

COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM AND PRO-POOR TOURISM: DISSIMILAR POSITIONING IN RELATION TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

¹M. SAAYMAN & ²A. GIAMPICCOLI

¹NORTH-WEST UNIVERSITY & ²DURBAN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY,
SOUTH AFRICA

Abstract

This paper proposes community-based tourism (CBT) as an alternative to conventional and pro-poor tourism (PPT) as a means to alleviate poverty and facilitating the development of disadvantaged (poor) community members. The substantial differences between CBT and PPT are examined. The CBT is an alternative to mass tourism and is controlled by disadvantaged community members in order to benefit from a social justice approach to tourism that is characterised by redistributive aims. The PPT, on the other hand, originated in and is sustained by the neoliberal system, thereby precluding change to the status quo.

Keywords: Empowerment, community development, tourism development

1. INTRODUCTION

Neoliberalism has infused global lifestyles and thought (Harvey, 2007:3). At the same time, while the gap between rich and poor is increasing globally (Zajda, 2011:147), the process of globalisation is seen as representing the 'interests of the powerful' and focusing largely on the economic sector (Ife, 2002:141). Important to keep in mind is that tourism, as a global sector, remains within the neoliberal milieu (Chok, Macbeth & Warren, 2007:154) and tourism is an integral part of the "new neo-liberal conservation-development nexus" (van der Duim, 2011:99). It is therefore necessary to investigate whether alternative forms of tourism development, such as pro-poor tourism (PPT) and community-based tourism (CBT), are able to alleviate, reduce or work towards the complete elimination of such inequality from a tourism sector perspective. Within this context, PPT is regarded as an alternative form of tourism. That is, even if PPT purports not to be a specific type of tourism, it is, however, intended (or at least it purports) to manage the tourism industry using a different approach from the conventional mainstream tourism industry. While alternative tourism development should not be interpreted as a panacea, it should, however, be directed to promote better distribution of benefits and resources in the tourism sector (and as a consequence, in proportion to the broader society). Tourism is significant because it represents a major and growing economic sector (Sharpley, 2002:13) and could assist in facilitating community development (Baktygulov & Raeva, 2010:2; Rogerson, 2012:28).

Within this context, this paper's importance is that it contributes to analysing the relevance (or otherwise) of forms of alternative tourism, PPT and CBT, in relation to community development. The investigation of the role of alternative tourism in community development is considered as very pertinent and significant. More extensive debate on this matter should be encouraged and facilitated, since the relevance of the tourism industry worldwide and its appealing status within many disadvantaged contexts should be investigated, to understand the (proposed and advertised) role of tourism better, as well as alternative tourism, in community development. Given that there seems to be a scarcity of literature discussing a comparative analysis of alternative forms of tourism in relation to community development, this paper, which is based on existing literature, intends to contribute to the discourse on the role of tourism (alternative tourism) in community development by proposing a comparative outline between CBT and PPT in relation to community development. Within this context, globalisation is criticised for its actual neoliberal approach, not as a general historical process (Peet, 2003:3). This paper is furthermore interested in disadvantaged community members and interprets community development as a holistic concept, including issues on general quality of life (Saayman, 2009), self-reliance (Sharpley, 2002), freedom (Goulet, 1971) and empowerment (Sofield, 2003).

Within the neoliberal context, tourism is aiming neither towards benefits for the disadvantaged community nor a decrease in inequality (Wearing & McDonald, 2002:198). Therefore, a paper from a developing country, such as South Africa, argues that if specific strategies are not put into action (education in this case), tourism will have a negative impact on the poorest strata of society (Saayman, Rossouw & Krugell, 2012:483, 484). This paper argues that CBT is indicated as an alternative and is directed to facilitate community development, whereas PPT remains within the neoliberal system and facilitates the perpetuation of inequality, where disadvantaged communities continue to gain a smaller proportion (the crumbs) of benefits and remain locked in a disadvantaged and weaker position in relation to the more powerful, wealthier sector of society.

