Challenges to Implementing Community Based Ecotourism (CBET) as a Bottom up Development Approach in the Sinharaja Rain Forest (Sri Lanka)

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Abstract

Community based ecotourism (CBET) is a well-established concept and its implementation has been an important component for many regional development strategies. This thesis argues that CBET originated as a Western concept, and there are many successful CBET projects. However, CBET operates within geo-political, economic and cultural contexts, which generate challenges for its implementation. This research examines a CBET initiative in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, Sri Lanka which shifted in 1995 from a central government approach to a community forest informed master plan, in line with Western CBET development models. This case study therefore provides the opportunity to explore the success of this CBET project.

A qualitative approach has principally guided this research together with statistics to examine the socio-cultural, socio-economic and geo-political context. A total of 293 participants have informed this research, which includes 193 interviews (115 individuals, and 15 different focus groups totalling 78 people) and 100 questionnaire respondents. These participants were surveyed during late 2012 and early 2013, and included both domestic and overseas tourists, local community residents and tourist operators, tourism consultants, and government officials.

One of the main findings is that despite plans being developed at a community level, the wider context includes superimposed capitalism, which dominates and counteracts the ideologies of CBET. Superimposed capitalism results in individualistic and competitive behaviours that undermine the collaborative community approach. It encourages poaching and the selling of rare flora and fauna (biopiracy), and results in anthropogenic disturbances to nature. The influence of "drug-sex' tourism, associated with superimposed capitalism, creates potential for further socio-cultural issues. This research also highlights the strong influence of geo-politics, which operates at both the international and domestic scale. National political conflicts in Sri Lanka have been extreme in recent times and this has generated security related issues for both residents and tourists. Political corruption, access to funds, and the lack of established decision making processes are also associated with geo-politics. This research also underlines the influence of the socio-cultural context such as gender inequality and caste discrimination, which substantially disempower certain people.

The thesis concludes that CBET is an appropriate pathway for tourism development in Sri Lanka but recognition of the above problems is required and they need to be addressed, in particular, superimposed capitalism. A well-defined monitoring system and an effective legal framework to control adverse effects are important for achieving CBET goals. The findings of this research will inform CBET in similar developing countries, but caution is required because the geo-political, economic and cultural context is different in every country.

Dedication

To my Wasu & Apu !

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This thesis is the fulfilment of the greatest dream of my life. I faced many diverse hardships when I sought to achieve this target and a lot of people were there to help me in this long and hard journey.

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List of Acronyms

ANT	Actor-Network Theory
CBET	Community Based Eco-Tourism
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CTB	Ceylon Tourism Board
DWLC	Department of Wildlife Conservation
FD	Forest Department
EFP	Edible Forest Products
GND	*Grama Niladari* (village officer's) Division
ICDPs	Integrated Conservation and Development Projects
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
JVP	Janata Wimukti Peramuna (People's Liberation Front)
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MAB	Man and the Biosphere Programme
NCSD	National Council for Sustainable Development
NEFP	Non-Edible Forest Products
NTFU	Non-Timber Forest Use
SLEF	Sri Lanka Ecotourism Foundation
SLFP	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
SLTDA	Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
UNP	United National Party
UN-REDD	United Nations Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
WCS	World Conservation Strategy
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Most poor and developing countries of the world want to develop their economies as greater wealth, on the global stage, provides greater power. Economic development, though, was long jeopardized by colonial relations which seem difficult to overcome, even today. Different means of boosting economic growth have been tried, following different political outlooks. Development theories and discourses (which have been created in the west) have heavily influenced the development process of southern peripheral countries based on two main reasons. First, time and space barriers have shrunk so that western knowledge easily flows into the developing world. Second, geo-politically as well as economically southern peripheral countries depend heavily on the western world and it leads to core-peripheral dependency on western knowledge (Clark, 2008).

Theoretical knowledge changes with time and context (Gergen, 2009). For example, after the 1980s, new theoretical ideologies and dimensions of development were sought for global environmental issues created by unlimited development. As a result western scholars proposed sustainable development (defined in section 2.3) ideology as an alternative development tool (Brundtland, 1987). With the support and influence of northern hemispheric developed capitalist countries and international organizations funded by these countries, development planners of southern peripheral countries adopted these development ideologies without any in-depth study about the suitability or applicability of these theories in their own contexts.

More recently, some countries have turned to tourism, which has become a global practice, as a possible boost to their foreign exchange income and to reduce poverty. Domestic flows of tourists have also been encouraged to redistribute wealth within individual countries. However, here too, many southern peripheral countries have used western theories as the baseline in their tourism and ecotourism policies (Chaperon & Bramwell, 2013). For instance, Sri Lanka

changed its top to bottom forest management approach and created a new forestry sector master plan in 1995, following the bottom up development (defined in section 2.2.3) and sustainable development ideologies to achieve forest management, to empower marginalized local communities and to seek theoretical and practical answers for contemporary forestry sector issues (Vitarana & Rakaganno, 1997). Under this master plan, eco-tourism and CBET approaches were at the centre of attention of environmental policy makers and researchers of the country (Dangal & De Silva, 2010; Kahveci, Ok, & Yýlmaz, 2011; Ngece, 2011).

Ecotourism, in this thesis, is defined as 'environmentally friendly responsible travel' with ties to sustainable development; and CBET emphasizes 'the roots or underling principles that derive from the concepts of community development, a small scale locally oriented and holistic approach to economic growth and social change' linked to the idea of spreading benefits to the whole community, or at least to the largest number possible to help improve its economic outlook.

Sri Lanka is a developing island country in South Asia, rich in extensive bio diversity owing to its geo-physical positioning in a tropical climate zone (Lynam, Jong, Sheil, Kusumanto, & Evans, 2007). Among the different types of eco-systems, tropical rain forests of Sri Lanka have become most attractive and biologically precious for their recorded high bio diversity and endemic species rates (Brand, 2012). Over many years, local communities who reside in peripheral areas of Sri Lankan rain forests have used freely available forest resources for survival (Kumara, 2010). In historic times, communities' dependency on forests was not a serious environmental issue due to low human population and traditional cultural practices, which prevented communities from harmful utilization of forests. Yet, with increasing population and rural poverty, this situation started to change negatively from the beginning of the last century (Wickramasinghe, Bambaradeniya, & Vidanapathirana, 2012). Over utilization of rain forest resources and clearing forestland for new faming lands by peripheral communities (groups of people or villages that exist along the outside edge of the forests of Sri Lanka) have become the main reasons of rain forest degradation in Sri Lanka (Lindström, Mattsson, & Nissanka, 2012).

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The Sri Lankan government and the Forest Department have implemented many programmes for rain forest management based on the new forest conservation strategy. Among the Sri Lankan rain forests, Sinharaja is a special biological unit. It is the biggest rain forest of the country consisting of 11,187 hectares spread over an elevation range of 150-1150 m above sea level and covers 0.2% of the island (Forest Department, 2014). Further, Sinharaja is a biological hotspot in the world and has been declared the first world natural heritage biological unit of Sri Lanka by UNESCO in 1988. One of the major trends observed in the Sinharaja rain forest is its rapid degradation owing to overutilization of forest resources by peripheral villagers and weaknesses in government forest management policy (Gunatilleke, 2004; Kumara, 2010).

My research field, the Kudawa GND is situated close to the Sinharaja rain forest and is an isolated area among all the administration units of Sri Lanka. One of the route accesses to Sinharaja is through Kudawa GND, namely, the Kudawa-Sinharaja access. I have previously researched the villages and communities living along the Sinharaja periphery. Based on the findings of these research projects and other secondary data, I revealed that these communities have experienced economic, political, and socio-cultural marginalization for a long period. After the 1990s, the Forest Department introduced concepts of ecotourism and CBET to the Kudawa-Sinharaja site as a sustainable bottom up development approach and a tool for communities' empowerment to overcome local poverty while protecting the forest.

The Sri Lankan government is promoting the development of CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja context because local community members in this site have traditionally utilized forest resources for survival but presently the government and the Forest Department have banned those traditional forest utilitarian practices (Forest Department, 2013a). Even if tea planting has become popular in these areas as a better income source, finding cultivation land is now a major problem for the new generation. Before the 1990s, farmers illegally cleared forestland for their cultivation needs, yet now the rules and regulation against forest clearance have been tightened. Therefore, it has become very difficult for young people to clear forest areas for farming and they always clash with forest

officers and police in their struggle to find new land for cultivation needs (Kumara, 2010). On the other hand, increasing human population and youth unemployment have become common in this area, so that the poverty rate has increased and the local community is economically marginal (Forest Department, 2013a).

Even though it seems the government has good reason to implement CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja context as discussed earlier, project planners have still failed to achieve its goals of sustainability based on western conceptual dimensions. Forest degradation and issues of political, economic and social marginalization of local communities in this site are somewhat interrelated (Forest Department, 2013a). These issues are common in bottom up development and sustainable development projects implemented in many other southern peripheral countries (Jalani, 2012; Reimer & Walter, 2013; Thompson, 2008; Waylen, Gowan, & Milner-Gulland, 2009) and a large gap between practical achievements and expected goals of these projects can still be seen. This research experience has been used for comparative analysis of the situation in the Kudawa-Sinharaja CBET site.

While designing my research topic, I focused more on this gap and why CBET has failed practically in meeting expected targets. I was also interested in what could have possibly challenged such achievement. I created a research plan that aimed at examining the challenges faced by CBET as a bottom up development approach to provide sustainable livelihoods to the communities residing along the periphery of the Sinharaja rain forest of Sri Lanka. Examining these project challenges is practically and theoretically important in order to re-arrange the current CBET practices more meaningfully for marginalized local communities' empowerment and for rain forest conservation. Challenges are thus researched along three dimensions. First, economic challenges are examined paying special attention to influences of capitalism and superimposed capitalism on the CBET project. Second, political challenges are analysed considering geopolitical and regional political issues related to the project. Third, socio-cultural challenges are scrutinised paying attention to issues of gender, caste, and tourist behaviour.

1.2 Research interests and significance of the research

My research interests are in forestry and relevant phenomena such as the relationship between nature and people and balancing such relationships. Hence, I have concentrated researching on forestry during my higher education (Kumara, 2010, 2013). Sustainability has become an important concept in theories of economic development, especially when it comes to developing countries (see section 2.3). Development without any guidelines has not shown to help the poorest or to provide environmental management. More recent development theories, concepts and discourses such as post colonialism, environmentalism, political ecology, bottom-up development and community participation in development are seeking to reduce the more negative effects of capitalism and maximization of profits by investors. From previous research, I understood that forest management combined with empowerment of marginalized local communities is an urgent need in Sri Lanka. This has become an important and timely topic not only in Sri Lanka, but also in many other less developed countries.

Although policy makers and development project planners in Sri Lanka as well as in many other developing countries have theoretically used western ideologies of sustainable development and bottom up development to reach development goals, they still seem frustrated in achieving expected goals (see chapter 2, section 2.5). One of the critical arguments is that both developing and developed countries are not concerned honestly about sustainable development practices even if they discourse on its importance. As a result, concepts of sustainable and bottom up development still seem attractive fantasies; however, in practice alternative development ideologies should spread from the grass root level to achieve realistic socio-ecological, political and economic goals (Allen & Edwards, 1995; Robinson, 2004; Sneddon, Howarth, & Norgaard, 2006). Considering the above, my research has concentrated on one case study to discover the reasons that have impeded this CBET project from achieving these lofty goals.

My position as the researcher and a Sri Lankan Sinhala-Buddhist allowed me to use my own socio-cultural knowledge and experiences to identify the socio-cultural setting of the field more clearly. Familiarity with the research site through

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previous research projects carried out in this area helped me to identify geo-physical, economic, socio-cultural and political factors associated with CBET. Nonetheless, I identified that my position may create some biases so that I constantly negotiated my positionality through reflexivity to minimize them.

The theoretical importance of this research is manifold. First, it examines ideological rationality of suitable development and bottom up development approaches as alternative development concepts (Brown, 2013; Zizek, 2008). Second, it is important to examine the rationality and effectiveness of these western development ideologies, theories and concepts in the southern peripheral context. Therefore, I paid special attention on potential theoretical challenges of applying these concepts at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. Third, new knowledge has been produced to increase the effectiveness of these approaches in the southern peripheral context because this research has focused on identifying contemporary challenges to these alternative strategies and found ways to reduce them.

Practically, this research is important in the Sri Lankan context because forest conservation and management are needed in Sri Lanka as the country's forest resource is gradually degrading (Eskil, Martin, Madelene, & Nissanka, 2012). Regardless of the government's efforts to protect forest areas, the problem still persists without an answer (Lindström et al., 2012). Simultaneously, the world's positive image of Sri Lanka as a safe eco-tourism destination after the establishment of peace in the country in 2009, following 30 years of civil war has increased the number of overseas tourist arrivals (Ministry of Economic Development, 2014). Researching challenges to CBET would be useful for policy makers and project planners of the country. As a university lecturer who is a public official in Sri Lanka, I am requested to present my research findings to relevant institutes that develop ecotourism and CBET practices of the country.

 Development being an economic as well as a political process, application of development modules and theories in practice is difficult without political support (Farmaki, Altinay, Botterill, & Hilke, 2015; Happaerts, 2012). Political stability, interests, agendas, policies, relationships and patterns of geo-political power distribution of the governments are in/directly linked with development activities and their effectiveness in most regions of the world (Adeleke, 2015; Dietz, 2013).

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The Sri Lankan government has contributed to development of ecotourism and CBET in the country as a rural development strategy (Ministry of Economic Development, 2010) and this political interest of the government increases the weight of my research.

Even though the need for implementing CBET in the Sri Lankan situation is deliberate, substantial progress in that regard has not been observed due to many social, economic and political factors (Kumara, 2010; Lankanath, 2008). Lack of academic attention to socio-cultural challenges associated with economic and geo-political issues can be identified as the main challenge. This scholarly research on 'challenges of implementing community based ecotourism (CBET) as a bottom up development approach in the Sinharaja rain forest in Sri Lanka to provide sustainable livelihoods' and measures to address these challenges includes theoretical and practical solutions based on particular contexts.

1.3 Formulating research objectives and questions

The main purpose of this study is to examine 'why implementing CBET as a bottom up and sustainable development approach in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site has not been successful'. To answer this question, I sought potential challenges in this site. Subsequently, I constructed theoretical and practical knowledge through analysing the main challenges of developing CBET to deal with them more effectively and efficiently. I thus derived three specific research objectives for this study.

