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NGO 在哥斯大黎加發展以社區爲基礎之旅遊之探討*

The Role of NGOs in the Development of Community-Based Rural Tourism in Costa Rica

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摘要

本研究探討非政府組織(NGO)如何支持哥斯大黎加發展以社區為基礎之鄉村旅遊(CBRT)產業及其發展過程中所面臨的問題。國際援助機構經常透過像 ACTUAR 這樣的 NGO 援助鄉村社區；當時在創辦 CBRT 時，並未經過嚴謹的規劃，純粹是為了考量如何為當地社區居民創造工作收入機會。以 ACTUAR 而言，其主要功能為推廣、行銷、提昇人力資源、提供技術性的協助以及參與政治活動，其成員組織則包含環境及保育團體、農漁民團體及婦女與原住民團體。本研究發現，在發展 CBRT 時，主要的問題出現在供給面，如缺乏觀光旅遊及經營管理的專業知識、必要的基礎設施不足以及缺乏資金。

關鍵詞：鄉村旅遊，以社區為基礎的旅遊，NGO，社區發展，哥斯大黎加

Abstract

This study explores the way non-governmental organization (NGO) support for Community-Based Rural Tourism (CBRT) has been developed in Costa Rica, and identifies the main problems encountered. Through NGOs like ACTUAR, international donor agencies support rural communities. CBRT in Costa Rica did not start from a formalized planning operation, but rather from the inspiration of rural people looking for income opportunities. The main functions of ACTUAR are promotion and marketing, capacity building and technical assistance, and political influence. Its member associations include environmental and conservation organizations, peasant and fishermen organizations, women's organizations and indigenous organizations. One of the main problems that CBRT faces is that it has been supply driven. Deficiencies include a lack of tourism and business knowledge, as well as a lack of necessary infrastructure and financial resources.

Keywords: rural tourism, community-based tourism, NGO, community development, Costa Rica

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Introduction

Rural tourism has long been considered a means of achieving economic and social development and regeneration. On the one hand, it has been widely promoted as a viable economic development alternative, particularly in peripheral rural areas where traditional agrarian industries have declined (Hjalager, 1996; Marcoullier, Deller, & Steven, 2004; Sharpley, 2002). On the other hand, ecotourism in protected areas is viewed as a sustainable alternative to mass tourism and as a means of providing benefits to local communities which bear the greatest opportunity costs of protection. However, these ideals have rarely been evaluated (Walpole & Goodwin, 2000).

Past research has identified downsides to rural tourism, such as seasonality (Keith, Fawson, & Chang, 1999), cultural degradation (Dyer, Aberdeen, & Schuler, 2003), gender inequalities (Cukier, Norris, & Wall, 2000), negative environmental impacts (Mbaiwa, 2003), and low demand and economic returns (Hjalager, 1996; Sharpley, 2002). In peripheral rural areas, research has indicated a low percentage of tourism employment as a part of total employment (Campbell, 1999). Furthermore, distributional inequalities may be in favor of urban gateway residents rather than rural villagers (Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995; Walpole & Goodwin, 2000; Sharpley 2002).

Mitchell & Reid (2001) found that a high level of *community integration* on Taquile Island led to greater socioeconomic benefits for a majority of residents. Community integration in tourism was defined in terms of decision-making power structures and processes, local control or ownership, type and distribution of employment, and the number of local people employed in the local tourism sector. Sharpley (2002) added that long-term financial and technical support is essential if tourism is to play an effective role in rural development.

According to the National Tourism Chamber of Costa Rica, Community-Based Rural Tourism (CBRT) "is an activity that allows sharing experiences of community development based on the rational use and the conservation of the natural and cultural resources, with a direct and fair benefit to local populations" (CANATUR, 2005). Solano (cited by CANATUR, 2003) stated that in CBRT, "the community has substantial control and participates in the development and management of [tourism], as in the direct benefits that are derived from this activity" (CANATUR, 2003). In CBRT, a high degree of control and a significant proportion of the benefits should be in the hands of people from destination communities (Trejos and Chiang, forthcoming).

This research focuses on how non-governmental organizations (NGOs) provide support to community-based tourism in rural areas. The two objectives of this paper are: to explain the way NGO support for CBRT is organized in Costa Rica; and to identify systematically the main problems faced by promoters of CBRT.

