Rural Tourism

Rural Tourism:
An International Perspective

Edited by

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**CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS**

P U B L I S H I N G

For my mam – Maureen Brady

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INTRODUCTION

RURAL TOURISM: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

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This book will take readers on a journey around the world. From the hot plains of Tanzania to the snow-topped peaks of Sweden, this collection of case studies of rural tourism takes in diverse landscapes, peoples and practices. A goal of the collection is to give readers–students and academics–a varied and lively feel for some of the challenges, opportunities and experiences that rural tourism offers from a variety of locations around the globe.

The UN has recently highlighted the quickening global trend of urbanisation, forecasting that this will accelerate further as developing nations become increasingly urban (UN, 2014). This will put extra pressure on urban resources and communities, but may also exacerbate the growing divide between urban and rural areas, in terms of economic and social development (Costa and Chalip, 2005). Rural regions are already experiencing fundamental challenges to their ways of life and social fabric, as traditional land-based occupations are in decline and younger and better educated rural residents migrate to cities for greater work, social and cultural opportunities (Butler, et al., 1998; Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Bock, 2006).

Rural tourism offers a possible solution to some of the problems associated with lost economic opportunities and population decline that accompany the waning of agriculture. Many governments and regional authorities have embraced rural tourism as an opportunity to bring new money into rural regions, stimulating growth, providing employment opportunities and thus beginning to halt rural decline (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Gulcan et al., 2009; Dimitrovski et al., 2012). Rural tourism offers many opportunities including accommodation and other service provision, showcasing of local culture and heritage, and active countryside pursuits, the latter of which may be well-placed to capitalise

on the move away from mass tourism products and a consumer desire for more niche and tailored offerings (see Evans and Pickel Chevalier, this volume).

The last 25 years has seen a growth in active countryside tourism as increasingly urban populations seek relaxation and leisure in rural areas. Ranging from traditional countryside pursuits, such as walking, horse riding, and bird watching, to the increasingly popular 'adventure sports' or 'extreme sports', such as snowboarding, windsurfing and kayaking, rural regions offer the required natural resources and quiet, picturesque settings necessary to enable tourists to experience rurality and, frequently, controlled risk and excitement as an alternative to the perceived pressures and constraints of urban life (Costa and Chalip, 2005; Butler, this volume). This may offer rural regions new opportunities for development and regeneration.

However, the possibilities of rural tourism to promote rural regeneration have been criticised for being over-stated and unrealistic (Roberts and Hall, 2001). Rural tourism has frequently been found to under-deliver in terms of expected economic benefits and job creation, and may exacerbate social and economic inequalities, and rural communities often lack the skills and experience required to successfully attract and satisfy tourists (Costa and Chalip, 2005). Miller et al. (2010: 10) argue that rural tourism is not "a magic panacea" for overcoming the complex and deep-rooted problems facing rural regions around the world, however it may provide one avenue, amongst others, for rural growth and (re)development.

This compilation of research-driven case studies includes contributions from Africa, Asia, Europe, North and South America and Oceania. Two seemingly conflicting conclusions can be drawn from the following chapters. Firstly, rural tourism, and rural areas in which such practices take place, are diverse, heterogeneous and constantly changing (McAreavey and McDonagh, 2010; Roberts et al., this volume). Therefore, it is more appropriate to speak of 'ruralities' in plural form when discussing the places, spaces and practices of rural tourism, than to the use the singular term 'rurality' which implies homogeneity. Whether speaking of the 'countryside' that plays host to rural tourists, or to the people who take part (tourists, hosts and other key stakeholders), or to the activities and experiences that constitute rural tourism practices, this collection depicts the diversity and vibrancy of rural tourism in different geographic, social and cultural contexts. However, whilst these contributions clearly illustrate diversity and difference in rural tourism practices and experiences they also demonstrate several similarities that appear to characterise rural