Specific objectives

i.   To identify main challenges to CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site of Sri Lanka.

ii.   To examine and analyse identified challenges in view of relevant theories and discourses.

iii. To create theoretical and practical solutions to rearrange CBET ventures appropriately to particular contexts, in order to overcome the challenges

Moreover, I have developed research questions depending on the main research purpose and specific objectives paying attention to several other factors. First, I considered CBET as an economic activity, since one of the main objectives of the CBET project implemented in the research site is economic empowerment of the marginalized local communities to diminish rural poverty. The development of ecotourism ventures and cash crop plantation have led to the super imposition of capitalism (more in section 2.6, Chapter 2, and section 5.2 in Chapter 5). I developed research questions to identify economic challenges of this project such as (1) what are the economic challenges of the project and are these challenges linked with effects of superimposed capitalism. (2) How do these economic challenges influence resource and benefit distribution of the project? (3) How do they influence social behaviour leading to unethical practices?

Second, the geopolitical situation is identified as one of the important components of CBET development where western ecotourism and CBET theories have been introduced to southern peripheral countries as alternative development approaches. Some of this introduction is due to core-peripheral geopolitical and economic dependency. On the other hand, government policies and interests as well as regional political situations have direct or indirect influence on the effectiveness of CBET projects. Thus, I developed research questions on geopolitical challenges such as (1) How does the geopolitical situation affect implementation of CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site? (2) What regional and local political issues hinder the achievement of realistic CBET targets? Moreover, organizing and conducting such a bottom up development project is also based on political and administrative power relations, therefore, I wanted to examine, (3) what are the possible challenges to community participation in the project and the community's involvement in the decision making process of the project?.

Third, the socio-cultural background of a particular place can challenge successful implementation of CBET. Gender and caste issues are identified as the most common and main socio-cultural barriers to bottom up development in rural Sri Lanka as well as in many other developing countries (Jeffery & Jeffery, 2012; Kottegoda, 2013; Silva, Sivaparagasam, & Thanges, 2009; Thrift et al., 2011). Therefore, paying special attention to these issues I developed the research

questions: (1) How do gender and caste issues influence CBET development in the site? Since I wanted to examine how tourists' behaviour influences the project, I added the question (2) what are the CBET ethics and accepted tourists' traits?

Finally, seeing that CBET focuses on environmental conservation as one of its main principles (section 2.4.5 in Chapter 2) I wanted to examine (1) What are the environmental challenges of the project? and (2) What is the relationship between environmental challenges and issues of superimposed capitalism and geopolitics? Considering all these questions related to CBET on economic, political, socio-cultural as well as environmental perspectives, I developed the following main research question of this thesis.

What situations challenge the implementation of CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site of Sri Lanka to provide sustainable livelihoods?

I wanted to examine practical and theoretical solutions for potential challenges of CBET in this site to contribute academically to formulate a better community based bottom up development activity, which is useful not only in this particular area, but also in other similar contexts. Thus, I developed a corollary question:

How can the current CBET project be rearranged as an effective bottom up development approach using relevant theoretical and practical solutions?

1.4   Structure of the thesis

As discussed in chapter 1, the CBET project implemented in Kudawa-Sinharaja based on western alternative development ideologies to create better livelihoods for the local community has failed to achieve its goals successfully in practice. Therefore, this research focuses on examining the causes for the gap between real practices and expected outcomes of the project in order to develop new theoretical and practical knowledge based on grassroots level situations, which help to establish sustainable and better livelihoods for the marginalized local community.

Chapter 2 of the thesis discusses the theoretical background of this research. Most of the development ideologies, theories, and discourses have been developed by western scholars. Most developing countries adopted these development concepts

to their own situations due to core-peripheral political and economic dependency on the developed countries. In accordance with changes that have occurred in development ideologies in the western world, southern peripheral countries have changed their development approaches. Hence, an analysis of western development theories and discourses as well as changes that have occurred with time is important to establish the development background of my research field.

Forest management approaches of Sri Lanka changed from 'top to bottom' to 'bottom up' in the 1990s depending on the western development concept of sustainable development. Even if sustainable development is an important ideology to address contemporary development issues in the world, especially in the developing world, the capitalist structure has failed to reconcile with sustainable development. Capitalism has been superimposed on Sri Lanka as well as on many other southern peripheral countries through the influence of capitalist northern hemispheric countries. Thus, the processes of sustainable development, capitalism, and superimposed capitalism are theoretically viewed in this chapter to verify research objectives and questions.

Chapter 3 defines the methodology of the research. My research questions required a qualitative methodology, yet quantitative data is also used to support qualitative findings. Therefore, I have used a mixed methodological approach and it is further explained in this chapter paying attention to data collecting and analysing methods. Research biases and positionality issues can occur in any phase of a research project which is carried out by a human being (researcher) on other human beings and related phenomena. Thus, my 'positionality' as the researcher and a Sri Lankan was thoroughly reflected upon to minimize research biases as is further explained in this chapter. Ethical issues were also considered to minimize harm to all participants.

Chapter 4 describes the study area of the research. The Kudawa-Sinharaja site is suitable for developing ecotourism owing to its attractive landscape ecology, water streams, and high biodiversity. In particular, this place is an ideal bird watching site. Kudawa villagers are involved in ecotourism ventures in several ways with support extended to them by the Sri Lanka Forest Department, yet

available statistical data of the sample villages shows a lack of women's participation in CBET practices and a high percentage of woman unemployment. On the other hand, outside elites and companies are involved in more profitable ecotourism ventures in the area. This situation has further been analysed in the chapters that follow using primary data.

Chapter 5 is the first analysis chapter of the thesis. It focuses on examining challenges of superimposed capitalism and socio-economic issues of CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. As analysed in this chapter, ecotourism has directly created a superimposed capitalistic social structure in the site and has promoted individualism. The issues raised are analysed in this chapter through case studies. The main conclusion of this chapter is that a bottom up development approach can be subverted by superimposed capitalism, if project planners lack a proper mechanism to answer most of the challenges it brings in such as lack of cooperation of community members. Furthermore, I propose the concepts of collective leadership and social empowerment as most suitable approaches to develop collective responsibility of local communities to face economic challenges in the project.

Chapter 6 analyses potential geopolitical challenges to CBET in this project. First, I discuss political connections and the location of Sri Lanka in global geopolitics; then political strategy, and issues of local government; and finally, the challenges brought by regional politics operating in the Kudawa GND. Political issues, which render the management and development of CBET more challenging, are analysed using relevant primary data. As I argue in this chapter, since political challenges are linked with economic and socio-cultural issues, project planners must consider the socio-economic background of these political conflicts while rearranging CBET ventures. Yet, project planners cannot easily find solutions because issues of global geopolitics on CBET and government need long term planning.

However, as I discuss in this chapter, empowerment of marginalized community members through addressing regional and local political challenges of CBET is essential to achieve bottom up development targets effectively. Hence, this chapter focuses on developing a relevant theoretical base line for such process

based on certain theories, for example, collective leadership, stakeholder's, theory and actor-network theory considering the grassroots level situations. As I argue later on in this chapter, lack of capital to invest in CBET has become another major challenge to empower the marginalized community politically. Thus, I discuss the development of a village banking system based on microcredit theory as a political-economic approach to rearrange CBET.

Chapter 7 analyses socio-cultural issues of CBET. Issues of gender and caste are considered in this chapter as the main socio-cultural issues of Kudawa villages hindering the achievement of CBET targets. As I argue here, Kudawa women are the most marginalized social group owing to gender bias and discrimination, however, CBET has failed to address this issue. Therefore, this chapter focuses on analysing the need for a mechanism for women's empowerment as an essential part of CBET. Most of the traditional Kudawa villagers belong to a low caste according to the traditional Sri Lankan caste hierarchy and it is the foremost factor for their being socio-culturally marginalized over the years. As I argue in this chapter, CBET can address this issue since CBET is capable of giving extended opportunities to villagers to be involved in new livelihoods which do not represent their caste. Further, this chapter discusses issues of tourist behaviour and possibility of exposure to 'drug-sex' tourism even if it originates outside of this site. 'Theory of planned behaviour', and 'theory of reasoned action' are suggested as theoretical approaches to address the above issues.

Chapter 8 concludes this thesis. The conclusion is derived from the outcomes of the analysis and key findings presented in the previous chapters. I expect that the findings can provide valuable information about CBET as a bottom up and sustainable development approach and answer the main research question. Predictably, there are limitations to this research, thus, recommendations are presented on further research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Underpinning of the Research

2.1 Introduction

'Development' is a constructed ideology, which keeps changing along with time-space variables, however, it is generally defined as a process, which changes a situation for the better (Desai & Potter, 2014; Perroux, 2010). The significance of 'the improvement' is also a vague idea, since its meaning differs according to particular times and contexts. Most of the contemporary development theories, discourses and ideologies are often developed by western thinkers (Willis, 2011). Importantly, implementation of development ideologies and concepts in practice is associated with global geopolitical power relationships and their changes (Oatley, 2012). Global geopolitics are responsible for creating the present core-periphery political-economic system which in turn frames the development process of southern peripheral countries (Kiely, 2014; Larrain, 2013).

My research focuses on sustainable development of forest management in Sri Lanka. Geo-politically, Sri Lanka is identified as a southern peripheral country. It was colonized from 1505 to 1948, which heavily influenced the development process of the country. After gaining independence, Sri Lanka utilized varying political-economic strategies based on western ideologies or under the influence of western nations to achieve its development targets. Therefore, carrying out a study on the rationality of development approaches of southern peripheral countries like Sri Lanka, and changes made to these approaches must include an examination of political-economic relationships of these countries with the core (western) countries in order to identify theoretical rationality and appropriateness of the sustainable development approach in this site.

Sustainable development has not become a reality even three decades after its origin; it is still a fantasy discourse (Hall & Vredenburg, 2012; Sanderson, 2013).Two main factors challenge this discourse. First, from a philosophical perspective, although sustainable development aims to address current development needs without compromising the ability of future generations to

meet their own needs (Brundtland, 1987), it is vague since future development needs which depend on future time and context cannot be forecasted (Redclift, 2002). Second, most contemporary global political-economic hegemonic powers do not support sustainable development ideologies. Even if western scholars have developed sustainable development as a strategy to control unlimited economic development activities, capitalistic northern hemispheric countries do not support this process. Philosophically, capitalism and sustainable development goals cannot be achieved in the same context (Pawłowski, 2012; Zizek, 2008; Zizek, 2011), since capitalism is based on the concept of maximizing profits and economic competition (Buzan & Lawson, 2014).

Yet, development planners and thinkers often use the sustainable development ideology as the baseline of development projects (Pearce, Barbier, & Markandya, 2013; Reid, 2003). The bottom up development concept is still applied as a sustainable development approach on marginalized societies in southern peripheral countries to address development goals while protecting relevant socio-cultural elements and the physical environment (Ghai & Vivian, 2014). Even most of the contemporary rural development projects in Sri Lanka depend heavily on sustainable development and bottom up development approaches. Conceptually, sustainable development and bottom up development discourses are important and rational in the Sri Lankan context. On the other hand, some important aspects have been ignored in the process such as effects of superimposed capitalism in Sri Lanka (capitalism and superimposed capitalism is defined on in section 2.6), or insufficient academic research on the suitability of these approaches in the Sri Lankan context.

Examining micro level theories associated with bottom up development practices, should enable me to determine the challenges faced by CBET to achieve realistic goals of sustainable development projects in Sri Lanka, such as 'empowering marginalized local communities while protecting nature'. Discourses of sustainable development and ecotourism together with other CBET research works in developing countries are taken into consideration to understand common challenges. Finally, I also demonstrate how superimposed capitalism in Sri Lanka associates negatively with sustainable development approaches. The main

research questions and objectives of this research are derived from this theoretical analysis.

The chapter thus starts with a survey of early development discourses and theories and how they influenced development thought in Sri Lanka after independence; it then examines the alternative theories offered to remedy the failings of classical economics. Subsequently, it analyses the concepts of sustainability, sustainable development and its rationality in the southern peripheral context. The third section of the chapter discusses ecotourism and CBET since my research focuses mainly on these concepts as alternative development tools. Then, I present critics of the sustainable development discourse since it assists theoretical understanding of issues of alternative development approaches. While studying such criticisms, I identified most of the issues of sustainable development associated with capitalism and superimposed capitalism, which are discussed at the end of this chapter.

2.2 Development discourses and theories

This section scrutinises theories and the global and regional situations in which they were created to show the link of this research to contemporary development theories. Global development theories and discourses are mainly based on 'capitalist' and 'socialist' ideologies, which have influenced policymaking and eco management planning in Sri Lanka. With changes in global development theories and discourses on historical and political grounds, development policy, plans, as well as ecosystem management strategies adopted by Sri Lanka also changed.

2.2.1 Classical traditional approach and neoclassical approach

- **Classical traditional approach**

The classical traditional development approach is the root of modern development processes. Adam Smith, Jean-Baptiste Say, David Ricardo, Thomas Malthus and John Stuart Mill can be recognized as its foremost authors. 'The Wealth of Nations' (Smith, 1776) is considered the foundation of 'classical economic

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development discourse'. It was written when 'capitalism' was emerging from 'feudalism' because of the industrial revolution. This newly emerging situation created a problem about how a society could be organized into a structure where people could maximize their individual financial advantages. Thus, classical political economic thinkers including Adam Smith principally focused on the idea of economic efficacy of global free trade markets, which resulted in the growth of the earliest capitalist economy. At the same time, it established euro-centred idealism and that was the weakness of this approach (Desai, 2002; Politonomist, 2009; Potter, 2002).

When the classical traditional development approach emerged, Sri Lanka was a European colony. In that period, there was great demand in the world market for spices and commercial crop varieties found in Asian regions. Thus, colonial rulers in Sri Lanka started to clear forestlands on a large scale for commercial crop plantation like coconut, coffee, tea, rubber etc. Europeans used both rain forests and dry zone forests in Sri Lanka as open hunting grounds and for timber extraction for the world market (Abesinghe, 1966; de Zoysa, 2001).

