

RESIDENT PERSPECTIVES OF ECOTOURISM AS A TOOL  
FOR COMMUNITY-BASED DEVELOPMENT:  
CASE STUDY OF ARROYO SURDIDO,  
SAMANÁ, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

By

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by

Amanda Dawn Holmes

I dedicate this thesis in fondness and memory to the plurality of livelihoods and the diversity of living life. Also, here I honor the wondrously wanton wanderings and ponderings, and the focused folly of frivolity necessary for the realms of rational and fantastic to blend physical and ethereal into the reality of our lives.

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Chair: Rick Stepp

Committee Members: Taylor Stein and Sandra Russo

Department: Latin American Studies: Tropical Conservation and Development

Ecotourism has been lauded as the panacea for ecologically sound, economically profitable, and community-based development. It therefore has become a budding field of research. However, even though community-based ecotourism incurs numerous impacts on the community, most of the literature speaks only of the economic ones. My study analyzes the impacts according to the criteria of the community members themselves, specifically focusing on the defining criteria of development and on the role of gender.

The ecotourism project at Salto del Limon (the Waterfall of Limon), on the Samaná peninsular of the Dominican Republic, incorporates collaborative management and participatory planning techniques; benefits the community members economically; and focuses on conservation and restoration of the natural landscape through action and education. A unique feature of this situation is that most of the businesses are locally owned and operated. Also, the community members have politically mobilized

themselves through grassroots organizations to increase and improve management. My study uses quantitative and qualitative tools in a framework of participatory methods to understand the distinct impacts of ecotourism on individual community members. I discussed issues with community members using a directed, open-ended style and Likert-scaled questions. I spoke with members of 29 of the 30 households totaling 63 people: 30 females and 33 males from the ages of 8 to 84.

Results show that residents perceive tremendous benefit from ecotourism: 96.4% of respondents said that ecotourism benefited the community, and 96.1% believe that life in the community has improved since ecotourism began. In addition, 89.8% responded that because of ecotourism, the community is learning about natural resources.

Community members have created *Asociación Comunitario de Ecoturismo del Salto del Limón* (ACESAL) to improve their services and products and to coordinate efforts to create educational and activity-oriented workshops for other community members on business skills, sanitation, handicrafts and conservation. However, community members also said that ecotourism detrimentally affects the traditional customs and values of the youth: 73% said that because of tourism, the youth do not want to follow traditional customs. As per the gender and tourism literature, women who work directly with ecotourism are gaining economically. With the *El Salto del Limon* ecotourism project, they are also gaining empowerment.

## PREFACE

I am searching for ways to help people toward self-determined development. For me, development entails accessing inherent potential through an integrated process of self-growth and community growth (involving spiritual and material well-being).

The computer in front of me awaits the input of data and written interpretations ready to reveal the socio-cultural implications of the capitalist industry of ecotourism on the pocket and soul of this rural community in the Dominican Republic, Arroyo Surdido. I attempt to select my descriptions thoughtfully, with awareness that the language and the particular aspects of the community that I choose will represent Arroyo Surdido as a whole and the resident's lives as individuals. This is a task easier expressed than accomplished. Being inculcated into the system of academia where most of the literature privileges certain economic, materialist, positivist categories and descriptions, I consciously question the representations according to the interests of the author and the bias of the epoch. For instance, the terms of developed, undeveloped and developing connote not only physical spaces, but also ideologies. Often, I use the terms industrialized and less industrialized to denote the economics of modernization theory and that ideology of development. I do not give community members the socio-economic label of peasants because that term has implicit derogatory connotations. Although, most of the adults had no formal education past third or fourth grade, many of them articulated thoughtful and profound perspectives. Thus, I take responsibility for representing various personalities and lifestyles of community members in Arroyo Surdido, and the impacts of ecotourism

on their lives. This thesis discusses the similarities and the differences of the residents' perceptions of the effects of tourism on their community.

First, why study ecotourism? I selected ecotourism because of its use as a tool for development today. I also chose ecotourism because it aims to balance the needs of nature with the needs of local, national and international communities and the needs of future generations. I hope the information provided in this thesis as well as the methodological bent benefits researchers, possible ecotourism initiatives, and ecotourists alike. In addition, I hope to be useful to the community, through designing a web page for El Salto del Limon, as well as through distributing a grant proposal (that they wrote) to various donor organizations to obtain funding to run pipes for water to each of their houses. After many discussions with numerous people, these were the two items (i.e., tourism and accessible water) that almost everyone strongly favored. In this way I hope to give as well as receive.

One of the major goals of this project is not to be limited to the paradigm of development as expounded by the international development donors, but to look to the community itself to understand their viewpoints of development<sup>1</sup>. For this reason, one of the primary goals of this research is to attempt to understand community members' perspectives, thereby evaluate the project in terms of the community's impressions and values of development, along with its benefits and its costs.

Although my study focuses on the resident community's perspectives, I do not disregard the importance of the international organizations, the government institutions,

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<sup>1</sup> In order to accomplish this kind of analysis, an understanding of cosmology and worldview and value systems should be understood. However, this would require much more time than that available to conduct the Master's research. For this reason, I intend to continue to conduct PhD research in this area in a comparative study.

nor the university components. On the contrary, this research focuses on but one part of the complex interrelated whole. I seek to emphasize not the binary of good and bad but the plurality of difference and the benefit of collaboration from which we all can gain when we learn from the experiences and the erudition of the diverse.

Humans have attempted to understand the universe and our role within since time immemorial. We have used particular beliefs, empirically derived knowledge and divinely inspired wisdom to do this. Because “development” has many meanings to many peoples, we must clarify the term by looking at its history and ideology as well as the power relationships inherently involved with its conception and practice.

Where to begin a story? In the West, in the East, the North or the South? At the core, or at the periphery? Are these geographic locations or symbols of particular ideologies? Both. All these terms today denote multiple, specific meanings and connote myriad implications. The words themselves as well as the places entail a unique history and present state of being: politically, economically, socially, culturally, religiously, scientifically and philosophically.

Should this thesis begin with some of West African cosmology since much of the Caribbean’s ancestry and thereby culture and religion is derived from the location and the belief-systems? Or do we start with Taino matrilineal society who originally inhabited Hispaniola and much of the Caribbean? Or is it in the temporal period with Genesis in the Judeo-Christian sense that we begin, since the church has had significant effect on not only development ideology and practice inculcating male dominance through the patriarchal family and the governing bodies, but also on the religions of the Caribbean? Or should we remain in the politico-economic sphere and begin with the transition from

feudalism to merchant capitalism? Since it is here in the course of colonialism and imperialism that the Caribbean was conquered and transformed: ethnically, socially, politically, economically and religiously through the inherent power inequalities of the capitalist system as well as the intrinsic value of personal profit over communal good along with the massacring force of the colonizers over the inhabitants that has directed “development” for the past few centuries? Or should this thesis commence with an analysis of science and technology, the engines that enforced dramatic global change?

Traditional science that partitions to scrutinize does not always clarify and sometimes only obfuscates perception and comprehension. The disciplines of today are divided and segmented into those such as history, politics, biology, physics, sociology, chemistry, ecology and anthropology without understanding their interrelationships with each other and with that which they are attempting to understand. The methods of these formalized institutions often are framed in the same dissecting fashion. Interdisciplinarity with open, adaptable minds is required to more fully comprehend our interrelated, interdependent world.

Whenever the author chooses to begin, and whichever approach she chooses to employ, the reader is initiated into a story directed along the path(s) of information that the writer selects to divulge. Logically, the connections are shaped, to demonstrate the relationships –true or not– but the logic, infallible, coerces. Hence, the evidence comes with the form and rhetoric of the argument. However, the readers, not limited in thought, may and will (consciously and subconsciously) select from the information offered, and create their own interpretation of the material including their version of the author’s intentions according to their own perspective and intent. Together, then, we create the

story and history recognized, recorded and repeated. However, if we learn from each other's differences and similarities, I believe that we can improve our understanding of the world, our relationship to it and how to interact within.

I situate my work in recognition of the unique contributions of the skills, knowledge and experience offered by each human, nonhuman and discipline, with an awareness of the dynamics of gender. With this Poststructuralist agenda of locating agency in the effort to balance livelihoods and conservation, I traveled to the Samaná Province of the Dominican Republic in the Caribbean where communities, environmental NGOs, and the government are working collaboratively with ecotourism as a tool for sustainable development.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

I initiated this research to investigate the resident perspectives of the potential of ecotourism as a tool for community-based development. The mass destruction of natural resources (MacKinnon et al. 1986; McGregor et al. 1998) and the deleterious impacts on social traditions and networks (Beller et al. 1990; Harrison 2001; Weaver 1998) make it necessary to examine alternative ways of supporting and interacting with each other, and with the ecosystems on which we depend (MacKinnon et al. 1986; WCED 1987). Many less industrialized nations are looking to ecotourism as an option to protect their precious natural resources and improve the quality of their lives, particularly small island states (Beller et al. 1990; Briguglio et al. 1996; McGregor et al. 1998; Weaver 1998). When assessing development tools, much of the literature focuses primarily on economic impacts (e.g., Doan 2000; O'Reilly 1993; Wunder 2000). However, I seek to build on the sparse but indispensable literature that considers the human component in the measurement of success by focusing on the impacts on the local community (Bachleitner and Zins 1999; Campbell 1999; Scheyvens 2000). Studying residents' perceptions of the impacts of ecotourism may contribute several advantages in the process of constructing theories, developing policy and improving practice in the fields of community-based development, gender studies, ecotourism and collaborative management.

The following questions guide the framework of this thesis:

- What is development?
- How does gender affect the impacts and the perceptions of impacts of ecotourism?
- How do the residents assess the impacts of the ecotourism venture?

## **Overview of Thesis**

Chapter 1 explains the purpose of the study and its contribution to development epistemology, theory and practice. Chapter 2 explores development theory, contextualizing the ideologies within specific historical and political perspectives, expressly looking at representation, language and power. Despite the plurality of perspectives concerning conservation and development issues, needs and methods, often power relations create a system that limits the understanding and expression of certain views to those acceptable by the dominant interest group. Often, this prevailing rhetoric imposes specific lifestyle and economic systems on less economically and politically influential groups. Thus, to understand development in the global arena, one must reflect on the fundamental values underlying the paradigms and practices to understand the systematically promoted goals and techniques. With the values of mass marketing and quick profit, traditional tourism has been lauded as a tool for development in less industrialized countries, particularly in the Caribbean. Chapter 3 exposes the ensuing environmental and socio-cultural degradation so often married to conventional mass tourism. Then, this chapter defines ecotourism as opposed to traditional tourism and discusses the negative and positive impacts incurred in its application. Chapter 4 depicts the methods used in this research and the efforts to combat biased deficiencies prevalent in previous studies. This investigation focuses on participatory techniques within a collaborative framework. Chapter 5 gives an historical and descriptive overview of this inland, rural Caribbean agricultural and now tourist reliant community. Chapter 6 reports the results of my research assessing the impacts principally using the locals' values and perceptions as the indicators. The Chapter 7 reveals the pertinence of such a study, the lessons learned and the possibilities for future activities and research.

## **Development**

Development became a topic of primary relevance during the 1940s, initially to address the devastation of the Second World War (Escobar 1995; Harrison 2001). Hence, global financial institutions based out of the United States of America were created (i.e., the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund) (Chambers 1997; Escobar 1995). Soon after, the United States and other westernized countries promoted “development” with the purpose of increasing industrialization, economic motivation and material production (specifically for export to the “developed” or already industrialized and modernized countries) (Deere et al.1990).

### **Discourse and Development**

The power of language cannot be overlooked. In dominant development paradigms, peoples whose cultural roots were not in Europe have been assigned inferior identities such as *primitive, backward, underdeveloped, less developed, developing, or third-world*. These representations implicitly assume Western standards as the benchmark against which to judge the situations and the peoples (Chambers 1997; Escobar 1992; Harrison 2001; Weaver 1998).

Language does not just express thoughts and ideas, but also helps form perceptions and thus reality. According to the Sapir-Whorfian hypothesis, language symbolizes reality as well as shapes it (Whorf 1940). The French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1996) asserted that one must “deconstruct” the language to truly understand the reality and the interests of the author. Accordingly, one must locate the circumstances and the actors within each context to understand their unique perspective and rendition.

In development literature, those peoples and nations without technology and scientific knowledge –with different value systems-- were considered inferior because of

the evolution-based modernization theory that the uniform, unilinear development of humanity transformed people and societies from barbaric to civilized (Rostow 1960). Those who did not conform to this productive, modern norm were thus assigned stigmatized descriptive labels like “inferior” and “backward” (Escobar 1991; Chambers 1997). Through the political language of the United States, Europe and international agencies<sup>1</sup> as well as the rhetoric espoused by the academic social sciences “developed” and “undeveloped” countries were created (Pratt 1992; Escobar 1995; Grillo 1998b).

In recognition of diverse roles people assume in society, one must also realize that the inherent bias of many texts does not merely represent a perspective, but creates a reality: the “discourse or text does not stand for, or represent, a reality independently and unproblematically but plays a formative role in constituting the reality it represents” (Downey and Rogers 1995: 270). The power dynamic becomes solidified with the discourse: the powerful ones labeling what is wrong with the problematized. Escobar (1995) gives examples such as the “pregnant woman” and the “illiterate farmer” to show the connotations of heterogeneous groups of people being homogenized by their situation and labeled as poor, uneducated and needy—represented and regarded as victims. For example, Chandra Mohanty shows how the verbiage becomes representative of specific perceptions of entire populations, in this instance of women from less industrialized countries:

This average third world woman leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender (read: sexually constrained) and her being ‘third world’ (read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented, victimized, etc.) This, I suggest, is in contrast to the (implicit) self-representation of Western women as educated, as modern, as having control over their own bodies and sexualities, and the freedom to make their own decisions (1991: 56).

---

<sup>1</sup> For example, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the United Nations, UNESCO, World Bank, International Monetary Fund and USAID.

Hence, it is necessary for locals to describe themselves and their situation. Though, within a community, there are differences, and these differences are often not equitably represented. For this reason, I maintain an awareness of the language that others use within their methods and their descriptions. Most importantly, I focus on the verbiage that I use to describe and represent the community members of Arroyo Surdido. Instead of using the label of illiterate peasants or rural farmers, which contain stereotypical, derogatory sentiments, I focus on the aspects of them as people. Furthermore, I look to the viewpoints of both the male, female, children and elders of the community to elucidate the impacts of ecotourism on their own definitions of development.

In this paper, I use less and more industrialized rather than “developed/ un or underdeveloped” or “first or third world” to emphasize the relativity of one to the other. In addition, using the categories of less and more industrialized more accurately describes the evaluative criteria of “traditional” development focusing on the capacity to produce and thereby consume material goods (Harrison 2001; Weaver 1998). However, other concepts of development also exist which may include self-actualization, social relations and networking (Grillo 1998a). In contrast, the indicators to identify and quantify “development” are most often reduced to mere economic criteria (Chambers 1997; Escobar 1995; Scheyvens 1999; UNDP 2000), often determined by a country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) or Gross National Product (GNP) as well as purchasing power (Harrison 2001). Not only has this economic focus encouraged a structure that idealizes capitalism and consumerism as the unique path and goal of a “developed” nation, but also it has limited, ignored and distorted the contributions of multiple, significant parties like women and indigenous groups (Apfell-Marglin 1998; Chambers 1997; Escobar 1995;

Moser 1993). The contribution and effect of these marginalized groups on national and local development is further devalued through stigmatized labels and belittling rhetoric in development literature. Besides the dismal impact on cultural resources, dire consequences have transpired from this modernization model of development concerning natural resource management, ecosystem functioning and ecological processes (Beller et al. 1990; Font and Tribe 1999; McGregor 1995; Swarbrooke 1998; Thomas-Hope 1996).

### **Devastation as the Unknown Destination: Our Earth**

It is estimated that 25% of the world's mammals and other animal groups are under threat of extinction including approximately 20% of the world's reptiles, 11% of the world's avian population, 25% of amphibians, and 34% of fish, mostly fresh water (IUCN 1998). Plant diversity also is declining sharply (Wilson 1988). Only one-fifth of the world's original old growth forests remain in large, continuous natural ecosystems (World Resources Institute 1997). Myers (1989) declares that around 50,000 species every year were being driven to extinction. This number is intensified by the fragmentation of forest resources into smaller tracts of land (Evans 1999). Also, as the world's population passes 6 billion people, estimates of extinction rates for other species rise. The primary cause for this decline in diversity is the habitat destruction that follows in the wake of our expanding human population and human activities (Ehrlich 1988). For instance, in the Dominican Republic during the early 1900s, 85% of the total land area was covered by forest. By 1986, only 10.1% remained intact (Caribbean Environment Programme-UNEP 1996). Human enterprises have drastically altered both land and sea in an effort to subsist, shelter and nourish themselves as well as in the name of 'development.'

### **Traditional Tourism**

Tourism is a popular tool employed for development particularly in less industrialized regions of the world. In accord with the modernization model, the focus is on mass production and economics (Gayle and Goodrich 1993; Larrain 1989; Weaver 1998). Many countries are incorporating tourism as a development strategy to gain foreign capital and investment: “As one of history’s oldest commercial enterprises, tourism has become the world’s largest industry, surpassing both international oil and arms sales” (WTTC 1992). Especially, small islands depend on tourism for the majority of their GNP (Gayle and Goodrich 1993; Beller et al. 1990; Briguglio et al. 1996; McGregor et al. 1998).

Travel and tourism is the world’s largest industry since 1987 when it recorded \$2 trillion in sales and employed 6.3 % of the global workforce (The Economist 1991). In 1990, the international tourist industry consisted of 25 per cent of all international trade in services (Gayle 1993). Furthermore, tourism endeavors can create training in skilled jobs like landscape architects, environmental engineers, transportation engineers as well as the obvious front-desk personnel, chefs, porters and cleaners (Coyle 1993). Not only can human resources be developed through tourism, but so can cultural heritage (Schaller 1999). Local handicrafts and skills are preserved and promoted in traditional art forms while artisans are encouraged (Coyle 1993). In addition to these obvious benefits of employment and revenue, infrastructure, health care and education facilities also are often improved (Gayle and Goodrich 1993). Thus, tourism can be beneficial socially, economically and environmentally (de Kadt 1990; Font and Tribe 2000; Scheyvens 1999; Swarbrook 1998), but often, traditional tourism has devastated the

natural resources and social fabric of the particular site (Evans 1999; Harrison 2001; Weaver 1998).

### **Environmental Destruction**

Directly due to tourism through activities like diving and boating as well as hotel and cruise ship effluents, numerous coral reefs (the rainforest of the sea) have been destroyed or degraded, which in turn causes erosion of land like beaches and mangrove forests and staggering loss of habitats (Cater and Lowman 1994; Weaver 1998). For example, concentrating on short-term profit maximization, two international hotels were built on the coast in Belize. Tourism development severely degraded the environment by destroying two distinct types of ecosystems, mangroves and swampland. Three functions were obliterated: a protective barrier against coastal erosion; a filter for off-land sediment, and a rich feeding ground for fish (Cater 1994). These types of occurrences are far from uncommon; accounts of incident after incident are reported frequently especially concerning fragile ecosystems such as those that make up small-island states like in the Caribbean (Evans 1999; Honey 1999; McElroy and de Albuquerque 1990; McGregor et al. 1998; Swarbrook 1998).

### **Impacts on the Caribbean**

The western islands of the Caribbean (Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico and Hispaniola) all have high levels of biodiversity and high amounts of tourism (Weaver 1994). Increasingly, since the 1940s and 50s, the Caribbean relies on tourism for income generation: “The Caribbean is one of the world’s most tourism-intensive regions, with only 0.6% of global population in 1994, but 2.1% of all international stayovers” (Weaver 1998: 188). Due to the abundance of sea, sand and surf for relatively inexpensive prices,

numerous visitors travel to the Caribbean mostly in the form of mass tourism residing in huge hotels or on cruise ships (Weaver 1998).

Like the monoculture agricultural system of the plantation economy prevalent in the Caribbean for the past 400 years, traditional tourism remains focused on the masses, and immediate economic gain without consideration of the devastating future impacts. Inequalities abound within the typical tourism endeavor (Harrison 2001; Scheyvens 2000; Weaver 1998). Although, traditional tourism creates an opportunity for transferring capital from the more industrialized to the less industrialized nations as well as the prospect for positive intercultural exchange, inherently this exchange can be replete with inequities and disparaging impacts (Aronsson 2000; Swarbrooke 1998). As “a process by which one group comes to dominate another” (Kelly and Godbey 1992:409), many anthropologists and sociologists view tourism as a new form of imperialism (Nash 1977). Economically, the revenue is not equitably distributed between national and foreign interests, thereby development remains in the control of foreign power (Aronsson 2000; Harrison 2001; Weaver 1998). In addition, the environmental damages can be devastating harming future economic possibilities and damaging indispensable ecosystems (McElroy et al. 1990). For this reason, sustainable development alternatives like ecotourism must be investigated.

### **Sustainable Development**

The concept of sustainability gains much emphasis in the 1980s addressed systematically for the first time through the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) which published the report “Our Common Future” (WCED

1987), more commonly known as the Brundtland Report<sup>2</sup> (Filho 1996: 63). In 1992, more than 100 heads of state met in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED). This Earth Summit was held to tackle critical problems of environmental protection and socio-economic development. The assembled leaders signed the Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological Diversity; endorsed the Rio Declaration and the Forest Principles; and adopted Agenda 21, a 300-page plan for achieving sustainable development in the 21st century. The Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) as a commission of the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) was created in December 1992 to ensure effective follow-up of UNCED; to monitor and report on implementation of the Earth Summit agreements at the local, national, regional and international levels (United Nations: Commission on Sustainable Development date). This conference, as well as many others focusing on sustainable development lauds the possibilities of ecotourism. In 2002, the ten-year follow up conference in Johannesburg, the alternative livelihoods discussed for small island states to aid in poverty alleviation and development strategies centered around ecotourism and people's pivotal role:

The survival of small island developing States is firmly rooted in their human resources and cultural heritage, which are their most significant assets; those assets are under severe stress and all efforts must be taken to ensure the central position of people in the process of sustainable development (United Nations 1994).

### **Ecotourism**

Often, in discussing alternative livelihoods to protect rather than destroy disappearing ecosystems as well as empower the resident communities, practitioners,

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<sup>2</sup> The chairperson of the Commission was Mrs Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway.

governments and international development and conservation agencies alike herald the possibilities of ecotourism, especially for less industrialized islands:

Eco-tourism, linking areas of high ecological value to low-impact tourism, may present important and environmentally sustainable opportunities for tourism development in small island developing States (United Nations 1994).

Some major benefits of ecotourism include the enhanced environmental awareness and cultural sensitivity as well as the realization of the precious resources possessed, both human and environmental (Prosser 1994). For protected areas, ecotourism can be crucial. In addition to the benefit of revenue, concessions and sales, “the opportunity ...to see, touch and experience the natural world frequently “converts” their visitors into faithful and active supporters” (Ceballos-Lascuráin 1996:37). With the monies and the awareness of the unique worth of the ecosystems, more environmentally-sensitive areas are partitioned: the protected areas system has increased dramatically (Ceballos-Lascuráin 1996). National Ecotourism Strategy released in 1994 by the Commonwealth Department of Tourism classified the following economic benefits: growth of employment in the area of distribution of income directly to regional and local communities via goods and services –tendency of greater length of stay by ecotourists as compared with traditional tourist; local infrastructure development; generation of income for conservation and public land management through permit fees; additional foreign exchange earnings; and tourism multipliers (Beeton 1998)

Furthermore, tourism can bring intangible benefits like improving the quality of life of the stakeholders and improving cultural identity (Scheyvens 1999; Schaller 1999). Local communities see what they took for granted has value to other people, which encourages continued understanding of traditional cultures, both indigenous and nonindigenous. This new meaning and worth can develop a sense of pride in traditions,

which increases self-esteem (Scheyvens 1999; Scheyvens 2000). Another benefit exists at the interface between the visitors and the hosts in which different cosmologies, perspectives, beliefs and daily lives allows a learning exchange (Beeton 1998).