After this introductory section, the paper outlines major issues, such as the origin of concepts and some of the major theoretical underpinnings and characteristics of CBT and PPT. Thereafter, an investigation of a number of issues related to CBT, from a PPT literature perspective, is undertaken. This includes matters such as scale of impact, implementation, and the management of CBT projects. The following section summarises the difference between CBT and PPT by examining the difference between them in relation to the mainstream tourism sector and community development. A conclusion rounds off this study.

2. OUTLINE OF COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM (CBT) AND POOR TOURISM (PPT)

The conceptual origin of CBT is traceable in the alternative development approach of the 1970s (Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2012:33; Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008:1; Ruhui, 2007:2; Zapata, Hall, Lindo, & Vanderschaeghe, 2011:2). However, diverse understandings of CBT persist (Mayaka, Croy, & Mayson, 2012:397; Ndlovu & Rogerson, 2003:125) also in relation to the difficulties and need to define community (Mgonja, Sirima, Backman & Backman, 2015:377). At the same time, while there seems to be support for the CBT approach, in reality “it is difficult to find good examples of this” (Scheyvens, 2002:72); nevertheless, CBT's potential is recognised (Moscardo, 2008:175; Scheyvens, 1999:74) and there are several studies that look for the best strategy to implement CBT projects (Islam, 2015:20). Different interpretations of CBT may lead to different opinions and, consequently, different judgments of its practices (Mayaka et al., 2012:398). For example, Zapata et al. (2011:4) argue that the negative issues related to CBT are linked to the top-down approach to CBT followed by many international organisations; instead, CBT with a bottom-up approach is regarded as more encouraging. It is the perspective on CBT concepts, practices, judgements and philosophy by which the CBT is assessed that is also of basic relevance. Therefore, CBT is not intrinsically negative; it is the current, hegemonic, neoliberal milieu that misinterprets it (Zapata et al., 2011:4). The thoughts and practices of CBT have been influenced (especially since the 1990s) by neoliberalism and it has been circumscribed and embedded within the neoliberal approach (Beeton, 2006:50; Pleumaron, 2002). As such, CBT must be seen as opposing neoliberalism, as proposed: “CBT has sometimes been embraced as a counterweight to neocolonialism, neo-liberalism and conventional mass tourism” (Tolkach & King, 2015:389). Therefore, CBT should be interpreted as countering the neoliberal milieu (Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2012) and directed more towards social justice and radical change in society (Blackstock, 2005:40; Giampiccoli & Hayward Kalis, 2012a:176; Jealous, 1998:10). CBT should work towards holistic community development touching on various aspects linked to people's well-being (see Islam, 2015:21; Hasan & Islam, 2015:289).

It is, therefore, important to understand who controls CBT and how CBT is managed as well as its practices (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008:115), in order to understand who benefits from it. Those who control the tourism development process can regulate and “determine such critical factors as the scale, speed and nature of development” (Butler & Hinch, as cited by Sofield, 2003: 87). The understanding of matters of control and power within the tourism sector is fundamental to implement a specific strategy, such as forming CBT networks to enhance the power of the CBT actors (see Tolkach & King, 2015). Within this context, CBT must be understood as “tourism managed and controlled by the community” (Leksakundilok & Hirsch, 2008:214).

Apart from its intrinsic characteristics, such as that its goals should be individual and community benefitting (Ndlovu & Rogerson, 2004:446; Singh, 2008:156) and apart from the fact that it should ideally be an indigenous development process, usually, external facilitation/support is needed (Fernandes, 2011:1021; Giampiccoli & Mtapuri, 2012:35; Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013:9). This is the case because CBT encounters (arguably, as any other tourism development process does) its own limitations and difficulties, such as marketing (Denman, 2001:16; Forstner, 2004:498), poor linkages with distribution channels (Tolkach & King, 2015:389), and usual lack of financial resources and capacities at community level (Calanog, Reyes & Eugenio 2012:187; Denman, 2001:21).

