The reason as for why the community feels a strong need to protect its identity seems to stem from answer to the first question of the interview: what makes life in El 20 special. Those living in El 20 take great pride and show a very high appreciation for its culture,
way of living and especially its surrounding nature, and thus feel that it needs to be protected – at least for those that the research of this thesis came in touch with. As one of the interviewees (#3) said, tourism could be one way of strengthening the community’s culture so that it does not go forgotten, something that also came up in the tourism workshop. Connecting local values to tourism development and protecting them, especially the cultural and natural ones, are important factors in tourism development and is considered in past literature as a predictor of long-term sustainability of the industry (Rozemeijer, 2000; Goodwin and Santilli, 2009). Furthermore, the strong sense to protect its own ‘rights’ also mitigate the risk of community benefit, cultural and environmental dilution that sometimes result from external parties (Wunder, 2000; Simmons, 1994; Kiss, 2004). The community’s sense of pride and protection on its culture and nature gives grounds to question the extent to which the community support tourism, not only environmentally, but also socially. Thus, doing a carrying capacity study might be vital to further evaluate the risks of tourism development.

5.2.6 Local capacity

One of the biggest questions raised in literature is whether a community, that has the willingness and motivation, has the practical capacity and means to run a successful CBT enterprise. Quintero-Santos et al. (2016) identifies the following to be examples of barriers to community capacity building: lack of access to tourism information, foreign skills, access to internet, young people’s involvement and, insufficient funding. The notion of local capacity in El 20’s case can be grouped into the following: ability to self-fund, capacity to market and host tourists, the level of self-organization and the level of business knowledge to run a tourism enterprise.

As of now, there are indications that the community funds its own facility developments independently to an extent. The observation towers that were constructed during the period employed the community’s own carpenters and utilized local materials. Similarly, other construction projects that can be built using local skills and materials, often employ local carpenters to do the work. The community also carries out the maintenance of touristic sites; often ejidatarians are employed to carry out this work. As for handcraft products, craft makers buy the materials themselves. The profit gained from the products are very little, as the money from sales are often reinvested in new materials. Thus, based on these observations, it is evident that the community is able to fund small developments themselves. However, it is important to recognize that the sources of income which allow the community to self-fund are not guaranteed for the long-run. For example, if the local government body of the state or the country were to change, there is
a risk that the **ejidatarians** would not be getting any funds at all, or that the amount would be compromised.

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*A part of the benefits are given to all ejidatarians but it also necessary to realize that another part is also left to carry out maintenance work in areas where tourists arrive or where tours happen; for example, they do cleaning works at the archeological site* (Interview, Miriam)

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Bigger development projects in El 20 however do require funding from external actors. For example, buildings such as La Casita and developments such as water collectors were constructed with the help of external funding. Currently, the expansion plans for La Casita (shower space, kitchen and toilet construction) do need funding in order to be completed in the nearby future. This implies that the community’s ability to self-fund bigger facility developments is limited to an extent. Even if the community does possess the funds to do it themselves, such investments could drain the savings of the community significantly. Based on these findings, as of now the dependency on external funding is neither high nor low: the community still has the means to operate the enterprise without big external investments, but some investments will be needed for the future. Although relying on external funding during the first phases of CBT development is deemed acceptable, depending on it for long will render the initiative economically unsustainable (Zielinski et al. 2018; Kiss, 2004; Goodwin and Santilli, 2009).

The findings indicate that marketing of El 20 as a tourist destination occurs through three main channels: independent tourism operators, Pro-Natura (Visit Calakmul) and word of mouth. There is very limited indication that the community markets its destination or is in touch with tourists directly itself; rather, it happens through partners. Additionally, the community does not have a formal webpage or a booking system that would directly connect the hosting families to the tourists. Considering the trend regarding travelers using internet-based platforms to find information on destinations (e.g. Lange-Faria and Elliot, 2012; Xiang et al. 2014), it has also been suggested that internet should also be a ‘natural partner for the market segment’ which CBT enterprises target to support its operations (Harris and Vogel, 2019). Exploiting the full range of marketing and service systems required to reach tourism markets is however an area which often requires training (Jones, 2005). The lack of a direct marketing and information platform, in the context of this case study, could be a partial reason for locals being unaware of incoming tourists.
as well as tourists not being aware of El 20 as a destination. Furthermore, while having external agencies doing the marketing and promotion for the community is beneficial, relying on such in the absence of own marketing could hinder the community’s own ability to become the full manager of its own enterprise (Heyendael, 2002; Harris and Vogel, 2019). However, if it is considered that the community manages marketing platforms itself, Jones (2005) notes the importance of those assisting to carefully consider the starting point of the local’s capacity to do so. Therefore, the community’s own potential in improving marketing further is something that could thus be explored in the future, because without the right kind of marketing, the enterprise will not have access to sufficient numbers of tourists (Giampiccoli and Mtpuri, 2013).