The Sinharaja forest also became one of the most important attractions for Europeans. The Portuguese (1505 to 1658) possessed lists of several peripheral areas of Sinharaja, namely, Kalawana and Potupitiya where commercial crop plantation was possible (de Zoysa & Raheem, 1993). After the Portuguese, the Dutch (1658 to 1796) continued this documentation system and started a mapping system in Sinharaja to trace the commercial value of the forest. The subsequent European power in Sri Lanka, the British (1796 to 1948), also studied the commercial value of Sinharaja and they discovered the highly marketable timber resources.

The Sinharaja forest area became one of the main interests of their occupation. For instance, in 1873, James Gunn researched and surveyed the Sinharaja forest area in order to verify the appropriateness of the quality of soil for coffee plantation (Gunn, 1873). George Henry Thwaites, also found Sinharaja a useful site for marketable flora species (Thwaites, 1858). Accordingly, policies against forest utilization by local communities were introduced. All uncultivated and

unoccupied forest areas were declared crown lands in 1840 and Sinharaja became a banned area for local communities who had traditionally utilized the forest (Daskon, 2004; de Zoysa & Raheem, 1993; Ishwaran & Erdelen, 1990; Senarathne, Abegunawardena, & Jayatilaka, 2003; Surasinghe, 2007).

- **Neoclassical approach**

According to neoclassical economic philosophy, economic activities may focus on the determination of prices, output, and income according to 'supply' and 'demand' in the market. At the end of world war II, ideologies of neoclassical development became more popular as an economic reconstruction tool and a method in capitalism discourse (Davis, 2006; Thomas, 2012).

After independence, the United National Party (UNP) of Sri Lanka was elected into power in 1947. UNP followed European capitalist ideologies, and Sinhala elite family politics. UNP rulers tried to implement a 'neoclassical development approach' to achieve economic targets for the country. They established large-scale industries that responded to the 'supply' and 'demand' in the market in order to achieve rapid industrial development (Moore, 1990; Tennekoon, 1988). For instance, in the 1950s, the country experienced a problem in supplying timber for increasing demand. Therefore, the government exhaustively analysed the timber resources available in the country.

In 1960, the government turned towards the tropical wet evergreen rain forests like Sinharaja, Kanneliya, Kottawa, Nakiyadeniya, Morapitiya and Runakenda for resources for the plywood industry and it established the 'state plywood corporation'. A massive plywood sawmill and a chip wood complex with a capacity of 4 million cubic feet were to be set up at Kosgama- 85 km away from the Northwest boundary of the Sinharaja forest. Furthermore, mechanized logging was conducted in the reserves of Sinharaja (Abeywickrama, 2003; de Zoysa & Raheem, 1993; Gunatilleke, 1978; Hoffmann, 1972; Ministry of Lands and Land Development/Forest Department, 1985). Yet this project was halted due to protests against this destructive development scheme by a large number of nature

lovers and as a result, logging in the Sinharaja rain forests was terminated in
October 1975 (Gunatilleke, 1978).

2.2.2   Radical dependency approach

Marxist and neo Marxist thinkers such as André Gunder Frank, Paul Baran and
Paul Sweezy, Samir Amin, Theotônio dos Santos, Arghiri Emmanuel, and Aníbal
Quijano developed 'radical dependency theory' (Vernengo, 2012). It is an
antithesis to 'classical and neo-classical development theories and discourses'. A
form of 'socialist development view in opposition to the 'capitalist development
view'. It questioned unequal global development processes (Desai & Potter,
2002). Marxists and neo Marxists believe that economic production should be
handled by social ownership and the economy should be managed as a
cooperative system (Fewel, 1981).

Radical dependency theorists examined and deconstructed capitalist economic
processes as well as the political and historical roots and flows of the development
process. Fundamentally, radical dependency theory has conceptualized that
resources flow from 'peripheral' countries (under developed countries) to 'core'
countries (developed wealthy countries). It has demonstrated that this flow is a
main reason for world development processes that result in underprivileged poor
states while the wealth of rich states is enhanced. Hence, the 'core' has developed
because of the 'periphery' while the 'periphery' has become peripheral because
of the 'core' (Costantinos, 1998; Sekhri, 2009). As Conway and Heynen explain;
"Dependency theory emerged as a critical lens through which the history of Latin
American development, marginalized as it was by Western hegemony, could be
better understood; the 'development of underdevelopment', no less" (2002, p. 97).

According to dependency theory, development processes of the third world should
focus on indigenous economic and social development as well as resource usage
patterns of local communities and their interests. The third world agricultural land
should be used to increase local food production and services like reduction of the
malnutrition rate (Ferraro, 2008). Radical dependency theory was the most
popular development theory until the 1970s, yet at the beginning of the 1980s, it

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faced the difficulty of explaining its own ideologies: growing economic development of some formerly poor countries like the 'Asian tigers' challenged its validity as a development discourse (Desai & Potter, 2002; Friedmann & Wayne, 2012).

The Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) came to power in Sri Lanka by a general election in 1970 and while implementing development plans, the SLFP government showed a tendency towards 'non-revolutionary socialist ideas and radical dependency development' rather than for 'capitalism and capitalist development approaches' (Rajapatirana, 1988; Samaranayake, 2008). Rajapatirana added that "The SLFP government was in favour of increased regulation of economic activity and was committed to industrialization" (Rajapatirana, 1988, p. 1145).The combination included principles with a socialist orientation aiming to change the state of Sri Lanka as a colonial-dependent economy. It seemed that the government was shifting away from the existing power elites-landowners, and an English educated middle class associated with British interests - towards the working class, peasants, and the indigenous intelligentsia.

The SLFP government (from 1970 to 1977) motivated the local community members to cultivate local grain, vegetable and fruit varieties focusing on local needs and local markets. In this period, the government seemed to ignore forest management or conservation. So, local communities residing in peripheral areas of the Sinharaja rain forest cleared forestland for subsistence farming which caused degradation of the forest (Hoffmann, 1972; Kumara, 2013). At the end of the 1970s, the political view of SLFP regarding development failed to achieve public attention due to many socio-cultural, economic, and environmental issues such as increasing poverty, unemployment and environmental degradation. In this context, SLFP lost the parliament election in 1978 and a new government came to power in Sri Lanka under UNP, based on 'liberal capitalist political views' (Rajapatirana, 1988; Samaranayake, 2008; Snodgrass, 1998).

After the world economic market let downs in the 1970s owing to economic instability, most neoclassical economists saw the necessity of providing

infrastructure by government to ensure the smooth running of markets. This ideology, emerged from the 'neoclassical economics theory', aimed to build up systematized markets to increase productivity, output and development. It meant government investments would directly increase the growth rate of per capita output and per capita productivity and thus directly increase economic growth (Davis, 2006; Potter, 2002).

Even though the neoclassical development approach succeeded in generating an economy receptive to capitalism, it had weaknesses. Mainly, this approach could not answer economic and development barriers in the developing world. After the 1970s, many economists including Marxists criticised the neoclassical approach as a 'top down' and hierarchical formulation method that can cause imbalance and unequal growth (Davis, 2006; Desai, 2002).

2.2.3   Alternative development approaches

Horrendous pictures of the future world emerged at the dawn of the 1980s considering prevalent environmental degradation and global warming, which were directly associated to unlimited economic development. Neo Malthusians have theoretically explained 'limits of growth' and they have described the correlation between food production and human growth, as well as the limitation and degradation of most natural resources (Abramitzky & Braggion, 2003; Brezis, 2010; Chenowetha & Feitelsonb, 2004). Economists, environmentalists, policy makers, as well as researchers concentrated on restraining economic growth and insisted on the universal need for environmental conservation.

At the same time, the rapid increase in human population was said to lead to many social problems including poverty, especially in the developing countries in that era. Environmental conservation and poverty reduction were the main challenges encountered. However, philosophically, the contemporary development theories and strategies failed to achieve intended goals. Thus, ideologically there was a 'need' for a new development paradigm. As a result, the alternative development approach emerged (Desai & Potter, 2002; Grillo & Stirrat, 1997; Schech & Haggis, 2002).

The relationship between political ideologies and the development process is noteworthy. As some scholars have argued, when environmental challenges of development are considered both socialist and capitalist ideologies have weaknesses (Sarkar, 1999). Consequently, political ideologies have shifted towards nature friendly development discourses. As result, capitalists use the term 'eco capitalism' and socialists have emphasized 'eco socialism'. Nonetheless, they are still struggling to develop environmentally friendly practical forms of economic development. Hence, researching on this issue has theoretical as well as practical importance (Reed, 2008).

- Post colonialism

'Post colonialism' is associated with alternative development discourses. Western structures of knowledge and power block the development process in the southern peripheral context. So, post colonialism scholars criticized a development structure based on western 'autonomy' and 'hegemonic power' (Brydon, 2004; d'Hauteserre, 2004). As post colonialists have explained, historically global domination by Europeans, and since 1945 the USA, have had an influence on contemporary political, socio-economic, and psychological aspects of southern peripheral countries (Hall & Tucker, 2004; Ziai, 2011). This form of 'ideological hegemony' has assisted in maintaining southern peripheral countries as a development periphery (Dirlik, 1994). Local communities or indigenous people who live in the southern periphery have limited access to their own resources or development opportunities because they do not have capital or skills to do so. This is due to this continued domination by capitalist countries.

Post colonialists have criticized western forms of political, cultural and economic domination that act as a barrier in the development process of marginalized communities or indigenous people (Krishna, 2009). As d'Hauteserre has mentioned, "Postcolonial theory has sought to bring forth views of the world held by non-western people and their histories of resistance and struggle that should have displaced western narratives of self-righteous supremacy" (2011, p. 387). Thus, post colonialism focuses on the resultant issues of injustice, imbalance, and

marginalized people due to inappropriate political, economic, and cultural activities.

Post colonialism supports some alternative development concepts such as the need to conserve cultural and environmental resources, the involvement of local communities in development, the improvement of their living conditions and the availability of sustainable development policy, plan and strategies (Desai & Potter, 2002; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Hollinshead, 2004; Ziai, 2011). Post colonialism is related to theories and ideologies of post-modernism. According to developmental views of 'modernization', southern peripheral countries should follow 'northern hemispheric' developed countries (capitalist, developed countries) to achieve their own development and they should focus on employing 'free trade', 'open markets' and 'capitalist economic systems'.

Yet, this ideology had been abandoned in the 1970s and 'post-modernist' theories and ideologies indicated how 'core-peripheral' dependency and 'hegemonic power' of northern hemispheric countries had hindered the development process of countries in the southern periphery. 'Core-peripheral' dependency and northern hemispheric hegemonic power should be overcome by southern peripheral countries, if they want to achieve development according to their needs. These post-modernist ideologies directly link with post colonialism (Childs & Williams, 1997; Peacock, 2012; Sharp & Briggs, 2006; Simon, 2006; Sylvester, 1999).

After 1990, the post colonialists have focused on 'tourism and post colonialism'. As they have identified, cultural and natural resources of the southern peripheral areas have been utilized by western travellers for their tourist satisfaction only. Yet it has become a major challenge to protect local resources in a sustainable way. This mass tourism practice has built up a neo-colonialist and neo-imperialist situation in the southern periphery. Hence, the post colonialists have proposed local communities and indigenous people centred, sustainable tourism practices; such as ecotourism and community based ecotourism (d'Hauteserre, 2004, 2011; Hall & Tucker, 2004).

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After independence, Sri Lanka was geopolitically located in the southern periphery as a developing country since it had been a colony for over four hundred years. At that time, Sri Lanka exported raw materials such as rubber, tea, and timber to northern hemispheric countries and imported finished goods from them. This created an interdependent 'core-periphery' connection with northern hemispheric countries. When Europeans left the country, they transferred political power to the politically privileged elite class of Sri Lanka who worked with a colonial and capitalist mentality. Thus, they encouraged modernization and implemented capitalist development plans to develop Sri Lanka. It maintained an 'inter dependent', 'neo colonialist' and 'neo imperialist' economic situation (Hennayaka, 2006; Lakshman & Tisdell, 2000; Lange, Mahoney, & vom Hau, 2006).

Following independence, the Sri Lankan government promoted mass tourism practices. Many European travellers selected Sri Lanka as their destination just because of the 4 Ss (sun, sea, sand, and sex). Yet this tourism practice increased socio-cultural and environmental problems, a situation common to most southern peripheral countries (Bandara, 2003; Harrison, 2001; Lea, 1993; Tisdell & Bandara, 2004). By the 1980s, environmental degradation, rural poverty, social cultural degradation, and human rights violations became major causes. Thus, Sri Lankan policy makers and development planners proposed alternative development plans. This influenced the tourism sector too. The Sri Lankan governments proposed ecotourism and community based ecotourism as new tourism approaches that depended on post colonialism ideologies (Fernando & Meedeniya, 2009; Hennayaka, 2006; Laksiri, 2007).

- Bottom-up development discourse and community participation in development

'The bottom-up development approach' has gradually arisen as an alternative development tool in the last few decades. This development approach is based on community participation and empowerment through their own development and environmental management. The bottom up development approach can be seen as localized, contextually rooted, small in scale, flexible, culturally sensitive as well

as environmentally friendly (Altieri & Masera, 1993; Menge, 1992; Parnwell, 2002). Local community participation in development plays a major role in the bottom-up development approach. According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), community participation includes "sharing by people in the benefits of development, active contribution by people to development and involvement of people in decision making at all levels of society" (Desai 2002, p. 117).

In the 1970s and 1980s, the concept of 'community participation' was the most popular term in many development discourses, especially the involvement of marginalized and poor local community members who face development barriers and issues in development and decisions making processes because of power plays that occur in all communities (Bray & Gates, 2003; Reid, 2003). The importance of the right to access decision making for local economic development outcomes has been highlighted by contemporary development planners and policy makers (Fraser, Dougill, Mabee, Reed, & McAlpine, 2006; Kuhlman & Farrington, 2010; Pérez-Soba et al., 2008). Socially and economically marginalized people should have the opportunity to offer their own ideas when they participate in such decision making (Rifkin & Kangere, 2003).

Even though economically disadvantaged community members can be identified as 'the poor', the term 'marginalized' has a broader meaning. A community member or a group can be marginalized not only on economic factors but also on social issues like caste and gender, politics or religion etc. When a group of people or an individual is marginalized, their access to resources is very much reduced. Even if enhancing the economic state of the community is a main component of community development projects, many other aspects major or minor need to be considered, as they contribute in creating and maintaining poverty. Community development projects have to address such social issues if they intend to improve living conditions for poor and marginalized community members (Bray & Gates, 2003).