The origin of PPT can be traced back to the work of a number of UK-based institutes and organisations (see Trau, 2012:153). The Pro-Poor Tourism Report Number 1 proposed what PPT is: “Pro-poor tourism is defined as tourism that generates net benefits for the poor. Benefits may be economic, but they may also be social, environmental or cultural”. In addition, and importantly: “The definition says nothing about the relative distribution of the benefits of the tourism. Therefore, as long as poor people reap net benefits, tourism can be classified as 'pro-poor' (even if richer people benefit more than poorer people)”. Therefore, the main “aim of PPT strategies is to unlock opportunities for the poor, rather than to expand the overall size of the sector”. At the same time, various conditions exist such as the need to be comprehensive and include all the destination in question, and the need to involve various stakeholders (see Ashley, Roe & Goodwin, 2001:2). PPT is different from CBT as it remains within the external limits of conceptualisation and practices controlled and managed by the neoliberal milieu, and does not represent an alternative development process that attempts to break the boundaries erected by neoliberalism. The PPT approach emerged in the late 1990s and accepted the present neoliberal- friendly status quo (Harrison, 2008:853, 858). Therefore, PPT remains within (is indeed embedded in) the global hegemonic discourse. Within this context, the term PPT could be associated with the view that “supranational organisations have had difficulty coming to terms with and adapting their policies to the effect of increasing poverty and inequality beyond cosmetic alteration of names, titles and terms” (Mowforth & Munt, 2003:267); the new (in the 1990s) term being that of PPT. Certainly, arguments in favour of and against PPT and its link with neoliberal milieu are debated in the literature (see Butler, Curran, O’Gorman, 2015; Trau, 2012). Research into and studies of PPT have been associated with the dominant ideological neoliberal framework (van der Duim, 2008:190). PPT is controlled by a few specific actors and entities with minimal research publications appearing in scientific journals and with most studies being based on student or consultancy work, where “[t]he latter often reflects the needs of especially international development organization to 'prove' that they are effective” (van der Duim, 2008:186). In addition, there is a deficiency of results to support the PPT approach (van der Duim 2008:185).

There is widespread rhetoric on the goals of PPT; “far less, however, is there supporting research” (King & Dinkoksung, 2014:688). Despite these limitations, the PPT approach is regarded by its proponents as a final theoretical approach and the direction in which to go. In this regard, Mitchell (2010:6) considers that the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) has enough reason to consider a “plausible case for advocating stronger linkages between mainstream tourism and PPT.” Nevertheless, still in 2012, it has been proposed that “there are a growing number of critics of PPT” (Trau, 2012:153). At the same time, literature has shown that there are various factors that can affect PPT-based project implementation, such as stakeholder support, collaboration and partnerships, stakeholders' views and attitudes, organisational coordination, practical approach, market demand, monitoring and evaluation, local culture and traditions, unforeseen circumstances, political/socio-economic situations, keeping enthusiasm, managing expectation, and the availability of resources (see Tolkach, Pearlman & King, 2012:6). As such, it seems that PPT is not at all a straightforward strategy, but many different factors have to be tuned in the right direction and be 'friend' with the PPT approach to enhance the chances of success of PPT.

PPT has been associated with matters related to 'value chain' and 'pro-poor income'. Mitchell and Ashley (2009:1) mention these linkages while simultaneously arguing that CBT cannot deliver adequate benefits to poor people in developing countries. Take note that use of value chain analysis is growing in support in the literature (Rogerson & Visser, 2011:253).