NGOs

In the late 1960s, when the top-down approach commonly administered by the public sector fell into ill-repute, funding for NGOs increased. The debt crisis of the 1980s evidenced the dangers of funding enlarged public sectors in developing countries. Major donors, such as United States Agency for International Development and the World Bank, turned increasingly to NGOs as flexible and inexpensive instruments for their development activities. In the 1990s, the NGO sector experienced substantial growth. Environmental NGOs emerged from

the world's stage at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, and grew particularly fast during the decade (Meyer 1995). Most funding for NGOs comes from non-governmental organizations and bilateral donors (Barr, Fafchamps, & Owens, 2005).

A key determinant in the contribution of NGOs towards development is the relationship between them and the state. NGOs may run parallel activities, play oppositional roles, or they may represent weaker members of society, organizing them to become more influential in decision making and resource allocation (Clark, 1995). NGOs have distinctive roles and responsibilities in the development process, sometimes challenging and sometimes complementing the role of the state (Attack, 1999).

NGOs are dependent on external sources, and to some extent have come to represent institutional forms induced by external relationships rather than by relationships within their own societies (Bebbington, 1997). For Gideon (1998), NGOs have been successful in delivering services to some sectors of the population. However, given the nature of the democratization process in Latin America, and the accompanying economic model, expectations regarding NGO potential for grassroots empowerment have been over-optimistic. NGOs and donors have contradictory objectives: on one hand, they support traditional leadership and cultural survival, and on the other hand, they inculcate modern/western ideas and democratic practices (Robins, 2001). Tembo (2003) suggests that NGOs that seek to empower rural communities in the context of the reform of the state may get caught up in pursuing the agenda of the state and the market rather than that of the poor.

For Miraftab (1997), NGOs have the potential to promote democracy, but a democratic outcome is not guaranteed. It is quite likely that they reproduce the undemocratic practices and relationships in a new non-governmental form. The extent to which NGOs can contribute to the process of democratization depends on how critical they are of their own linkages and modes of interaction with the grassroots groups, the state and their foreign donors.

Some researchers suggest that NGOs committed to empowerment vastly outnumber corrupt organizations (Fisher, 1993; Meyer, 1995), but this is open to debate. However, it may be concluded that there are structures in aid chains that are detrimental to democratic NGO activities, but there is always space for independent action inside NGOs that can help people improve their livelihoods.

NGOs have attracted growing criticism for being unrepresentative and unaccountable to the poor people for whose well-being they claim to work. Research suggests that this happens in part because the chronic weakness of popular organizations makes it difficult for NGOs to reach the poorest groups (Bebbington, 2004, 2005). Formulating and implementing a participatory tourism development approach requires a total change in the sociopolitical, legal, administrative and economic structure of many developing countries, for which hard decisions are *sine qua non* alongside deliberate help, collaboration and co-operation of major international donor agencies, NGOs, international tour operators and multinational companies (Tosun, 2000). However, more research may be needed on the relationship between NGOs and rural tourism.

Community-based tourism

Timothy & White (1999) have argued that sustainable tourism initiatives in developing countries can be conceptualized and operated at a very small scale, improving the life of residents, providing enjoyment for tourists, and protecting the natural and cultural

environments. Peripheral locations and their characteristics can be instrumental in promoting local control of small-scale tourism. For Wearing & McDonald (2002), community-based tourism and ecotourism suggests a symbolic or mutual relationship where the tourist is not given central priority, but becomes an equal part of the system.

Ecotourism, in theory, stands apart from mass, conventional tourism by its small scale, sustainable activities, and greater local involvement. However, in practice, ecotourism often falls short of promoting the interests of host communities. (Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005). Because of this, the term 'community-based ecotourism' has been coined, understood as "a form of ecotourism where the local community has substantial control over, and involvement in, its development and management, and a major proportion of the benefits remain within the community" (WWF, 2001; Kontogeorgopoulos, 2005). The term community-based ecotourism should be used only in those cases where a high degree of community control is achieved. However, it is rare to find examples in the literature that are not controlled by outsiders (Jones, 2005).

Reed (1997) studied how power relations affect attempts at community-based tourism planning, and found that these relations are endemic features of emerging tourism settings. Therefore, further research should focus on explaining the impact of power relations rather than identifying mechanisms to disperse power.