As highlighted in literature, an important prerequisite for CBT development is that the community possesses the means and capacity to host tourists. As indicated through the tourism workshop, the locals do have the means to host tourists, as doing so has not previously required building of any accommodation facilities; although a couple of accommodation houses do exist (e.g. the eco-hostel La Casita). Based on field notes, the locals need to know about incoming tourists at least one day ahead so that they can prepare accommodation and buy food for the number of days that tourists might be staying there. In such case, it would help the hosts if money could be payed ahead, but this is not always necessary, or even possible, without a bank account where money could be transferred ahead. The same ideology also applies to provision of workshops and daily activities: knowing ahead of time will help the community to plan the program for tourists when they arrive. One possible complication, which the community might need to address in terms of existing facilities, is the limited quality and quantity of water – which is not mentioned on the existing partners’ websites (e.g. Visit Calakmul, Rutopia). This limitation could be outweighed through communication with tourists or partners by agreeing on whether water will be need to be bought ahead and how shower water could be consumed sustainably. Hence, based on these findings, El 20 does not necessarily lack the capacity to host tourists, but rather, there are a lot of people willing to provide activities and accommodation. The main barrier to being able to do so currently seems to be the lack of tourists. One possible demand not accounted for at the current stage is the availability of accommodation services which are not homestay-based: the construction of La Casita, the eco-hostel, which still requires funds to be fully constructed.

Based on the findings of this thesis, there is indication that the level of self-organization is high in smaller groups, but low on the whole community level. For example, El 20’s craft makers are organized in small groups based on what they make and do rotations on the sales of their handcrafts
(Visit Calakmul, 2018). The council board of ejidatarians, also get together once a month to discuss and make decisions on matters related to the whole community. However, it seems that the organization and communication between those participating and wishing to participate in touristic activities is still quite scattered and disorganized. As already identified during the previous ALM field trip to El 20, not everyone gets to participate in tourism and thereby not everyone benefits. For example, the drivers that bring tourists to El 20 only drops them off at one or two families who will get to be hosts (Dahlberg et al., 2017). In fact, the only time that the locals together to share thoughts together regarding issues such as tourism is when there is someone (ALM) facilitating the discussion (ibid.). Lacking knowledge and information on participation opportunities limits the locals’ understanding about the project and can become counterproductive for the community’s empowerment (Cole, 2006; Tosun, 2002). Investing time and resources in organizational strengthening, in both capacity building and giving more opportunities to participate, can then aid the community to reach self-sustainable management of the initiative (Rozemeier, 2000; Zielinski et al., 2018). According to many authors (e.g. Joppe 1996), this should be facilitated by an external actor who understands the context and is able to oversee the bigger picture.

Although the scope of this thesis could not fully evaluate the level of business and tourism knowledge possessed by locals, there are some indications that this is an area that should be researched and evaluated further. The tourism committee of El 20 as well as those participating in touristic activities do have a clear sense of which products and services are appropriate to offer to the tourists. In fact, some of the locals are certified tour and bird guides, who possess an understanding of how to operate within the tourism markets. Knowing how to work in the field is one of the skills required for the locals to be able to participate in CBT and decision-making, and is something that is recommended to foster further (Tosun and Timothy, 2003; Lai and Nepal, 2006). Furthermore, using skills and resources that the community already is most likely to foster a viable enterprise (Salafsky, 2001). However, as discussed before, the findings of this thesis suggest that intra-collaboration processes between community members seems to be somewhat disorganized, especially when it comes to information and communication. This are evident in the interviewee’s own accounts that they are not always aware of visiting tourists. Furthermore, it became apparent from the roundtable discussion and interviews that there are vast differences between individuals in access to tourists. While some have a sign in front of their house regarding which workshop they have, some do not, making it harder for tourists to visit them as might not know they exist. While some have access to Facebook and connections to external tour agencies,
others do not. This is something that could potentially hinder the enterprise from operating at its full capacity.

