Indigenous Ecotourism

Sustainable Development and Management

DEDICATION

To my father – Mervin Vernon Zeppel
(13 July 1922–26 September 2005)

and for S.T.M.
(for your Cree and Ojibway heart)

Ecotourism Book Series

General Editor: David B. Weaver, Professor of Tourism Management, George Mason University, Virginia, USA.

Ecotourism, or nature-based tourism that is managed to be learning-oriented as well as environmentally and socio-culturally sustainable, has emerged in the past 20 years as one of the most important sectors within the global tourism industry. The purpose of this series is to provide diverse stakeholders (e.g. academics, graduate and senior undergraduate students, practitioners, protected area managers, government and non-governmental organizations) with state-of-the-art and scientifically sound strategic knowledge about all facets of ecotourism, including external environments that influence its development. Contributions adopt a holistic, critical and interdisciplinary approach that combines relevant theory and practice while placing case studies from specific destinations into an international context. The series supports the development and diffusion of financially viable ecotourism that fulfils the objective of environmental, socio-cultural and economic sustainability at both the local and global scale.

Titles available:

Indigenous Ecotourism

Sustainable Development and Management

Heather D. Zeppel

James Cook University
Cairns, Australia

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About the Author

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Heather Zeppel is Senior Lecturer in Tourism in the Tourism Program, School of Business at James Cook University Cairns in Queensland, Australia. She has an Associate Diploma (Wildlife and Park Management), BSc, Graduate Certificate of Education, Graduate Diploma (Museum Curatorship) and PhD (Tourism/Material Culture).

Heather lectures on Tourism Issues in Developing Countries, Tourism and the Environment, Tourism Analysis, Australian Ecotourism and Wildlife Tourism Management and Regional Tourism Planning and Foundations of Conference and Event Management.

Her research interests include Indigenous tourism, cultural interpretation, ecotourism, wildlife tourism and sustainable tourism development. Heather's research articles and notes on Indigenous tourism have been published in the *Journal of Travel Research*, *Pacific Tourism Review*, *Tourism*, *Culture & Communication* and *Tourism Management*. She has also written ten book chapters on cultural tourism or Aboriginal tourism and other research reports on *Aboriginal Tourism in Australia* (Zeppel, 1999) and *Indigenous Wildlife Tourism in Australia* (Muloin, Zeppel and Higginbottom, 2001). Her current research examines Aboriginal tourism issues in the Wet Tropics World Heritage Area of Queensland.

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Preface

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This book had its genesis in the author's previous employment (1981–1984) as a park ranger at Uluru-Katatjuta National Park in the Northern Territory of Australia. This involved working with Anangu Aboriginal people on cultural interpretation and land management issues. Uluru (Ayers Rock) is a major tourism icon and culturally significant area, handed back to Anangu Aboriginal people in 1985.

Starting at Uluru, this interest in conservation and Indigenous cultures continued through to a doctoral study of Iban longhouse tourism in Sarawak, Borneo (1991–1994) and postdoctoral research on Indigenous cultural tourism in Australia, New Zealand and Canada (1996–2000). The initial academic studies of Indigenous tourism in the mid-1990s have now emerged into a major theme or focus at recent tourism or ecotourism conferences in Australia, New Zealand, USA, Canada, Africa and Asia.

This cross-disciplinary research on Indigenous tourism involves tourism, business, geography, anthropology and other areas, along with varied Indigenous groups.

This specific book emerged from an invitation by Professor David Weaver, editor of the CABI Ecotourism Series, to develop a book proposal that focused on Indigenous ecotourism. The subsequent acceptance of this book proposal by CABI indicates a broadening of the academic coverage of ecotourism from certification, policy and management to local communities and Indigenous peoples.

The commissioning editors at CABI, Rebecca Stubbs and Claire Parfitt, helped bring this book to fruition. The author thanks the three reviewers of the original CABI book proposal for their insightful comments and specific suggestions on further topics and issues to cover in a book of this type. In particular, Professor David Weaver provided useful editorial comments throughout the writing of this book. These prompted more in-depth examination of conservation and tourism issues and their impact on Indigenous peoples. Dr Sue Muloin also critically reviewed the first and last chapters of this book. Jenny Thorp and Sue Saunders provided further editorial corrections. The research and writing of this book was assisted by study leave during August 2004 to January 2005. The author thanks the School of Business, James Cook University for this time granted as leave.

The issues pertaining to Indigenous peoples, cultures, land rights, resource use and tourism continue to receive attention from academic researchers, government agencies, NGOs and the private sector.

Recent media coverage of some Indigenous issues that affect tourism include Maori claims to the foreshore, beaches and coastal waters of New Zealand in 2004, and Aboriginal groups in

Northern Australia lobbying for limited trophy hunting of saltwater crocodiles on Aboriginal lands in 2005. Both of these Indigenous claims to lands and use of natural resources are still pending final outcomes, although the Australian government continued to ban the commercial sport hunting of native wildlife.

At the international level, Indigenous groups are pressing for full legal recognition of their claims to traditional territories, biological diversity, cultural resources and traditional knowledge. This book on Indigenous ecotourism links biodiversity conservation and Indigenous rights with global growth in tourism.

The UN Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples was declared from 1995 to 2004. The research and writing of this book during 2004/05 provided an effective overview of key developments in conservation and ecotourism as they affected Indigenous peoples during this previous decade. Hence, this book provides a summation and appraisal of what has been achieved with Indigenous groups involved in conservation and ecotourism projects on their traditional territories and tribal lands. It also suggests key topics that need further research and critical investigation in this emerging area of Indigenous ecotourism. While the author is non-Indigenous, every effort was made to incorporate Indigenous perspectives on ecotourism as reported in the published literature and case studies. Any errors made in the presentation and interpretation of these case studies about Indigenous ecotourism are inadvertent. The author welcomes feedback or further information about the topics in this book.

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Heather Zeppel
Cairns, North Queensland
Australia
22 November 2005

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The Context of Indigenous Ecotourism

Introduction

This book is concerned with Indigenous-owned and operated ecotourism ventures that benefit Indigenous communities and conserve the natural and cultural environment. Ecotourism enterprises controlled by Indigenous people include cultural ecotours, ecolodges, hunting and fishing tours, cultural villages and other nature-oriented tourist facilities or services. Indigenous involvement in ecotourism is examined through global case studies of Indigenous operators and providers of eco-tourism products. Indigenous ecotourism is defined as 'nature-based attractions or tours owned by Indigenous people, and also Indigenous interpretation of the natural and cultural environment including wildlife' (Zeppel, 2003: 56). The case studies of Indigenous ecotourism ventures in the Pacific Islands, Latin America, Africa and South East Asia illustrate how Indigenous groups are conserving natural areas and educating visitors while developing and controlling ecotourism on Indigenous lands and territories. These case studies, therefore, challenge the common perception of 'minimal involvement in ecotourism by indigenous people in many countries' (Page and Dowling, 2002: 279). Indigenous ecotourism provides an alternative to extractive land uses such as hunting, farming, logging or mining, and it involves Indigenous people in managing tourism,

culture and their own environment. Ecotourism supplements a subsistence lifestyle and aids the transition to a cash economy for many tribal groups. How various Indigenous communities develop and operate tribal ecotourism ventures is a key focus of much recent research in this area.

Worldwide, Indigenous peoples are becoming more involved in the tourism industry, and particularly with ecotourism (Sykes, 1995; Butler and Hinch, 1996; Price, 1996; Mercer, 1998; Ryan, 2000; Mann, 2002; Smith, 2003; Christ, 2004; Hinch, 2004; Ryan and Aicken, 2005; Johnston, 2006; Notzke, 2006). Tourism enterprises controlled by Indigenous people include nature-based tours, cultural attractions and other tourist facilities or services in tribal homelands or protected areas. These Indigenous tourism ventures are largely a response to the spread of tourism into remote and marginal areas, including national parks, nature reserves and tribal territories that are traditional living areas for many Indigenous groups. Indigenous cultures and lands are frequently the main attraction for ecotours visiting wild and scenic natural regions such as the Amazon, Borneo, Yunnan, East Africa and Oceania. Indeed, 'Indigenous homelands rich in biodiversity are the prime target of most ecotourism' (Johnston, 2000: 90). Ecosystems such as tropical rainforests, coral reefs, mountains, savannah and deserts in developing countries are a drawcard for

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ecotourism, and many of these ecoregions are still inhabited by marginalized Indigenous groups (Weaver, 1998; WWF, 2000). Tourist encounters with these exotic tribal peoples during safaris, mountain trekking and village tours are growing areas of new tourism (Smith, 2003).

The spread of ecotourism into remote areas often coincides with regions that are still the traditional homelands for surviving groups of Indigenous peoples. Tourist experiences with Indigenous peoples now include trekking with Maasai guides in East Africa (Berger, 1996), visiting Indian villages in the rainforest of Ecuador (Wesche, 1996; Drumm, 1998), meeting Inuit people in the Arctic (Smith, 1996a), staying at Iban longhouses in Borneo (Zeppel, 1997) and Aboriginal cultural tours in northern Australia (Burchett, 1992). Small island states or countries with rainforest, reefs and Indigenous groups, especially in the Asia-Pacific region, are also a growing focus for ecotourism ventures (SPREP, 2002; Harrison, 2003). Environmental, cultural and spiritual aspects of Indigenous heritage and traditions are featured in ecotourism, community-based tourism and alternative tourism. New ecotourism enterprises managed by Indigenous groups are featured in travel guides and websites for community tourism and alternative travel (Franke, 1995; Mann, 2000, 2002; Tourism Concern, 2002). Native lands and reserves in developed countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the USA are also a growing focus for Indigenous tourism (Lew, 1996; Ryan and Aicken, 2005). For example, the USA has 52 million acres of Indian reservation land, often near national parks, with many tribal governments involved in tourism ventures on these lands (Gerberich, 2005). In these colonized countries, Indigenous ecotourism ventures are also found in protected areas that are co-managed with native people having traditional claims over this land. In North America, many Indigenous groups are investing money from land claim settlements, mining or fishing royalties and gaming revenue from tribal casinos in tourism ventures (Ryan, 1997; Lew and van Otten, 1998). In developing countries, some Indigenous groups with communal or legal land titles now derive income from forest or

wildlife resource use rights and from renting or leasing land to tourism operators.

Globally, there is greater public awareness of both environmental impacts and Indigenous peoples. Ecotourism recognizes the special cultural links between Indigenous peoples and natural areas. A growing tourist demand for Indigenous cultural experiences also coincides with the Indigenous need for new economic ventures deriving income from sustainable use of land and natural resources. This global trend is reflected in increasing contact with Indigenous communities living in remote areas and also the opening up of Indigenous homelands for ecotourism (Honey, 1999; Christ, 2004). These Indigenous territories are usually in peripheral areas, away from mainstream development, where Indigenous land practices have maintained biodiversity in 'wilderness' regions and otherwise endangered ecosystems (Hinch, 2004). While Indigenous communities are vulnerable to increased accessibility and contact with outsiders, ecotourism is seen as one way to maintain ecosystems and provide an economic alternative to logging or mining. Indigenous ecotourism involves native people negotiating access to tribal land, resources and knowledge for tourists and tour operators.