Community-based tourism literature has taken an atheoretical and apolitical approach in defining the concept of community. "With the industry dominating more and more communities in the world, a critical and emancipatory approach to tourism has become essential" (Blackstock, 2005). The concept of community is not new; what is new is the reconstruction of community in conservation and development paradigms and projects. Research must go beyond simplified and essentialized images of community that assume links to social institutional capacity for environmental management (Belsky, 1999). Apart from Jones (2005), who applied the concept of social capital to the study of community-based ecotourism, there is a lack of theoretical studies on the subject.

Methodology

This study used a qualitative approach (Creswell, 2003; Yin, 2003) to make a case study of an NGO called ACTUAR (Costa Rican Association of Community-Based Rural Tourism). Between 2005 and 2007, 19 formal recorded interviews were carried out by the first author with representatives of organizations related to the work of ACTUAR. These included 9 interviews in community-based organizations, 8 in support organizations and 2 in government institutions. Interviews and field observations were triangulated with the analysis of secondary sources and the perspective of scientific theory.

A conceptual framework was established, in an attempt to systematize the information gathered (Figure 1). The research started as an exploratory case study and a conceptual model was established later. An effort has been made to maintain the concepts and categories used in the sources, as well as to accurately translate key concepts from Spanish.

A constructed type for CBRT was prepared for this study. A constructed type is a simplified model of the personality, social or cultural system being examined by an investigator. In the construction of types, the researcher ignores the details, focusing on those variables that are the most significant in describing the system in question. Technically, there is a difference between an ideal type and a constructed type. A constructed type is derived

directly from empirical data, whereas an ideal type is better thought of as a 'mental construct' that is less closely linked to empirical data (Poplin, 1979).

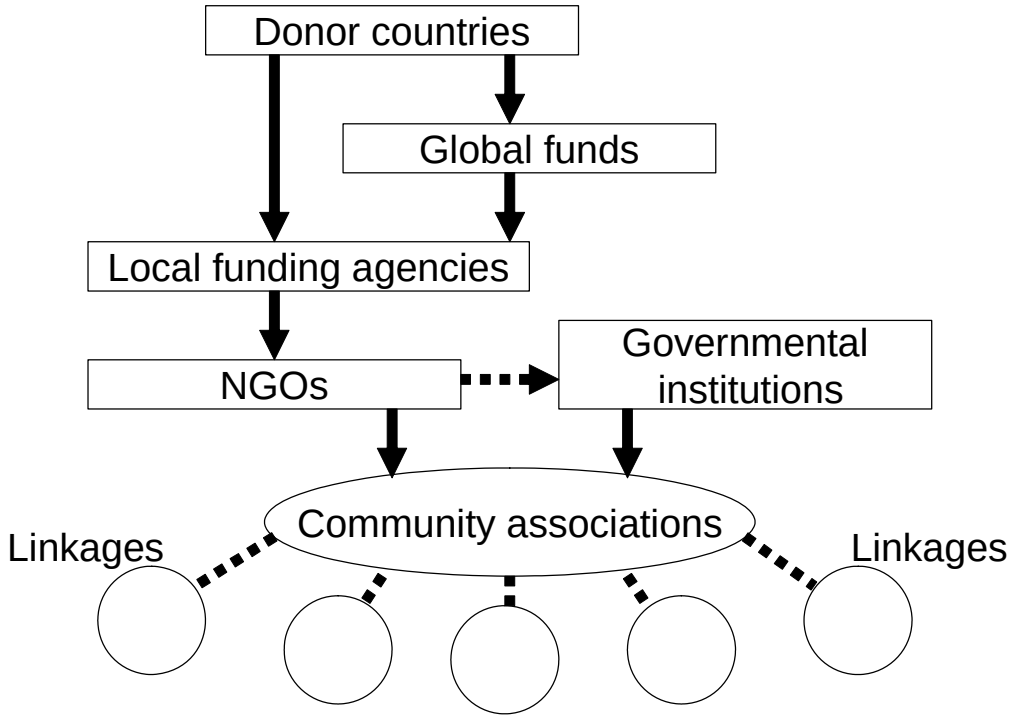

Figure 1. Conceptual model for the analysis of NGO support for CBRT

Findings and Discussion

The CBRT policy has been promoted as a response to the mainstream tourism policy in Costa Rica, primarily by a wide array of non-state organizations. International financial assistance has been channeled through complex networks of organizations linked to community-based projects (Trejos et al., 2008). Some of these belong to umbrella organizations, i.e., intermediary organizations that channel support to community-based projects (Trejos and Chiang, forthcoming).