_Those who make soaps and earrings host tours. The rest of us craft makers are sad, we do not have anyone who buys our crafts, because we do not have a contract with a guide like they do._ (Rosa, interview)

Additionally, the findings indicated that certain touristic products and services are very undervalued, for the standards of both local and foreign tourists. For example, the price of meals is nearly equivalent to the ingredients that are used to prepare them. While competitive prices can certainly add value to the products and services, it is important that such prices are set with an understanding of the market and tourism behavior. After the amounts that the ‘tourists’ are willing to pay were revealed, some of the participants were surprised to observe the difference. There are also indications of some level of uncertainty in managing finances, especially communal funds, indicating that this is an area which would need training. Furthermore, based on field notes, there are only one or two people who can speak English in El 20. In this context, it is appropriate to reflect with literature that skills which communities are often found to have a shortage in include management skills, conflict resolution, financial management, marketing, planning and decision-making and cross-cultural and language skills (Zielinski et al. 2018). While not all of these might apply every community and there might be other aspects not mentioned, some form of capacity building is highly recommended from the perspective of achieving full empowerment of the host for future operations of the enterprise (Moscardo, 2005). It might thus be appropriate for the community to map and evaluate whether there are any gaps they could fill with some form of capacity building and skill development.

### 5.3 External facilitating conditions and barriers

Through the examination of the findings, there are some external facilitating conditions and barriers identified within those also found and discussed in literature review. Despite the importance placed by literature on the legislative context, the findings of this thesis, however, did not manage to address this factor to the extent that it would be able to be analyzed.

#### 5.3.1 External support
Fostering partnerships and collaboration has been long considered to be an essential part of sustainable tourism development (Okazaki, 2008). As discussed, El 20 receives tourism support from Pro-Natura (Visit Calakmul), independent tour agencies and as of 2018, Rutopia. The support from these agencies come in the form of marketing, tour arrangement and in the case of Pro-Natura, occasional funds for pre-agreed projects e.g. water collectors. There are indications that this kind of support and collaboration with external actors is still needed from the side of the community. An important collaborator to El 20 has been the network of Aalto Lab Mexico (Finnish and Mexican Universities) as well as Design Your Action, a local NGO that became involved through the establishment of ALM. These collaborators have taken participatory approaches to the community and its challenges, and together designing solutions tailored to fit the needs of El 20. This type of ‘NGO’-like support network is also important from the perspective that it lowers the risk of someone else taking over the management of tourism assets and allows the community to maintain the decision-making power over its tourism development (e.g. Ashley and Garland, 1994).

The support resulting from this kind of network is considered essential for enabling successful developments of CBT enterprises (Dodds et al. 2016; Okazaki, 2008; Beeton, 2006). In addition to financial support, capacity building and network expansion, this collaboration network should also include institutional support, where the NGO acts as a bridge between locals and government or other relevant private actors to the community (Zielinsky et al. 2018). In the case of El 20, this has happened in the on-going as well as past projects. The findings indicate that the community’s attitude towards such inclusive approach is rather positive and reflects this relationship being based on trust and friendship. In past cases, the relationship between facilitators and CBT project members is considered very important for the sustainability of CBT, especially when it recognizes and respects that the locals will be those who will own and receive benefits from the enterprise development (Giampiccoli and Mtpuri, 2017; Jugmohan and Steyn, 2015).

The addition of ALM and DYA’s to El 20’s existing partnerships with private actors has evidently facilitated the community’s own understanding of its values and aided them to an extent to confront its challenges. This has been executed in a way that reflects with literatures definition of the facilitators role: “it is an entity that furnishes instruments, tools, techniques and know-how to the community to achieve its goals” (Giampiccoli and Mtpuri, 2017). This is considered to be essential in enabling the community to align local values and priorities to the development process as well as allowing the community to voice what they have to say to other external entities (Ashley,
2000). Based on these findings, it is evident that the community does have some marketing, financial and technical capacity to develop facilities by its own means. The role for external support during the early stages of advancing CBT plans for El 20 is however still essential, especially in areas such as searching for funding, capacity building, facility development. An important facilitating condition for El 20’s success is also that the project does not have a deadline, and entities such as Aalto Lab and DYA (located in Mexico), will be with the community for a long period of time working on different sub-projects. This means that the community will have facilitators for a longer life span compared to many other CBT projects (often 2-3 years) and thus the risk of inability to reach full empowerment and self-management is mitigated (Zielinski et al. 2018; Goodwin and Santilli, 2009).