With greater legal recognition and control over homeland areas, culture and resources, Indigenous groups in many areas are determining appropriate types of ecotourism development in traditional lands and protected areas. As well as being an exotic tourist attraction, Indigenous peoples are also increasingly the owners, managers, joint venture partners or staff of ecotourism ventures, cultural sites and other tourist facilities. Therefore, the roles of Indigenous people in ecotourism now include landowners, tribal governments or councils, traditional owners, land managers, park rangers, tourism operators and guides. This global expansion of tourism into remote natural areas and Indigenous lands, often in developing countries, has seen increasing concern for sustainable tourism development, particularly with Indigenous groups (Price, 1996; Honey, 1999; McIntosh, 1999; McLaren, 1999; Robinson, 1999; Smith, 2001; Duffy, 2002; Johnston, 2003a, b; Mowforth and Munt,

2003; Sofield, 2003; Gerberich, 2005). For Indigenous peoples, 'land rights are an absolute prerequisite for sustainable tourism' (Johnston, 2000: 92). Legal rights over tribal lands and resources allow Indigenous groups to benefit from ecotourism, through community-owned enterprises, joint ventures and other partnerships.

This book considers the environmental, cultural and economic impacts of Indigenous ecotourism ventures in tribal areas of developing countries. Case studies describe and analyse the approaches adopted by different Indigenous communities in developing and operating ecotourism ventures. These case studies of Indigenous ecotourism ventures are drawn from the Pacific region, South and Central America, South East Asia and Africa. Tropical rainforest areas in the Asia-Pacific region, Latin America and Africa are a main focus for these community-based Indigenous ecotourism projects (Wesche and Drumm, 1999; Mann, 2002; SPREP, 2002; *Tourism in Focus*, 2002a). The savannah and desert regions of Africa along with the Andes Mountains of South America are another key focus. North Asia (i.e. Mongolia) and south Asia (i.e. India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) are not included in this book. In developing countries, ecotourism ventures for Indigenous peoples are mainly implemented with the help of non-government agencies (NGOs) involved in conservation or community development projects. For many Indigenous peoples, controlled ecotourism is seen as a way of achieving cultural, environmental and economic sustainability for the community (Sofield, 1993; Butler and Hinch, 1996; Zeppel, 1998a; Notzke, 2006). Opening up Indigenous homelands to ecotourism, however, involves a balance between use of natural resources, meeting tourist needs and maintaining cultural integrity.

Indigenous Peoples and Tourism

Indigenous peoples

Indigenous peoples are generally regarded as tribal or native groups still living in their homeland areas: 'Indigenous people are the existing descendants of the original people inhabiting a particular region or country' (BSR, 2003). They are considered to be original or First Peoples with unique cultural beliefs and practices closely linked to local ecosystems and use of natural resources (Furze *et al*., 1996; Price, 1996). According to Russell (2000: 93), Indigenous people are those who 'are generally minority groups in their territories, have developed a unique culture which may include social and legal systems, and whose ancestral connections to a region are pre-colonial'.

The United Nations (UN, 2004) defines Indigenous communities, peoples and nations as those having 'a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories', are distinct from other settler groups and want to 'preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity'. This historical continuity is based on occupation of ancestral lands, common ancestry, cultural practices and language. Indigenous peoples are also economically and culturally marginalized and often live in extreme poverty (UNDP, 2004).

The International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples defined Indigenous groups as:

> peoples in independent countries who are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries and who, irrespective of their legal status, retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions (ILO, 1991, Article 1 cited in Ryan, 2000: 422).

Indigenous peoples are thus the original inhabitants of a region with a special attachment to their lands or territories; have a sense of shared ancestry and self determination; have their own distinct cultures, languages, spirituality and knowledge; their own cultural, political and social institutions based on customary law and collective community living; and have their lands and institutions dominated by other majority groups and modern states (Kipuri, nd). Many Indigenous groups are geographically isolated,

economically disadvantaged and socially and politically marginalized. Indigenous peoples make up one third of the world's 900 million extremely poor rural peoples (IFAD, nd). They have often experienced ethnocide, racism and forced removal by other settlers (Maybury-Lewis, 2002). These Indigenous groups are tribal or semi-nomadic pastoralists, hunter-gatherers or shifting cultivators. They mainly have a subsistence economy and rely on natural resources for food and cash.

Different terms used to describe Indigenous groups include ethnic minorities (China, Vietnam, Philippines); tribes (Africa, Americas); hilltribes (Thailand); scheduled tribes or *adivasis* (India); Native American, Indian or Amerindian (North and South America); *Indigenas* (Latin America); Aboriginal (Australia, Canada, Taiwan) and First Nations (Canada). These Indigenous peoples may either be the majority group (e.g. Papua New Guinea, Bolivia) or, more commonly, they are a minority group, particularly in colonized countries such as North America, Australia and New Zealand. Colonized Indigenous groups whose lands are now part of other modern nation states are also called 'fourth world' peoples. Worldwide, there are an estimated 400 million Indigenous peoples (Weaver, 2001). These 5000 tribal or Indigenous groups represent about 5% of the world population. There are 150 million Indigenous people in China and India and some 30 million Indigenous people in the Americas (Healey, 1993). India has 67.76 million *adivasis* recognized as scheduled tribes, living on 20% of the land area, mainly in forests, hills or mountain areas (Bhengra *et al*., 2002).

Most Indigenous peoples are still found in developing countries, mainly in the southern hemisphere. For example, some 50 million Indigenous people from about 1000 tribes live in tropical rainforests in the equatorial belt of Africa, Asia, Oceania and the Amazon (Martin, 2001). Small, traditional tribes in isolated tropical or desert regions are often seen as endangered cultures, threatened by resource extraction, tourism and cultural change (Raffaele, 2003). New migrants, logging, mining and dams have displaced many tribal groups from their homelands. Organizations such as Cultural Survival (US), Survival

International (UK) and Minority Rights Group International campaign for the rights of Indigenous peoples affected by dispossession and development projects on their lands (Janet, 2002). Tribal groups still living a traditional subsistence lifestyle are found in over 60 countries and number 150 million people (Survival International, 1995). However, other Indigenous peoples also now follow a mainstream lifestyle and no longer live in tribal societies based solely on a subsistence economy.

Most Indigenous people are identified by the name of their 'tribe', clan, group, band or nation (Waitt, 1999). Individually, an Indigenous person is one self-identified as Indigenous who is recognized and accepted by an Indigenous group or community as a member. This definition of an Indigenous person as self-identified is followed in Australia, regardless of the mix or proportion of ethnic backgrounds, whereas in Canada there must be proof of native lineage with a minimum of 6% Indigenous ancestry. In New Zealand, people can be entered on the Maori list without knowing their tribe or *iwi*, while in the USA Native Americans need to show direct descent from at least one Indian great-grandparent listed on a tribal or voting list from the early 1900s (Ryan, 1997). In Taiwan, the government requires that Indigenous people still speak their own native language and funds Indigenous language classes. Taiwan has about 400,000 Indigenous people from 12 officially registered tribes (Coolidge, 2004; Yang, 2005). In contrast to these official government designations about Indigenous descent, 'First peoples have a strong sense of their own identity as unique peoples, with their own lands, languages, and cultures. They claim the right to define what is meant by indigenous, and to be recognized as such by others' (Burger, 1990: 16–17). In Africa, recognized Indigenous groups include the nomadic pastoralists of West Africa (e.g. Fulani, Tuareg) and East Africa (e.g. Maasai), the hunter-gather San or Bushmen in southern Africa and the rainforest Pygmies in central Africa. These groups are politically and economically marginalized, and experience discrimination from the dominant Bantu agricultural groups. A coordinating committee for Indigenous

peoples of Africa was formed in 1998 to seek official recognition for Indigenous groups and advocate for their rights (IPACC, 2004). Other African politicians claim that all black Africans are Indigenous to Africa and Indigenous peoples are not always recognized as such by African states (Sharpe, 1998; Kipuri, nd). Hence, other traditional and tribal groups in Africa are also covered in this book.

Indigenous peoples and human rights

The terms 'tribal' and 'Indigenous' are both used at the United Nations (UN). However, more people and communities with strong ties to ancestral land now identify themselves as 'Indigenous' where they are marginalized or oppressed. Tribal groups increasingly use the terms 'Indigenous' and 'Indigenous peoples' due to growing national and international recognition of the existence and territorial claims of native groups. Hence, the politics of 'Indigeneity' involves reworking or repositioning the identity of Indigenous people and groups in relation to economic, political or social power (Barcham, 2000; Maaka and Fleras, 2000; Hendry, 2005). The category or status of being Indigenous is then linked to legally asserting cultural, political and economic claims, such as the ownership and use of land, river and sea areas, hunting and fishing rights, cultural or intellectual copyright of Indigenous knowledge and royalties from land use including tourism. Key issues for all Indigenous groups include human rights, use of land and resources (e.g. plants, wildlife, minerals and water), and intellectual and cultural property rights (e.g. traditional ecological knowledge, cultural copyright). The political and legal recognition of Indigenous status (i.e. people and territories) 'entails claim to certain rights over the use, management and flow of benefits from resource-based industries' (Howitt et al., 1996: 3). Increasingly, Indigenous customary claims have been recognized as legal rights in national and international laws and conventions. These include both individual human rights and the collective property claims of Indigenous groups to land and resources (Wilmer, 1993; McLaren, 1998; Pera and McLaren, 1999; Smith, 1999;

Macdonald, 2002; IFAD, 2003; Johnston, 2003). According to Honey (2003), the range of Indigenous rights include fundamental, cultural, Indigenous knowledge and intellectual property, land, protected areas, economic, labour, local communities and a right to sustainable development of ancestral lands.

The International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention No. 169 (1989) is the only international law recognizing the rights of tribal and Indigenous peoples to their cultures, languages and ancestral territories (Osava, 2005; Roy, nd). The ILO has sponsored a website listing of community tourism projects in Latin America, including Indigenous ecotourism ventures (Redturs, nd). World Bank-funded investment projects now require the informed participation of Indigenous peoples for preparation of an Indigenous Peoples Development Plan (Survival International, 2004). The World Bank's policy for Indigenous peoples recognizes their special cultural, social and environmental ties to land. It also supports legal recognition of traditional or customary land tenure through legal land titles or by rights of custodianship and use (World Bank, 1991). This policy of legal land titles was enforced for a forestry loan to Nicaragua. However, an internal operations evaluation found only 29 of 89 World Bank projects affecting Indigenous peoples had any elements of this Plan (Selverston-Scher, 2003). Business for Social Responsibility has also published a document 'Rights of Indigenous Peoples' for companies doing business in the traditional territories of Indigenous groups (BSR, 2003).