### **Community-Based Ventures and Collaborative Management**

Both conservation and development are often approached in jargon and practice in academic and practitioner publications in a “top-down” style. This protectionist approach has belittled the capacities of locals excluding them in decision-making and policy making processes. More recently, however, community participation has been identified as a crucial component of successful conservation and development endeavors. The community-based philosophy stresses the advantageous results of the consequent sense of ownership and the use of local knowledge and values on conservation and development initiatives.

One can gain precious information from all of the value and power systems. For this reason collaborative management can best be used to attain representation, voice, and power for the stakeholders including the environment. Hence, collaborative management and participatory planning are incorporated to ascertain, understand and integrate the locals’ perspectives, ideologies and language into the development plans and projects. Community-based ecotourism ventures attempt to have more equal exchanges based on respect and looking at the total well-being of the community rather than merely the financial gains or losses. For this reason, I look to the residents of Arroyo Surdido to explain their perceptions of the impacts of ecotourism on their own community. This site is heralded for its community-based ecotourist practices.

## **Conclusion**

In a thesis where the main focus is on community-based development, a brief historical summary of dominant development paradigms, proponents and value systems is useful. Development is a highly contested concept. What is it? How is it achieved? And how do we evaluate its impacts? In this thesis, I question the term ‘development,’ its use in the global arena and the fundamental underlying value systems that guide policy and methodology. Thereby I review the content, but also the process. My research tries to balance qualitative with quantitative methods, focusing on participatory techniques. Incorporating both requires empiricism while not being limited by the scientific method. In contrast, qualitative approaches help create the situation in which the community can express their own views in their own terms informed by their own cosmologies.

With this study, after I review the dominant development paradigms, I look to the locals themselves to understand what they mean by development and the most important aspects of a good life, and how is the ecotourism endeavor affecting those things. I seek to learn from the locals who are not merely the workers of foreign-owned companies, or servants for upper or middle-class nationals; instead, they are the initiators and owners of the businesses.

We, as development practitioners, researchers, conservationists, and people must understand development from the perspective of the less industrialized if we as the industrialized nations are going to continue to attempt to help. Gender And Development (GAD) thought along with postmodernist and poststructuralist theories advocate the necessity to understand the value systems and the goals of the diverse peoples who request aid, and not merely impose our will and resources. Once we understand the benefits and detriments according to the residents themselves, we can determine their

criteria for development. Then we can compare these criteria to the goals of the international donor and development organizations? And, how does an ecotourism project affected these components? In order to answer the research questions, we must first review who defines development and how? This is the focus of the following chapter.

## CHAPTER 2 PERSPECTIVES ON DEVELOPMENT

The subject of this thesis is the impact of ecotourism on the development of the rural community located in the Caribbean nation of the Dominican Republic.

Development, like ecotourism, is multi-faceted and often the meaning, the methods and the indicators rely upon the values and the ideologies of the specific historical and political contexts. Therefore, this chapter begins with a brief examination of the concepts and ideologies inherent to development theory. First, the chapter looks at development from the perspectives of the modernization and the dependency theories. Next, the chapter reviews gender and development including questions informed by postmodern and poststructuralist thought of language, power and agency. The chapter concludes with a discussion of sustainable development, and the importance of more equal representation of the diverse viewpoints and experiences, along with decision-making power through collaborative methods and management.

### **Modernization and Development**

Modernization theories have and still do dramatically affect development in terms of practices, projects and policies. These theories from the early modernization to the contemporary neoliberalism have intrinsic similarities of criteria and process that are founded upon the value systems of the time periods and the peoples who created and used them.

## **The Beginnings**

The values inherent to modernity in the West can be traced back to the concepts of progress and evolution intrinsic to the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Enlightenment promoted the idea of social progress and the liberating possibilities of rational and scientific knowledge. Subsequently, unilinear theories of progress with a definitive origin and destination, depicting a continuum that all societies must navigate, were promoted by men like Comte (1798-1857), Malthus (1776- 1834) and Darwin (1809-1882) highlighting the human species as the most highly evolved with increased dominance over biophysical environments and natural selection as the driving force. Evolutionary theory depicted people and societies as progressing through various stages from backward to advanced. For example, Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) explained that societies progress through fixed stages from savagery through barbarism to civilization.

Along with social theories of progress, economic systems like Capitalism have also influenced the concept and the drive for development. Jorge Larraín posits that the origins of the Western notion of development can be directly attributed to capitalism:

It was capitalism that for the first time allowed productive forces to make a spectacular advance, thus making it possible for the idea of material progress and development to arise (1989:1).

Additionally, the Industrial Revolution, which replaced the traditionally agrarian economy/society of Europe with that dominated by machines and manufacturing, dramatically affected development thought. Political power transferred from landowners to the industrial capitalists, and an urban working class was created. This new class of

industrial capitalists opposed institutions and restrictions that inhibited free trade and profit-making opportunities<sup>1</sup>.

For Adam Smith (1811), an economist, internal factors that favor agriculture over industry and internal trade over foreign trade exemplified backwardness. This paternalist model often promoted as justification for colonialism that the European countries have a “duty and right to help the savage nations become civilized.” The ideal “civilized” society was a Western, industrial, urbanized one that had preeminence over the biophysical environment (Huxley 1942). The choice was between a traditional society (rural, underdeveloped, backward) and an industrialized society (urban, developed, modern). Toennies (1887) depicts this division with his *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellesheft*, urban society and its value and social system replacing that of the rural one. In addition, some of these values associated with modern jobs had to do with the appropriate roles for men and women and thereby the division of labor – men as breadwinners and women as homemakers.<sup>2</sup> Thereby, production was valued more highly than reproduction.

Differences in living styles and ways of acquiring status were an explanation why traditional societies did not “take off” to become modern, industrial societies. The economic historian W.W. Rostow<sup>3</sup> popularized the linear stages of growth theory in his 1960 booklet, *Stages of Economic Growth* in which he depicts the five-stages of economic growth that all societies must pass through: 1) traditional society, 2) preconditions for take-off, 3) take-off, 4) road to maturity and 5) the age of high mass

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<sup>1</sup> They felt that society was stagnant in the feudal years because surplus was misused by the landowning aristocracy, and was not used for greater production: the key to progress.

<sup>2</sup> Charlton argues that bringing the men out of the home, which had been the hub of industry and family together, increased the polarization of the sex roles--including the devaluation of many of the unpaid household maintenance activities, and thereby the woman’s power within the household and society (in Brettell and Sargent 1993).

consumption. The sociologist Talcott Parsons (1951) explained that in traditional societies roles tend to be affective, ascriptive, diffuse, and particularistic. On the contrary, according to Parsons, in industrial societies, roles are often affectively neutral, performance oriented, specific and universalistic. For instance, the universalistic-achievement pattern supported the Western industrialized societies because status was connected to occupational and universalistic standards that prevailed in a system of free trade where individualism and high amounts of consumer choice predominated (Larrain 1989: 88-90). In contrast, the particularistic-ascriptive types of society as described by Parsons (1951) placed little emphasis on achievement, rather, positions of status were ascribed, and stability and tradition were highly valued. This system was more indicative of Latin American society. According to Parsons, “the Spanish-American seems to be a good example of this social type” (1951:199).

In accord with the capitalist system, economists promoted the value of consumerism (Larrain 1989). Malthus and Smith both profess the need to inspire the residents of “unimproving” countries with the before unknown “needs” that will make more of them desirous to work to fulfill those needs. Malthus argues:

The greatest of all difficulties in converting uncivilized and thinly peopled countries into civilized and populous ones, is to inspire them with the wants best calculated to excite their exertion in the production of wealth. One of the greatest benefits which foreign commerce confers, and the reason why it has always appeared an almost necessary ingredient in the progress of wealth, is, its tendency to inspire new wants, to form new tastes, and to furnish fresh motives for industry (Malthus 1936: 403).

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<sup>3</sup> Rostow was involved in foreign policy and political affairs, and became one of the leading advisors to McNamara during the Vietnam War.

## **Contemporary Modernization**

Modernization theory extols the dominance of nature with increased production through technology for economic gain to increase consumption as the inevitable state of progress that every developed person, community and country should achieve (Apfell-Marglin 1998; Escobar 1995; Smith 1811). As President Harry Truman stated in his inaugural address in January 1949, “Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge” (in Escobar 1995: 3). Determined by productivity, efficiency and level of industrialization, the Modernization theory of development was promoted by the industry-driven sector of Europe and the United States, by economists like Rostow, and through international organizations like the World Bank (WB), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The WB and IMF were created at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in July 1944 along with the groundwork for the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). And, in 1995, the World Trade Organization (WTO) was founded (The Ecologist 1999). They were determined to transform two-thirds of the world that was “less economically accomplished” into one world with the same goal of material prosperity and economic success (Escobar 1995: 3-4). The purpose, according to Henry Morgenthau, US Treasury Secretary (1934-1945) and president of the Bretton Woods conference was, “the creation of a dynamic world economy” (Escobar 1995: 4).

But by the 1980s, austerity measures emphasizing export-led industrialization, free trade and structural adjustments were mandated by the WB and IMF and accepted with various consequences on the Caribbean and other less industrialized nations. These

policies can have disturbing impacts. Structural adjustment policies, as explained by Helen Safa, “shift all responsibility for survival from state to individual and the family, forcing families to absorb a greater share of the cost of living by reducing government policies aimed at redistribution” (1995: 3).

Some critics of the Modernization model of development suggest the underlying goal as sustaining the domestic American and European economies and their continuous expansion by ensuring them sufficient access to foreign markets, raw materials and cheap labor. But at whose expense? According to *Latin American Economic Policies*, “In the 1950’s, Latin America had a higher per capita income than all other regions of the developing world” (1999: 2). One generation later this could no longer be declared.

### **Modernization and the Dominican Republic**

Modernization has had a significant effect on the governments, the policies and the lives of many people in Latin America. For instance, in 1983, the Dominican Republic applied to the IMF for loans to help them during the debt crisis that hit all of Latin America and the Caribbean in the 80s. The structural adjustment policies required of them were to increase concentration on export-oriented production in manufacturing (and agribusiness), cut back on social services, liberalize the imports, remove food subsidies and price controls on consumer goods. The effects were devastating. Vulnerable to international economic changes like the rise in oil prices, the Dominican Republic’s real wages fell 70% between January 1980 and July 1987<sup>4</sup> (Ceara 1987 in Safa and Antrobus 1994: 51- 54). A decline in production ensued with a lower Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita and thereby an increased reliance on food imports. But without the state price controls, food prices swelled. The prices of staples like rice and beans almost

doubled between April and September 1988 (Safa and Antrobus 1994: 54). Per capita food consumption as well as caloric and protein intake decreased (Ramirez et al. 1988: 69-70 in Safa and Antrobus 1994: 57).<sup>5</sup>

So, the effects of dominant development policy have not always aided a country's 'development' even within the limited perspective of the economy. The following theory explores the Modernization paradigm (including Neoliberalism) from an alternative point of view, that of the theorized, or the less industrialized nations in the Latin America.

### **Dependency and Development**

Dependency theory proffers a view from Latin Americans in articulating the role of colonialism and capitalism in the underdevelopment of nations. In elucidating the power relationships between the industrialized and the nonindustrialized, between the United States, multinational corporations and Latin America, the Dependency theory explains the inequity and the inferiority of the developing nations especially in Latin America and the Caribbean to be the effects of the exploitation inherent to a capitalist world system and replete in development policy which has put the costs of development on the aspiring nations.

Capitalism as a world system is not homogenous, but an hierarchical international system where more developed countries can exploit less developed ones:

Exploitation consists in the transfer of a part of their economic surplus to the developed world and the squandering of another part of it in luxury consumption by backward local oligarchies...capitalism in monopolistic phase causes stagnation in dependent countries (Larrain 1989: 112-114).

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<sup>4</sup> July 1987 (US\$ 67.20) and January 1980 (US\$ 98.43)

<sup>5</sup> Hunger and food were common themes in the discussions with the community members of Arroyo Surdido.

Dependency theorists are scholars like Lloyd Best (1969)<sup>6</sup> and Clive Thomas (1965)<sup>7</sup> who counter many of the representations that the peoples and systems from less industrialized countries are intrinsically inferior and instead posit that it is precisely the unequal power relations inherent in the economic and political world structures of the capitalist system that the less industrialized world is entrenched in this dependent role that debilitates their social and economic development (Payne and Sutton 2001:7).

Theotonio Dos Santos (1973), a pre-eminent advocate of Dependency theory, explains:

The relations thus produced are unequal because development of parts of the system occurs at the expense of other parts. Trade relations are based on monopolistic control of the market, which leads to the transfer of surplus generated in the dependent countries to the dominant countries; financial relations are from the viewpoint of the dominant powers, based on loans and the export of capital, which permit them to receive interest and profits, thus increasing their domestic surplus and strengthening their control over the economies of the other countries... it is the combination of these inequalities and the transfer of resources from the most backward and dependent sectors to the most advanced and dominant ones which explains the inequality, deepens it, and transforms it into a necessary and structural element of the world economy (110).

Similar to Dos Santos, Havelock Brewster succinctly defines this economic dependence as “a lack of capacity to manipulate the operative elements of an economic system” (Brewster 1973:90). Power and control are central elements that affect development theory.

A second group of Dependency theories focuses on capitalism as a mode of production or as an economic system, which must be specifically and historically analyzed within concrete social formation and national boundaries (Larrain 1989). Thereby in each instance and country, one must look to internal relations of production

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<sup>6</sup> Then a lecturer in economics at St. Augustine campus in Trinidad.

<sup>7</sup> Analyzing the monetary and financial arrangements of the Caribbean.

and class conflicts rather than attempt to create one theory that claims to represent all situations in Latin America (Larrain 1989).

This group tends to consist of Marxist-inspired Latin Americans and includes scholars like Cardoso and Faletto (1977; 1979). These theorists posit that one must look to concrete situations of particular, dependent countries or groups of countries in specific historical circumstances and certain international relations to understand the factors of underdevelopment. For instance Cardoso and Faletto (1979) explain that in Colombia:

the limited differentiation within social groups, and the monolithic character of the oligarchic-bourgeois classes, blocked access of the middle groups to power and helped maintain the oligarchic pact. (98-9).

On the contrary, the middle classes of Argentina were directly integrated into the hegemony of the exporting bourgeoisie, and in Brazil the emerging middle class was forming alliances with segments of the bourgeoisies to create a distinct political leadership (Larrain 1989:168). Thus, the centers and peripheries of power not only operate within the globalized sphere of industrialized and less industrialized countries, but also at national levels of politics as well as local levels of interaction. Cardoso and Faletto's approach discusses the same external factors in relation to different internal class structures and balances of power and the consequences therein.

To demonstrate another power inequality, Cardoso (1977) argues that the approach to analyzing dependency situations in Latin America did not reveal new methodological proposals, but:

a current already old in Latin American thought managed to make itself heard in the discussions that were taking place in institutions normally closed to it: ECLA, the universities, some government planning agencies, and –last but not least – the North American academic community (p9).

## **Dependency Theory and the Caribbean**

In the Caribbean, the dependency argument takes shape in the plantation economy theory proposed by Lloyd Best in collaboration with the Canadian economist Kari Levitt (Best and Levitt 1969). This theory comprised an historical and structural analysis of the development of the plantation economy from the seventeenth century to the post-WWII era (Payne and Sutton 2001). In the 1950s and 60s, Best and other members of the New World Group<sup>8</sup> recognized the economic growth, but they argued that the transnational corporations, which were playing a major role since WWII functioned similarly to the joint-stock trading companies<sup>9</sup> of the previous epoch in integrating the region into the globalized economic system.

An example of the dependent structure is obvious in the economic and thereby political relations between the United States and the Caribbean. The associations of market exchange between the Dominican Republic and the United States of America demonstrate the deeply intertwined relationship. For instance, in the 1990s, the US accounted for almost 61% of Dominican exports and the Dominican Republic bought 43% of imported goods from US (Ferguson 1992).

## **A Critique of Dependency**

Although the Dependency theory explains the power systems and the inequitable representation inherent within the dominant development policies, it still remains entrenched in the structural, materialist viewpoint of the world. In this way, these theorists still see the world only in economic terms and they continue to use language that infers the superiority of industrialized nations and the inferiority of the less industrialized

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<sup>8</sup> Sometimes New World Order.

ones despite their Latin American viewpoints. These positions of power are highlighted within the argument that the ‘developed’ countries having all of the power and using it to oppress the completely ‘undeveloped’ or ‘backward’ nations –equated as powerless, ignorant and with few possibilities. The Dependency theory focuses on the lack of economic prosperity in relation to the West.

### **Gender and Development**

The women’s movement brought attention to the exclusion of women’s viewpoints, as well as the bias and prejudice in development policy, representation and the consequences therein. Ester Boserup elucidated in her groundbreaking book *Woman’s Role in Economic Development* the deleterious impacts of many development policies and projects on women’s status and (1990: 53).

### **Feminist Theory and Politics of Representation**

The 1970’s brought the Women’s Movement, the Decade of Women and the first of four United Nations world conferences on women,<sup>10</sup> which collected statistics on the living conditions of the world’s women. From these data, the United Nations stated that:

As a group, women have access to much fewer resources than men. They put in two thirds of the total number of working hours, they are registered as constituting one third of the total labour force and receive one tenth of the total remuneration. They own only one per cent of the world’s material goods and their rights to ownership is often far less than those of men (in Ostergaard 1992: 4).

Due to the analyses, the institutionalized discrimination against women began to be acknowledged –the first step toward improvement. At the Beijing conference in 1995, recommendations were emphasized, under the Platform for Action, that the data on paid and unpaid work must be valued in the framework of national accounts. In order to

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<sup>9</sup> Like the West Indian Trading Co. that transported slaves from Africa to the Caribbean, and sugar back to Europe.

comply, national statisticians declared that new data was needed to facilitate the accounting; specifically they requested time-use data (United Nations 2000: 113) since one of the scarcest resources for low-income women is time.

Women endure systematic discrimination in the labor force, in statistical analyses and in development policies and procedures. Albeit both women and men divide their work between paid and unpaid, women are noted for doing more unpaid work than men. The unpaid work is often unnoticed when researchers are evaluating an area, invisible in official statistics and ignored when devising development projects. Recent improvements in definitions and data collection tools and methods have increased exposure, but other statistical tools are yet needed. In addition, the hours she puts in at the job are only half of her day's workload. Often, she then works the equivalent of another full-time job maintaining the house and her family. The International Development Bank (1990) states:

According to 1984 studies made by ILO in different countries of Latin America, the following phenomena have been observed: (1) women in the work force put in two full workshifts – one at home and one on the job; (2) the increase in family income generated by their remunerated work may have allowed the women in some sectors to contract outside help for some of their tough household tasks, but this help has not significantly lightened women's household work load; and (3) in the households in which the regional economic crisis has signified an increase in the household work load; the male family members have not increased their participation in household chores accordingly (in Louat, Grosh, and van der Gaag 1993: 3).

The lack of recognition of the impact of development on women as well as the impact of women on development policy was in large part due to inherent bias in the research methodology that promoted the tendency to use discriminatory and bias-laden methods. Numerous feminist critiques have challenged the epistemological core of

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<sup>10</sup> The United Nations World Conferences on Women: Mexico 1975; Copenhagen 1980; Nairobi 1985; and

scientific activity by finding its assumptions to be gender-based (Downey and Rogers 1995). This inherent bias promoted the tendency to: 1) limit the indicators of development to merely the formal economic activity of a region, 2) collect data using discriminatory methods and 3) collect data using units of analysis that don't allow for disaggregation. (These will be described in further detail below.) Thus, the figures and thereby the conclusions are not accurate, or at least not representative of each unique situation.

All of these factors create the current predicament in which women's work is often invisible, and the needs and wants of the women are not appraised to create more relevant development policies. Galbraith observes, "What is not counted is usually not noticed" (in Rao et al. 1991:12).

Much of women's paid work is in the informal market:

...though women's entry into the labour force is increasing all over the world, ...women are disproportionately being engaged in non-standard forms of work, such as temporary and casual employment, part-time jobs, home-based work, self-employment and working in micro enterprises (United Nations 2000:109).

Another presumption that not only affects statistics, but also women's lives is that the assumed representative of the household and the community is often the adult male. Rogers (1980) summarizes this bias: "...development studies remain firmly orientated towards men, men being synonymous with all people." Sometimes when male researchers have gone into a community to assess a situation, they, have talked with *him*; when extension agents have gone to offer services, they have given the information and the technology to *him* (Chambers 1997; Feldstein and Poats 1989). He is assumed to be the primary breadwinner, resource user and decision-maker as well as the best

information source (Safa 1995; Singleton et al. 1993). This exemplifies the misrepresentation, and thereby miscalculation, caused by biases and assumptions in traditional research methodology. The United Nations states that unless living alone or no adult male is obvious, women do not get recognized as the head of the household (UN 1991:17). Thus, female heads of households have been understated due to visiting or migrating males, sons, and other resident males even when the males are elderly or infirm (Spring 1992). Nonetheless female-headed households comprise a considerable portion of the households (between 9 and 42 percent depending on the region). The Caribbean has the second highest percent of female-headed households in the world at 36 percent (United Nations 2000).

Yet another prejudice that provokes inequities in the typical approach used to acquire information concerns the unit of analysis that doesn't allow for disaggregation. The household should not be the smallest unit of analysis, or one will not be able to accurately analyze the situation. Data aggregated by household is not always representative of all of the individuals in the household. For example, Schaller (1999) discusses the case of ecotourism in Río Blanco –a community in the Amazon in Ecuador. He, as a male researcher, found that he could not ask the questions directly to the females. The men's responses for household income, though, would frequently not reflect the income earned by the women who sold crafts that they make on the side.

Researchers create history by recording individual situations. "History is a representation of the past" (Visweswaran 1994). Representation is a fundamental issue in politics and in natural resource management because representation reflects power.

### **Example of Representation and Power**

In the traditional dual-sex political system of the Igbo, both men and women had access to political participation and public status. When the British arrived, they established a political structure in which the women could not easily participate. Van Allen explains that the result was “a social system that concentrated national political power in the hands of a small, educated, wealthy male elite” (1976: 438) “Aba Riots” or Igbo “Women’s War”? Language has long been employed to influence perception. The conflict occurred in the Calabar and Owerri provinces in southeastern Nigeria in November and December of 1929. “Aba riots” is the name prescribed by the British; the Igbo called it Ogu Umunwanyi, the “Women’s War” (Uchendu 1965: 5; Okonjo 1974: 25). “ ‘Riots,’ the term used by the British, conveys a picture of uncontrolled, irrational action, involving violence to property or persons, or both” (Van Allen 1976: 458).