5.3.2 Proximity to tourism markets

As discussed, El 20’s access to the tourism markets happens primarily through third party promotion and marketing, which then put potential tourists in touch with the tourism manager of El 20. The relationship which the tourism committee and El 20’s individual actors have with these third-party entities facilitate access to markets and thereby ensure the viability of CBT (Dodds, 2016). However, due to remoteness of the El 20, and possibly also the community’s compromised ability to control the volume of promotion and marketing, El 20 is still rather unknown as a tourist destination. Furthermore, as the marketing and promotion is done through outsiders, there is only a limited amount of information the community can themselves ‘tell’ tourists about its community as well as be directly in touch with them regarding their stays. This implies that, as the interviewees and workshop participants have stated, El 20’s access to tourism markets is still rather limited. If the bridge to tourism markets is not strengthened in the future and the number of tourists remain the same (very little), the intended social-economic impacts of CBT will be very limited to the community.

5.4 Summary of findings

Through reflections of the nature of El 20’s tourism enterprise with pre-proposed literature, it was identified that the set-up fulfills the characteristics of CBT and is currently at an early stage of development, growing with a low growth trajectory that has the potential to deliver high impacts. The research also identified the community’s desired impacts successful CBT: strengthening and preservation of local identity, economic security through improved health, education and water and food availability, and protection of the jungle. These impacts also reflect sustainable development, where the ultimate impacts of CBT should contribute to all three pillars of
sustainability. With the end impact in mind, the CBT development strategy should tailored to respect the community context, with adaptation the factors, which affect the future success of the enterprise. The relationship between these elements are adjusted to the original theoretical framework of this thesis in the below Figure 9.

![Figure 9 Theoretical framework of this thesis modified to El 20’s CBT enterprise](image)

In order to achieve the desired outcome and its subsequent impacts, the analysis identified the facilitating conditions and barriers to successful CBT development specific to the case study context. The analysis also gave emergence for a set of factors, which should be studied further in-depth in order to determine their relevance to CBT development. The facilitating conditions, barriers and other factors to be studied are summarized in the below Table 9.

### Table 9 Facilitating conditions, barriers and emerging factors to CBT success based on findings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facilitating condition</th>
<th>Nature</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attractive destination</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Culture, nature, history, wide range of activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spontaneous participation</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Self-initiated motivation and participation in tourism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection to local values</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Preserving local identity, improved access and quality to life necessities through economic security, nature conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness on nature</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Community is part of forest conservation programs, and is motivated to protect the surrounding area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conservation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness on risks</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Some have an understanding of risks related to tourism development – though this could be strengthened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benefit distribution system</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Communal benefits (mostly ejidatarians), direct benefits, communal facility developments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong governance system</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>The larger ejidal system and ambitious tourism committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supporting facilitator(s)</td>
<td>External</td>
<td>Research, process facilitation, capacity development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help in marketing</td>
<td>External</td>
<td>External marketing and communication supported by local partners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilitating condition</td>
<td>Nature</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barriers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragmented participation</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Variations in ability participate in discussions and service provision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disorganized communication</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Information reaching only some in the community, communication not strongly established between service providers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varying access to support</td>
<td>Internal/External</td>
<td>Only some receive training and facilitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of marketing and communication platform</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Direct contact information, direct booking system, information regarding hosts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited capacity</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>English, business knowledge, understanding of tourism markets, pricing and sales communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited infrastructure</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Water availability, road conditions, unfinished eco-hostel construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factors to be studied</td>
<td>Nature</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of women</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Women exhibited a high level of motivation, risk understanding and strategic thinking – how could this be included in tourism development?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meaning of ‘community’</td>
<td>Internal</td>
<td>Community is understood differently from person to person, and <em>ejidal</em> system poses certain rules on who is officially considered to be part of the community – what role does this play in CBT management and benefit distribution?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislative context of Mexico and the Calakmul region</td>
<td>External</td>
<td>To what extent does the legislative environment enable or inhibit CBT development?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying capacity</td>
<td>Internal/External</td>
<td>To what extent can the community and the surrounding jungle support tourism development?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Conclusion

This final chapter will conclude the work of this thesis. This chapter will reflect the findings of this thesis back to the original research question, summarize the main contributions, reflect on research limitations and outline areas for future research.