Globally, Indigenous issues are represented by key international organizations. For example, the UN set up a Working Group on Indigenous Populations in 1982, yet only established a Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues in 2000. The Forum is an advisory body to the UN Economic and Social Council addressing Indigenous issues related to culture, the environment, economic and social development, education, health and human rights. Recent activities of this Forum include an international workshop on Indigenous knowledge and a declaration on conserving biological and cultural diversity at sacred natural sites and cultural landscapes (UN, 2005). In 2003, a Global Fund for Indigenous Peoples

was established by the World Bank to support this Forum and provide grants to Indigenous organizations (*Cultural Survival Voices*, 2004). A UN *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, based on human rights and communal property rights, was devised in 1989/90; however, it has still not been formally adopted by the UN or by other organizations. UNESCO's 2001 *Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity* highlights protecting Indigenous cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and use of natural resources. The UN Commission on Sustainable Development has an Indigenous Peoples' Caucus that prepared an issues paper about Indigenous peoples for the World Summit on Sustainable Development held in Johannesburg, South Africa (UN Commission on Sustainable Development, 2002). A World Social Forum for NGOs, held since 2001, also included Indigenous peoples for the first time in 2005 with 400 people from around 100 Indigenous ethnic groups attending (Osava, 2005).

In addition, the UN Decade of the World's Indigenous People was declared from 1995 to 2004 with the UN International Year for the World's Indigenous People held in 1993 (UNESCO, 2004). There is even a UN International Day of the World's Indigenous People held each year on 9 August! These UN initiatives focus on achieving social, cultural and political recognition for Indigenous peoples. Gaining this recognition was an ongoing process; hence a second UN Decade of the World's Indigenous People was declared from 2005 to 2014. Funding for major Indigenous development projects on bio-diversity conservation or ecotourism is also directed through UN bodies (e.g. UNEP, UNDP) to national governments, aid groups, environment NGOs and Indigenous peoples' organizations. Increasing amounts of funding from international banks and development agencies are being directed towards ecotourism and the sustainable development of Indigenous communities (Halfpenny, 1999; Griffiths, 2004; EBFP, 2005). In 2002, the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) invested over US$7 billion in 320 tourism-related projects with 21 development agencies (Selverston-Scher, 2003). Indigenous groups also represent their territorial claims and cultural interests by establishing their own organizations. For example, the Coordinating Body for Indigenous Organisations of the Amazon Basin (COICA) represents tribal organizations from nine Amazon countries and 2.8 million Amazon Indian people (Osava, 2005). Globally, over 1000 Indigenous organizations advocate for land and resources (Hitchcock, 1994).

Indigenous peoples and biodiversity

Indigenous land practices and cultural knowledge have ensured the conservation of global biodiversity. The UN Commission on Sustainable Development highlighted the key role of Indigenous peoples in the conservation of natural areas and species on their lands:

> Indigenous peoples comprise five per cent of the world's population but embody 80% of the world's cultural diversity. They are estimated to occupy 20% of the world's land surface but nurture 80% of the world's biodiversity on ancestral lands and territories. Rainforests of the Amazon, Central Africa, Asia and Melanesia is home to over half of the total global spectrum of indigenous peoples and at the same time contain some of the highest species biodiversity in the world (UN Commission on Sustainable Development, 2002: 2–3).

The Indigenous Peoples' Biodiversity Network was established in 1997 in Peru and has hosted workshops on Indigenous tourism and biodiversity conservation in Peru, Malaysia, Spain and Panama. Its position is that Indigenous peoples are the 'creators and conservers of biodiversity', with remaining forest areas or global 200 ecoregions with the highest biodiversity linked with surviving Indigenous groups in Asia, Africa, the Americas and Oceania (Nature Conservancy, 1996; Oviedo *et al.*, 2000; Weber *et al.*, 2000; WWF, 2000). The International Alliance of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forests, formed in 1992, and the Forest Peoples Programme (FPP) formed in 1990 also represent Indigenous views on conservation, parks and resource development. The UN Convention on Biological Diversity in 1992 recognized the environmental stewardship and traditional dependence of many Indigenous communities on biological resources (Prance,

1998). Article 8(j) requires governments to preserve Indigenous environmental knowledge to help conserve biodiversity and to share equitably any benefits arising from the use of traditional knowledge (Johnston, 2003). Since 1991, the UN's Global Environment Facility (GEF) has funded major projects on biodiversity conservation in developing countries with many including Indigenous lands. GEF funding from 2002 to 2006 was nearly US$3 billion (Griffiths, 2004; GEF Secretariat, 2004). WWF also adopted a policy on Indigenous peoples and conservation in 1996 that recognized the rights of Indigenous peoples to their traditional lands, territories and resources (Weber *et al.*, 2000; Alcorn, 2001; WWF, 2001a, 2005). Over 12 million people, mainly hunter-gatherers and pastoralists, have been removed from their ancestral lands to make way for protected areas, conservation and tourism. They are affected by poverty, limits on resource use and land degradation, with few benefits from tourism (MacKay, 2002; African Initiatives, 2003; Colchester, 2003, 2004; Martinez, 2003; Negi and Nautiyal, 2003; Hill, 2004; Lasimbang, 2004).

Ecotourism is seen as one main way for Indigenous groups to conserve and benefit from biodiversity on their traditional lands (Butcher, 2003). Ecotourism operators in Indigenous territories and protected areas with Indigenous claims also need to negotiate and be aware of the legal rights of Indigenous groups for ongoing use of natural resources. In 2002, new guidelines for tourism in Indigenous territories were drafted under the UN Convention on Biological Diversity. The World Summit on Sustainable Development (UN Commission on Sustainable Development, 2002) and the World Parks Congress in 2003 also included resolutions on the rights of Indigenous peoples in protected areas and conserving biodiversity (FPP, 2003; Larsen and Oviedo, 2005; Scherl, 2005). These are partly a response to the dominance of international agencies funding biodiversity conservation projects. In the mid-1990s, USAID had 105 ecotourism projects in 10 tropical developing countries and also Nepal. These had US$2 billion in funding directed through US conservation NGOs and the private sector (Honey, 1999). Since 2000, three international

conservation NGOs (i.e. WWF, Conservation International and The Nature Conservancy) have together spent US$350 million a year on biodiversity conservation projects in developing countries, which is more than the UN's GEF programme. It is important to note, however, that the political efforts and funding of local NGOs fighting for Indigenous land rights are secondary to these major environmental NGOs funding conservation and ecotourism projects (Chatty and Colchester, 2002; Epler Wood, 2003). The World Conservation Union (IUCN) only recently devised guidelines to involve Indigenous communities in co-managing national parks, protected areas and community conservation areas (Beltran, 2000; Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2004a,b; Marrie, 2004; Scherl, 2005; Bushell and Eagles, 2006). In many regions, such as Africa, protected areas deny Indigenous rights or involvement in conservation (Negi and Nautiyal, 2003; Nelson and Hossack, 2003; Lasimbang, 2004). Recent IUCN guidelines focus on securing Indigenous rights in legislation together with policies for co-managed protected areas and also support for community conservation and resource management (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2004b; Carino, 2004; Grieg-Gran and Mulliken, 2004; Hill, 2004; UNESCO, 2005).

Indigenous territories

Indigenous territories are areas traditionally occupied by Indigenous groups, or are other smaller areas set aside as reserves and reservations for tribal groups in colonized countries. These designated 'territories' include Aboriginal reserves in Australia, Maori reserves in New Zealand, and Indian reservations in North and South America. Examples include the Hopi Indian Reservation in Arizona (USA) which attracts 100,000 tourists annually (Lew, 1999) and Arnhem Land Reserve in the Northern Territory of Australia, which is home to the Aboriginal rock group *Yothu Yindi*, bark paintings and the *yidaki* or didgeridoo. In the western USA, cultural tourism on Indian reservations began in the 1960s (Browne and Nolan, 1989). A lucrative form of diversified Indigenous tourism in the USA and Canada are

tribally owned casinos on reserve lands with tax-free status for sovereign Indian nations (Lew and van Otten, 1998). In Taiwan, 250,000 ha of land in mountain areas was designated as Aboriginal or native reservations. Farming was limited and ecotourism was encouraged. However, Taiwan's Aboriginal people wanted compensation for limited land use and to independently manage their own reserve lands (Yang, 2005). Indigenous territories with a majority Indigenous population inside modern nation states include self-rule for the Inuit people of Greenland, a part of Denmark, and the newly created Inuit territory of Nunavut in Northern Canada. Other territories are the former tribal homelands (Bantustans) of South Africa and a 'homelands' movement back to traditional Aboriginal lands in Australia. The Torres Strait Islands between Australia and Papua New Guinea are moving towards being a more autonomous region within Australia. Torres Strait Islanders are of Melanesian origin and culturally distinct from the mainland Aborigines of Australia. Countries such as China and Russia also designate provinces or regions as 'ethnic' homelands for minority Indigenous groups (e.g. Tibetan Autonomous Region in China). However, settlers from the majority culture dominate most of these ethnic regions (Weaver, 2001).

Indigenous territories include lands under the legal control of Indigenous groups, with this formal native title defined by nation states, and 'aboriginal', 'customary' or 'communal' title for lands long occupied and used by Indigenous peoples (Hinch, 2001). Most Indigenous groups are pursuing legal title to their traditional lands, reserves and national parks declared on Indigenous lands through treaties, native title claims, land use agreements and other means (MacKay and Caruso, 2004; Weaver, 2006). These Indigenous territories are often in rural and remote areas, are high in biodiversity, wildlife and scenic values and are a focus for traditional life-ways and cultural practices such as art, music, ceremonies and handicrafts. For these reasons 'Indigenous territories are among the most significant of the cultural environments associated with ecotourism' (Weaver, 2001: 262). Indigenous peoples are developing ecotourism and other sustainable ventures based on natural resources to support the economic development of Indigenous lands. Private operators also seek new locations and products in tribal territories, often in joint ventures or exclusive operating agreements with Indigenous groups.

Indigenous Tourism

Indigenous tourism is referred to as Aboriginal or Indigenous tourism in Australia; as Aboriginal, Native or First Nations tourism in Canada; and Indian or Native American tourism in the USA. It is also referred to as anthropological tourism or tribal tourism (see Table 1.1). According to Hinch and Butler (1996: 9), 'Indigenous tourism refers to tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through *control* and/or by having their *culture* serve as the essence of the attraction'. In Canada, Parker (1993: 400) defined Aboriginal tourism as 'any tourism product or service, which is owned and operated by Aboriginal people'. In Australia, Aboriginal or Indigenous tourism has been defined as 'a tourism product which is either: Aboriginal owned or part owned, employs Aboriginal people, or provides consenting contact with Aboriginal people, culture or land' (SATC, 1995: 5). Among the Kuna Indians of Panama, Swain (1989: 85) considers Indigenous tourism as 'tourism based on the group's *land and cultural identity* and *controlled from within* by the group'. For Smith (1996b: 299), tribal tourism at Acoma Pueblo, New Mexico (USA) involves '*small scale enterprises* that are labour intensive for an owner, a family, or a small tribe'. Therefore, Indigenous tourism typically involves small businesses based on the inherited tribal knowledge of culture and nature.