tourism regardless of local context and specificity. The interplay between 'nature' (as characterised by the physical environment) and 'culture' (as characterised by tourism practices and experiences) is a key element of rural tourism that attracts tourists, offers opportunities for developing appealing and distinctive tourism products and offerings, and contributes to the sustainability of rural communities in the face of changing economic, social and cultural patterns and widespread rural restructuring. As several contributions to this collection illustrate, this offers rural communities and tourism entrepreneurs opportunities for rural tourism development. However, the delicate relationship between physical environment, local culture and society, and global tourism is difficult to manage and can result in environmental degradation, community disengagement and uneven development. Careful planning, monitoring and management is needed to ensure that the environment and local communities are not harmed by tourism development, but rather benefit from such processes (see Collins, this volume). If rural tourism is to be championed by governments, NGOs and multilateral organisations such as the United Nations as a mechanism for rural development in developing countries and as a tool to try and reduce rural decline in industrialised nations then critical consideration of the positive and negative aspects of rural tourism for a host of stakeholders is necessary to inform debates, policies and practices. This collection contributes to such discussions by providing evidence and insight from a variety of rural contexts around the world.

This introductory chapter sets the scene for the following empirical case studies and examinations of rural tourism by discussing several key issues that underpin rural tourism development, experiences and practices.

What is 'rural tourism'?

Fundamental to discussions of any phenomena is some shared understanding of the concepts or issues involved, however such consensus is often difficult to achieve and this is certainly the case for rural tourism. Difficulties in defining rural tourism have led to difficulties in measuring its impacts at local, regional, national and international levels and reflect the diversity of definitions of both 'rural' and 'rural tourism' used in different countries and regions (Hall et al., 2003). Sharpley and Roberts (2004: 119) describe rural tourism as "a dynamic phenomenon", yet more specific definitions have proven illusive and often unsatisfactory. A contributing aspect to difficulties in defining the phenomenon known broadly as 'rural tourism' is the contested nature of the 'rural' which itself

defies easy classification, as distinctions between 'rural' and 'urban' become increasingly blurred (see Möller et al., this volume). Rural tourism is tourism that takes place in the 'countryside', but what constitutes the 'countryside' varies significantly between, and even within, countries, an issue picked up further below and in the first section of this edited collection (see also Lane, 2009).

Perhaps the most influential attempt to define rural tourism is that offered by the OECD, prepared in collaboration with Bernard Lane (see Lane, 1994, 2009). This definition describes rural tourism as a discrete activity with distinctive characteristics, such as its scale, location and character. In his seminal 1994 paper, Lane described a typology of rural tourism ranging from 'pure rural' to that situated on the urban fringe. He suggested that demand for rural tourism is directly related to the specific characteristics of rural areas (such as location, physical environment etc.) and that the principle motivation of tourists for visiting the countryside is to experience 'rurality'. This typology has proven influential in the development of rural tourism research. Sharpley and Roberts (2004) suggest expanding the typology to include any form of tourism in a rural area, including activities in which the rural location is just a backdrop to the primary activity.

Defining rural tourism is important in policy terms and for individual regions and businesses that seek funding, market positioning and effective promotion (Lane, 2009). However, for many rural tourists and for people living in the countryside official definitions relating to features such as population density, land use and social structures have little relevance to their experiences of rural tourism. As Argent (2011: 184) points out, there are "many different rurals" and different people imagine and experience rural spaces in different ways. The 'countryside' has frequently been idealised and represented through a nostalgic lens as a timeless space in which life is somehow simpler, purer and easier than the hectic lifestyles of most people in modern urban settings (Bunce, 1994; Butler and Hall, 1998; Sharpley and Jepson, 2011). This idealistic, mythical representation of the rural has proven effective in terms of rural tourism marketing (see Durcos, this volume). However users of the countryside are constantly redefining what constitutes 'rurality' and the diversity of rural landscapes, and tourism and recreation activities that take place in rural spaces, require a more nuanced understanding of the countryside beyond the 'rural idyll' as an escape from urban sprawl (Roberts and Hall, 2004).