As Desai (2002) agrees, this approach is more effective because "people themselves know best what they need, what they want and what they can afford",

Desai adds "only close cooperation between project implementers and community members can lead to project effectiveness" (p. 117). Many developing countries have applied the bottom-up development approach and community participation in development projects and many of them have achieved considerable social and environmental benefits (de Zoysa & Inoue, 2008; Fraser et al., 2006; Stone, 1989).

Rural poverty and challenges of environmental management have gradually increased in Sri Lanka. Rain forest loss attenuation especially has become a major environmental issue due to destructive forest utilization methods by the communities living in its periphery. According to historical experience 'top to bottom' forest management and rural development approaches failed to achieve expected goals (Wikramashinha, 2003; Wikramasinghe, 2000). Thus, it is time to set out 'alternative development approaches' to manage natural environments and to reduce rural poverty (Lynch, Talbott, & Berdan, 1995).

Among the available policy intervention plans of the Sri Lankan government for sustainable forest utilization and forest management, the Forestry Sector Master Plan-1995 is important. The Forestry Sector Master Plan of 1995 has prioritized achieving rural development through enhanced sustainable forest utilization through bottom up development and community participation (Vitarana & Rakaganno, 1997). This research is focused on recommending strategic policies and a plan for successful implementation of ecotourism as a CBET approach in the Sinharaja rain forest, adapting the principle of alternative development. This study expects to apply the bottom up development approach and the concept of community participation in development.

- Theories of community participation in development

In this study, special attention is paid some theories of community participation in development because they contribute to spread the benefits further within the local community. They are presented in my analysis chapters as potential sources of solutions since they could contribute to community empowerment while supporting basic principles of CBET.

Table 1: Development discourses and theories
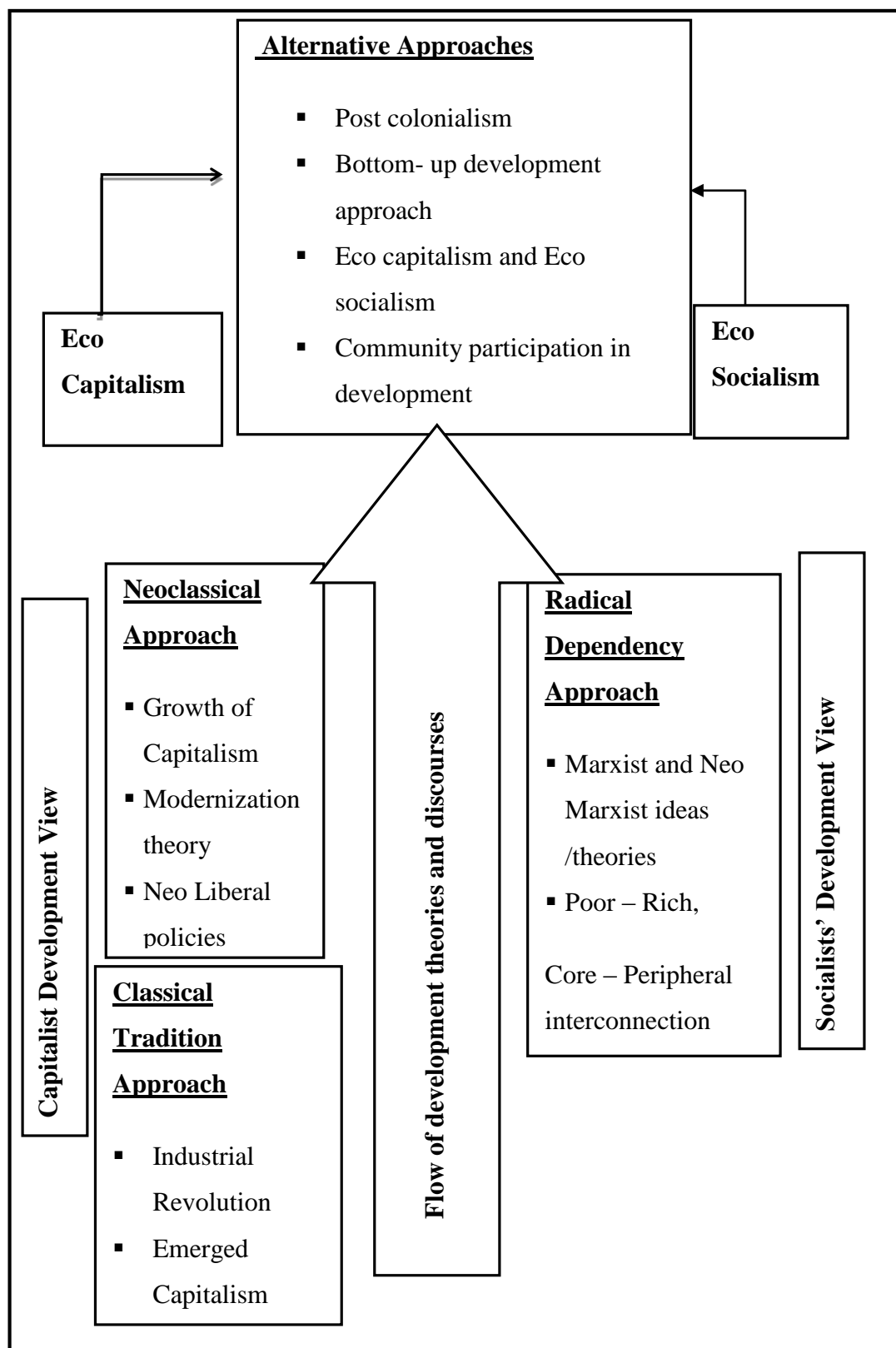
Source: Created by author, based on the data from the literature survey of the research

Theory of community empowerment

Community empowerment is one of the major objectives of bottom up development projects and the idea of power is at the core of empowerment. The theory of community empowerment is about 'giving social and political power to marginalized people to obtain more control over their lives' (Sianipar, Yudoko, Adhiutama, & Dowaki, 2013). This power can be developed either by particular social groups or by taking help from others (Delle Fave, Massimini, & Bassi, 2011). The notion of 'social empowerment' can be well used by project planners to prepare a particular social structure before applying a bottom up development approach (Lappé, 2010, 2011, 2013). The concept of 'political empowerment' is another aspect of community empowerment and it is an essential and important part in any bottom-up and community based development (Butcher, 2013; Woo-Young, 2005).

Collective leadership theory

A collective leadership approach contributes to empowerment of marginalized social groups to actively participate in bottom up development projects (Day & Harrison, 2007). The collective leadership theory is focused on obtaining knowledge and experiences of diverse groups or stakeholders of development projects to cooperatively accomplish project purpose, direction, and action (Contractor, DeChurch, Carson, Carter, & Keegan, 2012; Denis, Lamothe, & Langley, 2001). In particular, the collective leadership theory pays greater attention to other concepts like 'decentralization, democratization and collective action', which are more useful in controlling hegemonic power of local elites to capture project benefits (Dasgupta & Beard, 2007).

Stakeholder theory

The stakeholder theory focuses on smooth cooperation among all participants of a development project to establish better administrative, management and ethical frameworks to achieve specific objectives and values of the project (Tullberg, 2013). Many scholars have identified stakeholder theory a better way in taking ultimate responsibility of bottom up development projects (Honey, 2008; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Jamali, 2008). One of the key arguments of stakeholder theorists is

that local communities will actively participate in and be responsible for nature conservation if they are provided with more opportunities to participate in decision making processes and obtain benefits from the ecotourism project (Honey, 2008).

If there are sustainable economic benefits from the project, local communities would naturally engage in protecting the project values and ecosystems and they would consider being responsible for the project as an integral part of their role (Stronza, 2007). Theoretically, stakeholder theory promotes the very concepts of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and it explains that stakeholders' role in the project is to create economic, social and environmental sustainability (Dahlsrud, 2008; Jamali, 2008). The collaboration theory argues that multiple stakeholders can co-operatively address problems and issues of the project more effectively than a single administrative body (Jamal & Stronza, 2009).

Actor-Network theory

This theory is a stakeholder coordination theory. It was advanced by Latour and Callon in the 1980s and revised since (Latour, 1996, 2011). It is difficult to apply bottom up development approaches as effective ways of increasing community participation in development when projects' stakeholders represent diverse and complex social backgrounds. Especially, politics based on socio-cultural issues can be great barriers for stakeholder collaboration in southern peripheral countries. This theory has been applied in many tourism projects, thus it is useful to identify the complexity and effectiveness of stakeholders' role in the ultimate result of the project (Jóhannesson, 2005; Van der Duim, 2007; Van der Duim & Van Marwijk, 2006). Hence, Arnaboldi and Spiller (2011) propose 'Actor-Network Theory' as a theoretical approach to handle such issues. They explained: "Actor-Network theory (ANT) is a socio-philosophical approach, which attempts to comprehend complex social situations by paying attention to relational elements referred to as associations" (Arnaboldi & Spiller, 2011, p. 645). Arnaboldi and Spiller (2011) have used three rules, namely, enrolling actors, fact-building, and circulating translations as concepts guiding ANT to analyse stakeholder collaboration.

Microcredit theory and community banking concept

Lack of available funds is one of the key issues in community based bottom up development projects launched in Sri Lanka as well as in many other southern peripheral countries, thus, community banking systems based on the 'microcredit theory' can be developed to increase accessibility to the necessary funds for local communities' self-employment activities. This theory focuses on developing village banking systems with microcredit methodology at grassroots levels allowing villagers to take a small loan whereby very poor and marginalized community members are supported in their own sustainable livelihoods (McKernan, 2002; Yunus, 1998, 2007).

One of the major advantages here is that this kind of community banking system via application of the microcredit methodology is not completely new in the Sri Lankan context or in other South Asian countries. For example, the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh and the SANASA Bank in Sri Lanka are successfully operating microfinance organizations, which conduct funding programmes for self-emolument projects of the marginalized communities (SANASA Development Bank, 2013; Yunus, 2003). The microcredit theory is the most practical action to associate with a bottom up development approach in this research project.

Theories of planned behaviour and reasoned action

When CBET is planned as a bottom up development approach in any tourism site, its related negative socio-cultural effects on the host community and environment should thoroughly be considered. Hence, there must be a strong mechanism to limit the expected negative aspects of tourist culture. Application of tourist behaviour control techniques, like 'planned behaviour' and 'reasoned action' is effective in bottom up development projects (more in chapter 7, section 7.4.3). The theory of planned behaviour has been proposed by Icek Ajzen as a behaviour control module in the 1980s (Ajzen, 1991; Schifter & Ajzen, 1985). According to this theory, which is based on connection between beliefs and behaviour, behaviour can positively be changed and controlled by making changes in social beliefs (Bamberg, Ajzen, & Schmidt, 2003; Collins & Carey, 2007). Therefore, many scholars have identified this as an important theoretical baseline to create

environment and socio-cultural friendly behaviours (Chen & Tung, 2009, 2014; Fielding, McDonald, & Louis, 2008).

The 'theory of planned behaviour' is linked with the 'theory of reasoned action', which Martin Fishbein and Icek Ajzen developed. It became popular as a tool for behaviour management after the 1980s (Ajzen & Fishbein, 2000; Fishbein & Ajzen, 2011). This tool uses three general concepts such as behavioural intention (BI), attitude (A), and subjective norm (SN). As theoreticians argue, a person's behavioural intention is based on their attitude and subjective norms: $BI = A + SN$ (Hale, Householder, & Greene, 2002; Madden, Ellen, & Ajzen, 1992; Montano & Kasprzyk, 2008). Thus, when programmes are carried out to change attitudes and subjective norms of people, they directly can bring changes in their behavioural intentions. Hence, some scholars have paid attention to both these techniques as effective negative behaviour controlling methods in bottom up development projects like ecotourism and CBET (Lee & Moscardo, 2005; Malloy & Fennell, 1998a; Powell & Ham, 2008) .

- Local community

One definition of 'local community' is 'a group of interacting people' who have been living in a particular environment over a considerable historical period sharing the same environment. Notably, a number of conditions seem to be shared, such as resources (though their access may be restricted for some), risks (physical ones), socio economic as well as political states and issues, etc. (McMillan & Chavis, 1986; Messing, 2009). 'Living territory' and 'living historical time' can be identified as significant factors used to identify a particular 'local community' (Bradbury, 2012). It is however recognized that territorial communities are socially heterogeneous so the interests and the needs of their members also differ along gender, caste, religion , sexual orientation, ethnic origin, etc. (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Yet, there also exist 'non-territorial' communities or local communities like the 'gay community'. Therefore, many social scientists have divided the term local community into two main categories. The first category is the territorial and geographical notion of local community including common geo-political and

historical conditions (Gusfield, 1975). The second category is 'human relations' connected with a common theme of human feelings and interests which is not associated with 'physical space' or 'location' (Bradbury, 2012; Gusfield, 1975; McMillan & Chavis, 1986). Throughout this thesis, the term 'local community' refers to the community defined in the first category. So, permanent residents of the study area who have a considerable level of historical and traditional roots with socio cultural connection to their living space are considered as 'local community' here.

2.3   Sustainable development

The world commission on environment and development launched the 'sustainable development discourse' in 1987 as an alternative development ideology and it defined sustainable development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Brundtland, 1987). The concept of 'sustainable development' addresses environmental vulnerability and unlimited, uncontrolled economic development (Adams, 2009; Bressers & Rosenbaum, 2003; Clough, 2009). This concept was used as a common approach in development for raising global conservation strategies (The Rio Conference 1992, The Johannesburg Summit, 2002).

2.3.1   The concepts of sustainability and sustainable development

According to contemporary alternative development philosophy, sustainability is endurance of systems and processes of development based on three main dimensions: social, economic and environmental (Gibson, 2001; United Nations, 1997). Sustainability can thus balance economic, social and environmental factors in equal accord with equitable distribution of resources and opportunities. In that sense, sustainable development is the pathway to achieving sustainability. Sustainable development is a western ideology developed into a policy concept after it was used by the Brundtland Commission in its *Our Common Future* report of 1987 (United Nations, 1997). In the United Nation's *Agenda for Development* (1997), 'development' has been defined through principles of sustainability.

According to that report, economic development, social development and environmental protection must be inter-reliant and equally supporting components of the development process (Shaw & Newby, 1998).