As a consequence of the Rio Summit in 1992, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) started financing CBRT activities since around 1993. Until this time, the term 'rural tourism' had not been used. The activities did not come out of a formalized planning, but rather from the supported local groups that did not have other possibilities for income, "and for example, had the idea to build some cabins" (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

In 2001, all the organizations that had been supported by the UNDP for tourism activities were called upon to participate in a training session in San José, the capital of Costa Rica. About 30 representatives from different organizations came to this meeting (Guereña & Calderón, 2005). Although "the local groups had similar activities and motivations", "they did not know each other". They also "did not identify themselves as a productive sector" (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

Why was it not working? “Funding was directed primarily to infrastructure, with less money going into training and promotion. After this activity, UNDP further extended its support” (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2007). “These groups then started to realize that they had similar necessities, problems, but also similar potential (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005). “This process culminated in the development of a network in 2001, at the First Ecotourism Gathering in San José. At this activity, the groups got to know each other and had the opportunity to plan how they would present their products to clients at this tourism fair (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2007). In the words of a representative of ADESSARU, a member organization of ACTUAR (personal communication, 2006):

“From the beginning, we talked about the importance of creating an organization at the national level that would include the grassroots organizations that were being supported by UNDP. The idea was that this organization would motivate, support, and train in rural tourism aspects”.

ACTUAR started working informally, that is, without legal inscription (‘*cédula jurídica*’). Board (‘*junta directiva*’) meetings with regional representatives were held about every three months. On December 2002, ACTUAR organized a General Assembly to formalize the association. With some economic resources available, the Management Board (‘*dirección ejecutiva*’) was elected. In 2003, ACTUAR opened its offices in San José.

Parallel to the integration of ACTUAR, the edition of a specialized CBRT guidebook (UNDP/COOPRENA, 2002) coincided with “a moment when many groups came together… and also a kind of identity which started to take shape, a discourse of what CBRT is. Before this guide, some of them called it ecotourism or agro-ecotourism” (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005). In March 2007, ACTUAR was integrated by 24 organizations (See Table 1).

Origin of funds

There are two main funding sources for the development of CBRT in Costa Rica (Solano, 2003): one is ‘*Fundecooperación para el Desarrollo Sostenible*’, an NGO whose resources come from the Bilateral Accord between the Netherlands and Costa Rica. The other source is the UNDP through the SGP of the Global Environment Facility (GEF). The funds for ACTUAR come from the SGP, which supports CBRT as a tool for local development, as well as for environmental conservation. “It is not tourism for tourism’s sake” (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

Table 1. List of ACTUAR's member organization and their tourism projects

Member organization	Name of tourism project
1. *Asociación para la Conservación y Desarrollo de los Cerros de Escazú* (CODECE)	El Encanto
2. *Asociación para el Desarrollo Sostenible de San José Rural* (ADESSARU)	Nacientes Palmichal
3. ANAI	Talamanca Adventures
4. *Asociación Montaña Verde*	Montaña Verde
5. *Asociación de Conservación y Desarrollo Sostenible El Copal*	El Copal
6. *Fundación Sol de Vida*	Casa del Sol
7. *Fundación Pro-Reserva Monte Alto*	Monte Alto
8. *Asociación Ecológica de Paquera, Lepanto y Cóbano* (ASEPALECO)	Cerro Escondido
9. *Asociación de Mujeres Activas y Progresistas de Costa de Pájaros*	Mariposas del Golfo
10. *Asociación de Desarrollo Integral* (ADI), San Luis.	Sendero Pacífico
11. *Asociación de Damas de Isla de Chira*	Albergue La Amistad
12. *Asociación de Mujeres Organizadas de Biolley* (ASOMOBI)	ASOMOBI
13. *Asociación de Productores La Amistad* (ASOPROLA)	Proyecto Agroturistico del Distrito de Biolley
14. *Cooperativa Autogestionaria de Producción de Leña, Carbón y Mangle* (COOPEMANGLE R.L.)	Térraba Kayak Tour
15. Asociación Con*servacionista Tesoro Verde*	Tesoro Verde
16. *Asociación de Productores de Vainilla* (ASOPROVA)	Reserva Los Campesinos
17. *Grupo de Mujeres de Yorkín*, Stibrawpa	Casa de las Mujeres
18. *Asociación de Guías Autóctonos de Manzanillo*	Guías Mant
19. *Asociación de Pequeños Productores Gandoqueños* (APROGAN)	Tortugas Marinas y Bosques de Gandoca*
20. *Asociación para el Desarrollo Sostenible de Gandoca y Mata de Limón* (ADESGAMA).	
21. *Cabineros de Gandoca*	
23. *Asociación de Familias Productoras del Yüe*	El Yüe
24. *Asociación Keköldi Wak Ka Koneke*	Kekoldi