6.1 Main findings and contributions

The aim of this thesis was to study the context of a single community and identify the factors that enable and inhibit successful CBT development, thereby contributing to the understudied area in the literature. The literature review conducted prior to data collection gave clarity on the principles of CBT, how it evolves over time, with the identification of several phases which take place over the course of its development. Each of these phases often have certain antecedents which need to be fulfilled in order to ensure the viability and sustainability of the enterprise. For the purpose of this thesis, these antecedents have been divided into two groups based on its nature: those which facilitate success, and those which act as a barrier to it. These factors have been further analyzed under internal and external factors in order to examine, which factors are related to the community itself, or are present externally. In order identify these factors specific to the case study of this thesis, the qualitative methodology of this thesis was designed to gain a deeper understanding of the community context and its CBT enterprise by interviewing eight locals, observing participants over three occasions and collecting field notes over a week field trip to the community of El 20.

One important finding in this thesis regarded the very definition of CBT enterprises. In the context of El 20 case, it was found that its enterprise fulfills the criteria for being called ‘CBT’. However, it is noteworthy to mention that although the community can be considered a CBT enterprise by most definitions of the concept, a closer examination of the context can show that these ‘criteria’ can have varying degrees of applicability. The case study indicated that differing understandings of who constitutes a ‘community’ can have an impact on who can participate, contribute to the discussions on enterprise development and receive benefits. Especially in the case of El 20, the ejidal system creates certain restrictions for those outside of it. This confirms what has been iterated in past studies that existing internal dynamics, social and power structures should be highlighted and acknowledged to the implementation of CBT plans, as this will ultimately have an impact on the extent to which locals are involved. This in turn strengthens the community’s sense of ownership over the enterprise development plans, and can also contribute to the sustainable use of natural resources (Bello et al. 2016; Mbaiwa, 2007; Inskeep, 1991). Despite the
risk elitism created by a local ‘membership’-based governance system, this type of set up is still argued to protect the community’s local agency on their management of tourism (Litka, 2013), thereby strengthening the community’s ownership of the enterprise. Especially leaders in such set-ups play an important role in building social capital and guiding a community in CBT development (Zielinski, 2018).

The empirical findings on facilitating conditions and barriers of this thesis challenged the notion where each destination is contested to be unique and that there is no one-size-fits-all framework for CBT development. The findings indicated that it is true that destinations are different, there may still be common factors, which CBT communities may share with one another, even if they are not bound to any specific location. One of the major facilitating conditions identified in this case was the existence of external support networks, which aids the community through facilitation, training and connections to tourism markets. This kind of operational collaboration is considered essential for long-term sustainability of the project, as confirmed through the case of El 20, the community’s own capacity can by quite limited during the early stages of CBT development (e.g. Okazaki, 2008; Gascon, 2013; Beeton, 2006; Mtapuri and Giampiccoli, 2013). This type of support and collaboration should later on be utilized to resolve the barriers which have been identified in the findings of this thesis, including: varying degrees of participation, disorganized internal communication, varying access to individual support when needed and lack of direct marketing and communication to the tourism markets. Addressing the varying degrees of participation and access to support is especially important as it exhibits how even if ‘spontaneous participation’ is reached on Tosun’s typology (i.e. highest degree of citizen participation), existing power structures can still play a role in how participation occurs in practice. For example, people might be willing to participate, but they do not have platform to do so. Alternatively, people might be participating, but do not feel that it is considered ‘real’ participation when there is no access to operational support and capacity training, and communication does flow internally.