Contributions to this collection reflect the contested nature of both 'rural' and 'rural tourism'. As well as being places of natural beauty, rural spaces can also often be understood as masculinised spaces, characterised

by poverty and inequality, features which tourism can exacerbate (Saugeres, 2002; Scheyvens, 2007). Rural places are not always characterised by the peace and tranquillity of western idealistic myths of the countryside, and also include noisy, dirty and even ugly spaces, as argued by Magi and Ndimande in relation to rural tourism in South Africa (this volume), highlighting the importance of an international perspective in helping to avoid hegemonic western ideas being taken and represented as normal and universal. Rural tourism can thus be usefully understood as a social construction, continually being (re)defined by a variety of stakeholders and showing vast variation between different localities, cultures and practices.

Rural change and rural tourism

A striking feature characterising rural areas across the world has been the pace and rate of change. The countryside was traditionally a place of production, dominated by farming, but changes in farming practices, mechanisation and the influences of globalisation have profoundly affected the fabric of rural communities, which have increasingly shifted from being production spaces to consumption spaces, in which tourism plays an important role (Marsden, 1998; McAreavey and McDonagh, 2010). Rural restructuring, as a result of these changes in agriculture, has had significant effects on the social and cultural make-up of rural communities. Out-migration, especially of young people, has been a common practice as people seek work in urban areas to replace now-lost land-based occupations (Butler et al., 1998; Vafadari et al., this volume). Some rural regions in western countries have seen an influx of new wealthy residents from urban and semi-urban areas who seek leisure and relaxation in the countryside, a form of rural gentrification (Sutherland, 2012). These changes have affected the cohesion and vitality of many rural communities.

The post-productionist countryside is characterised by mutlifunctionality (Mackay et al., this volume). Still spaces of (often limited) production through drastically changed agricultural practices, many rural areas are now also 'places to play' for relatively wealthy, often urban, citizens (Sutherland, 2012). Rural regions have seen increases in the number of tourists visiting, in the variety of recreational activities on offer for tourists, and in the nature of those activities, shifting from passive enjoyment of rural environments to also include more active, technological and resource-intensive activities, such as adventure sports (Butler et al., 1998; Roberts and Hall, 2004). These changes in the characteristics of

rural tourism require rural communities to provide high levels of service and often specialist skills and support. Such expertise is not always available within rural communities without significant investment in training and education, which is often not forthcoming, especially in poor rural communities. This limits the ability of these communities to get involved in and benefit from rural tourism opportunities (see Azmi, this volume).

Tourism has been seen as a key mechanism for revitalising rural communities and has been supported by local and national governments across the world, including in western countries, such as Portugal and France (Costa and Chalip, 2005; Durcos, this volume), throughout the former Soviet nations of Eastern Europe (Dimitrovski et al., 2012; Bardone and Kaaristo, this volume) and in many developing countries throughout sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and South America (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Lenao, this volume), with varying degrees of success. There are examples of cases where rural tourism development has directly benefited local communities economically and socially, such as through helping to preserve regional identity and local traditions and keeping young people in rural regions (Gulcan, et al., 2009; Dimitrovski et al., 2012; Aminudin, this volume). But rural tourism development has often been limited by poor planning, lack of infrastructure and inward investment, and corruption (Macbeth et al., 2004; Carnaffan, this volume). While tourism development can bring positive social and economic benefits to rural communities careful planning, community involvement and transparency are essential at all stages. Hall et al. (2003) argue that tourism works best in areas with a thriving and diverse rural economy in which tourism is just one amongst many regeneration strategies. Without this, tourism development can intensify inequality, as several contributions to this volume illustrate.