Through excluding women from the name, their participation was almost denied, as was any sense of the complex organization that had occurred. The term “Women’s War” on the other hand, retains the fact that it was only women who reacted, along with declaring the significance of the manner in which they expressed their discontent: “making war” - the traditional and institutionalized method of settling grievances and punishing men who had acted badly through gathering at a certain time and dancing and singing songs describing the women’s grievances in detail (Van Allen 1976: 457 –473). The same event, the same occurrences, the same fatalities, the same victories, the only difference — the name: how the conflict is portrayed and remembered. But what a drastic, altering difference this is. The perception and understanding of the actions becomes skewed as part of the historical legacy. No longer an accurate portrayal of an event will be

remembered but a conceived perception articulated to alter it. This predicament occurred repeatedly through colonization, and through what was and is named “development.”

### **Power and Power Relations**

In the final analysis, power is the right to have your definition of reality prevail over other people’s definition of reality (Rowe 1989:16).

Power is self-representation with decision-making control over one’s resources.

Power is a gendered<sup>11</sup> issue, in that the imbalances often are directly related to the sex along with the class, caste, religion, age, income, position and region of each individual (Blumberg et al. 1995; Chambers 1997; Escobar and Alvarez 1992; Lind 1992).

Power comes in many forms, and can be achieved in a plethora of ways. One can have power over another, power with another (as in the case of collective action), and power within (self-confidence) (Townsend et al. 1999). Decision-making, public action, land title, credit and representation of self are all forms of power. Richards and Hall (2000) assert that the theory of empowerment is based on the concept of generative, rather than distributive power. Most current power structures are distributive, in the sense that they assume a scarcity of resources that must be distributed: zero-sum versus generative, or positive-sum view of power. The latter presupposes that everyone has power, skills and capabilities.

Instead of limiting the image of power to the uni-directional dichotomy of oppressor and oppressed to which the Dependency theory avers, Michel Foucault (e.g., 1972) expands the interpretation to include the numerous relations of power that exist in all interactions and that change. Thus, Foucault renounced what he terms the “juridico-discursive” trapping power into solely that which is possessed, flowing from a centralized

source from top to bottom and primarily repressive. He portrays a power, which entails the various relations who exercise it, viewing power as a productive force rather than repressive, and analyzing it as coming from the bottom up (Sawicki 1991).

Foucault (1972) promulgates that these dichotomous ways of categorizing people were in fact part of an ideology of domination. The hegemonic powers use binaries like healthy/ill, sane/mad, and legal/delinquent, to divide the “normal” socially and literally from the “other” ones through techniques of normalization and institutionalization. Thus dominant society controls the masses by “persuad[ing] the whole society that the prevailing thinking of the ruling class is the only natural and normal one” (Phoca and Wright 1999:112). Thus, developed and undeveloped are construed in theory and solidified in practice.

A Gender and Development framework encourages methodologies that address women’s concerns as well as other less enfranchised groups in a community so that the development efforts can incorporate the needs of the whole community, and not just one segment of society.

### **Sustainable Development**

We did not inherit the earth from our grandparents. Rather, we have borrowed it from our grandchildren (Native American proverb).

Since the 1980s, the international community has been promoting the need for sustainable development through collaborative efforts within the framework of conferences, policies, strategies and commissions. For instance in 1980 IUCN (The World Conservation Union), WWF (World Wildlife Fund) and UNEP (United Nations Environmental Programme) gathered to create the *World Conservation Strategy*

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<sup>11</sup> Gender not to mean sex (biologically characterized as male and female), but to mean the identity of the

recognizing the increasingly rapid rates of destruction that is obliterating our biodiverse ecosystems and finite resources. Many of these resources are located in the less industrialized countries. The term “sustainable” was broadly defined by the Brundtland Commission Report (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987) as “development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” Sustainable development or thinking not only of the immediacy but also of the future involves not merely a limited group’s interests, but the needs, ideologies and cosmologies of the various interdependent factions including the environment (Aronsson 2000; Cater and Lowman 1994; Swarbrooke 1998).

### **Ecotourism**

Probably in few activities like ecotourism is the presence of so many sectors so evident: environmentalists, business people, governments, local communities and tourists. The interventions, interests, and responsibilities of these sectors will determine if ecotourism complies with the criteria that have been used to characterize it, that is designating fragile and biologically diverse ecosystems as protected areas has been recognized essential and is enacted often through a system of national parks or more recently through a delineation of biosphere reserves (MacKinnon et al. 1986). The conservation of these quickly disappearing and denigrated natural areas inherently consists of a multiplicity of stakeholders (Borrini-Feyerabend 1995; Schmink 1999; Feldstein and Poats 1990; Rocheleau et al. 1996).

## **Collaborative Management**

And, planning, according to John Friedman links knowledge to action

(Steiner 1991: 92).

The difference lies within the politics of planning and managing the natural resources, environmental education and conscientization as well as the integration of local communities into the planning and managing. The importance of involving the various interest groups has been increasingly recognized as a vital component of successful projects. Collaborative management (also known as participatory management, co-management and joint management) is founded upon the premise of managing natural resources through partnerships (Jamal and Getz 1994; Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2000). Community –based projects in which the community members conceive and create the governing bodies and solutions with the requested help of others are crucial. Nonetheless, often the collaboration jargon is used, while the situation does not truly involve the locals. There are various ways in which collaboration can be enacted. The following sections discuss the differences between consultation, participation and collaboration.

## **Consultation**

With a consultation, first you design your project, then you consult the people, and they are expected to participate in your project (Helmore 1998: 6).

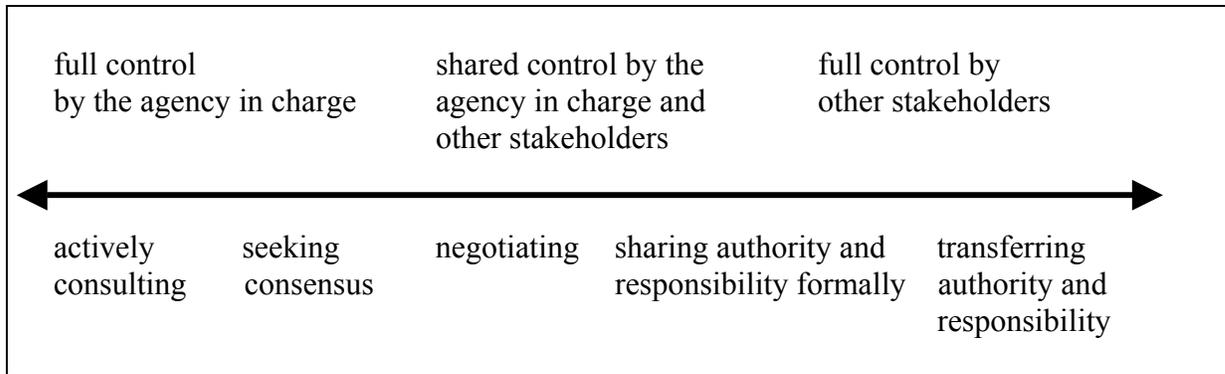
This approach is mistakenly grouped along with participation and collaboration because “the locals are involved” (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2000). However, as the aforementioned quote illustrates, to tell people what will happen does not allow an opportunity for a true collaborative process. Within the consultative section, citizens have the power to hear and be heard, but not enough power to guarantee actions are taken according to their concerns.

**Participation**

Participatory development is founded upon the premises of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (Borrini-Feyerabend 2000). Freire (1982) promoted the active participation and involvement of students in the process of thinking critically about their situation, as well as in creating and acting upon solutions for themselves. Robert Chambers, within a rural development framework, explored Freire's concepts of reversing the learning hierarchy and "gaining insight from local physical, technical and social knowledge" (Chambers 1997: 156). Cohen and Uphoff (1980) explore participation within the various stages of management: decision-making, implementation, benefits and evaluation.

**Collaboration**

This sharing of knowledge and power has many nuances and variations. Sometimes, rights and decision-making power can be held completely by the governmental or international agency allowing little possibility for the community members themselves to take any position that can influence the methods of conservation or development that directly impact them; they are merely allowed to listen to what is being planned, they are "consulted." Further along the scale, more control can be shared with the local communities through allowing space for negotiation. Various members, then, can voice their concerns and aspirations, and also they can share in the authority and responsibilities of the management of the resources. At the other end of the spectrum, lie the local people assuming control through arenas like policy-making and zoning. Borrini-Feyerabend elucidates this continuum:



(adapted from Borrini-Feyerabend 1995).

Collaborative management incorporates participatory planning to ascertain, understand and integrate the various stakeholders' perspectives, ideologies and language into the development plan and project.

### Summary

The Modernization perspective can be traced back to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Enlightenment and the ideas of economists like Smith (1811) and sociologists like Parsons (1951). This perspective emphasized a unilinear, capitalist-inclined, industrialized growth and production centered theory of progress that valued science, technology, consumerism, and a Western European urban culture as the goal and way to achieve development.

Colonialism (and after WWII a type of neo-colonialism called neo-liberalism) enforced these values into policies directly leveraging the less industrialized countries into unequal relations of exchange, according to Dependency theorists. These Dependency theorists, often from Latin America, explain development from a distinct vantage point –that of the colonized, that of the suppliers of raw goods and services, that of the underrepresented and exploited. They focus the attention not on the overall benefit of the global economy, but on the lack of economic development endured by many

countries in the unequal power relations between the peripheries and the centers – between international bodies and national ones. Some theorists like Cardoso and Faletto explain power inequalities further by illustrating their occurrence at different levels within society as well as in different ways depending each unique country (Cardoso and Faletto 1975; 1979 Cardoso 1977).

Feminist theorists and Gender and Development (GAD) practitioners contribute to development theory by further giving specific examples of not only the bias, but also of the detrimental impacts of misguided methods, analysis and policy creation (Bakker 1994; Rao et al. 1991; Spring 1993). In politics, the control of language means the control of history. In conservation and development, the control of language means the control of resources, including but not limited to land, decision-making power, knowledge, skills and jobs.

Language can be explored specifically in terms power relations. For example, people like Foucault (e.g., 1972) and Lyotard (e.g., 1984) express that numerous realities are present in any rendition. In addition, the language used to portray a reality indicates the inherent bias of the author and is inherently biased by the author. The reader, then, must deconstruct the verbiage in order to locate the author's interests and intent, as well as the implicit power relations. Even science –despite its lauded liberating force—is not as objective as extolled because it too is subject to the author's intended and unintended bias.

Thus, the knowledge, the experiences and the ways of knowing of the different stakeholders become vital to protect our natural and cultural resources –not always just in participatory approaches-- because women's and other marginalized groups' specific

concerns have been treated as secondary in the dominant economic, political, conservation and development discourses.

For this reason and many others, sustainable development with a focus on collaborative management is promoted. Not only consultation, but collaboration in the sense of community-based decision-making power. As the Honduran government says in its legislation referring to local people in participatory procedures with protected area management, *con voz y vota* (with voice and vote).

### CHAPTER 3 ECOTOURISM: PANACEA, PITFALL OR PLATFORM FOR EMPOWERMENT?

In order to fully answer the overarching research questions listed on page *vii*, this next chapter focuses on the concept of ecotourism and the impacts incurred. As the first chapter interrogates the definition of development according to various perspectives, this chapter defines ecotourism and reviews its impacts on various stakeholders particularly in terms of the Caribbean and specifically Samaná, Dominican Republic. This chapter, then, discusses the definition of ecotourism and explores its positive and negative impacts.

#### **Traditional Tourism and Economic Development**

Many characteristic features of the Modernization model (top-down, foreign-expert led, foreign owned) of development influence the current tourism industry in developing countries—particularly along the coastlines, which are appealing to foreign tourists (France 1998). These countries tend to be struggling with debt burdens, their economies dependent upon export commodities and services primarily controlled by transnational companies based in foreign nations (Ferguson 1990; France 1998). In response, and with hope or by mandate, many countries following the advice and sometimes policy of the international donors promote tourism.

The first tourism-related loan allocated by International Finance Corporation (IFC), the private-lending arm of the World Bank, was US\$ 2.9 million in 1967 for a hotel in Kenya, managed and part-owned by the Inter-Continental Hotel Corporation, a subsidiary of the US airline, Pan Am (Pleumaron 1994). Thereafter, the World Bank became a major financier of tourism-related projects. Between 1969 and 1979, it supported 24

tourism projects in 18 countries with loans and credits from the International Development Association (IDA) totaling some \$450 million. These were mainly huge resort developments along the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and the Caribbean (Pleumaron 1994).

Travel and tourism has become one of the world's largest industries (Doan 2000; Gayle and Goodrich 1993; Norris et al. 1998) with 6% of the world's gross national product (Lindberg and Hawkins 1993). According to WTO (World Trade Organization), international stayover arrivals have swelled from about 25 million in 1950 to almost 561 million in 1995. However, the recession of the early 1980s, the 1991 Gulf War (Weaver 1998) and September 11 have interrupted this pattern of post- World War II growth (WTO 2001).

Several reasons exist for such expansion in tourism: the rise in European and American discretionary incomes between 1940 and mid 1970s as well as an increase in discretionary time, relative geopolitical stability, and improvements in air and road transportation technology permitting people in industrialized nations the flexibility, finances and the transportation to travel for pleasure (Weaver 1998).

Even during the 1980s, which incurred debt and financial hardship for many, "Tourism [wa]s the only sector of regional GDP that ... consistently increased its share of total income ... In some places tourism accounts for up to 70 per cent of national income directly and indirectly" according to a Special Report of the Economist Intelligence Unit in 1993 noted (Payne and Sutton 2001:135).

### **Conventional Tourism and the Caribbean**

Since the 1940s and 50s, the Caribbean conventional or mass tourism has been promoted in certain islands as a means of earning foreign revenue and increasing

employment as well as a relatively quick and inexpensive manner of vacationing for the peoples of the United States, Canada and Europe. Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, St Kitts-Nevis and St. Lucia, for example, all rely on tourism for 46% or more of their gross national product (GNPs) (Weaver 1993a).

Many of the tourists are from more industrialized countries seeking relaxation in the environs of the less industrialized nations (Aronsson 2000; Gayle and Goodrich 1993; Harrison 1992; Harrison 2001; Weaver 1998) Although, this allows the monetary resources to spread, when pursued as the sole or primary mode of earning foreign capital, it results in a dependency on external circumstances. For instance, occurrences like foreign recessions and bad publicity can result in a severely decreased influx of tourists in addition to a dependency on foreign-owned and foreign-controlled companies. The majority of tourism in the Caribbean is beach resort and cruise ship (Weaver 1998). Most travelers to the Caribbean take advantage of the beach, sun and surf for which the islands are promoted (and even the sangria and the sex which has implicit and sometimes explicit advertisements). A smaller portion comes for business or conferences, or to visit family and friends (Weaver 1998). The smallest portion is for historical cultural and nature visits.

Also since all-inclusive packages tend to include all meals, drinks, entertainment as well as all or most sporting activities, tourists do not need to spend money on eating out in local restaurants, drinking in bars or water sport activities (Weaver 1998). Then, the tourists may be reluctant to leave the site reducing contact between hosts and guests. This segregation can cause increased fear and misunderstanding between cultures instead of encouraging knowledge and experience exchanges.

In addition, compared to a tourist at a bed and breakfast, the tourist in the Caribbean under an all-inclusive package could deprive local businesses of around US\$ 400- US\$600 per tourist per week (Swarbrooke 1998). Over the course of a year, the all-inclusive resorts could be costing local communities several million of dollars a year (Swarbrooke 1998). On the other hand, the traders that supply the all-inclusive complex can gain with the guaranteed business.

### **Conventional Tourism and the Dominican Republic**

Although other Caribbean island-states received numerous tourists, the Dominican Republic during the Trujillo period (1930-1961) and then after the US invasion on 1965 did not beckon many pleasure pursuing visitors. Nor did the DR have the infrastructure or the bed space to accommodate many visitors. In 1967, the Ministry of Tourism was created. During the 1970's President Balaguer and his ministers supported government and private investment in national tourist industry through state incentives and credit to the industry. Money was invested into enclave tourism because it was less expensive to modify a few areas with the updated amenities necessary for foreign tourists than it was to modernize numerous areas. However, as stated earlier, this form of tourism leaves little benefit for the local communities. Cohen (1984) points out that tourism has the most serious dislocating effects and yields the smallest relative benefit for locals when large-scale, high-standard facilities are rapidly introduced by outside developers into an otherwise poorly developed area; dependency rather than development, then results.

Currently, tourism in the Dominican Republic is the third largest source of employment (EIU 1990: 22), and as of 1982, it had overtaken agriculture and mineral extraction, and become the number one producer of foreign income in the Dominican

economy. Foreign and domestic capital arrived with the devaluation of the *peso* in 1985. Between 1985 and 1989, 12,000 hotel rooms were created and the number of visitors almost doubled from 753,000 to 1,400,000. Toward the end of 1992, the Dominican Republic had 23,000 hotel rooms and five international standard airports receiving more than 1,500,000 tourists. (Ferguson 1992). The DR is becoming the new hot spot in the Caribbean because of its lower costs for the comparable beach, sun and surf. The DR is cheaper to travel to because the wages are so much lower:

Few workers in the Dominican tourist business can earn the national minimum monthly wage of 1,000 *pesos* and most earn much less. The cooks, waiters, cleaners, receptionists and other workers, mostly women, make up a low-wage labour force with little job security or prospects of promotion. Trade unions are unheard-of, and high rates of unemployment are a deterrent to workers' demands for higher wages (Ferguson 1992:81).

Foreign capital and control dominate Dominican tourism. In the attempt to attract more investment, the government offers incentives like exemptions on corporate and local tax and duty-free imports of goods not locally available. Numerous jobs are created through the industry: Proinversión states 20,000 direct jobs and 70,000 indirect through transportation and services.<sup>1</sup> However, with profit repatriation and tax-breaks offered to secure foreign investors, much of the money generated by the large transnational operators leaves the nation. And where holidays are prepaid in the tourists' own countries little of the revenue reaches the Dominican Republic (Ferguson 1992).

Because of tourism, the government has spent funds on improving infrastructure. But, often the improvements have been limited to tourist areas and facilities like airports, resorts and "beautification" projects, while neglecting basic services such as aqueducts

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<sup>1</sup> In the mid 1990's, then President Rafael Blanco Canto, reported that hotels and restaurants use local foods and 70 cents of every dollar spend in the DR remains in the country.

and access roads in poor rural and urban areas<sup>2</sup>. So, tourist zones operate as enclaves within wider areas of economically-depressed regions like Barahona and Punta Cana. In some cases, the resorts further segregate themselves from the surrounding communities through erecting electric security fences. Despite the segregation, the socio-cultural impacts have been numerous and sometimes deleterious. For instance, because of tourism, AIDS cases have increased dramatically along with prostitution, theft and drugs.

### **The Environmental Impacts**

In the early 1900s, 85% of the total land area was covered by forest. By 1986, only 10.1% remained intact (United Nations Environmental Programme 1996). The government has banned deforestation since the 1960s. In 1956, the first national park was created. Currently, the Dominican Republic has 18 protected areas that cover over 1 million hectares, or 23% of the land. Half of these include marine and coastal resources (UNEP1996).

However, with the use of mass tourism as the tool for development, numerous devastating effects have incurred. Rare mangrove swamps and forests have been destroyed to create new resorts. Sewage from beachside hotels is pumped directly into the ocean, and lagoons have been poisoned in an effort to eliminate mosquitoes. According to the Dominican Federation of Ecological Association, about one million trees were cut down in the construction of a single golf course at Punta Cana.

The 20<sup>th</sup> century has seen the emergence of three new major resource/environmental-intensive industries in the Caribbean: petroleum, bauxite and tourism (Girvan and Simmons 1991: xiv)

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<sup>2</sup> This occurrence is exactly what has occurred in the studied community of Arroyo Surdido except that this community is located in between two tourist areas. Thereby, these residents have gained from the infrastructural improvements focused on the tourists.

Can ecotourism help less industrialized nations develop, without obliterating the environment?

### **Ecotourism as Community-Based Development**

The definition of ecotourism and the practices that are sold as ecotourist are not always consistent. First, ecotourism is not the same as nature-based tourism, which can include adventure tourism, rural or farm tourism and scientific tourism. Just because there is a walking path through a forest, or a canoeing trip on a river does not mean that the venture abides by the tenets of ecotourism. Although the ideal ecotourism endeavor comprises myriad components, the primary three are: community benefit, visitor benefit and environmental conservation concentrating particularly on collaboration in an effort for sustainable development (Buglass 2001).

The Ecotourism Society's definition summarizes these factors into the succinct definition of: "Responsible travel to natural areas, which conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people" (Ecotourism Society 2000). Although this is the definition to which this paper adheres, ecotourism is an idealized concept, and so all ecotourism projects are attempts of achieving the vision. In order to accomplish these hefty goals, Weaver and Fennel assert that sustainable tourism must "emphasize... small-scale, locally owned and operated enterprises... which are already integrated into the local economy" (Weaver and Fennel 1997: 78). Ecotourism requires "responsibility" for the natural area that is being visited as well as for the well-being of the locals which includes more than just economic growth (Swarbrooke 1998).

Initially, the definition was uni-focused encompassing merely the visitor's experience in natural areas. As originally coined by Hector Ceballos-Lascurain in Mexico in the 1980s:

[ecotourism is] tourism that consists in traveling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas (in Boo 1990).

And indeed, with some protected areas, the local people were not only left out of benefiting, they were directly and negatively impacted through eviction from their land as well as restricted or eliminated use of the land to sustain their livelihoods. Soon, it was apparent that to make ecotourism sustainable and equitable, thereby have the application in accordance with the ideology, the locals must also be involved. Elizabeth Boo, the director of the ecotourism department at World Wildlife Fund defines ecotourism as: “nature-tourism that promotes conservation and the ability for sustainable development” (Boo 1990). Beeton stresses that the sustainable management aspects often are enacted through collaborative management agreements and protocol.

### **Ecotourism and the Caribbean**

Many less industrialized nations are turning towards ecotourism to generate greater revenue, as well as to protect their natural resource base: “Less Developed Countries often see ecotourism as a potential solution because it is perceived as non extractive, not too expensive to develop, and not so destructive to the natural environment” (Black et al. 2001). In principle, the ecotourism platform advocates protection of the environment along with helping the local community and educating the visitor. Ecotourism premises promote benefiting all of the stakeholders, including the environment, in a way that is sustainable. Ecotourism thus is heralded as a possible engine for sustainable development.

Ecotourism projects can be used as a development tool combining issues of environmental conservation and local people’s welfare. As such, it is being embraced as

a potential economic savior by governments and rural communities alike which are motivated by the promise of jobs, foreign exchange, new business opportunities and skill development, as well as the chance to secure greater control over natural resource utilization in their areas (Scheyvens 2000).

Participatory appraisals, research and collaborative management are some ways to combine the voices, concerns and experience of the various locals with that of other institutions –governmental and nongovernmental. In some cases, the locals themselves realize the possibilities of implementing a livelihood strategy that focuses on preserving their natural resources while maintaining control in the form of community-based management. The goals of both are to specify all of the groups who impact or are impacted (stakeholders), and have them work in collaboration for the mutually dependent objectives of conservation and development (Borrini-Feyerabend 1995; Schmink 1999).

### **Impacts**

Ecotourism practices has many affects –both beneficial and detrimental on the environment, the communities and the visitors. The following section briefly reviews some of the major impacts on the natural resources and the local communities. While it can be an alternative form of tourism that some equate with sustainable tourism, others dismiss it as mere commodification and even a contributing factor to the demise of rare, pristine resources—ecological, spiritual and cultural (Arronson 2000; Briguglio et al. 1996; Cater and Lowman 1994; Honey 1999). It is important, therefore, to understand the benefits and costs of ecotourism. As Western (1993) states, although ecotourism encompasses a set of applicable principles, what matters most is not scale or motive but impact.