Yet, some scholars argue that there should be more than three dimensions of sustainability. For example, Robert Gibson, has identified political and cultural spheres as important dimensions, which must be included in any definition given to sustainability (McMichael, Butler, & Folke, 2003).The concept of sustainability has been differently defined, such as:

> The capacity for continuance more or less indefinitely into the future (Ehrenfeld, 2005, p. 865)

> Transforming our ways of living to maximize the chances that environmental and social conditions will indefinitely support human security, well-being and health (Bonevac, 2010, p. 1919).

> The possibility that all forms of life will flourish forever (Lozano & Huisingh, 2011, p. 24).

During the last few decades, sustainability reporting (SR) has been included in development projects, company works, and policy planning, as an essential principle (Karunasena & Deng, 2010). Albeit the concept of sustainability has theoretically become popular in the world, it has become increasingly difficult to achieve sustainability in practical situations. As Bonevac mentioned, (2011, p. 85)

> I shall argue that the chief conceptions of sustainability in the environmental works are not themselves sustainable. They often have innocuous interpretations that are plausible but do little to advance the environmentalists' or any other particular agenda.

The practical application of the principal dimensions of sustainability such as, economic development, socio-cultural development, environmental protection and political development do not fully support each other's function to reach their ideological targets (Menikpura, Gheewala, & Bonnet, 2012).

Even if the idea of 'sustainable development' was settled in 1987 by the world commission on environment and development, it was presented earlier by the world conservation strategy (WCS) at the Stockholm conference in 1972 (Adams,

2009; Pearce, 2006; United Nations, 2013a). This concept was further developed as a nature conservation and development approach as Agenda 21 at the Rio conference (United Nations conference on environment and development - UNCED) in 1992 (United nations, 2013 b) and the world summit on sustainable development (the earth summit) which was held in Johannesburg in 2002 (United Nations, 2002b).

The sustainable development discourse is the result of the debate on environment and development and it has several dimensions. First, it targets social enhancement by protecting particular values and traditions. Second, it focuses on economic development concerning the distribution of limited and rare resources and third it contributes to ecological conservation and management practices even as it supports the social and economic development process. Lastly, it considers technological intervention to achieve all the sustainable development goals (Baker, 2006; Ekins, 2000; Mayer, 2008).

2.3.2 Sustainable development, 'Eco-managerialism' and Tropical development

 'Eco-managerialism' can be considered an environmental friendly development approach associated to sustainable development discourses. It has deep concerns for ecological management and economic development (Fischer & Hajer, 1999). When ecology was developed as a scientific discipline, it provided 'valuable environmental records' and 'development models' for the practice of development (Luke, 1998). As Adams explained,

> The idea of sustaining benefits through correct environmental management was central to ecology's contribution to development. Furthermore, development not only had to involve scientists, but arguably needed to be conceived of within the paradigms of ecology (Adams, 2009, p. 45).

According to Luke, there should be professional technical workers in the market with good training in environmental science, ecology, ecosystems, and environmental policy, in order to implement 'eco-managerialism'. One can

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identify two main divisions in 'eco-managerialism' such as protection and conservation of the physical environmental resources and protection of economic and political benefits that depend on those resources (Luke, 1998; Rice, 2007).

For ecology, the tropical 'southern- peripheral' areas are important and sensitive because of their high biodiversity. Yet, nature resources in the southern periphery have been destroyed, first by colonial rulers and second by their own, under socio-economic and political structures of capitalism and super imposed capitalism (Lotta, 2005). Therefore, ecologists, development planners and policy makers have gradually focused on the implementation of eco-managerialism in tropical areas (Adams, 2009; Worthington, 1983).

Both the concepts 'eco-managerialism' and 'tropical development' are relevant and important in the current Sri Lankan context since tropical ecosystems degradation is a common issue in Sri Lanka. Policy makers of the Sri Lankan government have paid attention to implement development projects, which apply eco-managerialism based on the concept of sustainable development in order to achieve both rural economic development and ecosystem management. For example, the Sri Lanka forest department has implemented an 'ecotourism and community development project' which is based on eco-managerialism and sustainable development ideologies in the Sinharaja rain forest (Forest Department, 2013b, 2014). However, the project objectives and goals have not been successfully achieved yet due to prevalent socio-cultural, economic, political issues and conflicts (Kumara, 2013). Implementing 'eco-managerialism' and 'tropical development' as 'sustainable development' concepts might be an effective way to render the community based ecotourism project in Kudawa-Sinharaja more successful.

2.3.3 Sustainable tourism and its discourses

The World Commission on Environment and Development had published a report entitled *Our Common Future* (Brundtland, 1987). following which the topic of 'sustainable tourism' emerged as a popular concept (Haughton & Hunter, 1994). According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization, sustainable

tourism is "tourism which meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future generation" (World Tourism Organization 1993, p. 7 as cited in Pearce & Butler, 1993, p. 10). In the beginning, just achieving economic growth through tourism with minimum damage to the relevant environment was considered sustainable tourism (Pearce & Butler, 1993). Yet at the end of the 1980s, this viewpoint gradually took on new meanings and perspectives. For instance, at the dawn of the 1990s, the ideology of 'sustainable tourism' was considered a form of policy for environmental management (Haughton & Hunter, 1994).

Once the precept of sustainablity, evoked by the Brundtland report was accepted, small-scale tourism was considered sustainable tourism while mass tourism was thought to become unsustainable (Hardy, Beeton, & Pearson, 2002). As a discourse, the meaning of sustainable tourism had to gradually broaden in the 1990s to include not just the environment and its ability to keep on providing resources or to regenerate, but also to integrate local peoples' contribution to the management and repair of their environment (Eber 1992, p. 03 cited in Pearce & Butler, 1993, p. 10).

At the end of the 1990s, supporters of sustainable tourism had to admit that it could not focus just on the environment, even if in the hands of local people. It had to include people, their economic well-being, and all other kinds of resources required for such improvements not just for the development of tourism. The target of sustainable tourism was the growth of tourism through involvement of the local economy and society. Sustainable use of both resources and the environment became major objectives as well (Liu, 2003). Many southern peripheral countries started tourism projects after 1980 under a sustainable tourism approach as achieving environmental protection and community development at the grassroots level: they were the main objectives of those projects (Hunter, 1997; Rankin & Bhopal, 2001; Ritchie & Crouch, 2003). However, they still could not have reached their targeted objectives owing to practical issues of sustainable tourism (Cater, 1993; Ryan, 2002; Saarinen, 2006).

2.3.4   Sustainable development as understood in Sri Lanka

Environmental vulnerability and unlimited, uncontrolled economic development created many development challenges in the Sri Lankan context at the beginning of the 1990s. Some of the many reasons include; increasing demand for land for human needs and development projects, poor land use planning, lack of environmental laws and policy applications, absence of an integrated conservation management approach, pollution, human-wildlife conflict, increasing spread of unknown invasive species, and increasing human population density (Amarasekara, 2012; Bandaratillake, 2001; Mattsson, Persson, Ostwald, & Nissanka, 2012). Further, poverty reduction and economic development still remain two major challenges for Sri Lanka and all these above discussed issues, which are strongly interrelated continue to be challenges owing to lack of effective programmes for the socio-economic and political empowerment of marginalized local people (Barbier, 2012; Subasinghe, 2013). 12% of Sri Lankan population are still living below the poverty line and most of them are from rural areas of the country (Dewundara, 2012).

After the1980s, the Sri Lankan government focused on achieving sustainable development and Sri Lanka concentrated on accomplishing millennium development goals through ideologies of sustainable development following the 2000 world millennium summit'. Sri Lanka hence focuses on a sustainable development approach to achieve its socioeconomic development and environmental management. For that purpose, it has united with many international movements which concentrate on sustainable development goals. Sri Lanka has signed 36 multilateral environmental agreements including the Stockholm Declaration, the Nairobi Declaration, the Rio Declaration and the Washington Declaration (United Nations, 2002a; United Nations REDD Programme (UN-REDD), 2012).

The National Council for Sustainable Development (NCSD) and the national action plan for sustainable development called 'haritha (green) Lanka' was established in 2009 by the ministry of the environment of Sri Lanka. At present, the NCSD acts as a policy maker to reach economic and social development of the

country with particular concerns for environmental protection (Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources, 2012). As the Sri Lankan president mentioned in the Rio+20 conference in 2012, Sri Lanka has considered millennium development goals in more positive ways (United Nations, 2012).

> We have attained all these economic gains while preserving and protecting the environment through our development policies. As a result, our per capita carbon emission is a mere 0.6 tons per annum, which is insignificant in comparison to most countries. I say with great pride that our development model is home grown and one which respects the environment (United Nations, 2012, p. 03).

The 2009-2016 national action plan for sustainable development of Sri Lanka has developed 10 broad mission areas: clean air, fauna, flora & ecosystems, climate change, coastal belt and sea, land resources, solid waste, water, green cities, industries and knowledge dissemination. Each area and its mission are regularly monitored by the ministry of plan implementation (Ratnasiri, 2012). Furthermore, a large number of state agencies like the Forest Department (FD), the department of wildlife conservation (DWLC), the central environment authority (CEA) and the Sri Lanka tourism development authority (SLTDA) are actively involved in ecological protection and sustainable development in the country (Wikramashinha, 2003). Those institutions promote 'ecotourism' and 'community based ecotourism' as a sustainable development instrument to obtain socioeconomic development and ecological management within the country (Dangal & De Silva, 2010; Wickramasinghe, 2013).

After 1980, the Forest Department focused more on 'sustainable development' while preparing forest conservation and management plans and under 'sustainable development' several forest conservation programmes in the Sinharaja rain forest areas were implemented. One such programme was the Sinharaja forest buffer zone management project, which mainly targeted achieving sustainable development through environmental protection and local community development (Ishwaran & Erdelen, 1990; Wijesooriya & Gunatilaka, 2003). After 1990, the forest department promoted CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site as 'sustainable development tools' (Forest Department, 2013a).

Although the concept of 'sustainable development' was applied in practice through CBET projects as a development policy in this site, neither the forest department nor any other responsible institute or individual had studied the effectiveness of these projects or grassroots level activities as sustainable development applications. They still have not reached project targets even after twenty years of project implementation (Forest Department, 2013a), which means goals of improved well-being in the community were not reached. Therefore, my research focuses on examining the ground reality of ecotourism and CBET practices as a sustainable development application in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site in order to determine why it has not succeeded. This should then help the government together with local communities to create appropriate forms of CBET to achieve meaningful sustainable development targets at the grassroots level.

When the Sri Lanka Forest Department prepared the Forestry Sector Master Plan in 1995, it considered the concepts of sustainable tourism in all the development projects launched in forestlands of the country to achieve forest ecosystems management and rural community development simultaneously (Forest Department, 2013a, 2014). It gave priority to ecotourism and CBET as branches of sustainable tourism. Accordingly, the concepts of ecotourism and CBET became popular in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. Although the forest department implemented a number of programmes under the umbrella term of sustainable tourism in this site, it has still failed to achieve the national objectives of these projects.

Under western ideological influence, Sri Lankan policy makers have often used sustainability as the main concept of the country's policy plan. The term 'sustainability' has become fundamental in many development projects (Eagles, McCool, Haynes, & Phillips, 2002; Pushpakumara, Marambe, Silva, Weerahewa, & Punyawardena, 2012). In my opinion, the concept of sustainability is not new in the Sri Lankan context. For example, ancient village tank systems of Sri Lanka and systems and processes used to build traditional home gardens are based on this ideology (Given, 2008). Yet, contemporary alternative development projects implemented in Sri Lanka have failed to achieve sustainability although they have

used fundamentals of the concept of sustainability based on western ideological dimensions (Burney, Naylor, & Postel, 2013; Ekanayaka, 2013; Jothirathna & Mohd, 2013). Therefore, examining challenges of sustainability is important to identify the theoretical and practical rationality of this concept.

2.4   Ecotourism

In this research, I consider the concepts of ecotourism and CBET as sustainable bottom up development tools.

2.4.1   The concept of ecotourism

Ecotourism can simply be identified as 'environmentally friendly responsible travel' but many different meanings, ideas and arguments are available since ecotourism has taken different forms. Basically ecotourism has two main objectives: to protect the environment and to improve welfare of the local community (Ceballos, 1996; de Lima, 2008).

> Ecotourism is more than travel to enjoy or appreciate nature. It also includes minimization of environmental and cultural consequences, and contributions to conservation and community projects in developing countries (Kurtay 1993, p. 80 cited in Honey, 2008, p. 08).

Ecotourism seems to have gained four main themes. First, it provides nature travel experience and environmental education. Second, conservation and management of appropriate environment has become one of the main purposes. Third, respecting local community members and their beliefs, norms, practices and culture. has come to be an important part of ecotourism. Finally yet importantly, improvement of the standard of living of the local communities also has been encompassed by ecotourism (Fennell, 2002; Weaver, 1998). David Western (director of the Kenya wildlife service from 1994 to 1998) has mentioned that "implicit in ecotourism is the assumption that local communities living with nature can and should benefit from tourism and will save nature in the process" (in Honey, 2008, p. 14).

The concept of ecotourism can be understood through studying different types of ecotourism components. Many scholars have identified five main components of

ecotourism as 'principles', 'characteristics', 'criteria', 'themes', and 'dimensions (Buckley, 1994; Donohoe, 2009; Newsome, Moore, & Dowling, 2002; Wallace & Pierce, 1996). According to Wallace and Pierce (1996), common principles of ecotourism include (1) to use resources in a way that minimize effects on nature and local community, (2) to conduct awareness programmes, (3) to understand natural areas and relevant cultural systems, (4) to contribute to conservation and management of the protected natural areas, and (5) to give local people a chance to participate in the decision making process.

One of the major characteristics of ecotourism is that it focuses on unpolluted natural environments with high biodiversity as tourist destinations to support the local economy in order to improve their standards of living while protecting nature (Donohoe, 2009; Newsome et al., 2002). Buckley (1994) has explained another dimension based model of ecotourism, which includes four main dimensions: conservation, sustainability, environmental education and nature-based activities. Ecotourism reveals some common objectives such as nature conservation, benefits to the local communities and socio cultural conservation. Additionally, environmental education, experiencing awareness of nature, nature conservation plans and designs as part of ecotourism projects have commonly been emphasised by most of the scholars (Bjork, 2000; Donohoe, 2009; Fennell, 2001).