At the same time, Mitchell and Ashely (2010:133) observe that tourism does not always benefit the poor and, furthermore, in specific circumstances, may be negative for them. Within this context, the same authors argue that “Sometimes international tourism is an effective way to transfer funds from rich tourists to poor people at destinations where, for every \$4 spent by a tourist, \$1 reaches the poor. Sometimes it is not.” This suggestion by Mitchell and Ashley (2009:2; 2010:1), however, calls into doubt the 'success' of PPT if only \$1 of every \$4 reaches the poor. Assuming that the other \$3 reach the non-poor, arguably it is increasing inequality instead of decreasing; suggesting a 'trickle-up' process instead of a 'trickle-down' one. Similar matters have been raised and found in an example in Mozambique where the pro-poor income (PPI) has been found to be 13.3% part of total expenditure in tourism along the value chain. The value chain approach should be contextualised and recognised in the current power structure (see van der Duim, 2008:191; ul Haque, 2004:17 for an example from the agricultural sector). In reality, the PPT approach acknowledges that the non-poor benefit from tourism in a PPT system (Harrison, 2008:856), and therefore, permitting a disparity of benefits to occur. PPT approaches should be understood in terms of their underlying conceptualisation and practices in so far as PPT strategies are not legally bound, but are solely decided on by the tourism sector favouring the non-poor (Scheyvens, 2011:221).

3. CBT CHARACTERISTICS FROM A PPT PERSPECTIVE

This section mentions a number of CBT characteristics as described by PPT-friendly actors and investigates them to suggest a different view of the same characteristics. In particular, CBT has been proposed to be “ineffective at reducing poverty at scale” (Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008:2). The scale of impacts in any tourism strategy is a very important issue in considering the actual contribution to community development made by a specific tourism development strategy. CBT is usually interpreted as a small-scale development approach. However, while this is usually the case, there should be no restriction in working towards the facilitation of CBT on a bigger scale. Issues related to the possibility of increased scale have been noticed and described (France, 1997:17; :2; Calanog et al., 2012; Jealous, 1998:12). CBT should therefore be appreciated for its contribution to the local milieu (Jänis, 2009:13), but also for its possible, greater potential. The two levels of impact are not antithetical to each other. Promoting greater scales of CBT in the APEC region development, it has been suggested that “in the light of the growing importance of tourism as a tool for economic regeneration, it is imperative that the principles and mechanisms of CBT are mainstreamed [...] By doing so, CBT will no longer be an alternative development model but a formal development tool” (:2).

The type of approach used to implement and manage CBT is fundamental to achieving the desired goals. Therefore, it is important to investigate the implementation approach and the kind of entrepreneurial model utilised in CBT projects. Mitchell and Muckosy (2008:1) contend that the CBT model is not participatory and presents the weakness and inefficiency of collective management. However, it is argued here that two matters need to be considered in this judgement: firstly, local culture is not static and should be the substratum on which to build CBT development; while, secondly, the way the project is implemented might itself be the reason for improper development of the collective management system. Community development should be based on local culture (Ife, 2002:183, 195). At the same time, the latter should not be regarded as static, but as a forceful protagonist of transformation in society (Escobar, 1995:226; Peredo & Chrisman, 2006:320, 321). The relationship processes between local and external cultural milieus should, very importantly, be under full control of and management by the local people, not by outside actors. Instead, most tourism developments in developing countries' development projects are established on Western-based thought (Bianchi 2002:273). Despite the recognition of this problem, development project results seem still to promote a 'beggar mentality' in “many communities where there have been massive aid interventions” (Peredo & Chrisman, 2006:311). Consequently, there is the need to reinterpret from a more local community perspective the notion of PPT based on Western models of development (see Trau, 2012:153).

Differently proposed, “The role of an integrated PPT within a community ontology approach is not intended to be a priori anti-free-market system, but it recognizes the necessity to integrate its mechanism in an attitude that look first at (all the segments of) the community and its needs” (Karim, Mohammad & Serafino, 2012:3).