Key stakeholders in rural tourism

Rural tourism is not a magic solution to the problems faced by many rural areas, but it does offer opportunities for economic growth, social and cultural development and enhancing community cohesion. There is a wide range of stakeholders involved, including tourists, tour operators, businesses, local communities and a variety of organisations and agencies (including governments), but the interests of these groups often differ markedly (Cawley and Gillmor, 2008). There is often little common ground between different rural stakeholders, leading to conflict and uneven development (Argent, 2011). Powerful stakeholders – such as

large private companies – have more resources (economic, social and cultural) to invest in rural tourism development, and so their interests often take precedence over less powerful groups, such as poor local communities. Indeed focusing primarily on tourism development, over other forms of development, has in some cases increased divisions and hierarchies in rural communities and reinforced inequalities, with transnational corporations and non-local business elites benefiting disproportionately in relation to local communities (Torres and Mornsen, 2005). As mentioned above, rural tourism development is often characterised by poor planning, inadequate infrastructure and limited connectedness between different stakeholders, and this limits progress and the equitable spread of any associated benefits (Fons et al., 2011). Rural tourism development, then, is strongly influenced by the negotiation of power relationships between different stakeholders, and this makes it somewhat problematic as a tool of regional development and poverty alleviation (Cawley and Gillmor, 2008).

An important element in rural tourism development is ensuring community involvement and support at all stages of the process, but this too is difficult to ensure (Latkova and Vogt, 2012). There is a tendency in some rural tourism research to view 'the local community' as a homogenous group with similar stakes in tourism development, but this is rarely the case. Communities are diverse social groupings, and the interests of young people, women and poorer families and individuals are often sidelined and not adequately taken into account in development processes, leading to feelings of exclusion, isolation and even resentment (Petrzelka et al., 2005; Azmi; Lenao, this volume). A community approach to tourism development can begin to overcome some of these issues when the opinions and needs of a broad section of the local community are sought and attended to, and when local communities are supported through the provision of adequate resources from local government and funders, good leadership, access to information and networks, and training and technical assistance (Wilson et al., 2001). There are examples that demonstrate that it is possible to share the benefits of rural tourism development relatively equitably amongst local community members as the examples of Peru and Japan illustrate within this volume (Carnaffan; Vafadari et al., this volume).

Within developing countries the difficulties of trying to ensure local people benefit from tourism development are particularly pronounced and urgent. The World Bank (2014) reports that 70% of the world's poorest people live in rural areas, predominantly across Africa and South East Asia, and that these people are suffering from degradation of land and

water supplies, and reduced returns for their traditional exports of crops like coffee and bananas (Scheyvens, 2011). For these regions, tourism seems to offer a rare opportunity for growth, but the challenge remains of how to ensure those opportunities are shared fairly. The Pro Poor Tourism framework (PPT) was developed to try and ensure that poor people do receive net gains from rural tourism development in their area (see Azmi, this volume). This is certainly a laudable goal, and the concentration on private sector involvement in development has made the PPT framework into an attractive proposition for governments and agencies, but there is limited evidence to show that PPT does in fact benefit poor people more than business and non-local elites (Goodwin, 2009; Scheyvens, 2011). Poor communities often have little choice but to accept short-term economic benefits over protecting the long-term sustainability of their livelihoods as the pressures of poverty take precedence over other less immediate concerns (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Sulle et al., this volume). The PPT framework argues that for poor people to really gain from tourism development, large-scale international change is needed, often at the level of private companies and investors (Goodwin, 2009). These kinds of changes – such as improvements in wages and working conditions – have not been forthcoming, so the extent to which poor people are benefiting from tourism development is limited (Scheyvens, 2011).

Tourists themselves are important stakeholders in rural tourism development, and tourist demand for more niche experiences has influenced how the industry has developed over recent years. Increased demand for ecotourism, ethical tourism and volunteer tourism all have potential to challenge dominant norms within the industry and possibly move towards more equitable sharing of the benefits between different stakeholder groups (see Azizi and Mostafanezhad, this volume). However, these forms of tourism are themselves not without their issues, and tourist desires to experience 'difference', even sometimes to witness poverty, are interpreted by some commentators as a form of neo-colonialism which once again disempowers poor communities (Spenceley and Mayor, 2012; Griffiths, this volume). However, although tourism development, including that which is following an explicitly PPT framework, is problematic and does not do enough to benefit poor communities, it is a possible avenue for growth and a beacon of hope for many poor communities trying to pull themselves out of poverty (Scheyvens, 2011). With strong government support, pressure on private corporations and ethical choices by tourists, poor people may benefit from rural tourism

development, although this alone may not be a route out of poverty (Scheyvens, 2007).