**Environmental**

Beneficially, tracts of land are set aside to preserve the ecosystems, and biodiversity becomes an income-generating asset stimulating a compelling rationality in natural resource management. For example, Jamaica's Blue Mountain/ John Crow Mountain National Park opened in 1989 as the country's first National Park to help stop deforestation and the ensuing soil erosion. The 200,000-acre park has developed numerous educational and recreational activities for tourists and Jamaicans providing employment for the locals.

On the other hand, many negative affects are incurred. For example, the Caribbean coral reefs are among the world's most endangered and yet they are strongly promoted as a significant tourist attraction. Although the interest can focus on conservation efforts, the influxes of people degrade the sensitive, coral reef ecosystem. Some island outfitters are trying to set up a sustainable diving section, which would rely on the creation of protected areas (Weaver 1998).

**Economic**

Frequently, the values and costs of tourism are defined solely in economic terms. In this respect, many researchers posit that local communities financially benefit from ecotourism ventures (Lindberg and Enriquez 1994; Wunder 2000) at least in the short run. Direct jobs are created in the hotel, tour and restaurant industries. In addition, numerous people create their own jobs like making and selling crafts, vending food, or offering their home as a hostel for travelers (Kinnaird and Hall 1996). Because of the available employment, another benefit is derived due to the increased income, investigators postulate that people consume more and, through what is named the multiplier effect, the whole economy is stimulated (Wunder 2000).

## **Sociocultural**

Empowering advantages in the socio-cultural realm exist with ecotourism. For example, when tourists visit the communities for the distinct culture, the community members can gain a sense of pride in their unique customs (Scheyvens 1999). However, when the community no longer represents the “authentic” part that the tourist preconceives, the tourist may be disappointed (Schaller 1999), which might cause them not to return. At other times, the communities will act out traditional roles for the tourists. This can be perceived as commodification of their culture, or as cultural revival. Sometimes this valuation of traditional ways (e.g., music, dance and artwork) can create a renewed vigor in old customs (e.g., for Ecuadorean indigenous see Schaller 1999 and for Seychelles see Wilson 1976).

However, sometimes, tourism can be disempowering to the social cohesion of the community. For instance, theft, vandalism, prostitution, drug-use and disrespect for cultural mores sometimes increase along with the rise of tourism (Wearing & Neil 1999; Scheyvens 1999). When the youth follow the pleasures of the tourists rather than the traditions of the elders, positive and negative impacts can result. Other social consequences include the effects on family organization, political structure and on social status (Harrison 1992).

Ecotourism can empower local communities by giving them a sense of pride in and awareness of the importance of their natural resources and control over their own development (Weiring and Larsen 1996:119).

Empowerment to mean “the process by which people acquire the ability to act in ways to control their lives (Staudt 1990 in Scheyven’s 2000: 233).

### **Gendered Issues of Power and Control**

In *Tourism: A Gender Analysis*, Kinnaird, Kothari and Hall (1994) explain that the underlying issues of any of the social, economic and/or political relations resulting from tourism used as a development tool are issues of power and control:

Utilizing tourism as a strategy for development (and the gender division of labour it reinforces) creates a situation in which women, otherwise marginalized in the workforce, are very much part of the prevailing capital and patriarchal social and economic structures (Kinnaird and Hall 1996: 97).

Frequently, the most politically<sup>3</sup> disenfranchised are the women of a community (Kinnaird et al. 1994). Often, in development projects and evaluations, neither women's contributions nor their constraints are recognized. Since tourism by nature promotes entrepreneurial, wage-earning activities as well as certain types of jobs that women more often work, and since women are the people more involved in entrepreneurial activities and the informal labor market (United Nations 2000; Louat et al. 1993), women's roles and responsibilities can be drastically affected by tourism (Kinnaird and Hall 1996).

Tourism employment opportunities can benefit and disadvantage women. Indeed, the jobs can both transform and reinforce the gender division of labor. While worldwide, men tend to have gender specific jobs like porters, guides and stewards, more men are found in professional, managerial or supervisory positions than women (Crompton and Sanderson 1990). Habitually, jobs available to women are confined to unskilled, low paid and "female" work such as: kitchen staff, chambermaids, retail clerks, entertainers, domestics and cleaners: women typically work the less stable, lower paid and lower status jobs in tourism (Kinnaird et al. 1994; Kinnaird and Hall 1996; Harrison 1992).

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<sup>3</sup> The term "politically" is used here to refer to public decision-making power.

However, employment can alter not only the roles of women but also their rights and their power in familial as well as community affairs. Kinnaird and Hall (1996) argue that women who work in tourism can earn “publicly and gain an element of financial autonomy through work that does not appear to threaten existing gender roles and can be accommodated within the prevailing sexual division of labour” (1996:98). As occurred in Malindi, on the Kenyan coast, when traditionally less economically and politically powerful groups gained an independent source of income, they were able to contract more influence in the social institutions (Peake 1989 in Harrison 1992).

The influence of the community-based ecotourism endeavor of El Salto del Limón will be the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4  
 AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SAMANÁ PENINSULA IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, THE EL SALTO DEL LIMÓN ECOTOURISM PROJECT AND THE COMMUNITY OF ARROYO SURDIDO

Development signifies different aspects and goals for different people. To understand the indicators of development for the community of Arroyo Surdido and thus be able to evaluate how ecotourism has affected it according to those same criteria, I traveled to the rural center of the Samaná peninsula, Dominican Republic (Figure 4-1 and Figure 4-2).



Figure 4-1. Map of the Caribbean, the Dominican Republic and Samaná Peninsula



Figure 4-2. Samaná Peninsula and the El Salto del Limón Waterfall

I selected this particular site in the Dominican Republic because it had the two foci that interested me most in a site: ecotourism and collaborative management. The El Salto del Limon (Waterfall of Limon) project is heralded for both.

### **The Settlement of Samaná**

Turquoise-green waters consistently crash against the white sandy, palm-tree covered beaches of the northeastern section of the island of Hispaniola. The Samaná Peninsula (geologically the oldest part of Hispaniola) is located at the extreme northeast of the Dominican Republic. Samaná, originally called *Xamana* by the indigenous population, and legally known as Santa Barbara de Samaná (Smith 1986) is made up of three municipalities: Samaná, Sanchez and Las Terrenas. The Samaná municipality contains 7 *secciones* and 111 *parajes*<sup>1</sup> (CEBSE 1997). One of those *parajes* is Arroyo Surdido.

Founded in 1756, the province of Samaná<sup>2</sup> was created by families originally from the Canary Islands (CEBSE 1997; CEBSE 1994a). However, the Samanese have a diverse heritage since Samaná has been occupied consecutively and sometimes concomitantly with Ciguayo Indians, Spanish, Dutch, French, and various groups of African descent (Smith 1986; CEBSE 1994b).

Samaná is comprised of assorted peoples, history and languages. Hoetink (1962) suggests that the pockets of linguistic isolates found in Samaná resemble few other places in the world (in Smith 1986). Although Spanish is the official language of the Dominican Republic, the Afro-American and English immigrants in the Samaná community speak English. At least until mid 1980s, some parents spoke only English, retained only

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<sup>1</sup> The Sanchez municipality consists of 4 *secciones* and 48 *parajes* and Las Terrenas contains 3 *secciones* and 15 *parajes*.

English customs, and in some instances forbade the usage of Spanish language and customs in the home. Several older immigrants confirmed:

My children I taught them English.  
 I prayed and all in English. (McKenzie)  
 I never spoke a Spanish word to none  
 of my children... Until now I speak it  
 [English]. (Miller de Jones)  
 I only speak American. Spanish ain't  
 my language. (J. Shepherd)  
 (Smith 1986: 53-4).

During my own research, I encountered a handful of people who spoke English and held last names like Green. One older couple enjoyed talking with me in English while traveling on the *gua gua* to town.

Between 1822 and 1843, when Haitians occupied the Dominican Republic, Afro-Americans and Afro-English were recruited to live and work on the island in exchange for free parcels of land and the cost of the voyage (Smith 1986; 1987). In the effort to develop the island intended to “Haitianize” the Dominican Republic, President Jean-Pierre Boyer contacted American abolitionist groups and Protestant missions promoting emigration. Numerous people from the African Methodist Episcopal Church came. Both slaves and freepersons, totaling 6000, arrived between 1824-1825. Many Afro-English – both freedmen and maroons (runaway slaves)-- immigrated to the already existing enclaves in Samaná (Smith 1986: 7).

### **Agriculture, Livelihoods and Land Tenure of Samaná**

In the national developmental effort, these settlers were assigned certain agricultural responsibilities to meet the subsistence needs of the country. Some groups were given the undertaking of cultivating cotton, others tobacco, while others cacao or

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<sup>2</sup> Officially named by the Spanish governor Brigadier Rubio y Peñaranda.

sugarcane. The Samaná settlers were assigned fruit and vegetables to grow. This region is still the primary supplier of coconuts for the country<sup>3</sup> (Smith 1986: 13).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, slash and burn agriculture was the norm because of the abundance of land (Freitag 1993: 70). As the rural population increased, uncultivated lands decreased. Twenty years after the founding of the town of Samaná in 1776, 49 houses existed where 215 people lived. In 1993, 50,733 people lived within the 411 km<sup>2</sup> of the town. Land titles have been increasing along with the increase of the population. In 1940, only one title was assigned while 927 were issued in 1975 (Appendix A).

On top of this, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, land registration conflicts occurred. In 1920, the land registration act sponsored by US interests during its occupation of the Dominican Republic allowed foreign nationals and rich Dominicans to seize large holdings of communal land (*terrenos comuneros*) along with land without a clear title (Freitag 1993:72). Many of the rural population who had been living on their land for decades and distrusted the government, did not go in to secure their titles (Black 1986a).

More people are gaining titles to land, but the majority of the land still remains in a small portion of people's control. The following chart of landholding size between 1952 and 1996 shows the disparity. Eighty-eight percent of the people hold four percent of the land (with an average of four *tareas* each), while 12 percent of the landholders own 96 percent of the land (with an average of 703 *tareas* ) (Table 4-1).

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<sup>3</sup> The president of the DR mandated that the endemic trees be felled and coconut tree (royal palm) be planted en masse (Buglass, pers comm. 2001).

Table 4-1. Landholding size

Landholding size between 1952 and 1996					
	# of People	% of People	Avg size of tareas	Total # of tareas	% of Land
<b>Small</b>	1721	88	4.1	7056	4
<b>Large</b>	234	12	703.1	164,524	96
<b>Total</b>	1955	100	353.6	171,581	100

(CEBSE Sept 1994: 13)

### BioPhysical Characteristics

Sections of humid subtropical forest line the riverbanks and trails to the waterfall. Native tree species like Juan Primero (*Simarouba glauca*), Cigua Blanca (*Ocotea coriacea*), Uva de Sierra (*Coccoloba diversifolia*), Cabierma (*guarea guidonia*) and the Palma Real or Royal Palm (*Roystonea hispaniolana*). The last is now officially protected in the Dominican Republic due to it quickly becoming endangered because of uncontrolled cutting to construct houses (Buglass 1999). The most prevalent cultivated native species include the Guanabana (*Annona murciata*), Bija (*Bixa orellana*) and Higuero (*Crescentia cujete*)—gourd used by Amerindians and present residents alike to make decorated vessels and containers. Other trees that will be encountered are the coconut palm (*Cocos nucifera*), mango (*Mangifera indica*) and breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis*)<sup>4</sup> (Buglass 1). Home gardens are filled with yucca, potatoes, legumes as well as crops like coffee and cocoa. In addition, groves of orange, grapefruit and coconut trees are present.

### Tourism in Samaná

In recent years, tourism has been replacing or supplementing the traditional manners of generating revenue like agriculture, construction and fishing for the people of

<sup>4</sup> Although these trees are not native, they have become an integral part of the land and food of the locals.

Samaná. The agriculturists are having a difficult time earning sufficient income, and construction is a seasonal trade. Tourism is the other main source of income.

Indeed, the natural resource base of the Bay and peninsula of Samaná are the foundation for the numerous and ever-increasing visitors each year. Besides the typical Caribbean sun and sand, Samaná offers the observation of humpback whales (*Megaptera novaeangliae*) who migrate from the North Atlantic every winter (January to March) to the warm waters in the Bay of Samaná. The Samaná peninsula, then, attracts ever-increasing numbers of tourists to the local, natural attractions like the protected mangrove forests and their nonhuman inhabitants as well as caves with ancient hieroglyphs and petroglyphs. In addition, the annual visit of the humpback whales dramatically increases the amount of tourists (Table 4-2).

Table 4-2. Whalewatching visitors in Samaná from 1985-1999

Whalewatching Visitors	Factoids:
Year Visitors*	Marine Transport Companies
1985 165	1995 2 companies
1986 900	1994 18 companies
1987 15,300	1998 21 companies
1996 30,000	For 1998 permits were given to 39 trips to watch whales, in
1997 20,000	1999 45.
1998 21,784	
1999 30,468	
(*) estimated	

Source: \*Diagnóstico del Sector Turismo de la Provincia de Samaná (1996) CEBSE, CMC, USAID

\*Informe de Observación de Ballena 1998 por M. Lamelas y L. Martínez y 1999 por M. Lamelas

The Bay and the peninsula of Samaná are the foundation for the numerous visitors each year. Eighty-eight percent of a sample in a study conducted by CEBSE indicated that the natural resources were the major attraction for people to come to Samaná (CEBSE 1996b). The majority of the visitors come from Germany, Spain, Italy, the

United States, Great Britain, and France (CEBSE 1996b: 47). In addition, visitors often arrive in all-inclusive bus tours of the Caribbean, and only stay the day or a few days.

The difficulty, especially with smaller islands and communities, is that the greater numbers of tourists sought for increased revenue, augments the pressure and demands on the physical environment and limited resources (IV World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas in Caracas, Venezuela, the IUCN making policy recommendation). Not only is the amount of visitors in a set period of time and place important, but so is the type of tourist. Moscardo et al. (2001) find that the German tourists make up a major portion of the ecotourist market. Yet, due to their higher activity and curiosity level<sup>5</sup>, they might be more likely to enhance pressures on the environment rather than being a benign alternative to mass tourism activities: even a small number of certain visitors can cause a great deal of damage (Hammitt and Cole 1998). According to visitor records kept at each *parada*, about 22,845 visitors arrived in 1998.

### **Ecotourism Project of El Salto del Limon**

Between the town of Samaná and the town of Las Terrenas, the waterfall El Salto del Limón is situated. Within the five *parajes* of El Lomo, Rancho-Español, Arroyo Surdido,<sup>6</sup>El Café and El Limón, four access routes exist and 12 entry points or *paradas*. At the *paradas* (officially recognized as micro-enterprises), guided horseback treks to the falls are offered as well as traditional meals including yucca, *habichuela*, plantains and rice. In addition, locally-grown organic coffee and cocoa, grapefruit, coconuts and handicrafts are sold.

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<sup>5</sup> Determined by survey responses.

<sup>6</sup> Arroyo Surdido is named after the arroyo or stream that runs underground from the nearby cave that channels their principle source of water.

As defined earlier, ecotourism can be a tool for sustainable development, which seeks to conserve the natural resources while providing for the collaboratively defined well-being of the local communities (Honey 1999; Scheyvens 2000). The practices of the El Salto del Limon ecotourism project seem to exemplify those tenets of conservation, sustainable development and collaborative management.

The El Salto del Limon ecotourism project incorporates participatory techniques in each stage of the tourism and management process. The collaborative management system tries to incorporate the values and voices of the variety of stakeholders<sup>7</sup> and encourages the sharing of responsibilities (Buglass<sup>1</sup> n.d. 8). The primary stakeholders in the project of El Salto del Limón are:

- the various residents who live in Arroyo Surdido,
- the surrounding communities,
- ACESAL (*Asociacion Comunitaria de Ecoturismo del Salto de Limon/ Community Association of Ecotourism of the Waterfall of Limon* )  
(Community Organization)
- CEBSE (*Centro de Ecodesarrollo de Bahía de Samaná y su Environ/ Center for the Conservation and Eco-Development of Samaná Bay and its Surroundings*)  
(Environmental NGO),
- SECTUR (*Secretaría de Turismo*)  
(Ministry of Tourism),
- FORESTA (Departamento de Foresta de la Direccion Nacional de Parques  
(Forest Services),
- DNP (*Direccion Nacional de Parques*)  
(National Parks Service),

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<sup>7</sup> The Stanford Research Institute developed the term “stakeholder” in 1963 to define those groups upon which an organization depends for continued survival (p 174). Freeman (1984) expands this definition to “any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of an organisations’ objectives” (p 174).

- HELVETAS (*Asociación Suiza para el Desarrollo y la Cooperación*) (Swiss Development Agency),
- DED (German Development Service),

I shall discuss only the local organizations and the community of Arroyo Surdido.

In the collaboratively managed project of El Salto del Limón, in the Samaná Province of the Dominican Republic, communities are employing ecotourism as a tool for sustainable development. With the help of the local NGO, CEBSE (*Centro de Ecodesarrollo de Bahía de Samaná y su Environ/ Center for the Conservation and Eco-Development of Samaná Bay and its Surroundings*) Dominican nonprofit organization, incorporated by decree 79-91 on 28 February 1992 with the mission of:

The conservation and sustainable use of the natural and cultural resources of Samaná Bay and the natural area which surround it, with the active participation of its communities (CEBSE1997: 21).

CEBSE helps the many micro-enterprises in the association gain skills in simple bookkeeping, hygiene, and horse welfare (Buglass n.d.). CEBSE also develops workshops for various communities in the Samaná peninsula, government officials, NGOs, and the stakeholders involved with El Salto del Limon.

These communities have now created their own association for people involved in the ecotourism endeavor, ACESAL (*Asociación Comunitaria de Ecoturismo del Salto de Limon*). ACESAL an association of ecotourism providers with the twofold aim to:

provide visitors with an excellent product and to manage our natural resources in a wise and sustainable manner (in Buglass 1999).

Members of the communities near the waterfall formed an association to coordinate services to tourists and conservation activities. They coordinated efforts to maintain the trails as well as initiated a reforestation project for the banks of the waterways leading to

the falls. For the first time, the numerous stakeholders of CEBSE, ACESAL, SECTUR (the Ministry of Tourism) and FORESTA (the Ministry of Forest Services) worked together and created regulations that could benefit the people and the environment. ACESAL also initiated a reforestation project of the catchment of the river feeding the falls.

### **Arroyo Surdido: Historical Overview**

Within the peninsula of Samaná, the community of Arroyo Surdido was settled only a generation ago. Between 1935 and 1940, a few people from the nearby town of El Limón moved in order to work the land in Arroyo Surdido. Like much of the rest of the Samanese, these people maintained a living through agriculture. There were no roads, no houses, no infrastructure or services—just lots of undeveloped land. Now, where there was once seemingly unlimited land, not even 600 meters of consecutive noncultivated land remains due to the agricultural projects (Macho 2001: pers comm). To sell their agricultural products, they had to travel the 20 kilometers to the town of Samaná by horse. Between 1968 and 1972, the beginning of a bumpy, dirt road began to be constructed. In December of 2000, the road was completed and paved.

### **Land Tenure**

Most of the community members own some land (86%) (Figure 4-3). Those few who do not own any land (14%) live on their family's land (Holmes 2002, this paper).

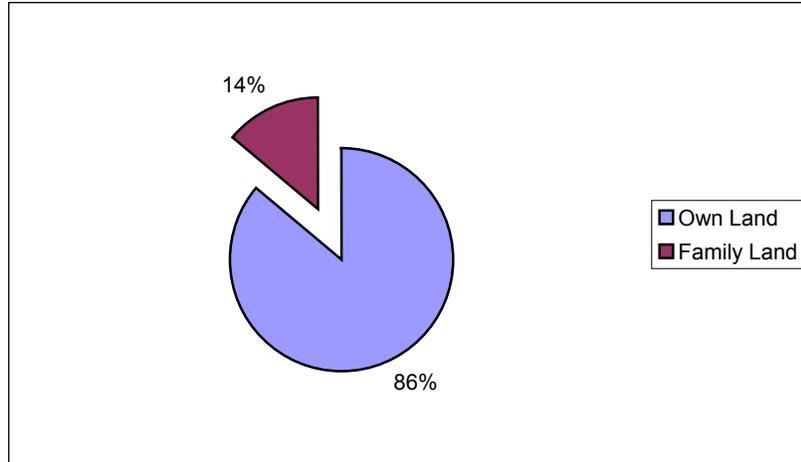


Figure 4-3. Land ownership for residents of Arroyo Surdido

In Arroyo Surdido, my study's sample shows much less disparity (Figure 4-4). The largest sector of people (34% of the valid number of respondents) owns .5 to 5 *tareas*<sup>8</sup> of land. About twenty-one percent of the sample own 30-125 *tareas* while 19.1% own 200-400 *tareas*. Lastly, 25.5% (12 people/families) own between 500 and 2000 *tareas*. This ownership of land may aid in the interest and the responsibility the community members demonstrate to manage their resources sustainably and collaboratively.

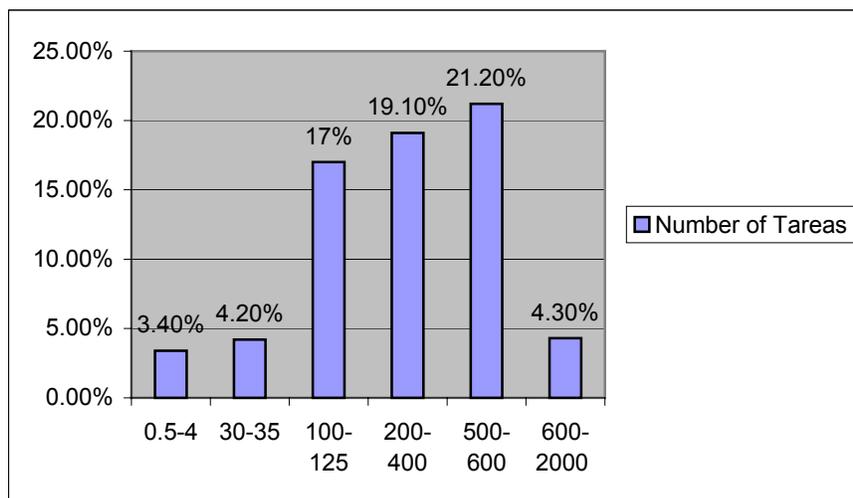


Figure 4-4. Quantity of land owned by Arroyo Surdido residents

<sup>8</sup> 20-30 *tareas* is roughly equivalent to 1 – 2 hectares (Ferguson 1992:63).

Almost all (97.8 %)of the residents of Arroyo Surdido own their home (Figure 4-5).

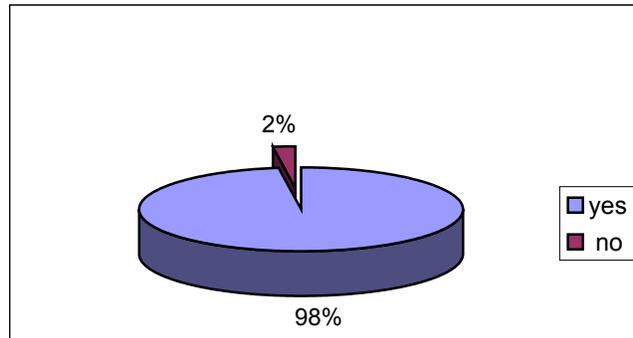


Figure 4-5. Number of residents who own home

### **The Residents and Ecotourism**

The difference between tourism and ecotourism are not so concrete for people in Arroyo Surdido. The categories are not so distinct, indeed the boundaries bleed into one another focusing most on the prevalence of tourists (both foreign and national) visiting the area, and creating opportunities to derive profit.