* Member organizations numbered 19 to 21 use the same project name, since they work collaboratively in the same geographical area.

Functions of ACTUAR

ACTUAR's functions include the following:

1. Capacity building ('*capacitación*') and technical assistance:

The path that peasant people take to evolve from artisan production to the service sector is complex. A level of specialization is needed, but they themselves have never been tourists. Some training ('*capacitación*') is offered by ACTUAR, but it mainly tries to generate ties

with government institutions (e.g., INA, the government's technical education institution) for them to train the community groups (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005). INA officials report that they coordinate with UNDP and ACTUAR to attend their training requests (Solano & Campos, 2006).

2. Promotion and marketing:

If the tourism projects are not generating sales, the objectives of the support programs are not being met. Therefore, this is "a priority area, because it is what the associates of ACTUAR need the most" (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

3. Political incidence:

ACTUAR has united with other NGOs that work on the topic of rural tourism. With them, they have formed an alliance where they "can assume in a more direct fashion the state policies in order to position the topic on the national political agenda." For example, it tries to get the Costa Rican Tourism Board (ICT) to develop rural tourism as Costa Rica's fourth tourism macro-product, which would imply promotion at the international level" (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

Through the performance of these functions, ACTUAR has been able to tackle some of the common problems faced by rural inhabitants in the practice of tourism, such as lack of essential skills, high development costs, and the dominance of mass tourism operators. It has, however, had a harder time in solving other problems, such as low employment and income (Trejos et al., 2008).

Members of ACTUAR

ACTUAR's member organizations can be divided into four groups according to their functions:

1. Environmental and conservation organizations:

They started out as environmentally concerned groups but later developed rural tourism activities as a way of seeking the sustainability of conservation and environmental education activities. Many of these organizations own and maintain private reserves.

2. Peasant and fishermen organizations:

These base groups ('*grupos de base*') started tourism activities as a way of diversifying their productive activities. Some were located in settlements created by the Institute of Agrarian Development (IDA, a government institution). As some communities are sited in environmental protection buffer zones, they cannot make use of the natural resources without permission from the Ministry of the Environment and Energy (MINAE).

3. Women's groups:

These groups are located in the Nicoya Gulf and are affected by special circumstances. Because of the overexploitation of the fishing resources, on which these people live exclusively, it is important to generate an alternative activity. "It is very expensive for them to have their own fishing boat ('*panga*'), and to leave their children at home and fish all day. It is therefore very complicated for them. Also, it is an area which carries a very strong male chauvinistic stance, which is related to the fishing culture" (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005). ACTUAR therefore has focused on generating alternatives for women in the area.

4. Groups from indigenous territories:

Tourism has its part in the preservation or rescue of local culture, as is the case of indigenous groups. These groups are not allowed to sell wood, and they have many restrictions. In the case of Kekoldi (one of ACTUAR's members), one of its objectives is to buy back the land that is in the hands of outsiders (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

Considering the demand side

According to Edwards (1999), making a difference in the livelihoods and capacities among poor people depends on NGO successes in fostering autonomous grassroots institutions and linking them with markets and political structures at a higher level. CBRT started out from the necessities of the communities, but without first considering what could be interesting from the demand side:

"There are deficiencies in access to markets. We need market knowledge such as how the ecotourism business moves, and who is moving the business in Europe and the United States. What are the characteristics of the businesses that are incorporating this type of tourism in their vacation programs" (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

"For example, in Costa de Pájaros (a small town in the Nicoya Gulf) there is an organization associated with ACTUAR, and it is hard to figure out what to do with them. It started as a very utopian idea of about 30 women, but they have no production. For example, they put a 'vivero' (plant breeding ground), then a butterfly farm, then some pangas, but in the end, they are not producing. They imagine possible business ventures, like for example a butterfly farm, but they are not taking into account the industry, the demand" (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

If CBRT is to survive in the long term, the demand side of the market has to be considered. This includes market knowledge as well as tailoring the products according to tourist's interests.