Considering the precarious nature of CBT development and its high failing rate, this thesis suggests context-specific facilitating conditions and barriers to be identified and resolved alongside with development plans. As past literature has shown, leaving certain ‘warning signs’ unattended can lead to complications down the line and even bring counterproductive social consequences to the destination. As already discussed, a ‘facilitator’ could strongly support the identification and resolving of these factors, as this thesis has found that communities might lack the managerial capacity to initiate certain processes during the early stages of CBT development.
It might also be desirable evaluate and identify these factors periodically, as suggested by Pinel’s CBTP model, where processes which take place over the course of CBT development should be evaluated repeatedly in order to adapt to any possible changes. This would also respect the notion that communities are not static, but ‘dynamic in nature’, meaning they may change over time as a result of larger forces and are created and re-created through social interactions (Bridger et al. 2006; Shahmirzadi, 2012; Brennan et al., 2010). Furthermore, respecting the ultimate purpose CBT enterprises, one of the most important facilitating conditions for a successful outcome is connecting and adhering to local values during different stages of CBT lifecycle.

This thesis contributes to the body of literature by strengthening and challenging certain notions proposed in past research. It has done so by applying past theories and models on CBT development to a new case study, reflecting and adding insight to barriers and success factors already studied and validating the importance of identifying and evaluating these factors under the scope of bigger CBT strategy. Furthermore, this thesis has also suggested a framework to visualize the relationship between identifying the antecedents to developing a successful CBT enterprise in respect to context-specific sustainability impacts. The significance of these findings lies in offering insights to future studies on ensuring success and sustainability of CBT enterprises as well as in providing potential for comparative studies in the field. Also, adding a new case study to the field can help future studies in developing more accurate conceptual and theoretical frameworks for CBT development and allow better understanding, comparison and analysis of cases when factors become identified in a significant number of cases, and not only a few. Furthermore, in the context of El 20 case, this thesis hopefully also offers insights to the future planning of its CBT enterprise. In the end, hopefully the case-by-case study of factors affecting success in livelihood diversification in rural and marginalized areas can also contribute to the larger body of literature in the global poverty alleviation agenda.

6.2 Limitations of the study

The first limitation of this thesis is the limited period of time, during which the data was collected. The one-week trip to the case community was a short time to target more interviewees, collect fuller field notes and participate in more meetings. Communities in general, regardless of their size, are complex in their dynamics and thus understanding the full community context would have required more time. Although many of the challenges identified are shared by many in the community (e.g. water shortage, limited healthcare), it is also worth mentioning that since the interviews and meetings only reached ejidatarians, the data analyzed reflects the reality of only
few perspectives from the community. Although this research strengthened the notions of elites and sub-groups suggested in past research, being able to reach also the ‘marginalized’ locals in the community would have added more insight to the findings of this thesis and constructed a fuller understanding of the community context. Furthermore, although the research was conducted alongside with ALM, the researcher had only been to the case community one time before, leaving less time to build trust between the research and the interviewees. With these limitations, the findings of this thesis may lie on speculative future scenarios, which need to be complemented with more in-depth studies regarding the community context.

A second set of limitations are those posed by language and cultural barriers. One cultural barrier identified during the first day of field research was how the patriarchal structure can affect communications between men and women coming from outside of the community, and which became recognized in the range of responses received from male interviewees. For example, a meeting was arranged between Rogelio (tourism manager) and three ALM women. During this meeting, Rogelio spoke in few words and answered questions briefly. However, when another meeting was arranged together with two men, the conversation was much more dynamic and rich in detail. Regarding language barrier, although the interviewer herself conducted the interview questions Spanish, some of the responses had to be translated by a Mexican, which bared the risk of meanings going lost in translation. The extent to which the lack of full fluency affects the research process was not fully recognized when designing the methodology for this thesis, and the transcription was process for the interviews became a much harder and more tedious process than anticipated. As mentioned already in the methodology chapter, the interview questions had to be reworded in order to be better understood by the locals. During the interviews, it was recognized that the locals speak very figuratively and with many examples, and thus questions ordinary to academic research such as ‘what are the impacts on your life’ had to be rephrased into ‘how has X affected your everyday life’, accompanied with specific examples.

Finally, it was recognized only after the field trip that the data gathered centered mostly on internal factors affecting success, with less knowledge generated regarding external factors. For example, this thesis covered very little data regarding the legislative conditions and tourism market behaviors, which may affect the implementation of touristic activities in the future. Exploring such areas would have required a more in-depth study of the operating environment, which could have been gathered through desk research, further conversations with locals, especially with Rogelio as well as possible discussions with the case community’s external partners, such as Visit Calakmul.
These activities would have required more time, better language skills, help from Mexican partners, and possibly different set of questions during the interviews; all which might have been challenge to cover within the scope of a single master’s thesis. Regardless, studying external factors more in-depth alongside with the internal ones would have contributed to a wider and more compact understanding of all the possible facilitating conditions and barriers, which need to be addressed when moving forward with future plans of the enterprise.