A resident since birth and son of one of the founders of Arroyo Surdido, Macho explains that tourists began to arrive around 1993-4. The first tourist business was selling coke on a big block of ice; at that time there was no electricity. The first people to open a *parada* were two women, María and Carmen, in the town that resides about three kilometers north of Arroyo Surdido on the way toward El Limon. Later, since the path to the waterfall in Arroyo Surdido was easier than that in El Café, two families there opened *paradas*: Macho's parents and Nin Nin. Now, Macho and his wife Antonia own and operate a *parada*.

Currently, in Arroyo Surdido, no hotels exist, and the only restaurants are part of the *paradas*, which are locally owned. The other businesses within the small *paraje* are a

bodega (for the community members) and a drink stand at the waterfall itself. In addition, some people guide tourists to the waterfalls, while other community members rent out their horses to guides to bring the tourists to the falls. The *paradas* are occasionally used by some of the locals to sell goods like organic cocoa and coffee as well as carved gourds.

Because of the tourism, more industry is prevalent and thus increased job possibilities are available. Tourism with Hotel El Portillo 1987-88, The nearby hotels offered jobs and Hotel El Portillo specifically has a bus service which picks up locals to bring them to and take them home from work at the hotel. More construction has been necessary for the tourist industry (especially in *Las Terrenas*). Moreover, through the multiplier effect, the whole economy is thereby stimulated. Due to increased income, people spend more money helping other businesses to prosper. 1993, 94 tourists began to come, and in 2000 the road was finished. Transportation is no longer limited to just foot and horse. Now, if you have the money, you can take public transportation like the *gua gua*, which is public transportation that loads numerous people into a truck and acts like a bus for a fare, Motorcycles also will carry people to their destination for a fee. And some even own their own transportation.

Because of the road, supplies are easier to obtain as well as sell. Trucks now go along the road offering items as diverse as live chickens to plastic bowls. In addition, selling coconuts is easier through simply selling them to another truck that comes through. Now, another road from the capital is currently being built -so tourists will have even easier access.

Ecotourism, then, can promote development in many ways, economic, social, psychological and political. How do the people of Arroyo Surdido view the effects of this venture? The following chapter explores the methods and techniques I utilized in data collection.

## CHAPTER 5 FIELD METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

An admission that no person ever sees more than part of the truth, that the contribution of one sex, or one culture or one scientific discipline that may itself cross both sex and cultural lines, is always partial, and must always wait upon the contribution of others for a fuller truth (Unknown)

### **Participatory Methods**

In order to achieve the objectives of this research, which primarily are framed within using participatory techniques to guide the data collection of the following inquiries:

- What is development?
- How does gender affect the impacts and the perceptions of impacts of ecotourism?
- How do the residents assess the impacts of the ecotourism venture?

I use participatory techniques to guide my methods aligned with the goals of collaborative management theory which purports the necessity to augment the involvement of socially and economically marginalized people in decision-making over their own lives (Borrinni-Feyerabend et al. 2000, Jamal and Getz 1994; MERGE 2000). I was also influenced by the practices and experience of conscientization in Latin America based on the Freirian (1970; 1974) premise that “poor and exploited people can and should be enabled to analyze their own reality” (Chambers 1997:108).

As professionals have become more aware of inaccuracy and bias in traditional methodologies<sup>1</sup> and of the discrepancy between the reality they describe and the reality

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<sup>1</sup> Participatory research may be more accurate than some bias-laden and presumptive, quantitative methods. For instance, the Christian Medical College in South India compared a formal questionnaire survey with wealth ranking to identify economic levels of the rural poor. The

others experience (Hoffman and Palmer 1996) some have developed alternative approaches (Chambers 1997). For instance, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) attempts to directly involve and empower the locals within the methods, data gathering, analysis and implementation of collaboratively created policies (Chambers 1997). Participatory research may be more accurate than some bias-laden and presumptive, quantitative methods. Hoffman and Palmer (1996) argue that in a comparison of quantitative and qualitative approaches characterizing forest recreation environments, the quantitative survey did not allow sufficient room for individual connotations. The Christian Medical College in South India derived similar conclusions when they compared a formal questionnaire survey with wealth ranking to identify economic levels of the rural poor. The researchers found that the quantitative survey was only 57% accurate while the qualitative community classification was 97% accurate (Chambers 1997). In participatory research, the community members are not considered “objects for observation, but...regard[ed] as equal partners who can themselves identify their needs and wishes (Ostergaard 1992). Thus, the power dynamic shifts from the uni-directional, top-down approach to one of facilitation by everyone for everyone in order to raise awareness about the circumstances and the possibilities. Consequently, the researcher chooses methods and techniques that shift the balance from closed to open. Sometimes, this is accomplished through focus group rather than individual interviews, using mainly visual rather than written tools and comparing rather than quantifying. As a result of training and sharing of information and experiences (both formally and informally), collaborative partnerships develop (Chambers 1997; Wondollek and Yaffee 2000).

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researchers found that the quantitative survey was only 57% accurate while the qualitative community classification was 97% accurate. (Chambers 1997:143).



discussion disallowing the interests and the viewpoints of others (Slocum et al. 1995). I kept my sample size small in order to include the entire population of Arroyo Surdido. By focusing on this community, I was able to include every household (even the ones off the beaten track) and almost every person: elders, youngsters, males, females, people who worked with tourism and those who did not. I interviewed people from 29 of the 30 households totaling 63 people, 30 females and 33 males. I tape-recorded 30 people, some individually and some in groups.

### **Data Collection**

The ecotourism venture in El Salto del Limón operates by using participatory methods for management, education and data collection, and I used iterative, participatory techniques along with a quantitative survey for my research on the residents' perspectives of the impacts of ecotourism on the development of Arroyo Surdido.

Before I arrived at the community of Arroyo Surdido, I spent a week in the capital conducting archival research in public and government libraries as well as talking with government personnel dealing with tourism. In addition, I researched the CEBSE library for information through many of their insightful studies on Samaná.

Throughout the period of field research, I used participant observation in daily life, religious meetings, secular meetings and ecotourism related meetings. When I arrived in Samaná, I attended a four-day Ecotourism workshop held by CEBSE for practitioners, government officials, NGOs and various community representatives. After attending and assisting the family who helped with feeding and cleaning up for the participants of the workshop, I began the initial interviews.

In order to understand the community members' perceptions of resources, land-use, value-systems and time-use, I used Participatory Rural Appraisal tools: Resource Maps, Community Maps, Wealth and Well-Being Ranking exercises and Activities Analysis. After gaining an understanding of the community's conflicts, concerns and beneficial attribute, I created a questionnaire that I administered in both a qualitative and a quantitative fashion, which addressed the items of 1) development, 2) work, 3) the impacts of tourism on the community and happiness.

Chambers (1997) recognizes the pervasiveness of surveys in research as the most common method to learn about the 'peripheral' because of the ability to cover several issues with many people in an 'objective' design. Far from being objective, questionnaires often entail interpersonal relations of power and can actually distort peripheral realities by limiting them to pre-fabricated and organized frameworks limited to the viewpoint and cosmology of the researcher. Thereby, the concerns, concepts, categories and questions may be limited to those of the researchers, and not include those important to the communities or individuals. In addition, the individual connotational differences can be determined and analyzed more accurately with qualitative, iterative research. Since I am in accord with this appraisal, I waited until I arrived to have detailed discussions with the people in the community to ascertain their viewpoints of what a good life entails and how the ecotourism endeavor has affected that, paying particular attention to any gendered effects. I am also in accord with balancing the methods. So, I created a survey (primarily to the Likert scale with some open-ended question and a couple of bi-polar statements) using the indicators of development and the impacts that

the community members deemed important. In addition, after each statement, I inquired further, encouraging fuller and more in-depth responses.

### **Initial Questions**

From the beginning, I queried community members with directed, open-ended questions in order to gain an understanding of the community's interpretation of development and their perspective of the ecotourism industry, especially in regards to the effect of ecotourism on their development. For the first week I conducted these semi-structured conversations with two to three people a day selected through snowball sampling (or informant referral). The family with whom I stayed introduced me to various neighbors and family members who would introduce me to others who lived in the community. With them, I discussed the impacts of ecotourism, the meanings of development, values and culture and daily life. The questions were framed around Pretty, Guijt, Thomson and Scoones (1995) *Participatory Learning and Action: A Trainer's Guide*, pertinent questions from Manuel Vargas' (1992) dissertation, along with my intent to gain an understanding of community perceptions of concepts like well-being, progress, quality of life and happiness.

I began with a long list of questions (Appendix B), but I soon noted that too much time was involved in getting through such a long list. Originally, the questions dealt with the individual's and the household's background, occupation, land holdings and uses, decision-making, and infrastructure and services like health, education and institutions in addition to socio-demographic information and abstract envisioning of what was the best life they could imagine. So, I cut down to some of the more relevant questions that specifically addressed my research questions, and ones that I could not necessarily derive from other sources. I mainly focused on the cultural, occupation and time components.

Thus, I had the focus of wanting to garner the most important positive and negative impacts of the ecotourism venture on the community in the viewpoints and voices of the constituents of that community—to find out from them whether ecotourism could be a good tool for development, while learning from them their definitions of development (CHAPTER 6). In this way, I hoped that the development policies created in government offices, communities and international agencies could gain from the results.

### **Participant Observation**

Throughout my time in the province of Samaná, I utilized participant-observation and “deep-hanging out” in order to more fully understand the culture, the perspectives and the daily lives of the residents. Initially, I attended the ecotourism workshop held by CEBSE as a participant, as well as a family helper. I went to some secular and political meetings like ACESAL (The Community Association of El Salto del Limón Ecotourism), CEBSE and *Junta de Vecinos* (Neighborhood Association). In addition, I helped cook and clean within the household where I stayed, and went dancing with some of the youth at a handful of the local dance places in the different towns (Limón, Samaná and Barrio Chico). I went to church meetings at people’s houses as well as Sunday church in the nearby town of El Limón.

### **The ecotourism workshop**

The ecotourism workshop provided an important venue for learning about the most valued aspects of ecotourism being taught to the government officials, national NGOs and community representatives. In addition, I was able to observe the participatory techniques in action by the local NGO CEBSE. This four-day workshop was conducted in a full participatory style. It was led by CEBSE’s Patricia Lamelas and Leida de

Buglass (who is employed by DED the German development agency). Using energizers and participatory group work, they covered many topics useful to initiate ecotourism in a given area. For example, they reviewed how to create a proposal by forming small groups (4-5 to a group) to work on creating a viable proposal using the steps discussed, but pertaining to the specific location that the group selected (Figure 5-1).



Figure 5-1. Ecotourism workshop: participant displays his group's proposal

Also, they discussed how to create a management plan to include ecotourism. The management plan included how to identify the various stakeholders, the distinct level of involvement and goals of each (Figure 5-2).



Figure 5-2. Ecotourism workshop: participant explaining his group's proposal plan

The process of discussing the concepts and issues of ecotourism was modeled on the participatory style: “handing over the stick” by encouraging the participants to take the power to create the environment and the workshop, and “moving from writing to visuals” (Chambers 1997) (Figure 5-3).

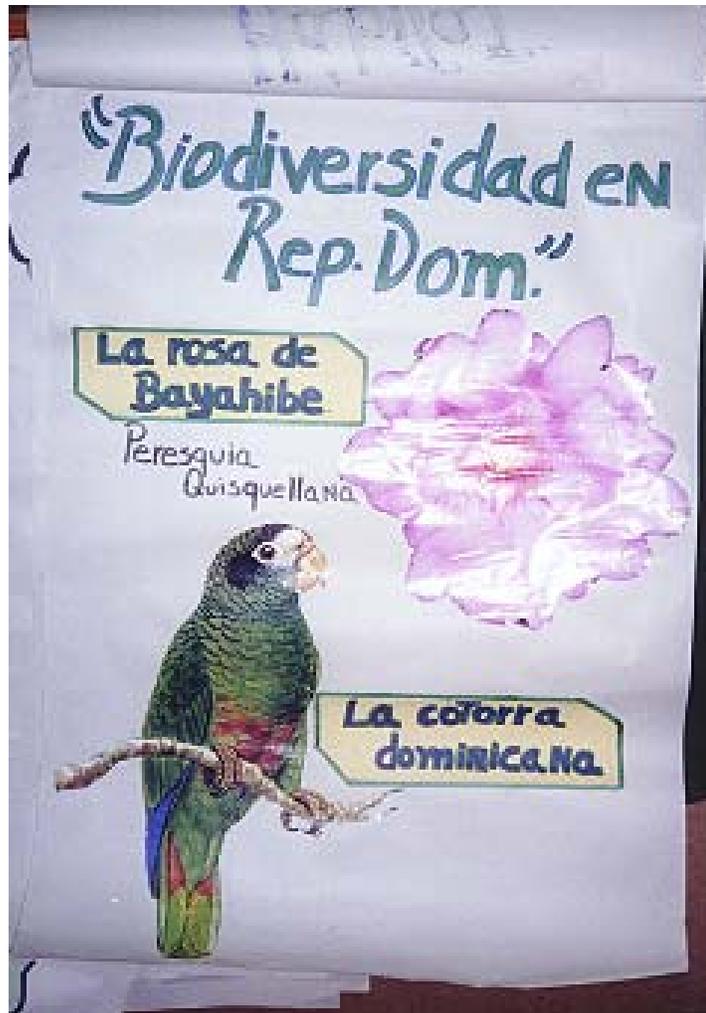


Figure 5-3. Moving from writing to visuals at workshops

### **The local meetings (ACESAL and *Junta de Vecinos* )**

To understand the collaborative process at work including the major actors and dominant issues, I attended the ACESAL and the *Junta de Vecinos* (Neighborhood Association) meetings (Figure 5-4).



Figure 5-4. ACESAL meeting in process

### **Participation at the meetings**

At all of the meetings that I attended, I noticed that both men and women were included in body and voice: not only were they present, but they participated fairly equally as well. There was an open feeling at the meetings. The first meeting was the *Junta de Vecinos* of the area of Limón that was hurriedly gathered because the official from the city was there in his SUV to present money to the *Junta de Vecinos*. Next, the Arroyo Surdido *Junta de Vecinos* held a meeting to decide to what projects and families it should go to be the most useful.

From observing these meetings, I noticed many women deeply involved in the organizational structure of the organizations as well as in voice and body. The process of decision-making appears to equally involve their voices: both men and women speak their opinions when present. And, since someone normally must be home, sometimes the couples take turns attending a meeting. The locations of the meetings tend to be somewhat centrally located at one of the *parada* dining halls in Arroyo Surdido or in El Café. However, for those who live much further from the road, they obviously have a

longer distance to walk. So that I would not omit people that lived further away or had to stay at home for other reasons, I walked to each one of the houses to conduct the interviews.

### **Visual Image Exercise Semi-Disposable Cameras**

I wanted to obtain images of residents' perceptions of various concepts like development, progress, work, beauty and the most important aspects of a good life. In addition, I wanted images that the locals, themselves, deemed important. Hence, at one of the Junta de Vecino meetings, I handed out semi-disposable<sup>2</sup> cameras to fifteen of the community members along with the following list (Table 5-1).

Table 5-1. List given with cameras to residents

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**Photographic Representations of:**

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1. My culture
  2. My work
  3. That which gives me happiness
  4. That which gives me sadness
  5. The good life
  6. The most important thing in life
  7. Solidarity of the community
  8. That which I want for my children
  9. Tranquility
  10. That which I enjoy
  11. Richness of life
  12. The strength of the woman
  13. The strength of the man
  14. Impact of tourism
  15. Spirituality
- 

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<sup>2</sup> They were plastic disposables that could be reused.



Figure 5-5. Using the cameras to take pictures

With these cameras, I hoped to gain pictorial images of people's interpretations of development, encompassing happiness, beauty, work, etc. Participants were asked to take pictures of the items listed and then with the rest of the film take whatever they wanted (Figure 5-5). I developed the film, and will bring them the pictures. They kept the cameras to be able to take pictures with other film in the future. For me, and typical of the collaborative process of research, a crucial element is the reciprocal aspect of exchange.

### **Participatory Tools**

#### **Mapping exercises**

Using participatory techniques, I aimed to obtain visual interpretation according to the residents of land use, resident location and community knowledge (Figure 5-6). I wanted to know the location of crops, structures and animals, and which were the most important to draw when depicting their community.

Three maps were created: one of agricultural resources, another of the natural resources, and a third of the town situating where all of the houses were in relation to the

road, the waterfall, the cave and the neighboring communities. The above photo is a map of Arroyo Surdido. The people drawing them were at first embarrassed to use the colors and draw, but with some encouragement and my own attempt to draw, we achieved the renditions.



Figures 5-6. Creating a map of the community

However, this approach was not very effective due to my inability to lead it well enough. I found that I did not have enough background knowledge necessary to guide them with appropriate questions and triggers to procure a more detailed map including gendered land uses<sup>3</sup>, agricultural types, ownership and other relevant information from the community's perspectives. I still got maps though that helped me to know the location of each of the residents, how near each of their homes were to water sources, what alternative energies they had and which houses had electricity. In addition, this

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<sup>3</sup> Who (men, women, children, elders) uses which parcels of land, for what purposes and when (time of day and time of year).

exercise supported the notion that a small community truly knows their community and its resources.

### **Wealth and well-being ranking exercises**

The point of this exercise was to evaluate value systems, to find out what is considered to be wealthy and poor, and to see where the various members of the community fit. All of the households' names I had already written on index cards. Then, I went through each one and asked the person to tell me where the household belongs in a wealth continuum. A steady job, owning land and being able to eat were the main criteria of wealth. One man explained that he thought wealth came with age: young people have not had time yet to prosper like the older ones had, but when they got older they would too. No one thought of anyone as rich though, just a little better off with more comforts and financial stability. They all related to being financially poor.

### **The Survey**

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the specific results of the participant observation and participatory tools. Only results from the survey will be discussed here. From the above interviews, participant observations, and participatory tools, I extrapolated the indicators with which I created the one-page questionnaire to evaluate the impacts of the ecotourism endeavor. Most questions to the survey (21 of the 28 questions) used Likert scales (1 through 5: 1 meaning "I absolutely do not agree" (with the statement) and 5 indicating "I absolutely agree"). Two of the questions were bi-modal models. When asked how the locals felt the organizations of CEBSE and ACESAL have affected them, they chose from the available responses, "a lot" or "not at all." The rest of the questions were open-ended encouraging more individual interpretation and response.

Following each of the 28 questions, I probed for further details to garner more information and an improved understanding of their responses.

The questionnaire (Appendix C) covered the various items residents associated with the general concept of development based on the preliminary conversations (e.g., having a comfortable home, neighborly support, improved life, community solidarity, living a tranquil life, health and education [Questions 3, 5, 6, 8, 25, 26 and 27]). Each person may have distinct interpretations of development. Thus, by allowing the respondents to answer according to their own connotations of development, I could find out if they believed tourism is beneficial to their own overall goals for development. Thereby, I stated, “Tourism has helped us to develop” (Question 10). The questionnaire also covers positive, negative and neutral items that community members had previously mentioned in reference to the ecotourism venture and its effect on the men, women and youths of the community, (Questions 1, 3, 7, 12, 13) work and money (Questions 2, 4, 14, 19, 20). Although these question were all formatted in a quantitative style, with each question on the survey, I delved deeper through follow-up questions so that I did not limit their responses to only the categories one through five. In this way, I was able to use the quantifiable technique of a survey, while encouraging the participatory and qualitative technique of open-ended discussions. The creation of a survey enabled me to quantify and assess numerically the results. Then, I knew that each of the persons would get a chance to cover the same questions and material –but take it where they wanted through an open-ended format and follow-up questions.

I wanted to see if the major community problems were related or not to the ecotourism, “What are the biggest conflicts (problems)<sup>4</sup> of this community?” (Question 23). In accordance with the tenets of the empowering methodology, I followed this question with, “How can one resolve them?” (Question 24). To ask the community members themselves about potential solutions to their biggest problems created an opportunity for dialogue and a chance for me to see if and how people were able to come up with solutions.

Other completely open-ended questions dealt with miscellaneous impacts of the tourism, what the youth are learning, the best benefits of tourism and the worst (Question 15, 17, 21, 22). Finally, the last question (Question 28) relates to visualizing the future and what the best life would entail to more fully realize the components of a good life according to the respondents.

From Bernard (1995), I learned to ask the same question to the same person a couple of times but in different ways to double-check the answers (e.g., Questions 7 and 13, 14 and 19,20). At first, I also had another page of questions that had a different format, but I found that it took too much time (2-3 hours). So, I kept the survey to one page covering all of the issues that I understood from my previous conversations with community members about ecotourism, life and development.

### **Discussing Results with the Community**

The last meeting with the community was meant to discuss the preliminary results, and discuss responses and suggestions. I plan to return to the community in order to verify my findings, discuss the results with the community and distribute copies of the thesis. Thereby, they have the chance to represent themselves and their lives. At the end

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<sup>4</sup> Many of the initial respondents did not understand “conflicts” so I changed the word to problems.

of my stay, I compiled the figures to create a rough analysis of the data. I then met with the community to discuss the results, garner feedback and obtain the last roles of film that had not yet been turned in. At this meeting we discussed what numerous people responded as one of the biggest difficulties of the community—the lack of an aqueduct to bring water to each house. Using the forum available, we contemplated writing a proposal that I could show to aid agencies in hopes of acquiring funding to generate the reality that each of their homes have water. They have now written the proposal.

In addition to using empowering participatory techniques, I sought to find other ways to contribute to the local community. I brought educational toys, coloring markers and paper to give away as well as cameras, which were semi-disposable—they could be reused with other film. The pictures that they took I returned to them in print form. Perhaps most important of all were the personal exchanges of life experiences and the ensuing enriching interaction and discussion for the participating parties.

The next chapter will portray the concerns and considerations of the citizens of Arroyo Surdido more fully, and describe the results of the data collection (predominantly the survey) and their implications.

## CHAPTER 6 RESULTS

This chapter is divided into three primary sections that follow the primary research questions of this thesis: (1) How is development defined?; (2) What are the gendered differences?; and (3) What are the resident's perspectives of the impacts of ecotourism?

### **How do the Residents of Arroyo Surdido Define Development?**

As this thesis has explained, 'development' can denote and connote numerous distinct definitions depending on the historical, political, linguistic and thereby ideological perspective of the individuals. This section reviews the major indices of development according to the residents.

The main indicators by which I describe ecotourism's impact on the community of Arroyo Surdido are predominantly those specified by the locals of this Caribbean community within the Samaná peninsula of the Dominican Republic. When discussing ecotourism's impacts on Arroyo Surdido as well as the values of the community members. Some recurring themes emerge including work, home, infrastructure, education, health, tranquility and social relations. These responses can be dichotomously categorized into material and nonmaterial.

### **Material Responses**

As with the Modernization model, the respondents frequently mentioned employment and material resources. Wage-earning work is the most frequently discussed item, both in terms of development desired and in regards to the ecotourism endeavor. As stated earlier, this may be because my interviews were centered on the impacts of the

capitalist industry of tourism. (Whereas if they had been concentrated on the type of soil they had or wanted, the discussions may have taken a very different course concerning their articulations of development).

### **Wage-earning work in Arroyo Surdido**

We can tell how important the concept and the reality of work is through the responses to the open-ended questions. When I asked, “What are the biggest (conflicts) problems of this community? and How can you resolve them?” a reply of “steady work” resounded. The lack of wage-earning work, and the evident need is the main issue that is repeated continually. Work is often elicited as what is missing, lacking, and required. People talk about the need for work so they can have money to feed their families, clothe their children, educate themselves and their children, and have a comfortable home.