Rural tourism is a growing phenomenon, popular with domestic and international tourists around the world. Communities and regions in countries as diverse as Cyprus and Argentina are developing rural tourism initiatives based around distinctive physical, social and cultural attributes of the local area (see Perez Winter; Ziakas and Boukas, this volume). Drawing on local resources, such as film locations and local food specialities, rural regions are trying to carve out a tourism niche within a crowded and dynamic global tourism market (see Buchmann; Henriksen and Halkier, this volume). These initiatives are experiencing varying degrees of success, and encountering many problems and issues along the way. The chapters in this volume illustrate the complexity of rural tourism from the perspectives of a variety of stakeholders, including tourists, local communities, and regional authorities.

Outline of the book

This collection is divided into five key themes: defining the 'rural' through tourism; rural tourism experiences; rural tourism in developing countries; collaboration and conflict in rural tourism; and, rural tourism and regional development.

Defining the 'rural' through tourism

As stated above, definitions of 'rural' are contested, depending on what measures are applied. Tourism plays a role in helping to define and redefine rural areas and the four chapters in this section illustrate various ways in which tourism impacts on understandings of the 'rural' and ruralities.

Peter Möller, Maria Thulemark and Christina Engström begin by questioning divisions between 'rural' and 'urban' and the role that tourism plays in maintaining or breaking down these divisions. Using the example of the Swedish skiing resort of Sälen they argue that this division is often untenable and that regions which would be characterised as rural in relation to environmental characteristics and population density often do not *feel* rural in terms of the atmosphere, culture and people's attitudes. Möller et al. suggest that it is tourism that makes supposedly rural places like Sälen feel more urban and suggest that Sälen embodies a 'modern rurality' that exhibits a complex mix of rural and urban characteristics. They produce a two-dimensional model for understanding the interplay

between place, tourism and rurality/urbanity, along axes of rural-urban and traditional-modern. Where a place fits along these axes will vary in relation to time, space, and which stakeholders it is applied to.

Michael Mackay, Harvey Perkins and C Nicholas Taylor consider how the countryside has changed as a result of powerful social and economic forces at local, national and global levels. Once primarily about production, the countryside is now also about the consumption of commodities, services, lifestyle products and experiences. Their case study of Cromwell District, Central Otago in the South Island of New Zealand is representative of a community in transition. Mackay et al. present Cromwell District as a clear example of the emergence of a global multifunctional countryside, in which tourism plays an important role. They argue that tourism growth in such areas "is allied to, and often dependent on, other economic and cultural activities, and thus rural activities, and the spaces in which they occur, are co-dependent and complex" (p.55) – characteristic of the emergent global multifunctional countryside.

Hélène Ducros uses the example of the Association of the Most Beautiful Villages of France to explore how ideas of rurality have developed over time and are now being repackaged and resold to attract tourists to the countryside. The ways in which the Association is drawing on the unique relationship between French people and the countryside is an example of how rural heritage tourism can be used as a lever for rebirth and socio-economic growth. The Association relies heavily on the 'myth of the rural' to encourage French tourists to (re)connect with their *pays*. In such ways the Association serves as both a protector of rural France and actually prescribes norms about how a French rural village *should* be, and thus "constructs a new imaginary and creates a new rural reality" (p.73). Although Ducros shows that this is a very French phenomenon, it is interesting to note that the model has been picked up and adopted by several other countries, illustrative of the important role of rural spaces in "the tug between the *local* and the *global*" (p.75) within and beyond France.

In the fourth chapter in this section Rosie Roberts, Jodie George and Jess Pacella explore the links between rural festivals, place-based identities and tourism. Arguing that "issues of belonging and what it means to be local are critical to rural contexts" (p.83) they use case studies of three very different rural festivals to consider how events can highlight "often contradictory and diverse representations of what it means to be 'rural'" (p.94). Their case studies raise interesting questions about inclusion and exclusion, power and belonging in rural places. Roberts et

al. argue that the rural is not only about tradition, pastiche and nostalgia but also increasingly about exclusivity and high-end, boutique experiences. Rural events and festivals bring many of these issues to the fore and highlight the diversity of rural places and the people who live in and visit them.