6.3 Recommendations for future research

There are three main future research tracks, which the research conducted for this thesis recommends. The first area is including evaluation studies of the specific facilitating conditions and barriers identified within a single case study over a longer time period. Complementing qualitative studies on success factors with quantitative research could also allow a more reliable quantifying and hypothesizing of them. Currently, more studies are drawn to identifying factors predicting future success of CBT enterprises, but very few facilitate an in-depth understanding of their relationships with one another and their implications on the future of the enterprise. This thesis identified some of the factors, but the scope did not extend to going more in-depth into factors one by one and weighing their relationships, potential and risk as well as their subsequent recommended courses of action under a bigger tourism strategy. Doing so could ease the process of planning for the order of which the barriers should be solved at. For example, if the internal collaboration processes are still weak, should it be prioritized over building a direct communication platform with tourists? What are the potentials and risks in doing it the other way around? Furthermore, the factors determining success might also change overtime, and thus it is important to also to do follow-ups with the progress of the factors and explore whether new ones have emerged. Thus, this thesis recommends the study and evaluation of facilitating conditions and barriers to a specific CBT enterprise to be considered a vital component of a bigger CBT planning framework, which should hold as much importance as any other activity during the process.

The second track recommended for future research regards possibilities and consequences to participate internally. Past research has repeatedly identified participation as one of the strongest predictors of success for CBT enterprises, citing its lack of to affect future development adversely. Studies have also shown that having varying degrees of power to participate between elites and sub-groups in the communities can also lead to strengthening of inequalities, deterioration of relationships and monopolization of benefits. This thesis subsequently confirmed the challenges
that communities face in fulfilling CBT’s vision all-including participation, specifically certain social structures might hinder its possibility. Therefore, future research could exhibit more case studies on this specific factor, outlining how the social structure of the community has affected participation and what have been the strategies to cope with such. This would be important especially from the perspective of ensuring empowerment without compromising the relationships between locals and securing the enterprise’s ability to deliver its desired outcomes.

The final suggestion for future research is analyzing and comparing success factors also in developed countries. The literature review of this thesis covered mostly case studies in the developing world, mainly due to the focus of the research questions and objectives, but also because there are not that many similar studies done on CBT enterprises in developed countries. This, however, does not mean that the development of CBT is only limited to developing countries. Studying factors affecting success of CBT with a greater representation of communities can give greater insight into commonality of certain factors, prevailing best practices to adapt to them, regional differences between the factors as well as reflections on their relative importance in different parts of the world.
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Appendices

Appendix Ia: Original interview guide

Interview Guide: Semi-Structured Interview

Setting: El 20 de Noviembre field trip, individual interview
Interviewer: Julia Renko
Facilitators: Alan Ríos, Claudia Garduño-García, Carolina Kansikas

Introductions

I am a business student from Finland studying creative sustainability/sustainable development. This is my second time in El 20 with Claudia/Aalto Lab Mexico working on collaboration project to solve some problems that affect the quality of life here in El 20. One of the aspects that we are trying to learn more about is how community-based tourism could potentially help to contribute to the life values that matters to the residents of El 20. Last year, when we were here, we asked some people about what they value in life, what are their hopes and dreams so that community-based tourism can be developed to fit the needs of El 20 residents.

Community-based tourism is a type of tourism where the community is in charge its tourism facility. This means that the community where tourism takes place has the autonomy to decide how the tourism develops, how the resources are managed and how the income will be distributed. The purpose of community-based tourism to empower the community through business activities, develop its communal facilities and contribute to the economic well-being of the community. That is why the opinions of the residents matter, because they know best what affects the quality of their life and what could be improved when there is a new source of revenue coming in.

My last trip to El 20 inspired me to research and understand better from as many residents as possible: what makes the life in El 20 special or challenging, and how could tourism development contribute to it. That is why, your perspective and opinions will be very important in order for Aalto Lab Mexico to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the values that people here hold important to them and what challenges people here face. When we understand it better, together with El 20 we can develop the tourism plans in a way that takes the needs of individuals into consideration.