Deficiencies in the supply side

According to Guereña (2004), the CBRT sector "faces limitations like a weak financial capacity, and an incipient qualification in tourism and business aspects. Also, they must face barriers in infrastructure for access, communication and basic services that characterize many of the rural areas, which imply a comparative disadvantage in terms of competitiveness".

For the long term survival of CBRT, a step forward has to be taken towards formalizing the businesses:

"We have to give technical assistance. We have to help this group take a step towards the formal sector, but this requires entrepreneurship ('gestión empresarial')". "Most initiatives are in the informal sector, which has limitations that include putting up a sign, getting a patent, and acquiring civil responsibility insurance. These are things related to business responsibility, but without losing authenticity and uniqueness. They have to move one step forward and become businesses" (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

According to Wearing & McDonald (2002), traditional knowledge is vulnerable to the introduction of new forms of language. Western models of management bring about new

perceptions of reality in relation to the natural environment and human behavior. ACTUAR is interested in developing management methods that mitigate this effect:

"When giving technical assistance, it is very hard to find people that use methodologies for rural people; to teach entrepreneurship, but without necessarily getting them into our urban scheme of things. The challenge is to develop a managerial system that is able to provide basic information, but without being so dependent on technology like in urban areas" (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

In conclusion, deficiencies in the supply side can be grouped in two main categories: lack of knowledge (of tourism and business) and lack of resources (infrastructure, financing).

A constructed type for CBRT

According to the UNDP (2003), CBRT is developed by community organizations. Its benefits for communities include the opportunity to generate complementary income, the reduction of emigration and sale of land, the preservation of local culture and the possibility of owning nature reserves. Benefits for tourists include more affordable prices, the opportunity to reach less accessed rural areas, and the availability of local guides who know their land. Tourists can get involved in rural life activities, and experience the traditions and way of life of local populations and the different Costa Rican cultures, like the peasant, indigenous and Afro-Caribbean cultures.

According to Guereña (2004), CBRT represents an advanced stage of ecotourism. In socioeconomic terms, it complements and diversifies the revenues of peasant families, combats economic isolation, develops entrepreneurial capacity, contributes to controlling rural migration, allows the appraisal and the recovery of local culture, and stimulates the development of infrastructure in rural areas. In environmental terms, CBRT develops community capacity to offer environmental services, as it is an incentive to conservation. For example, there are cases of community-managed private reserves that form biological corridors. Another example is the stimulation of environmental protection actions and sustainable production practices. With this information, a typology for the constructed type of CBRT as opposed to mass tourism is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Comparison between constructed types of CBRT and 'mass tourism'

Characteristics	Mass tourism	CBRT
Scale	Large	Small
Business structure	Big business	Micro enterprises
Business and land ownership	Foreigners and urban owners	Community members and their organizations
Prices	Expensive	Affordable
Local ties	Economical isolation	Develops linkages to communities
Culture	Tourism enclave	Traditions and way of life of local population

Rural tourism support as a network of subsystems

Figure 2 presents an example of how support is organized in the case of ACTUAR. Originally, funding comes from donor countries. This is congruent with Petras (1997), who stated that NGOs receive funding mainly from governments. The GEF's funds come from

donor countries in order to create "global environmental benefits" (GEF, 2002). The new GEF replenishment, agreed upon by 32 developed and developing countries in Washington, funds operations over the next four years, from 2002 to 2006. The 32 donors that participated in the new replenishment include: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, China, Cote d'Ivoire, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, India, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nigeria, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States (UN, 2002). In Costa Rica, the SGP is stationed at the local UNDP Office.