Rural tourism experiences

Tourism is often understood as a form of escapism from the mundane pressures of everyday life, and this may be particularly true of rural tourism, where the combination of an often idealised notion of the 'rural' as simple and easy is combined with the fun and relaxation of 'tourism' and holidaying. The chapters in this section explore the experiences of rural tourism from the perspectives of both tourists and hosts.

Ester Bardone and Maarja Kaaristo draw on the concept of 'sensescapes' to consider how "the practices of farm tourism emerge from particular embodied encounters, from particular activities that both hosts and guests perform" (p.100). Based on fieldwork conducted in southern Estonia they use Tim Edensor's (2006) conceptualisation of 'staging' to draw attention to the social constructedness and the agency of individual actors within tourism encounters. Bardone and Kaaristo illustrate how tourism farmers act as 'directors' who stage different environments for their guests producing certain sensescapes, such as naturescapes, foodscapes and saunascapes, which form an important part of these rural tourism experiences.

Mark Griffiths uses narrative techniques to create a stimulating and provoking account of encounters between young western volunteers and a small rural community in India. His creative approach evokes the feelings, sights and smells of these experiences, from the perspectives of the volunteer tourists. He shows how the Westerners and the Others (i.e. the local community) start out as different, strange and incomprehensible to each other, yet over time and through mainly non-verbal communication they reach some level of understanding and mutual care. Griffiths argues that volunteer tourism in poor rural areas is "inflected with issues of power, be it in the guise of race, gender or neoliberalism" (p.125) but also, and crucially, shows how "in these spaces we bear witness to moments that defy these maleficent presences of power" (p.125). His evocative account challenges researchers to "write affectively" in order to try and produce an account that "*both* documents *and* performs disruptive affective moments" (p.125).

Saleh Azizi and Mary Mostafanezhad use a phenomenological approach to consider the experiences of farm hosts involved in World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms (WWOOF) in Hawai'i. Their chapter illustrates how "the economic intersects in interesting ways with the desire to decommodify rural tourism" (p.138) as both hosts and volunteers share interest in organic farming and alternative lifestyles. The farm hosts in their study all consider their farm operations as "some form of political and/or social activism" (p.140) and are keen to share their views, philosophies, knowledge and experiences with the young people who come to volunteer on their farms. Azizi and Mostafanezhad show various ways in which the lived experiences of hosts on small organic farms in Hawai'i are influenced both by their desire to share their outlook, principles and practices of sustainability, and by the economic necessity to rely on the labour of WWOOF volunteers to help them to continue their lifestyles, factors that are sometimes contradictory and problematic for farm hosts.

Andrea Collins introduces questions of environmental sustainability in her case study of the Hay Literary Festival in Wales, UK. She uses the Ecological Footprint to assess the environmental impact of visitors attending this large literary event, held over 11 days in a small rural town. Collins suggests that environmental impacts of events have received less attention than economic and social impacts, but the organisers of this particular festival are explicitly committed to a sustainable approach and to trying to be environmentally friendly, making this an interesting and relevant case study. The Ecological Footprint offers an "aggregated measure of the global environmental impact of different visitor-related consumption activities, and can also assess the additional environmental impact of visitor consumption" (p.166), making it a useful tool for event organisers, tourism planners and policy makers. Collins found that travel made the biggest impact at this event, due to the rural location and poor public transport. She argues that events held in rural areas may have a bigger environmental impact than those held in urban areas, due to differences in infrastructure related to transport, accommodation and other service provision.

Rural tourism in developing countries

As stated above, tourism has often been touted as the saviour of many poor rural areas and as an effective tool to raise communities out of poverty, even though the evidence for the efficacy of such goals is limited (Scheyvens, 2011). The chapters in this section draw on case studies of

rural tourism initiatives in developing countries to consider the extent to which rural tourism development does indeed benefit poor local communities.