Wage-earning work is vital to the community of Arroyo Surdido, in concept and reality. Work is the backbone of the community. For example, a woman of 36 years of age responded to the statement, ‘My culture is...,’ with “to work to earn my living.” And another woman of 32, responded to “That which gives me happiness is...,” “*un buen trabajo y un ambiente sano* (a good job and a healthy atmosphere).”

Work is seen as important not only for the financial and resource gains, but also because an ethic of working hard is valued. Thus when people discuss the issue that the children, especially the young men are losing this work ethic, many community members are concerned and speak with disdain.

Work is a high priority in Arroyo Surdido. However, they may have concentrated on the work aspect because I began the conversations explaining my research as connected to ecotourism. In addition, most found work to be one of the most important things to have when they could ask for anything. With the open-ended question

concerning happiness in terms of the “*La mejor vida tendría/* The best life would have,” 37.5% responded revenue-earning work. Work, for the residents of Arroyo Surdido was defined primarily in terms of income-earning employment, fending for themselves (*defenderse*), having enough for food and the other goods one can buy with an income.

The Modernization model focuses mainly on economic indicators including gainful employment; so does the majority of Arroyo Surdido. One of the biggest difficulties in their community is the lack of jobs. In addition, certain material and infrastructural goods were repeatedly indicated as valuable measurements of development.

### **Revenue**

According to registers that the *paradas* maintain, el Salto received approximately 20,000 visitors in 1998. Between January and May of 2000, about 7,000 persons visited. A study by CEBSE shows that the *paradas* generated RD\$ 2,235,000 (US\$ 149,000) from about 22,845<sup>1</sup> visitors that were attended in 1998 in that same year. Nevertheless, running costs may represent up to 77.6% of gross income (Table 6-1), leaving profits, in such cases, of merely 22.4%”<sup>2</sup> (Buglass n.d.: 2). However minimal these profits may seem, that net profit exists is a major gain to this financially impoverished community.

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<sup>1</sup> According to visitor records (introduced by CEBSE) kept at each *parada*.

<sup>2</sup> Strengthening capacity of communities involved in tourism development  
The case of Salto del Limón, Samaná

Table 6-1. Expenses for *Parada La Manzana*  
**Expenses for the parada: La Manzana (Doña Antonia) 2002**

<b>Fixed Expenses (per month)</b>		<b>Variable Expenses (per month)</b>	
Electricity	300	Fuel	1000
Cleaning herdsmen	333.33	Water/drinks	388
Food for horses	440	Guides	1500
Promotion/advertising	250	Food	840
Horse insurance	233.33	Fruit	150
Maintaining horses	500	Ropes	
Cleaning materials	300		
Paper	5		
ACESAL fees	30		
Total	10,391.66	Total	3,894.67
	<b>Total</b>		<b>14,286.33</b>

Income is 225RD per person (including both horse and food). On average, 28 visitors are received per month leaving a monthly average income of 6,300RD. Economically, some people mentioned that the income was not stable because tourism and the arrival of tourists fluctuated, so they did not have steady income. When the interviewees were posed the statement: 'Tourism has brought a dependence on income that is not stable,' the respondents were divided. Forty-nine percent 'completely disagreed' with an additional 8% who 'disagreed' totaling 57%. However, a total of 43% agreed (37% who 'completely agreed' along with 6% who 'agreed') with the statement that the income from tourism was unstable.

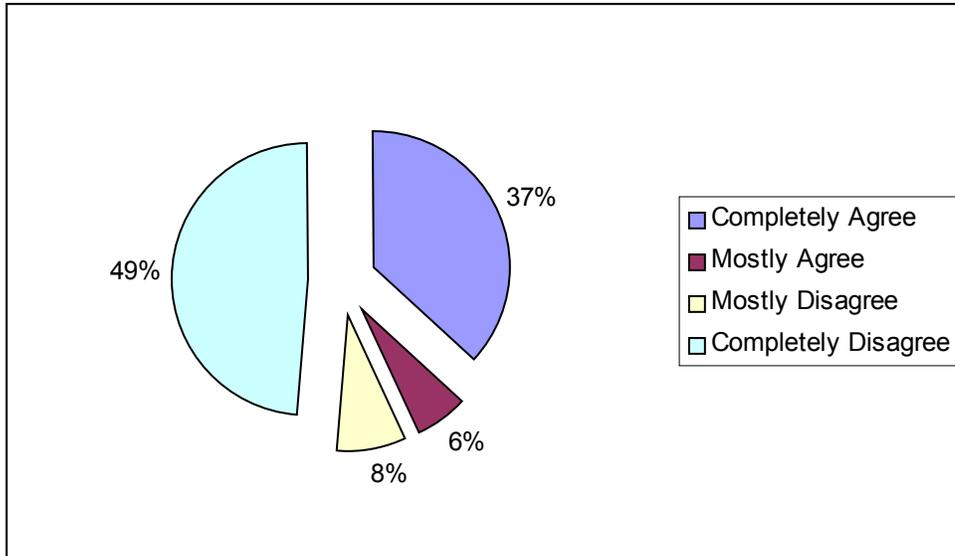


Figure 6-1. Responses to statement, “Tourism has brought a dependence on unstable income.”

## Home

The home is not merely a structure with roof and walls, but also the hub of familial, community, religious and business encounters, gatherings and transactions. Often, the homes have separated spaces for the cooking, the sleeping, bathing and excreting --often all together separate structures.

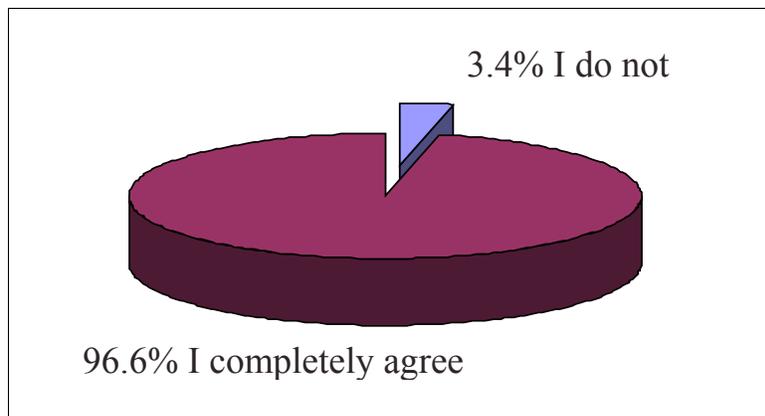


Figure 6-2. Responses to statement, “I live in a more comfortable house than before.”

The most frequently mentioned item that people valued was a comfortable house. The materials that some could afford because of the income were more durable (e.g., concrete instead of palm fronds or wood).



Figure 6-3. Typical house of wooden slats and palm fronds for roof

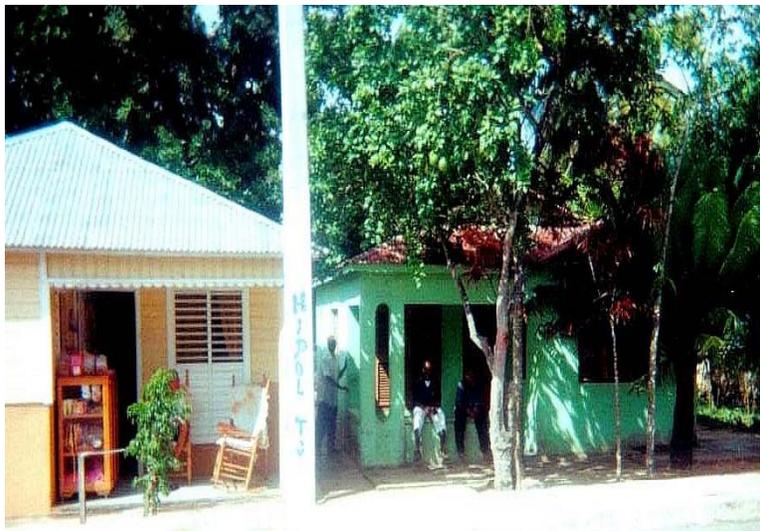


Figure 6-4. Cement house in nearby Limón

Household goods were repeatedly discussed like the refrigerator, stove, blender and washing machine—and other such technological, time-saving devices<sup>3</sup>.



Figure 6-5. Comparing cooking by outside fire to a gas stove and rice cooker



Figure 6-6. Inside stove using charcoal and outside kitchen stove made from type of local clay.

Also, people have the stoves they make from a type of clay they gather nearby and cook with kindling in an outside kitchen, as well as a stove inside that uses charcoal or kindling.

<sup>3</sup> Technological advances have aided greatly for time, efficiency and energy to spend on other tasks. The household appliances have saved time and energy mainly for the women of the household.

## Infrastructure

Numerous respondents pointed to the paved road as an indicator of what tourism has brought, as well as electricity to many of their homes. Most of the houses had electricity (22 of the 30), and five of the 30 had solar power<sup>4</sup>.



Figure 6-7. House with solar panels and television antennae

The road was just finished the year before and everyone said that it was because the government was connecting two major tourist spots: Samaná city and Las Terrenas beach. It appears to be policy that the Dominican Republic that the government will spend money first on improving infrastructure for tourists before basic needs for its citizens. The community still has no aqueduct to run water to the houses. None of the houses in Arroyo Surdido had running water.

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<sup>4</sup> Some households needed to replace the panel.



Figure 6-8. People using jugs and going to closest spigot to collect their water

### **Nonmaterial Responses**

Unlike the modernization and neoliberal policies and rhetoric, many more elements emerge than just economic indicators. The home was a vital element for most residents, as was leading a tranquil life and enjoying friendly, giving family and neighborly relationships. In addition, many respondents mentioned repeatedly the importance of health, education, tranquility and social relations. The following section will outline the reactions to each of these components.

### **Education**

Many regarded education as a key component to an improved life, especially focusing on the children. There is one schoolhouse in Arroyo Surdido that has 2 classrooms and 2 teachers that covers the material of 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> grade including Writing, Math, Spanish, Social Studies, Grammar and Botany. To seek further education, students

travel to the nearby town of El Limón, which has a high school. The nearest universities are in Nagua and the capital Santo Domingo. Most of the adults in the community have not had formal education past the fourth grade. The younger generation is more actively pursuing with the overt support of their parents continued schooling. Almost everybody (96.2%) replied that education is better now. Even though some children do not go to school at times in order to bring tourists to the waterfall, many more children go to school than before. Although the community itself only has an elementary school (up to fourth grade), the nearby town of El Limón has a high school that the children attend. Additionally, some community children (3 females between the ages of 18 and 21) were presently at the University of Santo Domingo. All of them are studying some aspect of tourism in hopes of working in that industry. Two of them wish to return to Arroyo Surdido to work, while the third will seek employment in a hotel.

Table 6-2. Responses to statements, “Health was better before” and “Education was better before.”

Variable	Health and Education									
	Absolutely Agree		Mostly Agree		Mostly Disagree		Absolutely Disagree		Total N	Missing
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
<b>Health</b>	14	30.4	1	2.2	0	0	31	67.4	64	16
<b>Education</b>	2	3.8	0	0	0	0	51	96.2	64	11

### Health

Numerous people asserted that good health was the most important thing in life. In response to the statement, “Health was better before,” people’s viewpoints diverged. The majority (67.4%) affirmed that health, that is access to health care and medicines, are currently much better. Although the nearest health clinic is in Samaná, one presently is being built in the town of El Limón. However, many (30.4%) also thought that health

had been better before. Some described pains they had now, but never had before, while others discussed the inaccessibility due to cost of health care as well as the diseases that exist today that had never existed in the past.

### **Tranquil Life**

*“la mayor vida me parece a mi es la tranquilidad, la paz*

*(the best life, it seems to me, is tranquility and peace)”*

(Paulina fifty year old woman)

One thirty year old woman stated that a life spiritually tranquil was the best circumstance she could envision, *“Una vida espiritualmente tranquila”* (Novia) while another explained that the most important aspects of the best life she could imagine were to live in peace and tranquility, love God and above all the tranquility (*viven en paz y tranquilidad amor a Dios y la tranquilidad sobre todo*) (Bernarda).

Although a tranquil life is valued, a little less than half (46.2%) completely agreed that they lived a more tranquil life now (Table 6-3). Many (32.7%) asserted that life was less tranquil now because there was much more *bullas*<sup>5</sup> because of the road and the increased numbers of people than before. The rest (21.2%) stated that the present was equal to the past in terms of tranquility.

Table 6-3. Responses to Statement, “I live more tranquilly now than before.”

<b>Responses to Statement “I live more tranquilly now than before”.</b>							
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Total N</b>	<b>Completely agree</b>		<b>Equal</b>		<b>Completely disagree</b>	
		<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Tranquil Life</b>	64	24	46.2%	11	21.2%	17	32.7%

For the community of Arroyo Surdido, development entails the economic necessities of a financially viable job, as well as the material goods thereby gained like a

comfortable home<sup>6</sup> In addition, Arroyo Surdido residents value good health and access to local and affordable health care, improved and accessible education, and a spiritual life.

In addition, good family and neighbor relations were stressed as important.

### **How Does Gender Affect the Impacts and the Perceptions of Impacts of Ecotourism on the Community Members?**

As has been discussed in length, no community is homogenous. Therefore, the impressions, impacts and implications differ depending on aspects such as gender, age and locality. This section will focus on the factor of gender.

#### **Activities Analysis**

When asked what was the biggest difference between men and women, the response of their work was repeated. The division of labor --although never concretely fixed<sup>7</sup>--determines much of the daily lives of the women, men and children of the community. Table 6-4 depicts the community activities according to the particular member of the community: adult female, adult male, child female and child male.

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<sup>5</sup> *Bulla* can be translated as noise and commotion.

<sup>7</sup> For instance, cooking is typically an adult female aided by child female task, yet adolescent males would help their mothers.

Table 6-4. Activities analysis by sex

<b>Activities Analysis by Sex:</b>	
<u>Income-generating</u>	
Agriculture	<b>M F</b>
Construction	<b>M m</b>
Guide	<b>M m f F</b>
Parada owner	M F family
Horse renter	M
Hotel	F M
Domestics	<b>F f</b>
Baking and selling bread	<b>F</b>
Store Owner	F M family
Teacher	F
Livestock raising	F M family
<u>Household Tasks</u>	
Livestock care (horses, cattle)	<b>M m</b>
Livestock care (pigs, chickens)	<b>F</b>
Shopping	F M
Fetching water	<b>F f m M</b>
<u>Family</u>	
washing clothes	<b>F f</b>
cooking	<b>F f m</b>
dishes	<b>F f m</b>
cleaning	<b>F f m</b>
yard work	<b>F f m</b>
<u>Community</u>	
<b>Religious</b>	
Church Meetings	M m <b>F f</b>
Sunday Church	M m F f
Mary Church	F
<b>Secular</b>	
Neighborhood Association	M F
Ecotourist Association ACESAL	M F

**Key:** F = female adult; M = male adult; m = male child; f = female child; **Bold** = does more. Based on Slocum Wichhart, Rocheleau, and Thomas-Slayter 1995

## Women

Women are principally responsible for domestic activities in Samaná.



Figure 6-9. Bernarda making a rug out of old clothing and Antonia washing dishes

The primary activities for female residents of the community Arroyo Surdido are cooking, cleaning, buying the household goods for the home and in the case of the *parada* owners for the business. In addition, many women will tend to a side-business or full-time micro-enterprise like baking bread, selling fruit, buying and selling clothes from the market, livestock raising, making jelly to sell or washing clothes to name a few.



Figure 6-10. Woman baking bread to sell

Women's tasks are not limited to those of the home and their own, entrepreneurial businesses. If they work outside the home, women are most often domestics, but sometimes they work in the local hotels as maids, kitchen help and front desk service. In addition, from the home, some women have businesses that entail sales of livestock, baked goods, jellies, and services like laundering clothes. In addition, Murray (1998) notes that many women in the Dominican Republic own their own *conucos* or parcels of land for agriculture (130). Thereby, Dominican women also help in the fields (e.g., planting and harvesting). However, the men often are in charge of plowing, chopping and burning, or preparing the fields (Murray et al. 1998: 30).

### Men

The primary activities for the males are agriculture, construction and guiding. Also, one man works in the labor union in the town of Samaná and another drives a taxi motorcycle in Las Terrenas. Traditionally, agriculture was the primary, if not sole occupation of the males (*"haciendo el machete"*) (Figure 6-11). For the males of Arroyo Surdido, The majority owns their own plots of land and in addition either has family land or rents land to till, in order to sell the products, which primarily consist of *viveres*<sup>8</sup> and coconuts (Figure 6-12).



Figure 6-11. Man in his *conuco*

<sup>8</sup> Roots and tubers like yuca and boniato as well as plantains.



Figure 6-12. Man felling coconuts

### **Children**

The children typically contribute to the family workload by helping with simple, but time consuming tasks. Boys often will help with the livestock, like watering them and moving them from one place to another. Girls will take care of younger siblings as well as help in food preparation and cleaning.



Figure 6-13. Young girl washing dishes

Boys and girls, but particularly girls will help collect water and firewood.

Typically the females are in charge of the household duties like cooking three meals a day and cleaning the dishes, the house and the property. Sometimes, however, the sons will help.

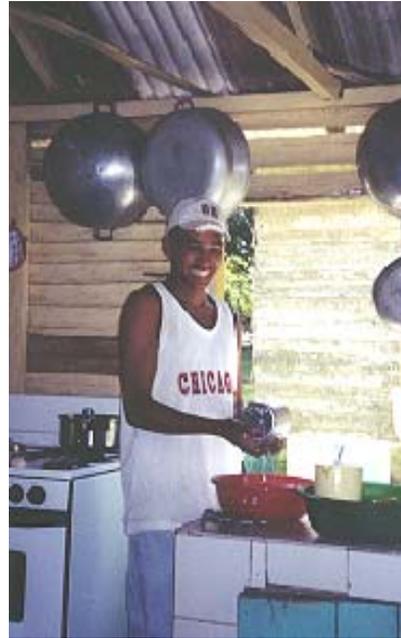


Figure 6-14. Children helping: Chivo mopping and Santi doing dishes

### **Family**

Families share many responsibility Livestock is a shared responsibility by the family. The larger animals like horses and cows, tend to be the charge of males while the smaller ones like pigs and chickens are often the responsibility of the females. Family businesses are common too. In Arroyo Surdido, one family has the only store (*colmado*) in town, one family maintains a business of selling drinks at the base of the waterfall, and two families have *paradas*.



Figure 6-15. Parada La Manzana

At the *paradas*, locally-grown organic coffee and cacao is sold along with locally-made crafts. One *parada* focuses on drying and carving the gourds to sell to tourists.



Figure 6-16. Carved gourds for sale

One couple works together selling drinks at the waterfall to tourists. In Arroyo Surdido, married couples own all three *paradas*, and managing the tourist business has become primarily the woman's responsibility. Since many of the responsibilities lie within the traditional domain of the household, women have assumed the extra work.

To ascertain the perceived difference in workload for men and women, the survey included two statements, "Woman works harder with tourism" and "Man works harder

now.” These two declarations demonstrate striking dissimilarity in the effect of tourism on the work of women and the men. Almost 70% agreed that women work harder now with tourism. The respondents would describe specific people (mainly *parada* owners) and specific examples of extra work. However, one man who said that women did **not** work harder now referenced the fact that women used to work alongside the men in the fields, and tilling the fields with a machete was much harder work.

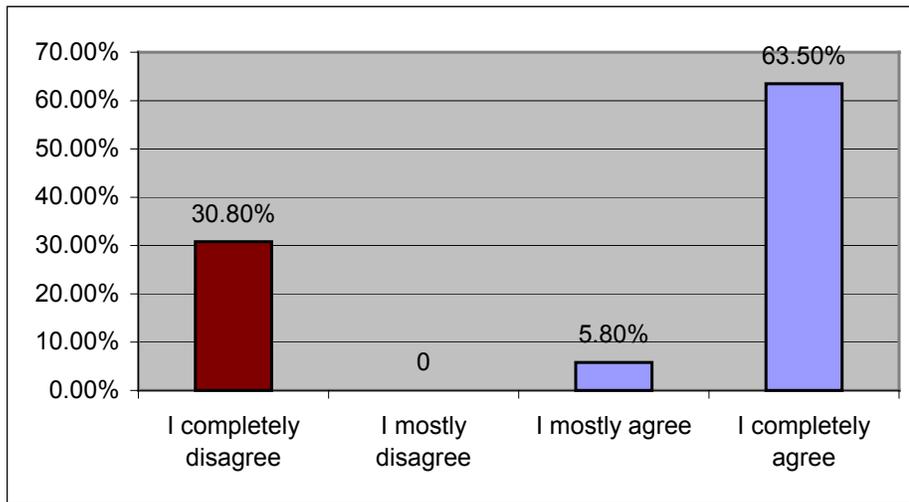


Figure 6-17. Responses to statement, “Women work harder with tourism.”

Many people elaborated on the perception that the women who work within the tourism trade work much harder than they did before. They now have greater responsibility to take care of their guests’ as well as their family’s alimentation and including shopping, preparation, cooking, and cleaning, nonetheless the accounting and the business meetings.

In contrast, sixty-one percent of the same people asserted that a large amount of men do not work as hard as they previously had. In fact, often the people would smirk and reply that the men are lazier now “*mas flojo*.”

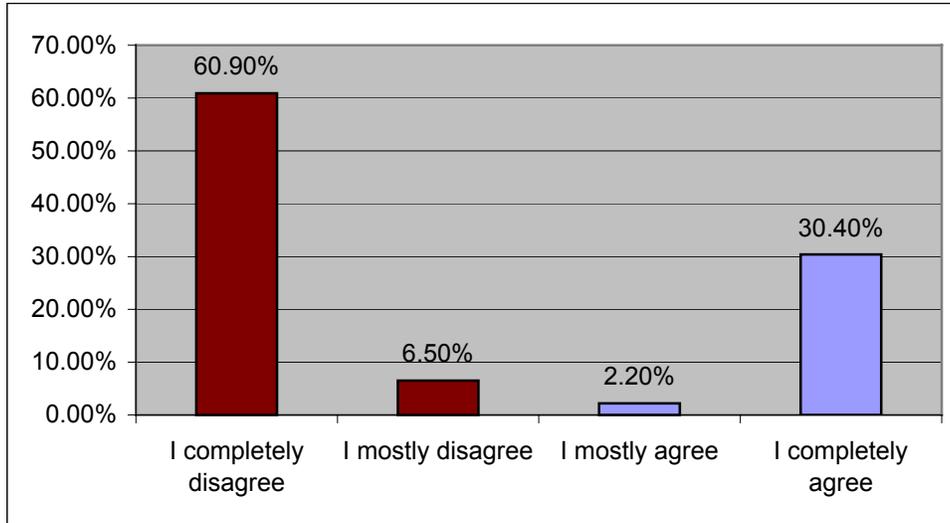


Figure 6-18. Responses to the statement, “Men work harder now.”

Instead of working the fields, many community members report that the young men just want to wait around for the tourists to come and guide them to the waterfall. Now, as guides instead of agriculturalists, the younger men’s work is much easier and they get paid much more.