One of the interesting questions is 'why' and 'what for' ecotourism became a popular development tool in development discussions. Ecotourism discourse is based on two main theoretical reasons. Environmental and cultural degradation occurred because of mass tourism practices on one hand and on the other hand, poverty and its related issues have increased in many communities who live close to the sensitive ecological sites. Ecotourism practices therefore, focus to create responsible and enlightened travellers who can understand and respect the natural and cultural values of the visited sites as well as the importance of protecting that environment (Fennell, 2007; Page & Dowling, 2001). Environmental degradation and poverty are interrelated issues (Duraiappah, 1998). Seeing that local communities residing around sensitive biological areas over utilize environmental resources in unsustainable ways owing to their poverty, ecotourism contributes to

the local community development as one of its major principles (Beeton, 2006; Horwich et al., 1993; Stone, 2002).

2.4.2   Ecotourism and sustainable development discourse

The concept of 'ecotourism' follows the 'sustainable development discourse' of the late 1980s (Bramwell, 1998; Bramwell & Sharman, 2003; Hall & Richards, 2003; Honey, 2008; Kahveci et al., 2011; Richards & Hall, 2003; Sofield, 2003; Swarbrooke, 1999). According to the philosophy of sustainable development, it is "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundland commission 1987 cited in Redclift, 2002, p. 275), rather than just meeting the needs of tourists and investors. Many scholars have examined 'ecotourism' in synthesis with 'sustainability' and 'sustainable tourism' in the 1990s-2000s (Wearing & Neil, 2009). They have explained ecotourism as eco based, less environmentally harmful tourism, which directly or indirectly promotes nature and cultural conservation as well as supports sustainable economic development of the host community (Boo, 1992; Fennell & Dowling, 2003; Weaver, 1998; Wood, 2001).

> As a result of the rapid expansion of the tourism sector, traditional and emerging tourism destinations are facing increasing pressure on their natural cultural and socio-economic environments. There is now strong recognition that uncontrolled growth in tourism aiming at short-term benefits results in significant negative impacts, harming both the environment and societies, and destroying the very resources, which tourism is developed on and thrives on. On the contrary, when ecotourism is planned, developed and managed using 'sustainable development criteria', tangible benefits occur for local communities, society and cultural environments (Vereczi, 2007, pp. 101-102).

At present as an environmental management and rural community development method, ecotourism has become one of the important and popular tools of environmental planners, policy makers, politicians, as well as researchers. Even though the philosophy of sustainable development has faced many criticisms during the last decades, it represents the basic concepts of contemporary development processes (this issue is discussed in detail in section 2.5). Scholars

such as Lewis have identified that "eco-tourism was spawned by a number of different philosophies including deep ecologies, the classical lefts (humanistic eco anarchism, eco Marxism) and eco feminism, etc." (Fennell, 2002, p. 02). In the opening speech of the IUCN world park congress in 2003, former president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela had explained that "ecotourism is one of the good answers, not only for the conservation of natural areas and their management, but also for poverty reduction in nearby rural communities" (Honey, 2008, p. 16).

The international ecotourism society has identified six main objectives of contemporary ecotourism as a sustainable development approach: it minimizes impact, builds environmental and cultural awareness and respect, provides positive experiences for both visitors and hosts, provides direct financial benefits for conservation, and provides financial benefits and empowerment for local people, as well as raises sensitivity to host countries' political, environmental, and social climate (International Ecotourism Society, 2012). Summarizing the above, ecotourism, in many of its forms can be identified as a community and nature development tool, a discourse as well as a live process that has merged with sustainable development discourse.

2.4.3   Criticisms of ecotourism

Ecotourism has been introduced to the southern peripheral countries as a sustainable development approach for the last three decades in order to achieve eco conservation and rural community development needs (Cater, 2006; Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Nelson, 2004; Stronza, 2010). However, this approach has still failed to achieve its notional and practical goals where it was applied. Thus, ecotourism as an approach needs to be critiqued (Jones, 2004). As some scholars argue, there are generic issues concerning the roots of ecotourism and its philosophy in northern hemispheric ideology. Even if this approach has been introduced to and adapted in the tourism sector of many southern peripheral countries, ecotourism policy makers have overlooked the importance of socio-cultural understanding of a grassroots approach in these countries. This lack of understanding has become one of the main reasons for failures in ecotourism projects launched in these southern peripheral contexts (Adeleke, 2015; Cater,

2006; Dietz, 2013; Fennell & Dowling, 2003; Hunt & Stronza, 2011; Page & Dowling, 2001; Rodríguez-Piñeros & Mayett-Moreno, 2015; Su, Wall, & Ma, 2014). According to Cater (2006, p. 36), "the social appropriation of nature must be viewed in, and from, particular social, economic, and political contexts. Failure to do so will only result in continued disappointment, frustration and resentment over the manifest shortfall between what ecotourism promises and what it delivers".

Ecotourism in southern peripheral countries has to act against the dominant capitalist political and economic hegemonic power, which is extremely complicated in practice. The global capitalist political economy is not ready to contribute honestly to sustainable ecotourism targets (Jessop, 2000). There are regional political, cultural, and economic issues and barriers to ecotourism development. Regional political safety and stability are the main challenges to achieve targets in some ecotourism projects (Font, 2007). Socio cultural challenges such as issues of caste, gender and ethnicity can also prevent achieving the goals of ecotourism (Scheyvens, 2007). Further, many of the ecotourism projects launched in the southern peripheral context still have failed to address the issues regarding ecotourism ethics and this has led to malfunction of several ecotourism projects (Fennell, 2007; Higham, 2007).

2.4.4 Ecotourism in Sri Lanka

As a tropical island country in South Asia situated near the Indian subcontinent, Sri Lanka has rich bio-diversity, cultural resources, and seven-world heritage sites, which are attractive as ecotourism sites. The primary advantage of Sri Lanka in developing ecotourism is that there is easy access to totally different ecosystems within a short distance and time (Assenov & Ratnayake, 2010). Sri Lanka is also one of the most renowned tourist destinations owing to the three Ss, sun, sea and sand (Kiriella, 2011; Lai, 2002) . Even if ecotourism ideologies could not be fulfilled entirely successfully, they still have significant value as a sustainable development approach in the southern peripheral context (Waylen et al., 2009; Zeppel, 2006). In many environmental management and rural

development project plans, Sri Lanka has continued to focus more on ecotourism (de Silva, 2004; Forest Department, 2014).

After independence, policy makers developed Sri Lanka through export-led industrialisation and tourism following the example of newly developed countries like Taiwan and Singapore. Yet, it was unsuccessful because of issues related to safety and stability. Sri Lanka governments that came to power during 1971 to 1989 faced a revolt and civil war. First, two armed uprisings organized by the Janata Wimukti Peramuna (JVP- People's Liberation Front) against the ruling governments occurred in 1971 (Sri Lanka Freedom Party -SLFP) and during 1987-89 (United National Party - Sri Lanka-UNP). After 1989, the JVP entered democratic politics by participating in the 1994 parliamentary election. Second, the Sri Lankan civil war was an intermittent insurgency against the government by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (the LTTE, also known as the Tamil Tigers) during 1983-2009. Both these conflicts within the country led to political instability and unrest increasing human rights violations with negative consequences on tourism. Hence, historically Sri Lanka missed a great opportunity to become one of the best tourism sites in the South Asian region (Fernando, Bandara, & Smitha, 2013).

After a 26-year campaign, the Sri Lankan military defeated the LTTE in 2009 ending the civil war. The government then paid great attention to tourism development. Yet, at the same time, the Sri Lankan government has to face two main social and environmental issues i.e. first, a growing rural population under the poverty line and second degradation of natural resources. Policy makers have identified that these two issues are interrelated and interdependent. Therefore Sri Lankan policy makers and development planners have proposed implementation of ecotourism as a sustainable development approach to achieve both rural community development and environmental conservation (Ministry of Economic Development, 2010; Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority (SLTDA), 2013, 2014).

Even if the concept of ecotourism has been popular in Sri Lanka since 1990, it was only adopted in government development schemes during the post- war

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period. The Sri Lankan government now promotes ecotourism under the theme 'Sri Lanka: the wonder of Asia' in collaboration with governmental organizations such as the Ceylon tourism board (CTB) run by the ministry of tourism and civil aviation and the Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority (SLTDA). These institutes have conducted several programmes to implement ecotourism in the Sri Lankan context (de Silva, 2004; Fernando et al., 2013; Sri Lanka Tourism Development Authority (SLTDA), 2014).

In addition, some non-governmental organisations, local environmental societies and research institutes, such as the Sri Lanka wildlife conservation society, WWF, IUCN, or young biologists' association have also been involved in developing ecotourism in Sri Lanka (Fernando et al., 2013; Lai, 2004). The Sri Lanka ecotourism foundation (SLEF) can be identified as a pioneer 'ecotourism society' in Sri Lanka, instituted in 1998 under the ministry of tourism and the central environmental authority. It takes an active role in promoting ecotourism through several educational programmes and workshops aimed at the local communities residing around sensitive ecosystems (SLEF, 2012).

At present, the main ecotourism attractions of Sri Lanka are its available facilities for nature and wildlife watching of endangered and exotically rare wild animal species; like the Sri Lankan wild elephant (*Elephasmaximusmaximus)* and Sri Lankan leopard (*Pantheraparduskotiya*) in their own natural habitats. Currently, there are 22 national parks in Sri Lanka, which are open for ecotourism activities. Among them, Yala, Wilpattu, Gal Oya, Uda Walawe and Maduruoya national parks are famous for watching wild elephants and leopards. As a new ecotourism trend, bird watching is encouraged and in the past years often attracted many tourists from Canada, the USA, UK, Holland, and Germany. The Sinharaja rain forest has become an important ecotourism destination, since it is a natural habitat for more than 95% of endemic birds (Forest Department, 2013b; Newsome, 2013).

However, at the ground level there is a vast gap between planning ecotourism in Sri Lanka and practicing it. As many scholars point out, 'ecotourism' in practice in Sri Lanka is still at an elementary level and geo-political and socio-economic

issues based on poor policy planning are the main challenges to achieve realistic ecotourism goals (Bandara, 2003; Fernando & Shariff, 2013; Jolliffe & Aslam, 2009; Newsome, 2013).

> Basic principles of ecotourism should be implemented under the comparative approach considering the economic and environmental profiles. Nevertheless, most of the employees tend to operate the ecotourism industry by promoting an economic approach. Indigenous species and wild animals are the attractive biological components to develop the ecotourism sector in nature based tourism in Sri Lanka, but the animals' habitat would face catastrophic challenges to sustainable ecotourism in Sri Lanka (Fernando & Shariff, 2013, p. 06).

Research and studies on ecotourism in Sri Lanka are scarce and it is a major issue and barrier for implementing ecotourism. Academic research on practical ecotourism in Sinharaja and its social aspects should be considered in order to obtain real ecotourism benefits (Fernando et al., 2013; Newsome, 2013). Even though some scholars like Dearden (2000) have studied the potential in Sinharaja as an ecotourism site, they have not considered its social aspects (Assenov & Ratnayake, 2010). Research on recommending strategic policies and plans to implement appropriate 'ecotourism' as a community forest management approach for the Sinharaja rain forest and applying 'sustainable ecotourism' practices in Sinharaja rain forest have contemporary value.

2.4.5 Community based ecotourism (CBET)

'Community based ecotourism (CBET)' has been developed as a sub discipline of ecotourism after 1990 and it has become especially trendy as a community development and sustainable development approach in the poor southern peripheral areas. One of the major objectives of community based ecotourism is to achieve economic, social and community development needs by managing available resources while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological routes, and biological diversity (Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Gurung & Scholz, 2008; Weaver & Lawton, 2007). A community based ecotourism project must be managed by the local community itself with local people participating in every part of the project. The most important elements of CBET are that local people

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participate in management decision making so that profits of a CBET project go directly to the community (Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Khanal & Babar, 2007; Nelson, 2004).

> In general, community based ecotourism (CBET) is tourism that is managed by the community. With general tourism, tourist visits are often marketed and organised by private travel companies in government protected areas and the bulk of the profits go to the private companies and government enterprises. In contrast, CBET is managed and run by the community itself, management decisions are made by local people and profits directly go to the community (Khanal & Babar, 2007, p. 02).

> The roots or underling principles of community based ecotourism derive from the concepts of community development, a small scale locally oriented and holistic approach to economic growth and social change (Nick, 2005, p. 05).

Community based ecotourism is promoting small scale and local oriented eco-friendly tourism activities to address poverty alleviation in the local community. Promoting indigenous and local communities to conservation and management of their own resources with given environmental education is also a major principle of CBET (Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Denman, 2001; Nick, 2005). One of the interesting and important principles of CBET, is that it focuses on supporting human rights and social equity (Kiss, 2004).

A CBET approach has significant value in the southern peripheral context owing to many geopolitical, economic and socio cultural reasons. First, increasing rural population and poverty have become a common and serious problem. Second, local communities suffer from many socio cultural challenges like gender, caste, and class issues. Third, degradation of the natural environment has occurred due to over utilization of resources and mismanagement. Fourth, increasing socio-cultural degradation can be noticed in this region mainly due to capitalization and geo-political reasons (Gurung & Scholz, 2008; Nyaupane & Thapa, 2004; Stone, 2002).

In the colonial period, many tourists visited biological areas of southern peripheral countries for safari hunting and they poached a large number of wild animals.

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After independence, local governments attempted to shift safari hunting tourism towards less harmful wildlife viewing tourism to earn foreign exchange while conserving wildlife (Jones, 2004; Nelson, 2004). Therefore, a large number of national parks were established and many rules and regulations against harmful forest utilization and hunting were formulated. Even if local communities maintained interdependency with forestlands for survival purposes, the accessibility to forest resources was limited by these policies and laws. However, 'environmental tourism' based on a 'top down' policy framework did not succeed during the few decades after independence, due to the prevalent political and economic system.

According to the research findings, CBET projects have achieved some of their goals in many areas (Gurung & Scholz, 2008; Reimer & Walter, 2013; Vieitas, Lopeza, & Marcovaldia, 1999; Waylen et al., 2009). Directly CBET has helped increase the income of local people and at the same time provided environmental education (Gurung & Scholz, 2008; Reimer & Walter, 2013; Vieitas et al., 1999; Waylen et al., 2009). One of the important factors is that many local community members have shifted from eco-enemy livelihoods to eco-friendly living through CBET projects. For example, traditional hunters have become eco-guides; fishermen with expert knowledge on rivers have become boat drivers and elite members of the local community run their own eco lodges (Jones, 2004; Nelson, 2004; Nyaupane & Thapa, 2004; Reimer & Walter, 2013; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008; Stronza, 2010).