Monkgogo Lenao uses the example of Lekhubu Island, Botsawana to consider questions of community involvement and power relations in the context of rural tourism development. Botswana benefits hugely from tourism, but those benefits tend to be concentrated in game-rich regions and are not equally shared across the country. There is also high economic leakage, as many tour operators are foreign-owned and employ predominantly foreign personnel. Lenao's case study is based in a region away from the game hotspots, with little wildlife to attract international tourists. Lekhubu Island is a community-based tourism site which the local community do largely manage themselves, but it has consistently failed to make profits and remains dependent on external donor support, limiting any economic benefits for the local community. Lenao shows how unrealistic expectations and feelings of exclusion within sections of the community (particularly young people, women and elderly locals) combine to reduce community support for the project.

Fazeeha Azmi presents a case study of Arugum Bay, a small fishing village in eastern Sri Lanka, with beautiful beaches but a distance from the main tourism hubs of the country. She questions the extent to which a Pro Poor Tourism (PPT) approach is being implemented in Arugum Bay, if and how local poor people are involved in tourism development in the area, and what can be done to increase the involvement of, and consequently the benefits accrued to, local poor people. She highlights issues to do with education, assets, financial issues, power and middlemen as barriers to poor people's involvement in tourism development in the region and shows how although some local poor people – especially the young – do believe they are benefitting from tourism development, many feel that their traditional livelihoods and ways of life are threatened, consigning them to remain in poverty. Azmi argues that much greater government support and investment in things like human resource development are needed if local poor people are to benefit from tourism development in Arugum Bay.

Emmanuel Sulle, Holti Banka and Janemary Ntalwila present case studies of wildlife tourism in Tanzania to question the extent to which local communities feel involved and see benefits from tourism development on and adjacent to their village lands. Community-based wildlife tourism projects have been established in Tanzania for nearly two decades, with the aims of enhancing revenue from tourism ventures, reducing poverty and promoting rural participation in wildlife

conservation initiatives. Sulle et al.'s case studies show that despite these laudable aims, the local communities they studied do not feel they benefit adequately from tourism development on their lands, as the government over taxes them and does little to compensate the community for losses – of crops, livestock and people – from wildlife attacks. In the absence of concrete benefits, the community is not incentivised to participate in conservation efforts and further tourism development.

Jane Carnaffan uses the example of responsible home stay tourism in rural Peru to argue that "the contingencies of tourism itself increase socio-economic differentiation and conflict within communities" (p.230). She questions the extent to which this home stay tourism can be considered responsible and a more equitable way of sharing tourism benefits beyond the centres, a stated goal of the Peruvian government. She shows how the benefits of tourism in these rural regions tend to be limited to areas closer to developed tourism centres, and that local elites are better connected and already have the necessary resources to benefit more from tourism development in their region than do poorer groups and individuals. Traditions of reciprocity in Peru go some way towards mitigating some of these inequalities, but Carnaffan argues that NGOs and other investors help to reinforce local hierarchies and inequalities by preferring to work with elites who already have better education, language skills and contacts for developing tourism in their region.

Collaboration and conflict in rural tourism

Many researchers have pointed to the importance of networks and collaboration in successful rural tourism development, yet there are numerous examples of conflict that occur as a result of tourism growth and expansion in the countryside. The chapters in this section consider various ways in which rural tourism development can be a source of both improved collaboration and increased conflict in rural areas.

Pennie F. Henriksen and Henrik Halkier consider if and how food-related actors collaborate to grow markets for local food as part of the tourism experience and visitor economy. Their study involved interviews with three groups in Skive, Denmark – small producers of local quality food; distributors of local food (shops, restaurants); and, local public bodies. Applying a network approach they argue that the development of food tourism "is not just a marketing exercise but also presupposes the creation and maintenance of a local cross-sectoral food experience chain that brings together actors from both the food and tourism industries." (p.251). Their findings suggest that the market for local food is local

people more than tourists and that this affects what local food is produced, promoted and sold. Henriksen and Halkier argue that a network approach can be successful in developing local food experiences for local residents and tourists, despite problems with small-scale production and logistics.