Numerous people told stories in various ways that expressed this sentiment, often with a negative attitude because many of the young men do not want to work hard anymore. In addition, in response to the question of the youth not wanting to follow in the traditional customs, many responses were in regards to how the youth no longer want to work –especially *el machete: agriculture* in the fields. But in the low season, with a lack of tourists, an eleven year old boy’s statement is indicative of the difference between the types of jobs, “*porque no hay turistas—tienen que trabajar* (because there are no tourists, they have to work)”. And a 44 year old man reports that “*ha abandonado la agricultura, se consigue el dinero más suave con el turista*” (he has abandoned agriculture, one earns money more easily with tourism). When there are tourists, the guides (almost exclusively male) have to work much less than the traditional onerous agricultural jobs --what locals

commonly referred to as “*el machete*.” The people who work the *machete* assert that they still work extremely hard –if not harder now. One explanation for this is because their agricultural product is worth so much less. This may have to do with the structural adjustment policies. The young people however are glad that the work does not have to be quite so arduous to make a living. The tourism trade has affected the roles, the activities and the work habits of both the sexes.

### **Activities Calendar**

The type of work and thereby the tasks themselves vary depending on the time of year and on the person. One man explained that he works construction during the months of January, February and March, but through the months of March until May, he guides people up the trek to the waterfall by paying his neighbor 100RD for a horse but charging the tourist 150RD. And from June until August he cultivates the land. In contrast, CEBSE states that the months of January to March are often high season as well as June and August. Low season consists of the months of May, October and November. Due to the climate, farmers can plant at any time of year.

#### Text box 1: Case Study: Alcalá- de la Nuez Family in Arroyo Surdido

Both Antonia and her husband, Macho, get up before the sun peeks light out from above the surrounding hills. Antonia makes coffee and breakfast normally of boiled plantains and a fried egg, sometimes a fruit juice like lemonade or passion-fruit which she (or one of her two boys) picked from the surrounding trees. Both their sons get up soon after to go get the horses from their close by *conuco* where the horses spend the night. Their daughter, Milagros, is in the capital studying languages/ accounting at the University of Santo Domingo. The two boys Sandí (18) and Juan-Carlos (16) spend the day doing school work, taking care of the horses, guiding people to the waterfalls, and helping their mother and/or father with their tasks. Antonia spends the day cleaning house including the yard, doing laundry with buckets of water and her washing machine, cooking breakfast, lunch and dinner, and doing dishes. If tourists come, then she often will make lunch for them. If a lot of tourists come, then her boys will help with the chores of the house. In the late afternoon a couple times a week, both parents go to church meetings at one of the neighbor’s houses. Sometimes, they hold a *Junta de Vecinos* (Neighborhood Association) meeting at their *parada*. Macho is on

the board of the regional Junta that meets with the capital's government official, and he is on the board of several other local organizations (mainly work related). Antonia is the secretary of the community based *Junta de Vecinos*. Also, Antonia is on the board of Acesal and so, at least once a month has meetings with them. They are both devout Christians and attend church meetings several times a week. Macho plays the guitar for the musical part of the meetings.

Initially, Table 6-5 may seem contradictory since the respondents are evenly split between (Variable 1) "I work harder now than I used to", yet almost 87% maintain (Variable 2) that "Work is easier now than before".

Table 6-5. Resident responses to survey questions about work

<b>Resident responses to survey questions about work difficulty and gender</b>										
Variable	Absolutely Agree		Mostly Agree		Mostly Disagree		Absolutely Disagree		Total N=64	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	Valid N	Missing
(1) Workhard	28		0	0	0	0	28		56	8
		<b>50%</b>						<b>50%</b>		
(2) Work easier now	46		0	0	2		5		53	
		<b>86.8%</b>				<b>3.8%</b>		<b>9.4%</b>		11

Eighty-seven percent (Row 2 Column b) of the respondents feel like work is easier now --mainly because of technological and infrastructural improvements. However, of the same sample, half of the respondents (equally men and women) report that they work harder now than they used to. Often, these were males who worked in agriculture, elders who have less available help around the house, children who had not really worked much before and people who worked in tourism. More people state that of the people who work with tourism, the women work harder now than the men.

### **The Empowerment and the Agency of Women**

As per the norm, the women of Arroyo Surdido most involved in the ecotourism endeavor (*Parada* owners) take on the tasks of the "typical" female responsibilities in

addition or as an extension of their daily duties (e.g., cooking, cleaning, tending livestock). However, in the situation of Arroyo Surdido, because these women are owners of their own businesses, while they may perform the typically status-less and unremunerated jobs of cleaning and cooking, their position of power is transformed. The women gain political clout from the *parada* business which is primarily their responsibility. As Antonia Alcalá-de la Nuez, owner of the *Parada La Manzana* states, “*El negocio es de los dos, pero como mi esposo trabaja en la construcción, yo soy la que me encargo del negocio*” (The business is both of ours, but since my husband works construction, I am the one that is in charge of the business) (Buglass<sup>1</sup> n.d.: 3).



Figure 6-19. Maria opened the first *parada*.

One must note that women initiated the first local businesses created for El Salto del Limón. Two women started two *paradas* in the town of el Café which is located between el Limon and Arroyo Surdido. These women (and their families) are very successful now with returning tourists and business deals with tour companies. Furthermore, the *paradas* that are succeeding the best are primarily run by the women (Buglass 2000: pers comm.).



Figure 6-20. Felicia's *Parada* sign in Arroyo Surdido

Ecotourism has affected the roles of women, but so have women affected the role of ecotourism. One way the women affect the ecotourism is through the ecotourism association that they created along with the other *parada* owners. Both the NGO CEBSE and the local ACESAL call meetings between community members and communities including the Forestry Division and the Tourist Division of the government.



Figure 6-21. Three *parada* owners discussing business after ACESAL meeting

Through these, the community members are doing more communication and decision-making<sup>9</sup>. The communities in Samaná also have additional associations for work, religion and other organizational needs (e.g., the *Junta de Vecinos* (Neighborhood

<sup>9</sup> In the case of Arroyo Surdido, education is for the locals and the visitors as well as government officials, NGOs and other communities through the means of participatory workshops.

Association)<sup>10</sup>, Club de Madres (Mothers' Club), Club de Artesanía (Artisanry Club), and the Construction Workers Union<sup>11</sup>).

### **How do Residents of Arroyo Surdido Evaluate the Ecotourism Impacts?**

Benefits and detriments occur, but overall, how does the ecotourism venture affect the residents of Arroyo Surdido? Has ecotourism been mainly positive or negative, empowering or disempowering for this community? To find out in their own words and conceptual configurations, I asked open-ended questions pertaining to the various aspects that they had already explained as important.

#### **Positive Impacts**

When asked the open ended question "Tourism has helped us to obtain\_\_\_\_," the majority of the residents (73.1%) stated something positive, while only a fraction (1.9%) mentioned anything negative. It is interesting to note that twenty-five percent of the respondents asserted that they did not gain anything at all from the ecotourism.

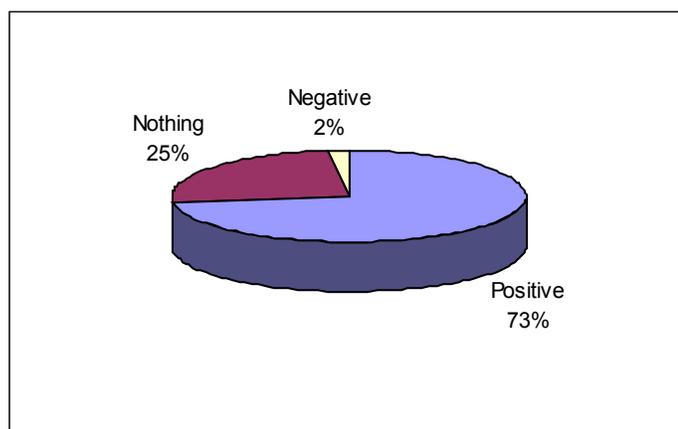


Figure 6-22. Grouped responses of open-ended statement, "Tourism has helped us to obtain \_\_\_\_"

<sup>10</sup> They are given money from government and they decide what to do with it, which houses are in the most disrepair (when it rains they get soaked), -how to fix most cheaply and permanently.

<sup>11</sup> The worker's organization asked to split up the work to build the new airport equally but locally!

## Economic

Of the positive responses to the obtain statement, 20% mentioned their house or property while another 20% reported resources or everything (*todo*) including the ability to buy things that they couldn't before. Next, are the people who stated work, easier work and/or money, income and the improved economy with 14%. Otherwise, 6% reported things to do with progress, better life, happiness and experiences. And the rest discussed education, people relationships and the tourism business itself as positive effects (4%; 4%; and 2% respectively).

About ninety-six (96.4) percent of the respondents strongly agreed, "Tourism has brought a lot of benefits." In addition, 96.1% of the community members I interviewed strongly agreed, "Life in my community has improved since the arrival of tourism" (*La vida en mi comunidad ha mejorado desde que el turismo llegado*)" (Figure 6-23).

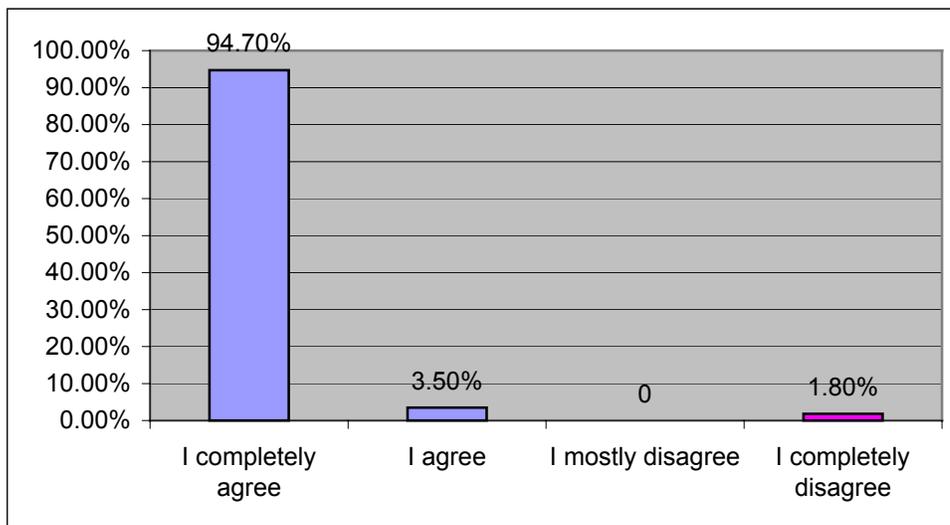


Figure 6-23. Responses to, "Life in my community has improved since tourism arrived."

### Socio-Cultural

Socially the impacts of ecotourism are numerous and powerful. Unexpectedly, the majority of the respondents (78.7%) absolutely agreed that “Tourism has helped the solidarity of the community” (Table 6-6).

Table 6-6. Responses to the statement “Tourism has helped the solidarity of the community”

<b>Tourism has helped the solidarity of the community.</b>										
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Absolutely Agree</b>		<b>Mostly Agree</b>		<b>Mostly Disagree</b>		<b>Absolutely Disagree</b>		<b>Total N</b>	<b>Mis sing</b>
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>		
Solidarity	37	78.7	1	2.1	0	0	9	19.1		

Many explained how there is now more communication –more meetings and workshops and even activities (e.g., reforestation alongside the riverbanks, cleaning up the trail) that brings the community together to discuss and learn. However, the lack of communication was also cited as a difficulty within the community that causes disagreements and discord –particularly among *parada* owners.

### Environmental

Besides the deforestation and trail degradation some of the negative impacts on the environment also include “erosion, extraction of sand, solid waste and river contamination” (CEBSE 1996:18). However, the beneficial impacts due to ecotourism and the organizations of CEBSE and ACESAL are that the residents have an increased desire to keep the surrounding land with trees because the paying tourists prefers a green landscape. Also, through workshops and dialogue, community members are gaining an understanding of sustainably maintaining the

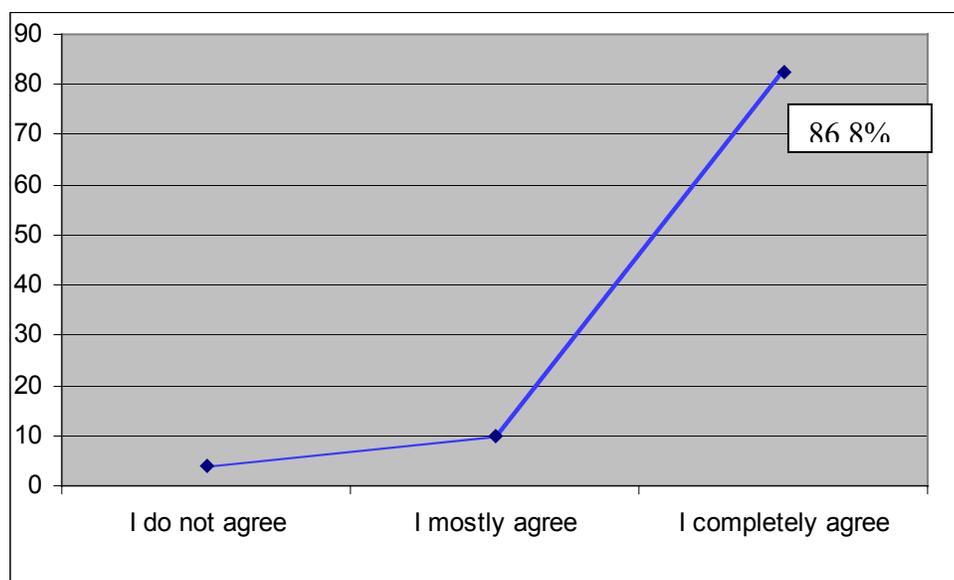


Figure 6-24. Percentage of people who responded to, “Tourism has helped us to learn about the natural resources.”

ecosystems and the profitable value of planting trees in place of felling them. The community has set up work groups to repair the trails to the waterfall and reforest the land --especially by the river’s edge which is more susceptible to erosion. In response to the statement: “Because of tourism, we are learning about the natural resources,” 86.8 % absolutely agreed (Figure 6-24). Many people repeatedly described the previous deleterious state of the trails to the waterfall, and how presently the trails are substantially improved.

### Negative Impacts

When asked what the worst thing about tourism was, some people responded, “when they don’t come” or “when they don’t want a guide to take them to the waterfall.” Indeed, even when asked specifically about the worst things that tourism has brought, people had little bad to report.<sup>12</sup> Within this group, 34.1% mentioned grievances that

<sup>12</sup> Part of this is surely due to the situation of the interviewer as a foreigner that could conceivably effect their tourist trade on which many depend for their livelihoods.

dealt directly with the tourism business in ways that demonstrated encouragement for the business. For example, some of the responses in this category are:

When the tourists don't come /When there aren't any/If there aren't any	18.4%
When the people want to go alone [without paid guide or horse]	10.5%
Tips are less than they used to be	2.6%
When the people don't want to go to El Salto [the waterfall]	2.6%

Although difficulties are prevalent in the community itself, the majority of the respondents did not find many direct negative impacts caused by the ecotourism trade. The following graph distinguishes between the responses categorized into the three groups of nothing bad, negative impacts and nothing at all.

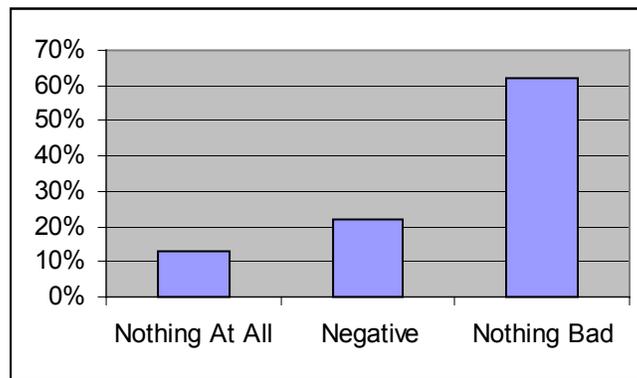


Figure 6-25. Responses to question, “What is the worst thing from tourism?”

Of the negative impacts 16.25% consisted of those who detailed various deleterious effects resulting from the tourism in addition to those 6.25% people who discussed social and or community conflicts or described various aspects of the tourism business that they did not like totaling 22.5%. Further subdivided, the community members described negative effects like: drugs (7.9%), corruption and delinquents “*tigres*” (5.3%) and “following behind the tourists” (2.6%) as well as lack of communication (2.6%) and community fighting (2.6%). Many people mentioned the increase in selfishness.

Although many residents named off a series of typical negative impacts of tourism like theft, prostitution, and drug-use, but when asked if any of these occurred in Arroyo Surdido, the overwhelming majority replied, “No.” In response to the statement that “Tourism has brought more thieves to this community,” 67.2% emphatically disagreed and 12.1% strongly disagree. However, 19% and 1.7% absolutely and mostly agreed with the statement. And from the open-ended question what are you children learning, a small portion of people mentioned that they are learning to follow behind the tourists and to steal.

### **Social Relations**

“*Lo que es lo mas importante en la vida es vivir unido* (That which is most important in life is to live united)” states Sonia a 36 year old female native resident of Arroyo Surdido. The locals spoke regularly of the value and the useful tool of strong social relations. In response to what is tranquility, a 66-year-old man states “*vivir bien con los demas* (to live well with others).” In addition, many people told the story of how in the past, when a family was hungry, they would be sent food, and if a family had just cooked, they would immediately send on to other people who had less and thus the whole community was fed. However, since the ecotourism began, many people explained that this helpfulness has dwindled and people are more selfish. In response to the question whether neighbors help each other more or less than they used to, community members were divided. The social cohesion of the community can be interpreted through the statement “Neighbors help each other less now than before” (*Vecinos se les ayudan menos ahora que antes*). The largest faction (38.2%) agreed and spoke of how neighbors used to help each other much more. Often they would recount how a family did not need

to ask for food when they needed it because a neighbor would send it just knowing that need. Then, they would continue to tell how there is now more egoism and strife.

Table 6-7. Crosstabulated responses to the statement, “Neighbors help each other less now than they used to.”

Ordinal Independent Variable		Sex		Total		
		Female (A)	Male (B)	N	%	
Neighbor support	Total	N	22	33	55	
		%	40	60	100	
Do Not Agree	N	7	11	18		
	%	12.7	20	32.7		
Agree	N	10	11	21		
	%	18.2	20	38.2		

Source: author's data

P Value > .52

N = 64

Missing: 9, and 16 who responded neutral

However, many people (32.7% of the sample) responded that people helped out the same or more now. The primary reason for this, they stated, is that now people have something to help with, whereas before, they had nothing.

The value to help others is high --from a family member to a neighbor. In the open-ended questions, interviewees mentioned having extra resources to be able to help others as important. One man stated that the best life would enable him to obtain in order to give to the needy “*obtener para dar a los necesitados*” while another man posited the desire to have enough to give to those who necessitate “*para tener lo que necesito para dar a los que necesitan.*”

Some of the negative effects of this industry are the loss of solidarity in the community: fighting between the *parada* owners over prices and over access to the tourists themselves has become prevalent (Buglass n.d.: 2). One older male *parada* owner

commented that although they were financially benefiting from the tourism venture, the resulting community strife was distressful.

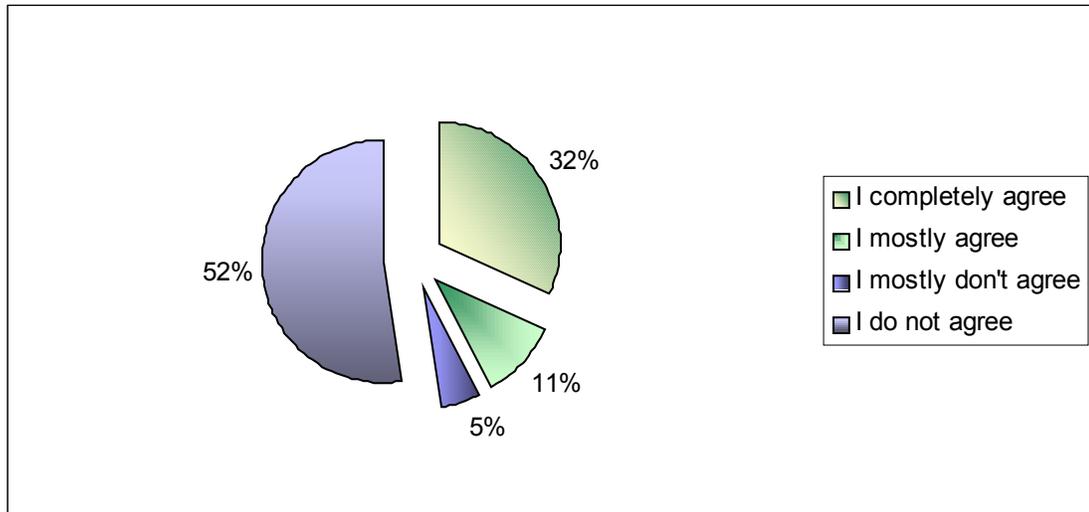


Figure 6-26. Responses to the question, “Tourism has brought problems to our community.”

### Traditional Customs

In the style of modernization, the tourists alter some of the community’s traditions. “*Ahora, por el turismo, los jóvenes no quieren seguir en las costumbres tradicionales* (Now, because of tourism, the youth no longer want to follow the traditional customs)”. Seventy-three percent of the respondents indicated that they strongly agreed that the youth no longer wished to follow in the traditional customs, only 13.4% stated that they disagreed with the assertion. The customs to which they referred were mainly style of dress: males wearing earrings and long shorts, the adoption of smoking and to the disregard for agricultural labor.

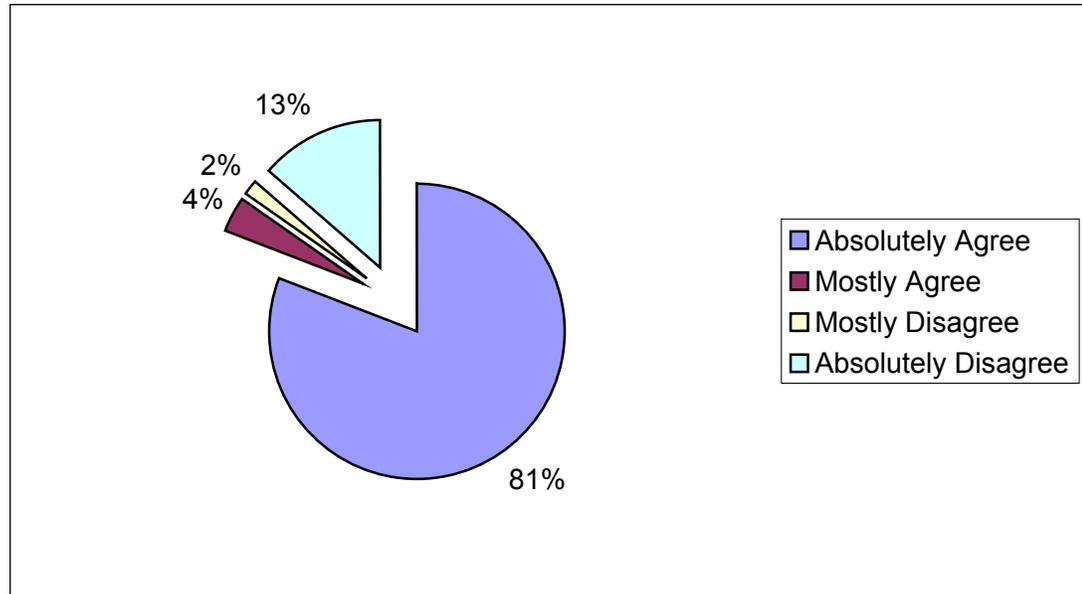


Figure 6-27. Responses to statement, “Due to tourism, youth do not want to follow traditional customs.”

According to one middle-aged male, traditions consisted of people dancing at parties with drums and accordions, now they listen to *barchata*. A young woman notices, though, that people are listening to more meringue now. Also, people report that more young people are smoking cigarettes, wearing earrings and wearing calf-length shorts.