Nonetheless, a gap between expected CBET project 'outcomes' and 'objectives' is still noticed in some. Social conditions keep changing from traditional structure to capitalist structure and conflicts have occurred regarding distribution of profits. At present, the local community is involved in profit oriented competition and the social hierarchy of the community is decided on 'wealth and power' (Stronza & Gordillo, 2008). Unfortunately, social and cultural issues, which can occur within these projects, had not clearly been analysed before commencing projects (Jones, 2004; Nelson, 2004; Vieitas et al., 1999). Internal conflicts have occurred within the community owing to sudden competition arising for earning money.

Political vulnerability of the local community and weak decision-making had made the situation worse so these projects became unsustainable (Reimer & Walter, 2013; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008; Thompson, 2008; Tosun, 2000). Both community members and tourist companies have violated the terms of ecological and wildlife conservation many times (Kinnaird & O'Brien, 1996; Torres, Enr´ıquez-Andrade, & Rodr´ıguez-Dowdell, 2007; Waylen et al., 2009). As well, the tourist companies have gained more profit through ecotourism activities while community members have obtained very little. Mismanagement, lack of monitoring and evaluation have become common issues in many CBET projects (Gurung & Scholz, 2008; Jones, 2004; Nelson, 2004; Nyaupane & Thapa, 2004; Reimer & Walter, 2013). This research experience can be used for comparative analysis of the situation in the Kudawa-Sinharaja CBET site.

2.4.6 Community based ecotourism (CBET) in Sri Lanka

Even with some ecotourism experience, 'community based ecotourism' is a new concept to Sri Lanka. However, any study on the Sri Lankan rural socio-economic and environmental situation would reveal that CBET is a very useful tool to achieve both rural development and environmental management (Perera, 2011; SLEF, 2012). Paying attention to this, the present Sri Lankan government and government related institutions namely Sri Lanka Forest Department,   Sri Lanka Ecotourism Foundation and Sri Lanka 'Sewalanka' Foundation have started community based ecotourism projects within some selected biological sensitive areas of the country (SLEF, 2012).

These CBET projects try to achieve two main goals: first to motivate local community members to become involved in eco-friendly tourism to obtain economic benefits and second to preserve cultural values, and natural resources with the support of local people at the forest peripheries (Gurusinghe, 2006) . For example, the 'Walawe Nadee' community based ecotourism project was commenced by the community organization 'Walawae Nadee Ecotourism Association' in collaboration with the Sri Lanka Ecotourism Foundation to enhance local community benefits while conserving wetland ecosystems (SLEF, 2012).

Nevertheless, CBET is in the conceptual stage in Sri Lanka and many issues are yet to be solved in order to achieve CBET goals. First, the ecological conservation strategies and methods employed by Sri Lanka must genuinely and practically be changed from 'top to bottom' to 'bottom-up', because ecotourism and CBET based ecological management systems used by Sri Lanka are rooted in a 'command and control' approach in which local communities have limited possibility to get involved in decision making (Wickramasinghe, 2013). The social, cultural, economic, and political background of local communities and their social issues like caste, gender, and ethnicity need to be considered before implementing CBET. Sri Lanka must also have a proper national policy and action plan to gain full benefits of CBET (Angammana, 2012).

2.5 Criticism of sustainable development discourse

Regardless of its philosophical rationality, in practice, sustainable development faces many challenges. Sustainable development approaches account for the need of development combined with environmental conservation, yet it is not clearly explained how this can be achieved within contemporary capitalist and superimposed capitalist development practices. The environment in developing countries is especially vulnerable due to rapidly increasing human population and widespread poverty. At the beginning, the sustainable discourse practically failed to answer the situation there. One of the important philosophical reasons for such failure is that even if sustainable development started with capitalist roots, capitalism did not genuinely help to achieve its goals. On the other hand, if viewed politically, the 'northern hemisphere' nations did not actually and honestly intervene to achieve sustainable development goals in the developing world (colonial periphery) (Adams, 2009; Ivanova, 2007; Zizek, 2008).

There are some practical challenges also. In the Stockholm conference (1972) the Indian prime minister, Indira Gandhi mentioned the practical difficulties encountered in implementing environmental management to the developing world.

We do not wish to impoverish the environment any further and yet we cannot for a moment forget the grim poverty of large numbers of people. Are not poverty and need the greatest polluters? For instance, unless we are in a position to provide employment and purchasing power for the daily necessities of the tribal people and those who live in or around our jungles, we cannot prevent them from combing the forest for food and livelihood, from poaching and from despoiling the vegetation. When they themselves feel deprived, how can we urge the preservation of animals? How can we speak to those who live in villages and in slums about keeping the oceans, the rivers and the air clean when their own lives are contaminated at the source? The environment cannot be improved in conditions of poverty. Nor can poverty be eradicated without the use of science and technology (LASULAWS, 2012, p. 01).

Due to its 'northern-hemispheric' origin, the sustainable development discourse failed to truly understand the ground reality in the 'southern periphery'. For example even if the IUCN proposed many sustainable projects and policies to protect the ecology of developing countries, they failed to achieve targets. Rapidly increasing human population and poverty were main barriers to the protection of tropical forestlands in Africa and Asia between the 1960s and 1980s, when about 40% of forest areas were converted to agriculture in the developing countries. Unstable economic and political situations also accelerated the vulnerability of their ecological resources (Allen & Edwards, 1995).

Objectively, the sustainable development discourse planned to link the 'northern hemisphere' and 'southern periphery' over environmental friendly development approaches. It focused on helping developing countries obtain economic support from rich countries to develop their socio-economic conditions as well as protect the environment. The integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs) have funded developing countries for international forestry management. Yet, these projects have not achieved hypothetical objectives and sustainable development ideologies have still not been implemented (Kaimowitz, 2006).

There is clearly a disconnection between the magnitude of environmental problems on the one hand and the ability of contemporary institutions to address them effectively on the other. For all the rhetoric, agreements, and promises of action over the past

30 years, actual institutions, processes, and resources have fallen
short of addressing the problems for which they were established.
National sovereignty in the face of global environmental problems
has also proven a difficult hindrance to effective solutions as
governments have been driven to act on the basis of narrowly
defined self-interest rather than the common good. In addition, too
often, international environmental organizations are underfunded or
otherwise incapacitated (Roy & Ivanova, 2007, p. 63).

One of the other critical arguments regarding sustainable development is that both
developing and developed countries are honestly not concerned about sustainable
development practices even if they carry on their discussion on its importance.
According to Allen and Edwards (1995), sustainable development has become a
fashionable approach rather than a practical instrument, as it is not used as an
incorporative approach for all the regions in the world. Therefore, the concept of
sustainable development is still a fantasy, including in the Kundawa GND (Allen
& Edwards, 1995; Barkemeyer, Holt, Preuss, & Tsang, 2014; Davidson, 2014;
Robinson, 2004; Sharpley & Telfer, 2015; Sneddon et al., 2006).

Thirty years after the start of the sustainable development discourse, the world
environment is still degrading continually and global forest resources and wildlife
are gradually disappearing. The forest resource-degrading rate is 14 million
hectares per year (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). Many of the developed countries
still contribute in large measure to the emission of greenhouse gases, which
results in climate change and ozone layer depletion. The United States of
America, the most dominant political power, has refused to sign the Kyoto
Protocol agreement and the present sustainable target for reduction of greenhouse
gas emission levels is clearly insufficient. Other developed nations who have
signed international agreements for achieving sustainable development goals do
not honestly contribute to realise these goals either (Mowforth & Munt, 2008).

Sustainable development is a dynamic process and its shape should be updated
from 'time to time', and 'place to place' according to contemporary sustainability
needs. What is most important is that it should be essentially a political process.
At present, the sustainable development discourse has no political hegemonic

supremacy to act as an effective and live process (Brown, 2013). According to John Holdren (USA president Barack Obama's science advisor) world nations cannot realize sustainable development without thinking about 'politics', 'power', and 'control' (Driessen, 2013). As Michael Redclift argued environmental protection and development cannot practically occur without considering global economic and political structures (Redclift, 1989).

The importance of political influence for an effective and live sustainable development process was declared in the 'The Rio+20' conference on sustainable development, which was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in June 2012. It was the biggest UN conference that put a major step forward in achieving a sustainable future (United Nations, 2013). Yet 'The Rio +20' was unsuccessful because of many political issues. For example, support was lacking from politically powerful nations like the USA, UK, and Germany to build momentum for a historic agreement. The United States and many politically powerful European countries ignored environmental sustainability and prioritized existing economic crises, poverty, unemployment, and economic insecurity. On the other hand, developing countries followed their own development strategies (Bollyky, 2012; Griffin, 2012; Rennkamp, 2012; Walsh, 2012).

2.6 Capitalism and superimposed capitalism

Capitalism can simply be defined as a profit oriented economic system which promotes a private free trade economic market rather than a state cooperative economy (Schumpeter, 2013). This ideology developed in Western Europe in the early sixteenth century (Li, 2009). Philosophically, capitalism emerged under the classical and neoclassical development approaches (Davis, 2006; Desai, 2002; Potter, 2002; Smith, 1776). At present, economic systems of the northern hemispheric countries are based on capitalism (Hancké, Rhodes, & Thatcher, 2008; Muller, 2007; Stark, 2007). However, as many scholars argue, a capitalist economic system can bring unlimited, unequal economic development and negative environmental issues (Foster, 2001; Foster, Clark, & York, 2011; Li, 2009). Then new alternative development approaches based on sustainable development discourse have been proposed to minimize these negative effects of

capitalism (which include ecotourism and CBET) (Adams, 2009; Fennell, 2007; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008).

2.6.1 Superimposed capitalism

Most of the poor southern peripheral countries got capitalism superimposed during the colonial and post-colonial period and it was the main reason for the changes which occurred in local traditional socio-cultural structures from collectivism towards money centred 'individualism' (Dirlik, 1994; Venn, 2006).

According to the Marxists' and Neo-Marxists' view, colonialism is a political as well as an economic process associated with capitalism (Arrighi, 1990; Frank, 1966; Loomba, 2015). Under the colonialism process capitalism was 'superimposed' on the local traditional structures of the poor southern peripheral countries by western powers using their political and military hegemony (Guha, 1997). This superimposed capitalism caused the destruction of local traditional socio-cultural systems, massive poverty and created an individualistic social structure together with a neo-colonial dependency pattern in the southern peripheral context (Alatas, 1977).

The historical configuration called capitalism in the West differed fundamentally from the superimposed capitalism of the colonial societies of poor southern peripheral countries, for several reasons. First, even if capitalism was ideologically rational for the West, colonial societies were not ready or mature enough to absorb superimposed capitalism ideologies with critical understanding (Alatas, 1977; De Silva, 2012). Second, core-peripheral dependency systems did not support the development of superimposed capitalism structures in colonial states as capitalism enjoyed in the West (Amin, 2011; Frank, 1998; Wallerstein, 1995). Third, superimposed capitalistic socio-cultural arrangements in colonial states mixed with traditional values (De Silva, 2012; Gunasinghe, 1990). Finally, superimposed capitalism growth in the developing world is a complex phenomenon that, in traditional rural societies, has created new social formations specific to their own contexts. Individualism led to segmentation of societies based both on caste/tribe or other traditional hierarchical systems and on new class based divisions (Gunasinghe, 1990).

2.6.2 Superimposed capitalism in the Sri Lankan context

Colonial rulers, especially the British, introduced cash crop (tea, coffee, rubber) plantations to Sri Lanka for which they cleared a large amount of forestland in the central mountain areas of the country. These plantations were owned by British planters or companies; local people and mostly migrant Indian Tamil people were employed in these plantations as labourers. This commercial crop plantation economy superimposed capitalism onto the Sri Lanka economy (JVP Party of Sri Lanka, 2009; Spencer, 2002; Wickramasinghe, 2006). At the end of British rule, toddy tapering associated with alcohol production and black lead mining industries were more popular income sources at first for some of the elite local people (Jayawardena, 2000; Uyangoda, 1985). It did build up 'Sri Lanka bourgeoisie' as it associated with formal traditional values such as caste and socio-cultural hierarchy. Therefor only Low-country "leading" Sinhalese that included Govigama and Karawa caste members, had created an "aristocracy" for their own purpose, a kind of Sri Lanka bourgeoisie based on 'traditional-capitalistic social structure' within the island to benefit from superimposed capitalism (Gunasinghe, 1980; Jayawardena, 2000). For example,

> The renters [producers of alcohol from coconut trees] were mainly from the Goyigama and Karava castes who were influential persons in their localities; a large number of them were minor government officials who had ready access to the small sums of initial capital needed for renting and who also had the contacts, knowledge and ability to handle a business operation such as the retailing of arrack
> (Jayawardena, 2000, p. 47).

This explains why a capitalist system did not emerge in Sri Lanka as it did in Europe. Instead it was 'superimposed' on the old 'Asiatic production system' by European imperialists and later by other economic enterprises developed outside of Sri Lanka, or that could be generated only by elite members of the Sri Lanka society (Gunasinghe, 1980).

> Sri Lanka lost all the benefits it should have gained as a result of the creation of a capitalist system, since that system was superimposed from outside upon Sri Lanka. When the colonialists of the British Empire, upon

which the sun would never set, implemented their imperial program, the creation of capitalism in Sri Lanka was an incidental part of it. Sri Lankan capitalism was weak and backward from its inception, since it was designed to meet the needs of British colonialist strategy and tactics (JVP Party of Sri Lanka, 2009, p. 04).

After gaining independence, the Sri Lankan government wanted to obtain economic development through state capitalism, which was based on central planning and state ownership of large commercial and industrial enterprises (Jayawardena, 1997; Jayawardena, Maasland, & Radhakrishnan, 1987). Through its 'open economic policy' in 1977, the newly elected United National Party government initiated many programs to promote state capitalism within the island (Embuldeniya, 2000; Moore, 1990). Gradually, 'superimposed capitalism' pierced into Sri Lankan village culture and mixed with local traditional systems (De Silva, 2012; Gunasinghe, 1980). As a result, the Sri Lankan social structure is changing towards a 'capitalistic feudal' society which has caused changes in traditional social beliefs, norms, practices and social connections (Freeman, 1997; Silva, Sivaparagasam, et al., 2009; Silva, Sivapragasam, & Thanges, 2009; Sivanandan, 1984; Wickramasinghe & Hopper, 2005).