Norliza Aminudin uses an ethnographic approach to consider how different tribes and subtribes of indigenous peoples interact with tourism in Peninsula Malaysia, and the impacts this interaction (or lack thereof) have on their traditional ways of life. Her research covers four different tribes who exhibit differing degrees of direct and indirect involvement in tourism, which is rapidly developing around them. Many indigenous communities in Malaysia are living in poverty, and involvement in tourism may be one factor in trying to overcome this. Some of the tribes that Aminudin has studied show direct involvement in tourism and argue that this involvement actually helps them sustain aspects of their traditional lifestyles. Other tribes choose not to be directly involved in tourism, but due to the rapid development of tourism throughout the country few can avoid some degree of indirect involvement and contact with tourists. Aminudin argues that whatever their chosen level of involvement in tourism, indigenous peoples are valuable partners in helping to sustain the forest and natural environment and that their local knowledge and experience will prove invaluable for future efforts at sustainable development.

Lindisizwe M. Magi and Nothile P. Ndimande address the extent to which rural tourism policies in South Africa have led to conflict. The changing social and political world of South Africa has impacted on rural tourism development. The rural in South Africa was long associated with Black communities, and thus had a low status, and this image is proving difficult to shed. South Africa is now hoping rural tourism will help reduce rural poverty, as is the goal in many developing countries, but Magi and Ndimande question the extent to which rural tourism development is benefiting local communities. They point out that much of rural South Africa bears little resemblance to the rural idyll sold to tourists and show, through two complementary studies, how the attitudes of management and officials to rural tourism development contrast sharply with those of local communities. They argue that for rural tourism to contribute to poverty alleviation there needs to be greater commitment and "willingness to involve and empower the local communities" (p.299).

Cecelia Pérez Winter and Perla Zusman explore how romanticised narratives of the past have been valorised through tourism and heritage processes "to establish a bond between an idealised rural past and the rural present" (p.313) in the provinces of Buenos Aries. They argue that these

are political processes that create an idealised reality for tourism consumption, but represent predominantly male and local elite values, leading to other groups and individuals becoming obscured and invisible within these constructed narratives. Pérez Winter and Zusman suggest that these heritage and tourism practices are closely linked to the ways in which Argentine identity has been shaped, contested and developed over the last few hundred years: European connections are stressed whilst the roles of Afro-Argentines and women are effectively erased. They argue that there are often "clashes between the logics of the tourist business and the logics of identity" (p.315) but "tourists seem to accept the provided narratives and imaginations" (p.316) causing us to question further the role of tourism in both the preservation and distortion of local identities.

Rural tourism and regional development

Rural tourism is often used as a tool to help develop, and redevelop, different regions. The contributions in this final section consider how different niche tourism offerings are being developed and promoted by different regions in attempts to differentiate themselves within the highly-competitive global tourism market.

Richard Butler uses the unusual example of Fair Isle to consider how a niche tourism activity, bird watching in this case, has been "responsible for the transformation of the economy of a small isolated island" (p.322). Fair Isle's economy was once based on subsistence agriculture, and would have become unable to continue to support a viable resident community if it were not for the area's attraction as a site for migratory birds, and the consequent careful development of tourism associated with this niche interest. Butler first researched this island community in 1962/3 and returned again in 2012/3 so is able to offer insight into how bird watching and tourism have changed the community over time. Fair Isle has seen continuous growth in bird watching tourism over the last half century and local residents have a good understanding of the needs and motivations of visitors, but this growth has been steady and, by most standards, limited - an important factor in acceptance from residents of this small community. Butler argues that Fair Isle offers "an all too rare example of effective sustainability" (p.326) and is "a somewhat unique successful integration of tourism into a community in economic, social and environmental terms" (p.334).

Kazem Vafadari, Malcolm Cooper and Koji Nakamura's chapter looks at the effectiveness of tourism as a regional development strategy in rural Japan, a region with an ageing population and high levels of out-migration