I would like to ask you some questions, and have a discussion on your opinions. Before that, I have a few practical matters that I would like to ask you about. The results from these interviews will be published in my thesis. The following things I would like to ask you about:

- Recording (audio and written)
- Confidentiality issue, do you want to remain anonymous
- If you are not comfortable answering some questions, you have the right to not answer them

Interview

Theme 1: Interviewee’s perception of life in El 20

- Can you describe your life in El 20:
  - What do you value? How are those values present in their everyday lives?
  - What makes the life in El 20 good/special? What makes life difficult or challenging in El 20?
    - E.g. issues related health, such as being sick or hospitalized

Theme 2: Interviewee’s awareness on development project in El 20 e.g. water and CBT
How do you feel about the plans? Do you feel that the activities have an impact on the quality of life in El 20?
  - On a personal level
  - On a community level

**Theme 3: The interviewee’s participation in tourism**

- Have you previously had a role or participated in tourism activities? If yes, how? If not, why?
- Would they like to have a bigger/smaller role?

**Theme 4: Interviewee’s perception of whether tourism could have an impact on their personal values and the challenges they face in El 20**

- Do you feel that tourism specifically could have an impact on the quality of life in El 20 for you?
  - If yes, which areas specifically?
  - If no, why?

**Closing the interview**

- Any other emerging themes can be discussed here
- Any questions, concerns or comments from the interviewee
- Do others want to ask something e.g. invite for workshops, ask about water/sanitation related issues

If not, interviewer expresses her gratitude for the interviewee for the participation and valuable insights. Recap the purpose of the interview. Confirm the confidentiality issue.

- Will ALM produce results from this years research that can be promised for the interviewee e.g. in the form of a brochure?
Appendix Ib: Revised interview questions

Interview

Theme 1: Interviewee’s perception of life in El 20
- Can you describe your life in El 20:
  - What are the things that you hold most important to you? For example, for me, I value relationships, family and financial stability
  - What makes the life in El 20 special? What makes life difficult or challenging in El 20?
    - E.g. any issues related to clean water and getting sick

Theme 2: Interviewee’s awareness on development project in El 20 e.g. water and CBT
- How much do you know about the projects that Aalto Lab/Claudia does here (or any similar projects)? How do you feel about them?
- Do you feel that the projects make a difference in life
  - To you or your family
  - To the community

Theme 3: The interviewee’s participation in tourism
- Have you previously had a role or participated in tourism activities, such as in making food, hosting or selling crafts? If yes, how? If not, why?
- Would they like to have a bigger/smaller role?

Theme 4: Interviewee’s perception of whether tourism could have an impact on their personal values and the challenges they face in El 20
- Do you feel that developing tourism here in El 20 can make a difference in your life?
  - If yes, in what ways?
  - If no, why?
**Appendix II: A collaboration process for CBT planning (adapted from Jamal and Getz, 1995)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Facilitating conditions</th>
<th>Actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **1: Problem setting** | • Recognition of interdependence  
  • Identification of a required number of stakeholders  
  • Perceptions of legitimacy among stakeholders  
  • Legitimate/skilled convener  
  • Shared access power  
  • Mandate  
  • Adequate resources to convene and enable collaboration process | ➤ Define purpose and domain  
  ➤ Identify convener  
  ➤ Define problems and issues to resolve  
  ➤ Identify and legitimize stakeholders  
  ➤ Build commitment to collaborate  
  ➤ Balancing power differences  
  ➤ Ensuring adequate resources available to facilitate collaboration |
| **2: Direction-setting** | • Coincidence of values  
  • Dispersion of power among stakeholders | ➤ Collect and share information  
  ➤ Appreciate shared values, enhance perceived interdependence  
  ➤ Establish rules and agenda for direction setting  
  ➤ Organize subgroups if required  
  ➤ List alternatives  
  ➤ Discuss various options  
  ➤ Select appropriate solutions  
  ➤ Arrive at shared vision, plan or strategy through consensus |
| **3: Implementation** | • High degree of ongoing interdependence  
  • External mandates  
  • Redistribution of power  
  • Influencing the contextual environment | ➤ Discuss means of implementing and monitoring solutions, shared vision, plan or strategy  
  ➤ Select suitable structure for institutionalizing process  
  ➤ Assign goals and tasks  
  ➤ Monitor ongoing progress and ensure compliance to collaboration decisions |