Indigenous tourism is sometimes regarded as ethnic tourism (Smith, 1989; Sofield, 1991; de Burlo, 1996; Moscardo and Pearce, 1999). Ethnic tourism always involves some form of direct contact with host cultures and their environment. For Smith (1989), ethnic tourism typically occurs among tribal groups in remote areas with limited numbers of visitors (though 100,000 visitors a year now go trekking among the hilltribes of northern Thailand). Therefore,

ethnic and tribal tourism are forms of Indigenous cultural tourism involving tourist contact with Indigenous peoples or their cultural practices (Smith, 2003). However, ethnic tourism also implies contact with immigrant groups who may not be native or Indigenous to a destination. Indigenous people themselves may also be 'ethnic' tourists visiting cultural sites, native reserves or tribal events outside their local area. According to Smith (1996b: 287), the four 'Hs' of habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts define Indigenous tourism as: 'a culture-bounded visitor experience which, quite literally, is a micro-study of man-land relationships'. Hence, Indigenous tourism includes 'that segment of the visitor industry which directly involves native peoples whose ethnicity is a tourist attraction' (Smith 1996b: 283). This includes personal tourism businesses with direct contact between Indigenous hosts and visitors and indirect businesses involving the production and sale of native handicrafts or manufactured 'Aboriginal' products. Indigenous cultural knowledge, ownership and control, then, are key factors defining Indigenous tourism (see Table 1.1). Key aspects of Indigenous tourism products, along with their development and operation, are also related to community-based tourism, cultural tourism, heritage tourism, responsible tourism, pro-poor tourism, nature-based tourism and ecotourism.

Hinch and Butler (1996) distinguish between Indigenous-controlled and Indigenous-themed tourism. Attractions based on Indigenous culture that are owned and operated by Indigenous people represent 'culture controlled' or *Indigenous Cultural Tourism*. Other tourism ventures controlled by Indigenous people, that do not have Indigenous culture as a main theme, represent *Diversified Indigenous Tourism*. These diversified tourist attractions and facilities owned by Indigenous groups include resorts, boat transport or cruises, roadhouses, campgrounds and other visitor services. This infrastructure, including transport and accommodation, is a key part of Indigenous tourism in Canada, the USA and New Zealand. Ryan's (1997) model of Indigenous tourism involved Indigenous ownership and size of the enterprise, amount of Indigenous culture portrayed and the intensity of the visitor experience. Indigenous ownership of tourism and the expansion from culture-based to service-based Indigenous tourism ventures, including ecotourism on traditional lands, has mainly occurred since the 1990s (Zeppel, 1998a, 2001, 2003; Ryan and Aicken, 2005; Notzke, 2006).

Key aspects of Indigenous tourism

Indigenous tourism evolves when Indigenous people operate tours and cultural centres, provide visitor facilities and control tourist access to cultural sites, natural resources and tribal lands.

Indigenous tourist attractions include native museums and cultural villages, nature-based tours, Indigenous festivals or events and Indigenous art galleries. Cultural, environmental and spiritual aspects of Indigenous heritage and traditions are especially featured in Indigenous tourism. Through the 1990s, Indigenous tourism has developed into a new visitor market segment marked by Indigenous ownership and management of cultural attractions, nature tours and other visitor facilities (Getz and Jamieson, 1997; Zeppel, 1998a, d, 2001; Ryan and Aicken, 2005;

Table 1.1. Key features of Indigenous tourism.

INDIGENOUS TOURISM
Also referred to as: Anthropological Tourism; Cultural Tourism; Ethnic Tourism; Tribal Tourism
• Tourism connected with Indigenous culture, values and traditions
• Tourism products owned and operated by Indigenous people
• Tourism based on Indigenous land and cultural identity, controlled from within by Indigenous groups
• Tourism which includes Indigenous 'habitat, heritage, history and handicrafts'
• Typically involves small tourism businesses owned by tribes or families
• Tourism focused on Indigenous knowledge of culture and nature

Sources: Based on Swain (1989); Parker (1993); Hinch and Butler (1996); Smith (1996a, b).

Notzke, 2006). Many of these Indigenous tourism ventures are community based, developed by native bands, tribal groups, leaders or entrepreneurs living in a native community. Unique aspects of Indigenous history and cultural traditions are included in cultural and heritage tourism, while Indigenous ties to the land and use of natural resources are a part of nature-based tourism and ecotourism (Miller, 1996; Scheyvens, 1999). Ceremonial aspects of Indigenous cultures are also featured in native festivals and special events. Indigenous cultures are frequently the special interest or main motivating factor for tourist travel to exotic destinations, regions and tribal events. However, Indigenous tourism enterprises on tribal lands are often located in rural or remote regions, with limited infrastructure and access by tourist markets (Getz and Jamieson, 1997). For example, there are high transport and tour costs for visiting Nunavut in Arctic Canada or Arnhem Land in Northern Australia. These factors, along with a lack of capital and business skills among Indigenous peoples, also limit the development of Indigenous ecotourism ventures in tribal lands and territories.

Honey and Thullen (2003) reviewed various codes of conduct for Indigenous tourism, ecotourism and sustainable development that were prepared by Indigenous groups, major tourism conferences, the travel industry, ecotourism societies, NGOs, finance or development institutions and government agencies. These codes reaffirmed the rights of Indigenous peoples to control and benefit from tourism, and the responsibilities of tour operators, development agencies and governments for Indigenous groups. This included fair terms for tourism participation, community empowerment and poverty alleviation. For Indigenous peoples, regaining control of Indigenous lands and territories, along with their natural and cultural resources, are integral for self-determination and sustainable development of Indigenous tourism.

Key issues for the development of tourism or ecotourism on Indigenous lands include the legal rights of Indigenous peoples on Indigenous territories, the commodification of Indigenous cultural practices for tourism and the intellectual property rights of Indigenous peoples for the use of their designs and their traditional cultural or biological knowledge in tourism. Indigenous self-determination and control over tourism on Indigenous territories mainly relies on legal title to traditional lands (Hinch, 2004).

Hence, achieving sustainable tourism on Indigenous territories depends on several key factors such as: 'land ownership, community control of tourism, government support for tourism development, restricted access to indigenous homelands and reclaiming natural or cultural resources utilised for tourism' (Zeppel, 1998a: 73). The chapters in this book examine these key issues for Indigenous ecotourism ventures on Indigenous lands or territories in the Pacific Islands, Latin America, Africa and South East Asia.

Indigenous Tourism Rights International

Indigenous Tourism Rights International (ITRI) was established in 1995. Based in the USA, it was formerly known as the Rethinking Tourism Project. It is dedicated to helping Indigenous groups preserve and protect their traditional lands and cultures from the impacts of global tourism (McLaren, 1999, 2003). Their campaigns focus on helping Indigenous groups achieve self-determination and control over tourism. In 2002, ITRI campaigned against the UN International Year of Ecotourism, and organized alternative forums for Indigenous peoples to debate the benefits and impacts of ecotourism activities on their culture and traditional lands (Vivanco, 2002). The International Forum on Indigenous Tourism held in Oaxaca, Mexico in March 2002 generated a declaration on the rights of Indigenous peoples to control tourism on their lands. ITRI has formed a working partnership with the International Indian Treaty Council to promote Indigenous community-based tourism projects and build an Indigenous Tourism Network in the Americas. In 2004, an online ITRI conference titled 'Rethinking Tourism Certification' discussed Indigenous viewpoints on the promotion of global standards for certifying ecotourism or sustainable tourism. These certification programmes, however, give

priority to environmental and economic matters rather than to Indigenous issues, as non-Indigenous agencies control these certification schemes with few Indigenous criteria included.

Indigenous Ecotourism

Defining Indigenous ecotourism

The main focus of this book is commercially marketed ecotourism products and ventures operated by Indigenous groups. Key aspects of Indigenous ecotourism include a nature-based product, Indigenous ownership and the presentation of Indigenous environmental and cultural knowledge. Ecotourism includes Aboriginal people and their traditions because of the strong bond between Indigenous cultures and the natural environment. This includes cultural, spiritual and physical links between Indigenous peoples and their traditional lands or natural resources. Indigenous cultural tourism or ecocultural tourism involves 'responsible, dignified and sensitive contact between indigenous people and tourists which educates the tourist about the distinct and evolving relationship between Indigenous peoples and their country, whilst providing returns to the local indigenous community' (TWS (The Wilderness Society), 1999). Indigenous ecotourism then is: 'Tourism which cares for the environment and which involves (Indigenous) people in decision-making and management' (ANTA, 2001). It includes nature-based tourism products or accommodation owned by Indigenous groups and Indigenous cultural tours or attractions in a natural setting. Much of this Indigenous tourism development focuses on community-based ecotourism that benefits local people (Liu, 1994; Drumm, 1998; Sproule and Suhandi, 1998; WWF, 2001b; Tourism Concern, 2002; Fennell, 2003; Chen, 2004; Notzke, 2006). According to Drumm (1998: 198), Indigenous community-based ecotourism involves 'ecotourism programs which take place under the control and active participation of the local people who inhabit a natural attraction'. These ecotourism enterprises involve Indigenous communities using their natural resources and traditional lands to gain income from tourism. Hence, Indigenous ecotourism ventures involve nature conservation, business enterprise (or partnerships) and tourism income for community development (Sproule, 1996, cited in Fennell, 2003). Hunting and fishing tours are also part of Indigenous ecotourism, (with sustainable use of wildlife resources), although consumptive activities are not usually considered to be 'true' ecotourism (Honey, 1999; Weaver, 2001).

The term Indigenous ecotourism has emerged since the mid-1990s to describe community ecotourism projects developed on Indigenous lands and territories in Latin America, Australia and Canada. Colvin (1994), Schaller (1996) and Wesche (1996) first used the term 'Indigenous ecotourism' to describe community-based ecotourism projects among Indian tribes in Ecuador. Wearing (1996) also presented a paper on training for Indigenous ecotourism development at the Fourth World Leisure Congress. Karwacki (1999) used the term Indigenous ecotourism in reviewing challenges for Indigenous groups seeking to develop ecotourism ventures on their lands, while Beck and Somerville (2002) and Sofield (2002) also referred to Aboriginal (cultural) ecotourism in Australia in this way. Fennell (2003) also refers to Indigenous ecotourism entrepreneurs, while the Mapajo Lodge in Bolivia describe their rainforest programme as Indigenous ecotourism. Furthermore, the Australian National Training Authority (ANTA, 2001) developed an Indigenous Ecotourism Toolbox, which includes case study examples and business plans for communities to set up their own ecotourism ventures. Indigenous Tourism Rights International has reviewed certification programmes and culturally appropriate standards for Indigenous ecotourism. Finally, and most recently, Nepal (2004, 2005) examined capacity building for Indigenous ecotourism on the Tl'axt'en Nation lands in British Columbia, Canada, while Hashimoto and Telfer (2004) reviewed Aboriginal ecotourism in northern Canada. Indigenous ecotourism also occurs in Africa, Asia and Oceania, and is covered in several chapters of this book.