ACTUAR is one of the beneficiaries of the SGP. In turn, ACTUAR tries to get the government to support CBRT, through the following institutions: FODESAF (an institution in charge of helping poor families), IDA, INA, ICT, MAG (Ministry of Agriculture), and MINAE (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

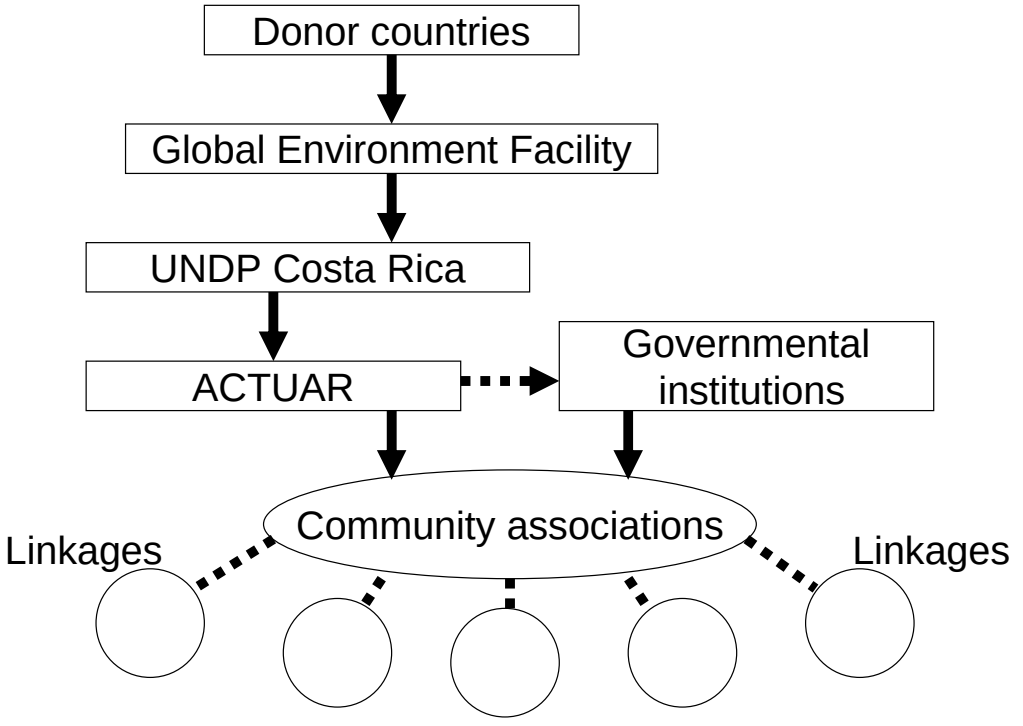

Figure 2. Example of support flow for ACTUAR

According to the discourse maintained by ACTUAR representatives, support for communities for rural tourism activities is then channeled through community associations, and then this support supposedly is linked to the rest of the community. This, however, has yet to be corroborated by research:

"Linkages include guides, boats, small restaurants, tours and horseback rides. Tourism is not just hotel rooms; to have a tourism destination you need to have an array of activities around it, from entertainment, food, crafts, canopy tours, etc. Tourism generates dynamics in a community by small linkages" (Representative, ACTUAR, personal communication, 2005).

Conclusions

This research purports to understand how CBRT is organized in Costa Rica, where it has been promoted as a way to help communities develop rural entrepreneurship. In this case study, it was found that CBRT started out from the necessities of rural communities, and not from a formalized planning operation. Through a local NGO like ACTUAR, international donor agencies have given support to CBRT projects. The main functions of ACTUAR include: 1) capacity building and technical assistance; 2) promotion and marketing; and 3) political incidence. Its 24 member associations include environmental and conservation organizations, peasant and fishermen organizations, women's groups and groups from indigenous territories.

The second objective of this paper was to pinpoint systematically the main problems faced by promoters of CBRT. One of the main problems in CBRT is that it has been supply driven. Steps must be taken to consider the demand side of CBRT, which includes market knowledge and product design. On the other hand, there are deficiencies on the supply side, which include lack of tourism and business knowledge, as well as lack of necessary infrastructure and financial resources.

Funding for the support of CBRT comes from donor countries which develop international funding agencies. These funding agencies and their local offices support local NGOs. Together with government institutions, these NGOs support community organizations. Further research may concentrate on whether NGO support for CBRT generates small linkages in the communities they are embedded in.

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