CBT has to be properly implemented to enhance its chance of success. An example of this is a Wild Coast project, which, supported by the European Union (EU), seems to indicate exactly the opposite. In general, the project has been described as a top-down development (Kepe, Ntsebeza, & Pithers, 2001). Lack of real participation in the implementation phase of the project (or programme) has also been observed (Wright, 2005:107). In addition, control of decision-making with regard to the project shifted. Initially, the community decided on the involvement of external actors (Russell & Kuiper, 2003:159). Thereafter, the involvement of the EU in the EU-supported project opened new (and opposite) perspectives where it was the external actors who involved the community (ECODES, 2003:9). The change in approach shifted attention from an indigenous need to external needs and to a more Western-based approach (Ntshona & Lahiff, 2003:41). Curiously, critics of CBT indicate that most CBT projects in Latin America are unsuccessful and that within this context, “Consultants and donors can move on, but the supposed beneficiaries may have invested their own assets in tourism projects and abandoned alternative livelihoods” (Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008:2). It may also be that the personnel associated with the external facilitating entities in the Wild Coast project 'left the scene' and went to work elsewhere. The shortcomings (or failures) of projects are most often attributed to the local community and not the external factors involved in the project (de Beer & Marais, 2005:55; Pleumaron, 2002). It is the implementation/management approach in CBT development that is paramount. At grassroots level, for example, trusts (Dixey, 2005:25) and cooperatives (Jamieson & Sunalai, 2009; Kontogeorgopoulos, Churyen, & Duangsaeng, 2013; Mielke, 2012) comprise the models frequently followed in CBT development. An example from KwaZulu-Natal Province in South Africa looking at agriculture-tourism linkages and pro-poor impacts show that “the current pattern of backward linkages from tourism to the agriculture sector cannot be described as pro-poor as it fails to incorporate the largest group of African farmers in the province” and therefore proper interventions are require to change the situation (Pillay & Rogerson, 2013:55).

A contradictory example can be seen from literature from Kerala, India. In 2006, in Kerala, the “Department of Tourism proactively decided to make the state tourism policies more pro-poor” under a framework denominated the Responsible Tourism (RT) Initiative (Michot, 2010:8). The specific context of Kerala based on more socialist/communist traditions (that for example has facilitated widespread literacy) has been seen as fundamental in advancing pro-poor policies (see Michot, 2010:18, 19; Baker, 2008:207).

However, these same specific conditions of Kerala “are not necessarily available elsewhere, especially among the Less Developed Countries” (Michot, 2010:19). At the same time, the current context of tourism within a neoliberal milieu (Chok et al, 2007:144) and the fact that the success of PPT strategies depends on “complex multitude of factors” one of which is a “supportive policy frameworks” (Chock, et al, 2007:150) the conditions to advance PPT strategies seem to be strongly limited as working inherently against the neoliberal tourism industry itself.

An example from Taquile it has been suggested that earlier attempts of collective managed systems were “abandoned as they undermined incentives to work” (Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008:2). At the same time, there is support for the link of Taquile with Mainstream tourism – as effectively seems to be happening presently (Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008:2). However, on the contrary, it has been proposed that the historical community context based on specific balance and structure of power “has facilitated a community-based tourism product” whereas the insertion of mainstream tourism has changed the situation and “local control in decision-making in Taquile has diminished as Puno travel agencies are increasingly obtaining a large market share. Still, the community is relatively self-reliant with little outside interference in local politics and decision-making. Collective management of local services is also high, especially for handicrafts, accommodation, and entrance fee collection” (Mitchell & Reid, 2001:136; Asker, Boronyak, Carrard & Paddon, 2010:129; Mitchell & Eagles; 2001:6). The shift to the neoliberal milieu has caused a loss of control and passive participation in Taquile, therefore, while the initial project also has its difficulties, the local community is trying to regain control of the tourism sector and rescuing the initial original project (Asker et al., 2010:129). An example from Peru seems to indicate how the link with mainstream tourism – as advocated by PPT strategies – seems to militate against the originally locally developed and controlled CBT forms. At the same time, specific cultural contexts can serve as a substratum upon which to build a tourism sector locally controlled, which is more associable with CBT characteristics.

The collective management of enterprises, such as cooperatives, may be on different scales and within different contexts. In addition, in a 2011 study, it has been asserted that “[w]orker cooperatives can be at least as efficient as privately owned, hierarchically managed firms” (Fields, 2011:83). Collective entrepreneurship systems, such as cooperatives, despite their problems, are invaluable (Ife, 2002: 135; SAF, 2003:2). This value has also been recognised by the United Nations; on The International Year of Co-operatives by the United Nations official website (Coop, 2012), it states, “[c]o-operatives are a reminder to the international community that it is possible to pursue both economic viability and social responsibility.” Cooperatives have been instrumental in different ways to CBT development (Kontogeorgopoulos et al., 2013; Iorio & Corsale, 2013; Hamzah & Mohamad, 2012; Mielke, 2012).