Indigenous views on ecotourism

According to Johnston (2000), there are some key differences between industry definitions of ecotourism and Indigenous views of ecotourism (see Table 1.2). Industry use of ecotourism includes commercializing Indigenous biological and cultural heritage, claims to be environmentally or socially responsible, and uses criteria for sustainability derived without input from Indigenous peoples. Indigenous support for ecotourism, however, involves 'tourism that is based on indigenous knowledge systems and values, promoting customary practices and livelihoods' (Johnston, 2000: 91). Cultural aspects of Indigenous ecotourism include the close bonds between Indigenous peoples and the environment, based on subsistence activities, along with spiritual relationships with the land, plants and animals. However, potential conflicts within Indigenous ecotourism include tourists objecting to traditional hunting activities and tribal people using modern items such as rifles and outboard motors (Hinch, 2001). In East Africa, there are land-use conflicts between hunting companies killing wildlife and the walking or wildlife-viewing safaris run as community ecotourism ventures by the Maasai (*Tourism in Focus*, 2002b).

In addition to generating employment and income, there are often political motivations for Indigenous ecotourism. For many Indigenous groups, ecotourism is used to reinforce land claims, acknowledge cultural identity and land ownership, and regain their rights to access or use tribal land and resources. Ecotourism also shows that tribal land is being used productively to generate income and the ability of Indigenous groups to govern themselves or manage businesses (Hinch, 2001; Weaver, 2001, 2006). For Indigenous peoples, then, sustainable ecotourism development is based on 'conservation of resources and empowerment of local people through direct benefits and control over ecotourism activities' (Scheyvens, 2002: 80). However, government policies on community-based ecotourism and support from environmental NGOs are essential for most Indigenous ecotourism and conservation projects to be implemented.

Most tourism organizations consider Indigenous tourism, ecotourism and wildlife tourism as separate niche or special interest areas of nature-based tourism. Ecotourism Australia (2005), though, defines ecotourism as: 'ecologically sustainable tourism with a primary focus on experiencing natural areas that fosters environmental and *cultural understanding, appreciation and conservation.*'

Table 1.2. Industry and Indigenous perceptions of ecotourism.

Industry Ecotourism
- Ecotourism as any form of industry monopolized tourism
- Marketed as nature, cultural, ethnic or adventure travel
- Commercialize Indigenous bio-cultural heritage, including
- collective property (knowledge) and/or homeland of 'host' peoples
- Claim to be socially and environmentally responsible
- Apply sustainability criteria determined without Indigenous input
- Indigenous cultures commercialized e.g. photographs on brochures
- Few companies obtain prior consent to promote Indigenous peoples
- Few companies negotiate business partnerships or royalty payments

Indigenous Ecotourism
- Ecotourism based on Indigenous knowledge systems and values
- Ecotourism based on promoting Indigenous customary practices and livelihoods
- Ecotourism used to regain rights to access, manage and use traditional land and resources
- Ecotourism used to manage cultural property such as historic and sacred sites
- Takes place under the control and active participation of local Indigenous people
- Includes Indigenous communities in ecotourism planning, development and operation
- Managing Indigenous cultural property in terms of land, heritage and resources
- Negotiating the terms of trade for the use of ecotourism resources, including people

Sources: Based on Drumm (1998); Johnston (2000); Hinch (2001); Hillel (2003).

In this definition, there is a primary focus on the natural environment with a secondary emphasis on cultural heritage, including Indigenous cultures. The International Ecotourism Society (2004), based in the USA, defines ecotourism as 'responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and *improves the well-being of local people*'. The focus, again, is on the natural environment, but with ecotourism providing benefits for local communities. For Honey (1999: 25), ecotourism also 'directly *benefits the economic development and political empowerment of local communities*; and fosters respect for different cultures and for human rights' (see Table 1.3). In Canada, the term Aboriginal tourism is preferred to ecotourism (Hashimoto and Telfer, 2004). Some Indigenous groups also refer to cultural ecotourism or ecocultural tourism, to emphasize that the natural environment and resources are still managed as an Indigenous cultural landscape (Helu-Thaman, 1992; Beck and Somerville, 2002).

Indigenous ecotourism in Australia

In Australia, Indigenous ecotourism ventures include boat cruises, nature-based accommodation, cultural ecotours and wildlife tours operating on Aboriginal lands, National Parks and in traditional tribal areas (Singh *et al.*, 2001; Zeppel, 2003). These Indigenous-owned ecotourism enterprises present unique Indigenous perspectives of the natural and cultural environment, promote nature conservation and provide employment for local Indigenous people (Zeppel, 1998a). Hence, these Indigenous products meet the key criteria of ecotourism as nature based, include environmental education, are ecologically sustainable and support nature conservation (Weaver, 2001). Indigenous nature conservation or 'caring for country' involves traditional landowners or custodians 'looking after the environmental, cultural and spiritual well being of the land' (Aboriginal Tourism Australia, 2005). Looking after Aboriginal sites, landscapes or natural resources and educating visitors about 'country' often motivate Indigenous conserva-

tion ethics in ecotourism or land management. Nganyintja, a *Pitjantjatjara* Elder working with Desert Tracks in Central Australia, stated that: 'carefully controlled ecotourism has been good for my family and my place Angatja' (cited in James, 1994: 12). Many Indigenous tours in natural areas are marketed as cultural tours rather than ecotours, emphasizing the ongoing cultural links between Indigenous tourism operators and their traditional lands.

Indigenous ecotourism ventures, then, focus on Indigenous relationships with the land and the cultural significance of the natural environment, including wildlife. This includes Indigenous use of bush foods and medicinal plants, rock art, landscape features with spiritual significance, creation stories, totemic animals, traditional artefacts and ceremonies and contemporary land use. Such tours educate visitors on Indigenous environmental values, sustainable use of natural resources and 'caring for country'. As Tom Trevorrow, an *Ngarrindjeri* operator of Camp Coorong in South Australia noted, 'We have to look after the environment and we teach visitors the importance of this' (cited in ATSIC, 1996: 29). Indigenous interpretations of nature and wildlife are also important for the maturing ecotourism market (DISR (Department of Industry, Science and Resources), 2000). However, there is limited engagement of the ecotourism industry with Aboriginal peoples in Australia (Dowling, 2001). Gatjil Djerrkura, an Aboriginal keynote speaker at the 2000 ecotourism conference, stated that Aboriginal-owned enterprises should have contemporary business roles to play in Australia's ecotourism industry (*Ecotourism News*, 2000). Indigenous culture is a significant but overlooked part of ecotourism products in Australia. Aboriginal tourism operators also resent 'outsiders setting up tours in their traditional areas, national park permits to visit sites in their own country and ecotourism certification when 'Aboriginal "accreditation" involves approval from elders' (Bissett *et al.*, 1998: 7).

Key Indigenous issues in Australian ecotourism include the following:

● sustainable development of Aboriginal tourism (Burchett, 1992; Altman and Finlayson, 1993);

Table 1.3. Key features of general ecotourism and of Indigenous ecotourism.

Ecotourism	Indigenous ecotourism
1. *Involves travel to natural destinations*	
Remote regions, protected areas, private reserves	Remote homelands, communal reserves, inhabited protected areas and tribal territories
2. *Minimizes impact*	
Reduce ecological/cultural impacts of facilities and tourists	Minimize environmental and cultural impacts
Sustainable development of non-consumptive industry	Sustainable tribal use of natural resources
3. *Builds environmental and cultural awareness*	
Environmental education of tourists and residents by trained guides	Tribal guides share environmental knowledge Reinforces Indigenous cultural links with land
4. *Provides direct financial benefits for conservation*	
Tourism funds environmental protection, education and research	Tourism funds conservation and community needs
Park entrance fees, tourist taxes and levies, conservation donations	Tourist/lease fees, wildlife quotas and NGO funding
5. *Provides financial benefits and empowerment for local people*	
Park revenue sharing, community tourism concessions and partnerships	Park revenue sharing with local communities Legal land title to negotiate tourism contracts Lease land on reserves and sell wildlife quotas Business owned/co-owned by tribal community
6. *Respects local culture and sensitive to host countries*	
Culturally respectful of local customs, dress codes and social norms	Promotes ecocultural tourism and learning Tourism complements traditional lifestyle
7. *Supports human rights and democratic movements*	
Respect human rights; understand social and political situation	Tribal land rights and human rights recognized Indigenous political history acknowledged

Sources: Based on Honey (1999); Blake (2003); Scheyvens (2002); The International Ecotourism Society (2004).

- environmental impacts of tourism (Ross, 1991; Miller, 1996);
- cultural interpretation of heritage sites (Bissett *et al.*, 1998; Howard *et al.*, 2001; Beck and Somerville, 2002); and
- tourism in Aboriginal national parks (Mercer, 1994, 1998; Pitcher *et al.*, 1999; Sutton, 1999; Hall, 2000).

Other industry issues include ecotourism training for Aboriginal people (ANTA, 2001), Aboriginal control of tourism (Trotter, 1997; Pitcher *et al.*, 1999; Zeppel, 2002), ecotourism policies (Zeppel, 2003) and developing Aboriginal ecotourism products (Zeppel,

1998b, c). In Australia, ecotourism is regarded solely as nature viewing activities. Some Aboriginal tours, though, include hunting activities, eating witchetty grubs and plant foods. Tasting wild plant foods may be constrained by environmental laws in protected areas. One Aboriginal tour operator in North Queensland used to let visitors taste rainforest fruits, but a sign in the vehicle now asks guests not to touch or eat anything in the rainforest (Miller, 1996). Telling tourists how Indigenous peoples used to hunt, eat bush foods and utilize the natural environment, as a past practice, contradicts the reality of

Indigenous cultures as alive and still linked to tribal lands. These key issues are similar for all Indigenous peoples involved in ecotourism.