Development is change. When people decide to alter their mode of dress, take on new habits and discard traditional ones, their culture changes. Change is constant, but rapidity and reasoning are important. The rapidity increases with modernization, and more people traveling, with televisions and with radio make this change more rapid. It is important to consider what the underlying reasons behind the changes are, and how do these changes affect the culture in question? Through collaborative management, the locals can retain decision-making authority, which can supports their own judgment to make choices about their lives.

**Nothing Negative**

The majority of the respondents (63%), when asked the worst effect of tourism did not mention anything negative. All of the comments that relate to negative impacts imposed by tourism were labeled “Nothing bad” groups because the recurring response was “*nada mal*” or nothing bad. It is important to note that 23.7% of these respondents reported directly that “There is nothing bad [*no hay de peor*],” reporting that they have not encountered any detrimental effects from the tourism industry in their community. This may be due to the fact that tourism is still very new to the community, and with the novelty comes excitement and hope, but few profoundly negative impacts.

## CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION

The indicators for development then must embrace more than simply economic terms as this study demonstrates. My research has a two-fold aim: to determine what the residents of Arroyo Surdido conclude development to be and to assess how the ecotourism venture has affected their community using these criteria. Unexpectedly, the majority of the respondents (78.7%) absolutely agreed that “Tourism has helped the solidarity of the community” (Table 6-7).

Ecotourism as “responsible travel to natural areas that improves the well-being of the local people”(Ecotourism Society 2000) can embrace development in the terms of well-being as a linear continuum of progress (as some of the development theories propose), or perhaps as a spiral for the facets of development include not just economic welfare, but also the gendered socio-cultural well-being of the locals and the sustainable management of the environment. So, what do the various factions consider to be the most important issues and indicators of development?

The residents of Arroyo Surdido, in discussing development, often cited the material goods that made life easier for them, including housing and technological conveniences. This information supports the approach to development that focuses on poverty reduction through increased employment and technology transfer. In addition, though, people stated the importance of certain values like leading a tranquil life and being spiritually in touch with God. Thus, it is important to learn from the theorists of

development, as well as learn from the people who are impacted by development as to what the indicators are.

As this thesis has discussed, the meaning of the term development infers many possibilities and engages distinct value systems linked to each unique local, historical and thereby political moment. When asked if ecotourism has helped them to develop, 96.6% of the Arroyo Surdido respondents, absolutely agreed. In order to distinguish which criteria the individuals were meaning, the residents were asked about development, the majority of the respondents consistently selected one of these eight criteria: wage-earning work, living in a comfortable house, infrastructural and technological conveniences, health, education, living in tranquility, and being on good terms with their neighbors.

### **Modernization with a Twist**

Although nonmaterial goods are vital to the Arroyo Surdido concept of development, they also have goals that align with the modernization model of development like poverty alleviation and amplified market integration through increased employment and technology transfer.

Unlike the results of many studies (Boserup 1970; Chambers 1997; Feldstein and Poats 1998; Rao et al. 1991; Rocheleau 1996), the technology transfer in this case has aided the workload of the women more than the men. Although agricultural advancements tend to benefit the men (Spring 1993), most of the agricultural activities in Arroyo Surdido are still done with the machete. In contrast, the technology that is most prevalent in this community is household equipment like the gas stove, the refrigerator, blender and washing machine, which tend to be timesaving devices used by the women.

Maybe this is why women have been able to initiate some of the *parada* micro-enterprises.

### **Dependency**

Dependency theorists elucidate the structures of traditional development policy and practice in which the less industrialized nation loses authority and control of self-determination through the often colonializing process of incorporation into the international capitalist system (i.e., the global free market). For instance, the integration of the island state of the Dominican Republic into the global market economy, like its Caribbean neighbors, creates a dependency in which the DR is reliant on foreign funds, circumstances and policies that dictate their political and economic systems (Ferguson 1992).

In Arroyo Surdido, the people within the tourism industry are dependent on external forces like war and the status of foreign economy, and foreign influence like structural adjustment programs (Safa 1995a) because many nationals also visit the area and because most families use the tourism trade as a complementary source of income, they are not fully dependent. Tourism can be a prime example of this inequitable arrangement. The mass tourism that many governments promote focus on large resorts segregated from the local populace detrimentally affecting the natural as well as cultural resource base as well as the self-esteem of the residents (Scheyvens 1999). Albeit the tourism industry gains tremendous revenue as one of the top foreign income generators in the world (WTO), the locals nor the nationals always gain because of the all-inclusive tours, foreign-ownership, and the expense of importing and modifying places with the (technological advancements and conveniences and specialty food items required. Thus, neither these monies nor the benefits are equally earned and distributed to citizens of the

less industrialized nation. The owners of the *paradas* discuss ways to improve their benefits even with the many all-included tours that come and thereby leave little to no benefits for the residents.

### **Power and Agency**

Most of the people of Arroyo Surdido seem to show agency. Instead of being undermined and controlled by the tourist trade, many are taking advantage of the opportunities presented through the tourist trade. By opening their own businesses (including the *parada* owners, the guides, the food and drink vendors, the transportation people and the artisans) the locals retain control, and thereby use the capitalist system to their own advantage. In addition, through the institutionalizing of ACESAL (*Asociación Comunitaria de El Salto del Limón*), the local organization increases its capacity to represent the interests at the local level and at a larger governmental scale.

And, due to their recognized stake, concern themselves more with the process. Thus control seems to be a key factor in self-determined development. Due to this local control, the tourist interaction can become one of an exchange. Rather than the servant-master relationship, the host-visitor interface can become more prevalent. Ecotourism focuses on local control of the process of development through collaborative management.

### **Collaborative Management**

Collaborative management makes use of the intellectual and experiential resources of the diverse. In the ecotourism practice of El Salto del Limon, community members are working together with government agencies like the Forestry Sector and the Tourism Sector, national nongovernmental groups like CEBSE and the Center for Marine Conservation as well as international development agencies like DED and IUCN. Thus,

the exchange of funds, data, investigations, information and understandings of the various sectors are involved in voicing their perspectives as well as guiding their own process of development through this community-based ecotourism initiative.

Although compared to foreign-owned enterprises, many more of the people of Arroyo Surdido are gaining financially. However, a question remains whether equitable distribution is present. For example, there is approximately 20% of the population who reported that they gained nothing from the ecotourism endeavor. They must still endure the influx of tourism and its inherent costs like the *bullá*, which affects their valued tranquility as well as the benefit of the improved infrastructure.

### **Implications and Future Research**

The implications exist within the realm attempting to balance the community's needs for self-determined development and the needs of the natural resources. I intended to learn from the Arroyo Surdido perspective their meaning of development and how the ecotourism venture has affected these criteria. Through expanding the site for data and knowledge collection to include the locals into an iterative process of exploration, we all learn from each other in an effort to understand what can work and what does not in sustainable development initiatives like ecotourism. As Swarbrook explains, "The emphasis needs to shift from strategy generation to implementation for there are many unsustainable tourism strategies in destinations, but as yet few examples of successful initiatives" (42). For this reason, I seek to learn from collaboratively managed, ecotourism initiatives.

Consequently, one must determine whether the excitement and positive attitude that the residents of Arroyo Surdido show towards the ecotourism venture is due merely to a novelty that will falter and dissipate with time, or whether through their collaborative

techniques, they may be able to control and lead the path and thereby continue to support a positive endeavor for their livelihoods and their environment. Thus, a longitudinal study should be performed. Are people interested excited and positive about the Ecotourism venture now because of the newness or like research demonstrates are they just at the beginning of the inverted U curve (Henry 1965). And when they become more saturated with the tourists and the implicit negative effects what changes will occur in attitude and action? Will the collaborative management process using participatory techniques decentralizing power and increasing local control help the processes and the outcomes? How will the decision-making process be affected --will an elite class develop? How will they deal with carrying capacity in terms of environmental degradation as well as cultural identity?

APPENDIX A  
DISTRIBUTION OF LAND TITLES IN SAMANA PROVINCE

1940	1
1954	1
1955	39
1956	9
1957	329
1958	38
1961	14
1962	19
1963	700
1964	12
1971	245
1972	30
1973	150
1974	49
1975	927
1976	716

(CEBSE 1994).

## APPENDIX B INITIAL QUESTIONS IN ENGLISH

### **Materials of House:**

floor, roof, walls, how many buildings, bathroom? appliances?

### **Individual and History of the Family:**

1. Name
2. Sex
3. Age
4. Marital Status, Married, Consensual Union Single, Widowed
5. Where were you born? Your spouse?  
Where was your mother born? Your father?  
Your grandmother? Your grandfather?
6. Why did you move to here? Or why did your parents or grandparents move here?
7. How many children do you have? Males? Females? What ages?
8. How many live today? Why are the others dead? Sickness? Accident or other?
9. How many live with you today?
- 10 Where do the others live?
11. How many people live with you?

### **Education:**

- E1. What level of education do you have? Your spouse? Your parents? Grandparents? Children?
- E2. Do you thin that the schools in this area are adequate?
- E3. What distance do your children have to travel to go to school?
- E4. Do adult education programs exist in this area?
- E5. What is the most serious education problem?
- E6. Which are the best ways to resolve these problems?
- E7. Have the schools of your community planted trees?
- E8. Are your children involved in a conservation program?

### **Transportation:**

- T1. Which is the principal medium of transportation?
- T2. How do you carry your product to the market?
- T3. Who maintains the principals paths of access?
- T4. Which is the major problem in terms of transportation?
- T5. Which is the best way to solve these problems?

### **Institutions:**

- I1. Which are the different groups and clubs in this area?
- I2. Who are the members?

- I3. Are you active in some of these organizations? Why? Why not?
- I4. How are decisions made?
- I5. What are the goals?
- I6. What have you achieved?
- I7. What are the problems that you have encountered?
- I8. How can you improve?
- I9. Which has had the most positive impact in the life of the community?

**Occupation:**

- O1. In what do you work? (a. agriculture/ b. fishing/ c. livestock/ d. tourism/ e. other)
- O2. Which is the most important?
- O3. And 10 years ago?
- O4. And what does the rest of the family do?
- O5. What crafts do you make?
- O6. When does the workday begin for you?
- O7. How much time does each daily activity take?
- O8. Who helps you?
- O9. How has this changed since ecotourism arrived?

**Land:**

- T1. How much land do you have? Where is it?
- T2. What products do you grow? And to sell?

**Water:**

- A1. From where comes the water that you drink? And the water you clean with?
- A2. Who fetches the water?
- A3. How much distance to the source of water in dry season? And in rainy season?
- A4. IF you buy water, from whom? And how much?
- A5. Which are the problems that you encounter with obtaining water and what are the solutions to these problems?

**Nature:**

- N1. How did one find the rivers, streams, lake, caves, mountains and land in past times?
- N2. And the fish, shrimp, birds?
- N3. How were the rains?
- N4. When was it colder and hotter?
- N5. And the agriculture?
- N6. Which activities do you think have affected the rivers, streams, mountains, fish, etc.?
- N7. Which are the problems related to the trees and deforestation?
- N8. What have you done to resolve the situations?
- N9. What state institutions are involved in these resources?
- N10. What opportunities and problems do you specifically encounter in the area of energy?
- N11. What do you do to save energy?
- N12. Which are the problems that have been affecting the community?

**Culture and Values:**

- C1. What are the things that create a good life?
- C2. What does "good people" mean for you?

- C3. What is the most important thing to have happiness? To be happy?
- C4. What are some of the things that a person who has much knowledge would know?
- C5. Do you know someone like this? Who? Why?
- C6. When you think of the future and of your family, what are the things that give you the most happiness?
- C7. When you think of the future and of your family, what are the things that worry you most?
- C8. What is the most important thing in life?
- C9. What does living well mean for you?
- C10. Is your life better or worse than 10 years ago?
- C12. Do you think that people help each other more or less now? Why?
- C13. If you had more money, what would you do?
- C14. What do you like most about yourself?
- C15. About what do you have the most pride?
- C16. What does self-determination mean for you?
- C17. For you, what does being a good person mean?  
     And a good woman? Good man?  
     Father?                      Mother?  
     Friend?  
     Son?                          Daughter?
- C18. What does progress mean?
- C19. Do you believe that the country has progressed? How?
- C20. And this town?
- C21. And have you progressed? How?
- C22. What does development mean?
- C23. What does wellbeing mean?
- C24. What is an important person?
- C25. Is family more or less important than before? Why?
- C26. Is it less important to have friends now than before? Why?
- C27. What is the most important thing in your life?
- C28. Of what do you have the most fear?
- C29. Where is life better now, in the country or in the city? Why?
- C30. Twenty years ago was life better in the country or the city? Why?

What religion are you? What does that mean?

What beliefs do you have?

#### **Decisions:**

- D1. Who makes the decision in relation to the education of the children?  
     and in buying groceries? And in the selection of household goods?
- D2. How has the ecotourism industry changed this style of life?
- D3. Who controls the income?

#### **Health:**

- S1. Which are the most common sicknesses in this area and with what frequency?
- S2. Is malnutrition a problem in this area?
- S3. Which is the closest health center? How far away is that from your house?

APPENDIX C  
INITIAL QUESTIONS IN SPANISH

**Materiales de la casa**

¿Piso, techo, paredes, cuantas casas, baños?. Electrodomésticos?

**Datos individuales e historia de la familia**

1. ¿Cuál es tu Nombre?
2. Sexo
3. ¿Qué edad tienes?
4. ¿Cuál es tu Estado civil?. ¿Casado?, ¿Unión libre?, ¿Enviudado?
5. ¿Donde naciste?. ¿Y tu esposa donde nació?  
¿Donde nacieron tu mama, tu papa, tu abuelo y tu abuela?
6. ¿Por que viniste a vivir aqui?. ¿Por que tus padres o abuelos vinieron a vivir aqui?
7. ¿Cuantos hijos tienes? ¿Hombres? ¿Mujeres? ¿De qué edades son?
8. ¿Cuantos viven aqui ahora?. ¿De que murieron los otros? ¿Qué enfermedades o accidents tuvieron?
9. ¿Cuantos viven contigo ahora?
10. ¿Donde viven los otros
11. (This question is the same that Q 9)

**Educación:**

- E1. ¿Cuál es tu nivel de educación? Y los de tu esposa, padres, abuelos e hijos?
- E2. ¿Piensas que las escuelas en esta zona son buenas?
- E3. ¿Que distancia deben hacer tus hijos para llegar a la escuelas?
- E4. ¿Existen programas de educación de adultos en esta área?
- E5. ¿Cuáles son los mayores problemas en la educación?
- E6. ¿Cuáles son las mejores formas de solucionar esos problemas?
- E7. ¿Ha plantado árboles la escuela de tu comunidad?
- E8. ¿Están tus hijos vinculados en programas de conservación?

**Transporte**

- T1. ¿Cuál es el principal medio de transporte?
- T2. ¿Cómo llevan los productos al mercado”
- T3. ¿Quién mantiene los senderos principales de acceso?
- T4. ¿Cuáles son loa mayores problemas en la transportación?
- T5. ¿Cuáles son las mejores formas de resolver esos problemas?

### **Institucionalidad**

- I1. ¿Cuáles son los diferentes grupos o clubes en esta area?
- I2. ¿Quiénes son los miembros?
- I3. ¿Eres activo en una o varias de esas organizaciones?. Por que? Por qué no?
- I4. ¿Cómo son tomadas las decisiones?
- I5. ¿Cuáles son los objetivos?
- I6. ¿Qué han logrado?
- I7. ¿Con qué problemas se han encontrado?
- I8. ¿Cómo pueden solucionarse?
- I9. ¿Cuáles son los impactos positivos en la comunidad?.

### **Ocupación**

- O1. ¿En qué trabajas? (a.- Agricultura, b) Pesca, c) Ganadería d) Turismo, e) Otros
- O2. ¿Cuál es la más importante actividad?
- O3. ¿Y Hace diez años cuál fue?
- O4. ¿Y el resto de la familia que hace?
- O5. ¿Qué manualidades haces?
- O6. ¿A qué hora empieza tu día de trabajo?
- O7. ¿Cuanto tiempo te toman cada actividad diaria?
- O8. ¿Quién te ayuda?
- O9. ¿Cómo ha cambiado esto desde que apareció el ecoturismo?

### **Tierra**

- T1. ¿Cuanta tierra tienes?. ¿Donde se encuentra?
- T2. ¿Qué productos siembras? ¿Cuáles son para vender?

### **Agua**

- A1. ¿De donde viene el agua que beben?. Con que purificas el agua?
- A2. ¿Quién recoge el agua?
- A3. ¿Qué distancia hay hasta la fuente de agua en la estación seca y en la lluviosa?
- A4. ¿Si tu compras el agua, de quién la compras y cuanto te cuesta?
- A5. ¿Qué problemas tu tienes para obtener agua y como se solucionarían esos problemas?

### **Naturaleza**

- N1. ¿Como encontraron en el pasado a los ríos, corrientes, lagos, cuevas, montañas y la tierra?
- N2. ¿Y los peces, camarones y aves?
- N3. ¿Cómo fueron las lluvias?
- N4. ¿Cuando fue esto frío y cálido?
- N5. ¿Y la agricultura?

- N6. ¿Qué actividades tu piensas que han afectado los ríos, corrientes, montañas, peces, etc.?
- N7. ¿Qué problemas hay relacionados con los árboles y la deforestación?
- N8. ¿Qué has hecho para resolver estos problemas?
- N9. ¿Qué entidades estatales están relacionadas con esos recursos?
- N10. ¿Qué oportunidades y problemas has encontrado específicamente en material de energía?
- N11. ¿Qué has hecho para ahorrar energía?
- N12. ¿Cuáles son los problemas que han estado afectando a la comunidad?

### Cultura y Valores

- C1. ¿Cuáles son las cosas que han creado una buena vida?
- C2. ¿Qué significa “Buena gente” para ti?
- C3. ¿Qué es lo más importante para tener felicidad?. ¿Para ser feliz?
- C4. ¿Cuáles son las cosas que una persona que tiene conocimientos, debería saber?
- C5. ¿Conoces a alguien así?. ¿Quién es y por qué?
- C6. ¿Cuando piensas en tu futuro y el de tu familia, cuáles son las cosas que te dan ¿más felicidad?
- C7. ¿Cuando piensas en tu futuro y en el de tu familia, cuáles son las cosas que más te ¿preocupan?
- C8. ¿Qué es lo más importante en la vida?
- C9. ¿Qué significa vivir bien para ti?
- C10. ¿Es tu vida mayor o peor que hace diez años?
- C11. ¿Crees que la gente se ayuda ahora menos unos a otros que antes?
- C12. ¿Si tu tuvieras más dineros, qué harías?
- C13. ¿Qué es lo que más te gusta de ti mismo?
- C14. ¿De qué es lo que más orgullo tienes?
- C15. ¿Qué significa autodeterminación para ti?
- C16. ¿Qué significa ser una buena persona para ti?  
¿Y un buen hombre?  
¿Buen padre?  
¿Amigo?  
¿Hijo?
- C17. ¿Qué significa progreso?
- C18. ¿Crees que el campo ha progresado? ¿Como?
- C19. ¿Y este pueblo?
- C20. ¿Has progresado tu? ¿Cómo?
- C21. ¿Qué significa desarrollo para ti?
- C22. ¿Qué significa bienestar?
- C23. ¿Qué significa una persona importante?
- C24. ¿Es la familia más o menos importante que antes? ¿Por qué?
- C25. ¿Es hoy menos importante tener amigos que antes? ¿Por qué?
- C26. ¿Cuál es la cosa más importante en tu vida y por qué?
- C27. ¿De qué tu tienes más miedo?

- C28. ¿Donde es mejor la vida ahora, en el campo o la ciudad?  
C29. ¿Hace veinte años fue la vida mejor en el campo o la ciudad?. ¿Por qué?

¿Qué religión profesas?  
¿Qué significa esta?  
¿Qué creencia tienes?

APPENDIX D  
QUESTIONNAIRE IN ENGLISH

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Questionnaire

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1. Tourism has brought many benefits.
  2. Tourism has brought (a dependency) on insecure income.
  3. I live in a house with more comforts than before.
  4. I work harder than before.
  5. Neighbors help each other less than before.
  6. Life in my community has improved since tourism arrived.
  7. Tourism has brought problems to our community.
  8. Tourism has helped the solidarity of the community.
  9. Because of tourism we are learning about the natural resources.
  10. Tourism has helped us to develop.
  11. Tourism has brought more thieves to this community.
  12. Now, because of the tourism, the youth don't want to follow in the traditional customs.
  13. Tourism has brought community (conflicts) problems.
  14. Work is easier now.
  15. Tourism has helped us to obtain \_\_\_\_\_.
  16. ACESAL has helped us a lot or not at all.
  17. Because of the tourism, the youth are learning \_\_\_\_.
  18. CEBSE has helped a lot or not at all.
  19. The woman works harder with tourism.
  20. The man works harder now.
  
  21. What is the best benefit from tourism? \_\_\_\_\_.
  22. What is the worst? \_\_\_\_\_.
  23. What are the biggest (conflicts) problems of this community? \_\_\_\_\_.
  24. How can one resolve them? \_\_\_\_\_.
  25. We live more tranquilly now than before.
  26. Health was better before.
  27. Education was better before.
  28. The best life that I could imagine for the future would have
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APPENDIX E  
QUESTIONNAIRE IN SPANISH

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Cuestionario

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1. Turismo ha traído muchos beneficios.
  2. Turismo ha traído (una dependencia) en ingresos que no son seguros.
  3. Vivo en una casa con más comodidad que antes.
  4. Trabajo más duro que antes.
  5. Vecinos se les ayudan menos ahora que antes.
  6. La vida en mi comunidad ha mejorado desde que el turismo ha llegado.
  7. El Turismo ha traído problemas á nuestra comunidad.
  8. El turismo ha ayudado la solidaridad de la comunidad.
  9. Por el turismo estamos aprendiendo sobre los recursos naturales.
  10. Turismo ha ayudado desarrollarnos.
  11. Turismo ha traído mas ladrones a mi comunidad.
  12. Ahora, por el turismo, los jóvenes no quieren seguir en las costumbres tradicionales.
  13. Turismo ha traído conflictos comunitarios.
  14. El trabajo es más facil ahora.
  15. Turismo nos ayudado obtener\_\_\_\_\_.
  16. ACESAL nos ha ayudado mucho o no ha hecho mucho.
  17. Por el turismo los jovenes están aprendiendo \_\_\_\_\_.
  18. CEBSE nos ha ayudado mucho o no ha hecho mucho.
  19. La mujer trabaja mas duro con el turismo.
  20. El hombre trabaja mas duro ahora.
  21. Cual es el mayor beneficio del turismo?
  22. Cual es lo peor?
  23. Cuales son las problemas mayors de esta comunidad?
  24. Como se puede resolverlas?
  25. Vivimos mas tranquil ahora que antes.
  26. La salud era major antes.
  27. La educación era major antes.
  28. La mejor vida tendría\_\_\_\_\_.
-

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

I was born and raised in Florida, a state deeply immersed in issues of development, conservation and tourism. I went to the Honors College of Florida, New College, to learn and grow academically and spiritually. There, I obtained my Bachelor's in Foreign Languages with a thesis on Foreign Language Pedagogy. This was a self-designed program that integrated travel and experiential learning into the academic arena. To earn my Master's, I chose the Tropical Conservation and Development program within the Latin American Studies department at the University of Florida. I have already begun the Ph.D. in Anthropology here at the University of Florida, with which I will do a comparative analysis of the Dominican Republic and Cuba. I look forward to integrating the rhythms of music, movement and massage into development theory and therapy.