A case study from Peru suggests that the community also insists, with the facilitator, in having a cooperative structure to facilitate the equal distribution of benefits (Jamieson & Sunalai, 2009:93).

4. COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM AND PRO-POOR TOURISM DIFFERENCES

Two different types of relationships may be proposed between CBT and PPT within the present neoliberal framework (see Figure 1). In the first case, PPT absorbs CBT within its approach; diluting, shifting and possibly neutralising the original understandings of CBT towards a more neoliberally-friendly approach (that is, in a good relationship with PPT). In the second case, CBT and PPT offer divergent trajectories where each tourism approach follows its own path towards its own (different) goals. PPT remains allied to neoliberalism and maintains the current status quo (Harrison, 2008:858, 859). Therefore, while in the first case CBT has been 'neutralised', in the second case the CBT remains independent of PPT and it can strive, if properly facilitated and managed, towards holistic community development and social justice.

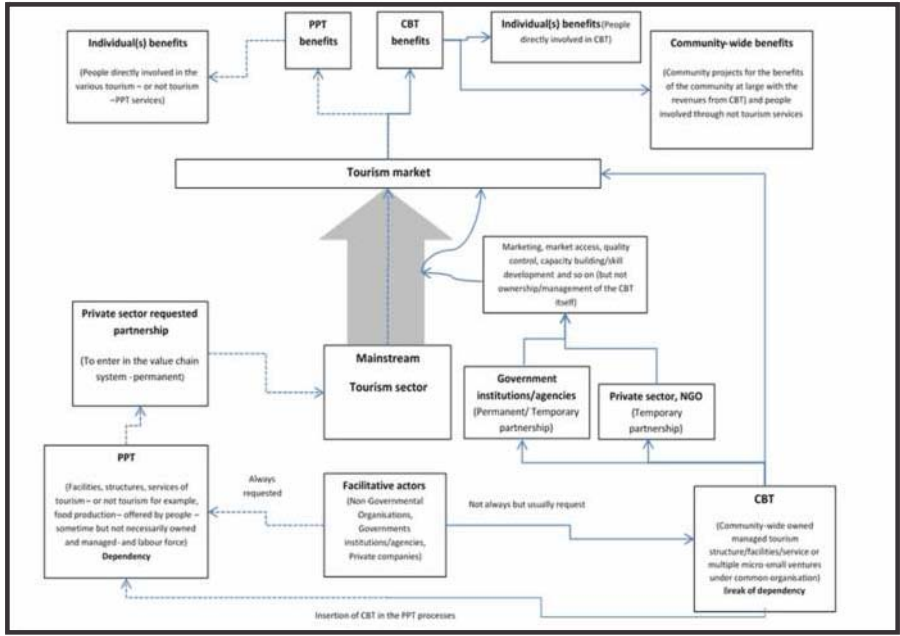


Figure 1: Different paths of PPT and CBT towards community benefit

Within this context, external facilitation of CBT is required to follow specific parameters and approaches in proceeding towards CBT and community development. Therefore, a third case may be advocated where a 'temporary' linkage with external actors is present (and this is frequently necessary). This partnership/facilitation process that should have specific parameters and approaches is considered to be 'temporary' and long term towards fulfilling holistic community development (Mtapuri & Giampiccoli, 2013:9). The concern here is to favour a partnership/facilitation process that empowers and promotes holistic community development through breaking (countering) the present power structure and emancipating the disadvantaged community members. It does so by supporting the full control and management of the CBT project (and by extension, aims toward advancing the control of the local tourism sector) through appropriate support in what the community requires and needs, such as capacity building, marketing and so on. Table 1 presents the characteristics of both CBT and PPT, revealing their differences. The table should be understood flexibly as indicating a directional trend in the various characteristics related to CBT and PPT.