Indigenous involvement in ecotourism

Worldwide, Indigenous involvement and participation in ecotourism occurs with varied levels of ownership and input from Indigenous groups and organizations. Indigenous people may participate in ecotourism as individuals, families, a village or community and through a tribal council or federation (Cater, 1996; Ashley and Roe, 1998; Wesche and Drumm, 1999; Mann, 2002). Indigenous involvement in ecotourism can include full or part ownership, joint ventures, partnerships, services provision (e.g. lodge accommodation, boat transport, guiding and food) and employment by non-Indigenous tourism companies (see Table 1.4). Mann (2002) distinguishes between responsible tours that hire a local Indigenous guide; partnership tours with a tourism business and marketing by an outside operator; and community tours, with enterprises set up, owned and run by an Indigenous community though often with an outside manager. Community-based ecotourism enterprises (e.g. lodges) are owned and managed by communities, with tourism jobs rostered among members and profits allocated to community projects. Family or group initiatives in ecotourism may also employ or involve other community members. Joint ventures involve formal business contracts or exclusive operating agreements between Indigenous communities or tribal councils with non-Indigenous tourism businesses. In joint venture arrangements, the outside operator is responsible for marketing, bringing tourists, a guide and most transport, with the Indigenous group hosting and entertaining visitors. Alternatively, the outside company obtains a long-term lease on Indigenous land, builds tourist facilities and employs local people. The tour operator pays a lease rental fee and/or percentage of profits to the Indigenous group owning or claiming the land. Indigenous people also develop ecotourism ventures in partnership with conservation NGOs, national park agencies, government tourism bureaus, Indigenous organizations, development agencies, university researchers and other local communities (Fennell, 2003). Other related issues with these enterprises include limited community involvement and empowerment in ecotourism, especially by women (Scheyvens, 1999, 2000, 2002; Medina, 2005) business and social challenges for Indigenous groups in developing ecotourism ventures (Karwacki, 1999; Epler Wood, 1999, 2002; Johnston, 2001), and potential conflicts between ecotourism and Indigenous hunting or land use activities (Pleumarom, 1994; Grekin and Milne, 1996; Hinch, 1998; Zeppel, 1998d; Honey, 1999). The chapters in this book assess the nature of Indigenous ownership and involvement in ecotourism ventures on their traditional lands.

UN International Year of Ecotourism

The UN International Year of Ecotourism was held in 2002. It provided a global focus for efforts to link sustainable tourism development with the conservation of natural areas. There were two main international ecotourism conferences sponsored by the UN, one held in

Table 1.4. Indigenous community involvement in ecotourism.

- **Renting land** to an operator to develop while simply monitoring impacts
- Working as occasional, part- or full-time **staff for outside operators**
- Providing **selected services** such as food preparation, guiding, transport or accommodations (or a combination of several or all of these) to operators
- Forming **joint ventures** with outside operators with a division of labour, which allows the community to provide most services, while the operator takes care of marketing
- Operating fully independent **community tourism** programmes
- Enterprise run by **local entrepreneur**, supplying goods and services (guiding, campsites, homestays)

Sources: Drumm (1998: 201); Ashley and Roe (1998: 8).

Quebec (Canada) and the other in Cairns (Australia), which addressed a range of issues including the role of Indigenous groups in ecotourism. The *Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism* stated that ecotourism is sustainable tourism that contributes actively to the conservation and interpretation of natural and cultural heritage. In this Quebec Declaration, ecotourism also 'includes local and indigenous communities in its planning, development and operation, and contributes to their well being' (Hillel, 2002, in Buckley, 2003: xiv). The vision statement for the related *Cairns Charter on Partnerships for Ecotourism* developed in Australia at the end of 2002, states: 'Ecotourism respects the desire of indigenous peoples … to profitably generate sustainable economic and social development' (Ecotourism Australia, 2002). Article one in this Cairns Charter on Indigenous communities as ecotourism partners reaffirms that Indigenous peoples are recognized for their cultural heritage, provision of access to cultural sites and traditional practices, the requirement of consent for ecotourism projects in homeland areas, support and participation in ecotourism training and encouragement of the tourist appreciation and understanding of Indigenous cultures.

Indigenous groups argued that the UN *International Year of Ecotourism* represented the commercial aspects of using 'ecotourism' to develop global mass tourism, further encroaching on Indigenous territories and the rights of Indigenous peoples. Organizations such as Tourism Concern, the Third World Network and the Rethinking Tourism Project raised key issues relating to the impacts of ecotourism on local communities. Indigenous groups held an alternative meeting in Oaxaca, Mexico in March 2002 to debate the issues from ecotourism development. Some 200 participants from 13 countries in the Americas reviewed case studies of Indigenous tourism projects in local communities. In a Zapotec community in Oaxaca, ecotourism was seen as sharing Indigenous knowledge of sustainable land use, with forest tours an economic alternative to other uses of forest resources (Vivanco, 2002). The *International Forum on Indigenous Tourism* at Oaxaca drafted a declaration reaffirming the rights of Indigenous groups to manage and control tourism on their lands.

The nature or type of Indigenous ecotourism differs between developed and developing countries (see Table 1.5). This includes the legal status of Indigenous peoples, their lifestyle, type of Indigenous territories, extent of legal rights and land rights and type of support from government agencies or NGOs for ecotourism on tribal lands. Indigenous groups in developing countries are threatened by land incursions, still acquiring legal land titles and rely on support from NGOs to develop ecotourism. This book examines Indigenous participation and control over ecotourism that occurs on tribal lands and protected areas in the developing countries of Oceania, Latin America, Africa and South-east Asia.

Study of Indigenous Ecotourism

There have been a number of books and articles written about Indigenous involvement in ecotourism since the mid 1990s. The first book published on *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples* (Butler and Hinch, 1996) included two chapters about Indigenous ecotourism. One addressed issues with Inuit people in Pond Inlet, Canada, developing and marketing tourism in a remote Arctic area, and also negative tourist responses to traditional Inuit hunting (Grekin and Milne, 1996). The other reviewed community conflicts between customary landowners and local 'big men' in developing a rainforest wilderness walking trail on Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands (Rudkin and Hall, 1996). Other chapters in the book reviewed cross-cultural issues and the impacts of tourism on local hosts in Bali, Nepal, Thailand, Vanuatu, the Cook Islands, Native American reservations in the USA and Maori tourism in New Zealand. However, this book's inclusion of case studies about Balinese people did not meet the criteria for 'Indigenous' or tribal peoples as defined by the UN (Ryan, 1997).

The book, *People and Tourism in Fragile Environments* (Price, 1996), included five case study chapters of Indigenous peoples and community-based tourism in natural areas.

These included cultural tourism at Zuni Pueblo, New Mexico (USA) (Mallari and Enote, 1996); Inuit hunting and tourism in Nunavut, northern Canada (Smith, 1996a); and the development of Aboriginal tourism on remote Cape York Peninsula in northern Australia (Strang, 1996). Another case study covered the 75,000 Sami people in their Sapmi homeland of northern Scandinavia, where tourism is based on the traditional life of reindeer herding (Pedersen and Viken, 1996). In Kenya, some Maasai people benefit from ecotourism partnerships with safari tour operators on Maasai group ranches and trust land, however, community disputes over income from tourism have increased (Berger, 1996). These five case studies review the key challenges for Indigenous groups in developing ecotourism ventures on tribal lands based on natural and cultural resources.

Chapters on Indigenous ecotourism issues have been included in more recent tourism books. For example, the book *Tourism Development in Critical Environments* included chapters about community-based ecotourism on nature reserves in Belize, with Mayan families involved at Cockscomb Basin Wildlife Sanctuary (Horwich and Lyon, 1999); community tourism in Senegal, Uganda and Namibia in Africa (Echtner, 1999); and tourism on Pueblo Indian reservations in Arizona and New Mexico, south-west USA (Lew, 1999). Books on sustainable tourism and special interest tourism have also included chapters on Indigenous tourism ventures (Zeppel, 1998a, 2001). The *Earthscan Reader in Sustainable Tourism* (France, 1997) included articles about Maasai people and tourism in Kenya and Tanzania, the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe and ecotourism in the Third World (Cater, 1997). The book *Tourism and Cultural Conflicts* included chapters on

Table 1.5. Indigenous peoples and ecotourism in developed and developing countries.

	Developed countries	Developing countries
Indigenous peoples	Minority cultures Officially recognized as Indigenous Traditional or modern lifestyles Colonized sovereign nations	Majority or minority cultures Varied status as indigenous/tribal/minorities Traditional subsistence economies Colonized or independent nations
Indigenous territories	Mainly government reservations Co-managed Aboriginal national parks Managed by tribal councils and government Tax-free status on reserves (North America)	Ancestral lands and some Indigenous reserves Live inside protected areas, share revenue Managed by Indigenous tribal councils Threatened by resource extraction and settlers
Indigenous rights	Traditional resource use rights No direct wildlife ownership rights Intellectual and cultural property rights Legal title to ancestral lands	Communal resource use rights (forest, reefs) Limited wildlife ownership or use rights No intellectual and cultural property rights Traditional or legal title to ancestral lands
Indigenous ecotourism	Supported by government agencies Funded by government grants Community, family or individual ventures Economic development of tribal areas	Supported by conservation and aid NGOs Funded by development agencies and NGOs Mainly community tourism ventures Economic alternative to extractive land uses

Developed countries/regions = Canada, USA, Australia, New Zealand, Europe, Japan.
Developing countries/regions = Pacific Islands (Oceania), Latin America, Africa, South-east Asia, China, India.

Maori tourism in New Zealand (Ryan, 1998), First Nations peoples managing heritage sites in Canada (Wall, 1998) and cultural property rights for Indigenous tourism in Australia (Whittaker, 1998). *Ecotourism: A Guide for Planners and Managers* (Lindberg *et al.*, 1998), published by The Ecotourism Society, included three chapters reviewing community-based ecotourism ventures in southern Africa (Christ, 1998), Ecuador (Drumm, 1998) and Indonesia (Sproule and Suhandi, 1998). Drumm (1998) reviewed ecotourism ventures in Ecuador managed by Quechua, Huaorani, Napo Runa and Cofan Indians. In contrast, the book *Ecotourism in the Less Developed World* (Weaver, 1998) did not cover Indigenous involvement in ecotourism. Most recently, *Tourism in Destination Communities* included a chapter reviewing Indigenous resource rights in tourism and biodiversity (Johnston, 2003).

There are several published case studies about Indigenous ecotourism projects in the Pacific region. Harrison (2003), in his edited book *Pacific Island Tourism*, included chapters reviewing ecotourism policy in Fiji and community-based ecotourism projects, such as village guesthouses in Vanuatu and trekking on Makira Island in the Solomon Islands. Sofield (2003) in *Empowerment for Sustainable Tourism Development* critically examined the outcomes of village or community-based tourism projects in the Solomon Islands, Fiji and Vanuatu. A manual on *Community-based Ecotourism and Conservation in the Pacific islands* included 14 case studies of ecotourism ventures in community Conservation Areas (SPREP, 2002). The book, *Nature-based Tourism in Peripheral Areas: Development or Disaster?* (Hall and Boyd, 2004) has a chapter on beach *fale* tourism in Samoa (Scheyvens, 2004). In contrast, tourism books on Asia and Africa have included little coverage of Indigenous ecotourism, apart from village tourism and management of national parks. A book on local participation in Latin American tourism included one chapter on Indigenous tourism in Ecuador (de Bont and Janssen, 2002). *A Companion to Tourism* had a chapter on Indigenous peoples and tourism (Hinch, 2004). Scheyvens' (2002) book, *Tourism for Development: Empowering Communities*, included reviews of CAMPFIRE, the

Sunungukai ecotourism venture and Noah's ecocultural tours in Zimbabwe; communal conservancies in Namibia and Zambia; tourism at protected areas and Phinda wildlife reserve in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa; and gorilla tourism in Rwanda and Uganda. However, there was no chapter in this book dedicated to Indigenous tourism or ecotourism.

Since 2000, books on the ecotourism industry, ecotourism policy and ecotourism management have included some chapters or sections on Indigenous ecotourism issues. Zeppel (2003) examined current ecotourism policies for Indigenous peoples in Australia, while Hashimoto and Telfer (2004) reviewed Aboriginal ecotourism in northern Canada. Duffy (2002) included a chapter on threats to community-based ecotourism among Mayan communities in Belize in her book titled *A Trip too Far: Ecotourism, Politics and Exploitation.* Weaver's (2001) book on ecotourism reviewed key issues for ecotourism on Indigenous territories, while Epler Wood (2002) covered the key criteria needed for ecotourism to benefit Indigenous communities. *The Encyclopaedia of Ecotourism* included a chapter on Indigenous territories addressing land claims and Indigenous involvement in ecotourism (Hinch, 2001). Page and Dowling's (2002) book on ecotourism summarized an Indigenous ecotourism project in Capirona, Ecuador, based on research by Drumm (1998). Buckley's (2003) *Case Studies in Ecotourism* provided brief reviews of conservation and ecotourism projects involving Indigenous peoples in Latin America, Australia/NZ, Africa and Asia-Pacific. These studies mainly focused on Indigenous ecotourism in protected areas, on private reserves, at ecolodges and a few ecotours on tribal lands. A manual on *Sustainable Development of Ecotourism* included case studies of several Indigenous ecotourism projects in Africa and Latin America (WTO, 2003). The book *Ecotourism: Management and Assessment* (Diamantis, 2004) has chapters on responsible nature tourism in South African parks, community ecotourism at Lisu Lodge (Thailand) and Il Ngwesi Lodge (Kenya) (Johannson and Diamantis, 2004) and on Canadian Aboriginal ecotourism (Hashimoto and Telfer, 2004).

Indigenous Tourism (Ryan and Aicken,

2005) analysed the commodification and management of Indigenous cultures at various tourist sites, attractions and areas that involve Indigenous peoples. The book reviewed Indigenous tourism in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, USA and Sweden, along with Lijiang (China), Botswana (Africa) and Western Flores (Indonesia). The main focus was on visitor experiences of Indigenous tourism, authenticity in Indigenous cultural tourism products, events and artefacts, and interactions between tourists and Indigenous hosts. One chapter analysed community-based tourism projects among San Bushmen (Basarwa) in the Okavango Delta, Botswana (Mbaiwa, 2005), while others addressed Indigenous ecotourism in western Canada (Nepal, 2005) and at Camp Coorong in South Australia (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2005).

Indigenous ecotourism is included in a new book by Notzke (2006), *The Stranger, the Native and the Land: Perspectives on Indigenous Tourism.* It reviews Indigenous tourism, Indigenous economies, visitor markets for Indigenous tourism, cultural issues in tourism, protected areas, Indigenous ecotourism and community-based tourism. The section on Indigenous ecotourism includes case studies from Canada, Belize and Ecuador, with additional case studies on Indigenous tourism in the Canadian Arctic, Australia and Samoa. There are also other books covering topics relating to Indigenous peoples, conservation, ecotourism and protected areas (Furze *et al.*, 1996; King and Stewart, 1996; Stevens and De Lacy, 1997; Igoe, 2004). In these books, the Indigenous co-management of protected areas and tourism is covered in case studies drawn from East Africa, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Nicaragua, Honduras, Australia and Canada, along with Alaska and Dakota in the USA.

Articles in tourism journals have mainly reviewed the cultural impacts of tourism on Indigenous groups. From the early to mid-1990s, a few papers addressed key issues for Indigenous tourism development in the USA (Lew, 1996), Arctic Canada (Notzke, 1999), Pacific Islands (Sofield, 1993), Australia (Altman and Finlayson, 1993) and New Zealand (Barnett, 1997; Zeppel, 1998e). Their focus was on Indigenous-owned tourism ventures and managing tourism on tribal

homelands. The few papers published about Indigenous ecotourism projects mainly focus on developing countries, starting with Colvin's (1994) paper on Capirona, Ecuador. Other related papers cover Indigenous property rights in tourism (Johnston, 2000) and empowering women through ecotourism (Scheyvens, 2000). Recent journal articles on natural resource management also refer to Indigenous ecotourism projects.

However, to date, there have been no reports or books addressing Indigenous ecotourism as a specific type of nature-based tourism. Therefore, the chapters in this book provide a global review and analysis of Indigenous ecotourism projects in developing countries (i.e. Pacific Islands, Latin America, Africa and South-east Asia). The chapters review the development and management of Indigenous-controlled ecotourism ventures mainly in tribal homelands and protected areas. The environmental, cultural and economic benefits of different types of Indigenous ecotourism ventures are also evaluated. For Indigenous peoples, achieving sustainable ecotourism depends on asserting legal rights, Indigenous control of land and resources, geographic location, funding or business support and developing effective links with the wider tourism industry.

Key themes in Indigenous ecotourism

Key themes in the published research and case studies about community tourism and Indigenous ecotourism include community development (Russell, 2000; Fennell, 2003; Briedenham and Wickens, 2004), empowerment (Scheyvens, 1999, 2000, 2002; Sofield, 2003; Spenceley, 2004; WTO, 2005) or self-determination (Johnston, 2003a; Hinch, 2004) and sustainable tourism/ecotourism (Epler Wood, 1999, 2002; Robinson, 1999; WWF, 2001b; WTO, 2003; Mat Som and Baum, 2004; Mbaiwa, 2005). Community tourism development became important during the 1990s as many regional and local communities looked for economic alternatives to agriculture, mining and manufacturing. These new avenues included ecotourism, nature tourism and heritage or cultural tourism, initiated either

by a top-down government policy approach or by local people starting new ventures (Godde, 1998; Hatton, 2002; WTO, 2002). Small-scale ecotourism promotes local conservation of natural and cultural resources, either individually or through tourism enterprises owned or managed by communities. Local participation, sharing economic benefits and control of tourism were essential for community-based ecotourism (Lash, 1998).

Ecotourism, as a tool for community development, also involves new partnerships with tour operators, government agencies, conservation NGOs, researchers, other Indigenous communities and international groups (Butcher, 2003; Fennell, 2003; Suansri, 2003). According to Mann (2000), community tourism involves local people in decision-making and ownership of tourism, a fair share of profits from tourism ventures and new tourism committees or organizations that represent the community while minimizing environmental and cultural impacts. For Indigenous people, the community is a tribe or village of related members, with shared decision-making and village ownership of forests or reserves held under traditional or legal land titles. For this reason, most Indigenous ecotourism projects are community-based tourism ventures. However, marginalized Indigenous groups require support from NGOs, aid groups and government agencies to control and benefit from community tourism or joint tourism ventures (Lash and Austin, 2003; Smith, 2003).

Successful community-based ecotourism requires the empowerment of community members through local participation and control of tourism decision-making, employment and training opportunities and increased entrepreneurial activities by local people. Empowerment also requires building local capacity to participate in tourism, such as basic tourism awareness courses along with training in languages, business and operational skills. According to Fennell (2003: 159), the process of empowerment involves local people 'holding the will, resources, and opportunity to make decisions within the community'. This process needs to be supported by appropriate policies, education, training and partnerships. Moreover,

'if ecotourism is to be viewed as a tool for rural development, it must also help to shift economic and political control to the local community, village, cooperative, or entrepreneur' (Honey, 2003: 23). Scheyvens (1999, 2002), based on Friedmann (1992), developed an empowerment framework to account for local community involvement and control over ecotourism or other ventures. This community-based model included psychological, social, political and economic empowerment or disempowerment through tourism. Increased status and self-esteem, lasting economic benefits, community development and tourism decision-making are key aspects of empowerment through tourism. Sofield (2003) also proposed that tourism sustainability depends not only on empowering Indigenous communities, but that traditional community mechanisms had to be supported by legal empowerment, along with environmental or institutional change to reallocate power and decision-making on resource use to local communities, supported and sanctioned by states.

In South Africa, despite moves towards local participation in tourism decision-making and training, community tourism projects are limited by a lack of business funding or legal land titles, remote rural locations, tourism seasonality and poor support from other local tourism operators (Briedenham and Wickens, 2004). There is limited commitment from tour operators in supporting Indigenous peoples and their rights to benefit economically from wildlife and traditional lands in South Africa (Woodwood, 1997). However, in 2000/01, bids for new tourism concessions in Kruger National Park included empowerment criteria (20% of bids) such as: 'shareholding by historically disadvantaged individuals or groups (HDI/HDG) (40%), training and affirmative action in employment (20%), business and economic opportunities for local communities (40%)' (Spenceley, 2004: 274). Indigenous ecotourism ventures also required 'resource empowerment' whereby local communities have ownership or use rights of land and resources (Mat Som and Baum, 2004). In the Okavango Delta of Botswana, land trusts for San Bushmen run community tourism ventures or leased land and wildlife quotas to other operators. This promotes

wildlife conservation and local economic benefits. However, to be successful, communities require further social and political empowerment through training in managerial skills and use of trust funds, direct resource ownership and more input in land use or wildlife quotas allocated to tourism (Mbaiwa, 2005). Empowering Indigenous communities in tourism depends on enhancing local control through traditional tribal or legal empowerment, and recognition of individual and collective rights to ancestral lands (WTO, 2005). Successful models of community-based ecotourism, such as Capirona in Ecuador (Colvin, 1994), are based on community ownership and management of both natural resources and tourism (Lash, 1998; Sproule and Suhandi, 1998; Sofield, 2003; Mat Som and Baum, 2004).

The sustainable development of ecotourism, then, is based on the integrated elements of ecological, economic and socio-cultural sustainability (WTO, 2003). Ecotourism is based on the conservation of biodiversity, mainly in protected areas, and minimizing the impacts of tourism in natural areas (Garen, 2000; Buckley, 2003). The economic benefits of ecotourism aim to assist nature conservation as well as provide returns to local communities through employment, the purchase of goods and services and fees. Ecotourism and pro-poor tourism projects focus on poverty alleviation and conservation to provide alternatives to traditional subsistence economies and resource use in rural areas (Butcher, 2003; Roe *et al.*, 2004; Epler Wood, 2005). As well as social benefits, ecotourism also aims to foster local cultural practices, crafts and traditions. However, many conservation and community development projects in protected areas, including ecotourism, have had limited community participation through consultation, monetary compensation or employment. Decision-making power about conservation and tourism still lies with NGOs and government agencies, with local communities limited or restricted in resource use (Honey, 1999; Wilshusen, 2000). Intrepid Travel (2002) reviewed the economic, socio-cultural and physical impacts of alternative tourism in 59 rural villages and in first-hand case studies of five villages they visited in South-east Asia. Their findings indicate that while tourism provides local economic and social benefits, most of the villages had little control over tourism. Doan's (2000) analysis of ecotourism in developing countries suggests that ecotourism in private reserves, including Indigenous areas, was more sustainable and delivered better local benefits than ecotourism in public parks.