Table 1: CBT and PPT characteristics

CBT	PPT
Alternative	Neoliberal
Community ownership and management (control) of tourism structure/facilities	Community ownership and management (control) not required. Usually externally owned
Indigenous outcome (with possible 'temporary' external support/facilitation/partnership).	Externally introduced.
Management style based on local culture	Based on Western-based management
Holistic approach	More related to economic matters
Self-reliance	Dependency
Empowerment	Paternalistic
Long-term	Short-term
Redistributive	Not redistributive
Small and large scale	Preferentially large scale
Facilitation	Participation
Collective entrepreneurship (or individual enterprises under umbrella collective organisation)	Conventional private companies
Individual and collective benefits and empowerment (direct and indirect benefit)	Individual benefit and empowerment
Informal and formal	Formal
Bottom-up	Top-down

5. CONCLUSION

This article has offered a brief analysis of the difference between PPT and CBT in relation to disadvantaged communities' holistic development, suggesting that while CBT's original conceptualisation works towards the holistic development of such communities, PPT does not. This is because PPT has, from its origins, been embedded within the neoliberal framework, which does not favour the restructuring of the tourism sector (or of society, for that matter) towards more redistributive and socially just outcomes. PPT is not redistributive in its aim (Chok et al, 2007:150). CBT's aim, on the other hand, is to move towards social justice; however, this objective has been jeopardised by the influence that PPT and neoliberalism have had (and still have) on CBT facilitation, management and judgment. The reality should be the opposite, where "to be really effective, PPT must be integrated in a broad community-based development strategy" (Karim et al., 2012) – not vice versa. In this case, chances to achieve social justice through tourism will be enhanced. It may be concluded that PPT "is another form of neoliberalism that fails to address the structural reasons for the north–south divide, as well as internal divides within developing countries" (Hall, 2007:4); instead "CBST [community-based sustainable tourism] primarily utilizes marginalized sectors of society to attain social justice and equity" (Jealous, 1998:10).

A number of examples on the interaction between CBT and PPT approaches have been proposed suggesting how the CBT approach seems to be more directed at facilitating local control, to better fit a specific local culture context. This is not to say that CBT is without difficulties, but to underline that specific facilitation should be directed towards CBT instead of the PPT approach. The specific characteristics of the tourism sector embedded in the neoliberal milieu work against the 'insertion' of the poor in mainstream tourism, especially the possible benefits that the poor can obtain remain minimal, 'the crumble' of the cake. At the same time, PPT seems to standardise its approach without appreciating the specific local context. On the other hand, CBT, as much as with its own limit and difficulties, attempts to develop a tourism system more directed towards local control (especially poor people control) of the tourism sector itself. It is not about CBT insertion in mainstream tourism, but is about mainstreaming CBT to shift the control of the tourism sector from its global neoliberal actors to the local context.

This paper has attempted to contribute to the debate on the role of alternative tourism development in community development by exposing the differences between the two most common, alternative approaches to tourism. The paper uses a comparative approach, contrasting two forms of alternative tourism, to focus their differences and their implications for community development. Tourism is a major (possibly leading) economic sector in South Africa and many forms and concepts of alternative tourism have been arrived at in the last few decades following the recognition of the various problems associated with 'classical' mainstream/mass tourism.

It is, therefore, fundamental, to begin to compare the conceptual underpinnings, practical outcomes and relationships with the current global framework of the various forms of alternative tourism to properly understand the value of the diverse, alternative tourism forms in relation to other(s). Alternative tourism development should not be perceived as a uniform concept, since it includes many different approaches, each with its own associated concepts and practices. More research needs to be undertaken to specifically investigate the extent to which proposed alternative approaches to tourism development are effectively delivering what they claim, and to gain understanding of the reasons behind the shortcomings and failures. In that regard, more studies that compare different approaches to alternative development should be performed.

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