However, ongoing Indigenous use of wildlife and natural resources, particularly in protected areas, conflicts with the environmental standards and sustainability criteria of developed nations, western tourists, national park agencies and conservation NGOs (Hinch, 1998; Robinson, 1999). Therefore, negotiating acceptable forms of Indigenous resource use is a key part of many Indigenous ecotourism ventures. These core Indigenous cultural and environmental values influence and shape economic development strategies on tribal lands (Groenfeldt, 2003). A key premise of this book, then, is: 'The nexus between land and culture defines sustainable tourism for Indigenous peoples' (Zeppel, 1998a: 65). In the Cuyabeno Wildlife Reserve of the Ecuadorian Amazon, Indian income from ecotourism depends more on the tourist attractiveness of the natural area, the type of tourism specialization or services offered and the type of local tourism organization or industry structure adopted (e.g. community-run versus joint ventures). Ecotourism had a positive impact on conservation only where tourism changed land use decisions (e.g. no-take areas); and when tourism work reduced the local free time and need for hunting (Wunder, 2000). Wesche (1996) also suggested that as the ecotourism industry in Ecuador reached a consolidation stage, it became more concerned with sustainability and more willing to accommodate Indigenous interests and rights. These key aspects of sustainable ecotourism development are examined in this book in case studies of Indigenous ecotourism.

A framework for Indigenous ecotourism

Indigenous ecotourism occurs within a wider nature-based tourism industry dominated by non-Indigenous tour operators and travel agents. Ecotourism itself is one part of a global tourism industry. Developing countries now

attract 30% of all international tourists, with a growth rate of 9.5% per annum since 1990. In addition, 19 of 25 biodiversity hotspots favoured by ecotourism, most with Indigenous populations, are in the southern hemisphere (Christ *et al*., 2003). As such, Indigenous ecotourism is part of a broader environment that is influenced by non-Indigenous tourism, conservation and development activities (Butcher, 2003; Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Therefore, issues associated with Indigenous control of ecotourism and factors that affect these enterprises need to be considered. Indigenous ecotourism ventures face the same issues of product development, marketing, competition, quality control, training and profitability faced by other small ecotourism businesses (Weaver, 2001; Walpole and Thouless, 2005). However, Indigenous ecotourism businesses also have other objectives, such as asserting territorial rights, maintaining cultural knowledge and practices and providing employment. For many Indigenous people, ecotourism is an alternative to other extractive land uses such as logging, mining (Weaver, 2001), oil drilling, ranching, fishing and sport hunting (*Tourism in Focus*, 2002a, b). However, the development of Indigenous ecotourism is limited by poverty, the lack of infrastructure on reserves, community conflicts over tourism, gaining business knowledge and forming commercial links with the tourism industry.

A framework for Indigenous ecotourism thus needs to consider environmental, cultural, economic and political factors that may limit or control tourism development (Zeppel, 1998a, 2000; Dahles and Keune, 2002; Epler Wood, 2004) (*see* Table 1.6). Indigenous ecotourism takes place within a global tourism industry, which dominates marketing, transport, accommodation and visitor services (Hinch and Butler, 1996). Socio-political factors that affect Indigenous groups developing ecotourism include land and property rights and overcoming social and economic disadvantage in both developing and industrialized countries. Other external factors that affect the tourism industry, including Indigenous ecotourism ventures, include political unrest in developing countries (e.g. Fiji, PNG, Solomon Islands, Nepal and Peru), terrorism and natural disasters such as cyclones. Therefore, guiding principles for ecotourism in Indigenous territories include community involvement and benefit, small-scale ventures, land ownership and cultural sensitivity (Hinch, 2001). Scheyvens (1999), in her community model, analysed the impacts of ecotourism on local groups in terms of economic, psychological, social and political empowerment. For Honey (1999), 'real' ecotourism also has to empower local people and provide financial benefits. The 'successes' of individual Indigenous ecotourism ventures may also be measured in environmental, social or political outcomes (e.g. land rights) rather than in purely economic terms.

In the suggested framework for Indigenous ecotourism, the environmental and cultural impacts or benefits of ecotourism are treated equally with financial or territorial (i.e. political)

Table 1.6. A framework for Indigenous ecotourism.

Environmental	*Economic*
Indigenous environmental stewardship[a]	Limited capital and equity in tribal areas[b]
Cultural and spiritual values of biodiversity[a]	Lack of reserve infrastructure and services[b]
Preserving environment from harmful use[b]	Tax status and public funding schemes[b]
Subsistence uses of the environment[b]	NGO funding for ecotourism ventures[b]
Cultural/Social	*Political*
Diversity of Indigenous cultures[a]	Indigenous land rights and resource rights[b]
'Traditional' culture and authenticity[a]	Indigenous councils and organizations[a,b]
Intellectual and cultural property rights[b]	Indigenous elders, kinship, local leaders[a]
Poverty and social issues on tribal reserves[b]	Access to Indigenous territories ('title')[b]

[a] Internal cultural, environmental and political factors controlled within Indigenous groups.
[b] Externally determined factors or legal rights of Indigenous groups controlled by nation-states.
Sources: Based on Hinch and Butler (1996); Scheyvens (1999); Johnston (2003).

outcomes for Indigenous groups. Economic and political criteria are key motivators for Indigenous ecotourism, while environmental and cultural criteria are outcomes for Indigenous groups involved in ecotourism. For example, Gerberich (2005) applied cultural, environmental, socio-economic and political factors to assess the sustainability of tourism on American Indian reservations. All four factors had to be considered, as economic development through tourism is contingent on protecting cultural and environmental resources. Retaining cultural integrity in tourism is paramount, while a native land ethic or holistic approach to ecosystem management assured sustainability of natural resources. Socio-economic benefits derive from employment and tourism income funding healthcare, childcare and housing. The political factors revolve around Indian sovereignty and tribal ownership of land and resources. In the USA, tourism development on Indian reservations maintained tribal cultures and reinforced autonomous powers.

Rationale and Need for this Book

Despite the growing global popularity of ecotourism, there has been no book to date examining Indigenous involvement in ecotourism ventures. This book, then, builds on other recent books published about ecotourism policy, certification and management. Current books on Indigenous peoples and protected areas also have limited consideration of ecotourism. Previous research and reports on Indigenous ecotourism are published widely across academic, government and conservation sectors. Compiling and analysing this diverse information on Indigenous ecotourism ventures provides the main rationale for this book. The lessons learned from these case studies of tribal ecotourism ventures will benefit Indigenous groups, tourism operators, government agencies, conservation groups, consultants, researchers and tertiary students, including Indigenous students.

This Indigenous involvement in ecotourism is examined in developing countries, mainly the approaches adopted by different Indigenous communities in operating ecotourism ventures. Case studies of Indigenous ecotourism ventures in developing countries are reviewed in chapters for the Pacific Islands, Latin America, east, southern and West Africa and South East Asia. These examples highlight the key role of government policies on Indigenous lands or wildlife and conservation NGOs in supporting Indigenous resource management and ecotourism projects. Information about these Indigenous ecotourism case studies is summarized for each continent or region, with an overview of key issues at the end of each chapter. The final chapter in this book discusses key factors for the sustainable development of Indigenous ecotourism ventures in tribal lands and protected areas.

Methods and Case Study Approach

This book summarizes information about Indigenous ecotourism ventures published in English in tourism books and journals; in reports and manuals from conservation NGOs; government organizations or ecotourism operators; and on Websites for Indigenous communities or organizations. These selected case studies either describe Indigenous ecotourism products and/or critically evaluate the operation of selected Indigenous ecotourism ventures in more detail. These examples meet the key criteria for Indigenous ecotourism, as nature-based attractions, lodges or tours owned or part-owned by Indigenous people. There is a focus on the conservation and community benefits of these different Indigenous ecotourism projects.

The criteria for an Indigenous business to qualify as ecotourism in this book (Weaver, 2001) are:

- nature-based product or setting;
- manage environmental or cultural impacts;
- environmental education based on Indigenous culture;
- conservation of natural environment; and
- benefits for Indigenous communities.

Additional measures for defining community-based ecotourism involving Indigenous groups are:

- ecotourism activity based in community or tribal territory;

- community or its members have substantial control and involvement;
- major benefits from ecotourism remain in the community; and
- ecotourism venture approved by community or tribal council (Wesche and Drumm, 1999).

The published research reviewed in this book largely provides a non-Indigenous perspective of Indigenous ecotourism, since it is mostly non-Indigenous people (including the author of this book) who write the majority of case studies about tribal tourism ventures (Hinch, 2004; Ryan and Aicken, 2005; Johnston, 2006; Notzke, 2006). However, Indigenous views of tourism, culture, conservation and natural resources are reported in these case studies. The researchers, advisers and consultants working on developing ecotourism ventures with tribal groups generally did so with the permission and support of relevant Indigenous groups and organizations. Hence, the role of government agencies and conservation NGOs in developing Indigenous ecotourism is also reviewed along with alternative Indigenous perspectives and approaches to ecotourism.

The benefits, therefore, of compiling diverse case studies of Indigenous ecotourism projects are to:

- provide a broad global overview of Indigenous ecotourism ventures;
- establish key 'best practice' models for communities and NGOs to follow;
- compare Indigenous ownership and involvement in ecotourism projects;
- identify development and management issues for Indigenous ecotourism;
- analyse the incorporation of Indigenous cultural perspectives in ecotourism; and
- assess sustainability based on economic, cultural, political and environmental criteria.

This book establishes Indigenous ecotourism as a new field of study within the disciplines of tourism, community development, natural resource management and conservation and Indigenous studies.

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed relevant literature and established a context for the study of Indigenous ecotourism as a global trend in new tourism. Indigenous ecotourism is defined as nature-based attractions or tours owned by tribal groups, which feature Indigenous cultural knowledge and practices linked to the land. Tourists are increasingly visiting Indigenous peoples and their tribal lands around the world. Areas of high biodiversity, such as tropical rainforests, are linked with surviving groups of Indigenous peoples. Key factors driving Indigenous involvement in ecotourism include gaining legal rights to land, preventing other extractive land uses and cultural revival. Many Indigenous groups are now owners and operators of ecotourism ventures located on traditional homelands and protected areas. Indigenous control over ecotourism on tribal lands includes approval, ownership, partnerships and joint ventures. Ideally, Indigenous ecotourism will sustain and conserve natural areas, maintain Indigenous lifestyles and provide benefits for Indigenous communities. The review of Indigenous ecotourism ventures in this book illustrates how and why different Indigenous groups are involved in ecotourism. Indigenous land and cultural identity are central to this trend. Indigenous ecotourism also operates within a broader framework of economic, political, cultural and environmental factors, which are examined in the chapters that follow.

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