This situation has created an individualistic culture in the village, as 'capitalism' and 'individualism' are strongly interrelated. Individualism as an ideology arose with the beginnings of capitalism. The idea that each of us is unique and should be free to do as one wants corresponded with a society of market relations, in which people are connected with one another only through buying and selling. In the market, "everyone is free to make their own decision about what to buy and sell, without any outside input" (Myers, 2012, p. 01). Many scholars have theoretically viewed ecotourism as a tool of economic development of marginalized communities and for biological conservation (Alexander, 2000; Christ, Hillel, Matus, & Sweeting, 2003; Doan, 2000; Kiss, 2004; Krüger, 2005). They failed, however, to see the role of capitalism, superimposed capitalism or individualism in ongoing tourism practices of 'ecotourism' even if this is one of the serious issues challenging the achievement of realistic ecotourism and CBET goals.

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2.6.3 Superimposed capitalism and Kudawa GND

The Kudawa GND, which consisted of isolated and marginalized local villages with local traditional systems, was untouched by superimposed capitalism until the 1980s. After the 1980s, tea cultivation became a popular major livelihood of the local community here; soon after the Forest Department implemented ecotourism practices in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site to achieve goals of sustainable development and forest conservation to avoid more encroachment of the forest by new tea plantings (Forest Department, 2013a). With this change in the local economy, especially through ecotourism, capitalism arrived in this site as superimposed capitalism.

As one of the characteristics of the process of capitalism being superimposed on the local culture, the traditional values of local communities in the site got mixed with capitalist values creating a new set of socio-economic values. For example, in spite of all the modern development achievements of the local communities through capitalism, issues of gender and caste based on tradition are still in practice. Considering such conditions, understanding the role of capitalism and superimposed capitalism at the grassroots level of the social structure is important for successful implementation of a community based ecotourism programme.

Conceptually sustainable development still has significant value. However, geopolitical attention to sustainable development processes should be linked to the sustainable development discourse. According to the literature review, rain forest management and rural poverty reduction in developing countries through ecotourism, community forest management and/or local community for sustainable out comes have contemporary significant value and for that, 'sustainable development approaches' are globally used. However, local knowledge and experiences as well as the political structure must clearly be identified to implement sustainable development in the context of developing countries (Adams, 2009; Baker, 1997, 2006; Clark, 2006; Redclift, 1989).

Sri Lanka still employs sustainable development as a 'conceptual ideology', which has not become a reality on the ground. Even though several organizations

work hard to obtain sustainable and bottom up development goals, it seems they lack proper coordination and commitment to realize these strategies and targets. On the other hand in order to realize sustainable development goals Sri Lanka as a developing country has to face multifaceted challenges which my research seeks to reveal (Dewundara, 2012; Ratnasiri, 2012). Finally, my research proposes theoretical and practical solutions for identified challenges of CBET to rearrange present CBET ventures in the site into realistic bottom up sustainable development practices that benefit all or at least most of the community rather than just a few individuals.

2.7   Conclusion

The global development process is significantly derived from the theories and discourses of 'capitalist' and/or 'socialist' ideologies, which change according to place and time on account of global politics. As a developing country, Sri Lanka is situated in the periphery of the global political hegemonic power circle wherein the core consists of the developed capitalist and socialist countries. According to its foreign policy, Sri Lanka is a nonaligned country and when global political and economic states changed, Sri Lankan development policy has changed accordingly. Both capitalist development approaches such as classical traditional development and neoclassical approaches as well as socialist development approaches such as radical dependency have influenced the planning of Sri Lankan development policy.

Environmental degradation and rapidly increasing human population are said to be the major reasons for the socio-cultural and environmental problems including poverty, especially in the developing countries after the 1980s. This situation is common in the Sri Lankan context where environmental conservation and poverty reduction are the main challenges. However contemporary development strategies adopted in Sri Lanka to address these issues have failed to achieve intended goals. Ideologically there has arisen a 'need' for a new development paradigm. Sri Lanka has adopted alternative development approaches based on bottom up development and sustainable development discourses suggested by western

development thinkers, through international development projects, funds, and economic political influence of the core countries.

Ideas of post colonialism associate with alternative development ideologies, such as the need to conserve cultural and environmental resources, the involvement of local communities in development, the improvement of their living conditions and the availability of a sustainable development policy, plan and strategies (Desai & Potter, 2002; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Hollinshead, 2004; Ziai, 2011). These ideologies have considerable value in preparing alternative development plans and strategies for the rural development process while protecting natural resources of Sri Lanka.

CBET is an important concept in my research for several reasons. First, CBET is a micro-level development approach, which focuses on empowerment of marginalized communities and on environmental protection. This kind of micro-level development projects are more useful to improve present living conditions of the rural communities of Sri Lanka than macro-level economic development projects, since Sri Lanka lacks capital to invest in large industrial projects. Second, this kind of bottom up development project focuses on increasing income-generating activities of the community, as well as uplifting social equity and justice. Both these processes are important in rural Sri Lanka since some community groups are still being marginalized along certain social hierarchical orders based on traditional beliefs and norms, such as gender and caste.

Third, it aims to increase political power of local community members by giving them opportunities to participate actively in each stage of the CBET project. This is an important principle of a bottom up and sustainable development project to avoid their becoming marginalized. Fourth, rural communities of Sri Lanka are marginalized on the basis of their educational levels. In this regard, CBET is effective as a tool to increase the educational level of the local community in several ways. When community members are involved in CBET ventures, they become aware of opportunities to raise their knowledge and be educated on ecology, language skills, inter-cultural disciplines etc. They are interested in acquiring new skills to move with different types of people from different socio-

cultural backgrounds. This process can directly address the issues of socio-cultural marginalization and social isolation. Finally, this approach is useful in shifting the practices of traditional destructive forest utilization or illegal forest utilization to legal CBET activities while villagers who contributed to forest degradation join forest conservation groups.

On the other hand, although this approach is theoretically appropriate in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site and in many other forest areas of Sri Lanka, it has still failed empirically (see section 4.4.) to achieve expected goals of widespread income betterment and reduced marginalization. It is observed that only a certain group of local community members have achieved economic benefits from these projects. This situation is common in CBET projects implemented in many poor southern peripheral countries (see section 2.4.5). Thus, it is argued whether the problem lies in theoretical issues of bottom up and sustainable development approaches adopted in these projects or in other practical issues in southern peripheral contexts or in both.

Many western development models and approaches have been developed without paying any in depth attention to the grassroots level situations of the southern peripheral context. On the other hand, development planners in southern peripheral countries have decisively used these western development ideologies on local situations without any alterations, even though it is important to consider contextual differences. For instance, no research has been done so far about the influence of superimposed capitalism on CBET projects. This work carries out an in depth social study on socio-cultural, economic and geo-political challenges encountered in implementing CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site and should help devise realistic solutions for common development challenges. Furthermore, this work focuses on constructing new knowledge on the means of rearranging present CBET projects most appropriate to the southern peripheral situation.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology and Methods

3.1 Introduction

As mentioned above (chapter 2, section 2.4.5) CBET is to provide improved livelihoods in poor rural villages who have or are close to a potential ecotourism attraction. In spite of the goodwill of the Sri Lanka national government, there has been less local improvement than anticipated. My research focuses on understanding the challenges, especially socio-cultural, economic, and geopolitical ones, to implement CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. Gathering of rich primary data on socio-cultural and anthropological phenomena in the field was essential to understand and explain the grassroots social reality in that area.

A qualitative research methodology is employed in many different academic disciplines which aim at comprehensive understanding of human social reality (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011 ; Kahn, 2011).Yet, according to the basic field and literature survey for the research project, I understood the importance of numeric, quantitative data to confirm qualitative data. Thus, a quantitative methodology was also used (Bryman, 2012). My research then uses a 'mixed methodological approach', which theoretically includes many categories and dimensions. Both qualitative and quantitative data collecting methods were conducted 'concurrently'.

During my fieldwork, I worked with the people in their social environment, thus, social issues could occur from such interaction, which I strongly took into account. Social research is a knowledge construction process by human being/s (researcher/s) based on information provided by other human beings' (participants'). Using a qualitative methodology means close contact of the researcher(s) with other people. Research such as I conducted deals with personal socio-cultural matters of participants even if (or because) 'social ethics' differ from place to place. Therefore, in a social research project, ethics which are at the same time complex must be thoroughly respected (Tuzin, 2001).

These issues are not always immediately visible, which is why 'positionality and reflexivity' are important notions of qualitative methodology (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Walker, Read, & Priest, 2013). As a social being, the researcher has a 'position' and this position is reflected in whatever s/he does, talks, writes, creates etc. and thus it can lead to research biases. 'Reflexivity' can be considered as an attitude of questioning knowledge construction, especially the effect of the researcher, at every step of the research process to counteract some of the biases (Bourke, Butcher, Chisonga, & Clarke, 2012).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used in primary qualitative data examination in order to the social reality and the responses of residents to CBET. In my research, this method was more efficient than other data analysing methods since I dealt with and analysed complex and diverse research data (Fairclough, 2013; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Simple statistical data analysing methods were used for the questionnaire. These data collecting and analysing methods are discussed in detail in the later part of this chapter

The chapter starts by identifying qualitative methodology and inductive research approaches which have been dominantly used in this project. Yet my research comes under the category of mixed methodology since quantitative methodology has also been used; as discussed in this chapter. I also explain my research ethics and ethical considerations as well as the concepts of positionality and reflexivity. Next, I describe primary data collection based on both qualitative and quantitative methods and secondary data. At the end of the chapter I examine ways of analysing collected data.

3.2   Qualitative methodology and inductive research approach

To design this research I carried out an elementary field survey based on a literature review to identify the rationality of this research and the appropriate methodology. Then I understood that challenges of CBET in this site are based on deep socio-cultural, geo-political and economic factors, which operate as hidden social factors rooted in traditional and complex socio-cultural norms, beliefs, and practices; however, respondents are not necessarily ready to discuss them openly.

One of the classic examples is how caste hierarchy and gender differences prevail in the CBET project in the research site. In my point of view, the caste system and gender biases are hidden entities, which are rarely addressed openly in the present Sri Lankan society. Hence, I spent more time on accessing such specific socio-cultural areas to collect relevant primary data in the field, because most of the respondents were not ready to talk simply and openly about these issues. Since my primary concern was to deal with 'rich and deep' primary data rather than 'numeric' data, I paid much attention to qualitative research methodology.

Qualitative research methodology is more useful in understanding socio-cultural, economic, as well as political phenomena. Comprehension of social experiences, attitudes, practices, norms and beliefs is focused on by this methodology, as it deals with 'words' not with 'numbers'. That means, this approach focuses on answering 'what', 'how' and 'why' of social phenomena, yet not questions like 'how many' and 'how much' (Bricki & Green, 2002; Bryman, 2012). Qualitative research became more popular in many social science disciplines like anthropology, sociology, political science, human geography, from the middle of the 20th century. It was gradually developed as a systematic research approach practically helping to understand many complex social issues (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Tetnowski & Damico, 2001). Under qualitative methodology research methods like participation and direct observation, qualitative interviews, focus group studies, bibliographic study, case study, as well as data analysing methods like conversation analysis, discourse analysis, grounded theory, historical analysis, and interactional analyses were developed (Bryman, 2012; Tetnowski & Damico, 2001).

In this research, I wanted to befriend respondents to understand genuinely the ground 'reality' in social activities and operating mechanisms. For example, the Forest Department had invested to establish a model traditional Kitul tapping village within this site as part of the CBET project. There is good market demand for Kitul products and traditional Kudawa villagers are renowned for their traditional skills and knowledge about Kitul tapping practice. On the surface it looked like a lucrative plan from the point of view of the project planners. Regardless of all the funds and efforts invested into it, this project became a total

failure because the villagers refused to participate actively in the project (Forest Department, 2013a). I wanted to understand and analyse hidden factors and operating systems in the socio-cultural, political, and economic organization in this particular area that caused this project to fail. Qualitative methodology is most useful to deal with this kind of situation. So it is employed in many different academic disciplines that focus on collecting an in-depth understanding of human factors as they aim to examine complex and multi-dimensional social reality (FHI, 2004; Hennink et al., 2011 ; Kahn, 2011; Levy, 2006; Tina & Ann., 1998).

According to many scholars, four traditions of qualitative research methodology have developed: 'naturalism' 'ethnomethodology', 'emotionalism' (interested in subjectivity and gaining access to inside experience), and 'postmodernism' (Bryman, 2012; Hennink et al., 2011 ; Van Maanen, 1983). 'Naturalism' focuses on understanding social reality on its own terms (Bryman, 2012; Van Maanen, 1983). According to Reynolds; "The methodology of naturalism is usually defined as the study of the social world through observation of individuals or groups in their natural setting with minimal interference by the observer" (Reynolds, 1980, p. 77). Understanding, describing and interpreting social experiences and structures of Kudawa-Sinharaja is one of the key components of my research. Therefore, the 'naturalistic approach' has been applied within the qualitative research tradition.

There are three main traditions of 'naturalistic observation'. First is a 'non-reactive' (unobtrusive) mode in which the researcher observes social phenomena without intervening in the particular society. Second is a 'reactive' mode where the researcher intervenes in social activities as an outside observer. Third is a 'participant mode' in which the researcher joins the particular society as an active member, until s/he finishes the study (Babbie, 2012; Cordes, Richerson, Richar, & Pontus, 2006; Tedlock, 1991). The different explanations given by different respondents on the same CBET practices made me observe these ventures within the particular context to understand the rationality and hidden factors behind the different explanations. For example, I wanted to collect data on local site guides' behaviour and ethical considerations about CBET, however, since the data given by different project stakeholders such as forest officers, tourists, researchers, and

site guides on the topic varied largely, I needed to participate in several eco-tours as an active observer with different types of tourists and site guides. Therefore, I selected the 'reactive-naturalistic observation' mode to understand the social reality in the Kudawa-Sinharaja CBET ventures.

I also sought to understand how these different social processes come about. 'Ethnomethodology', which was introduced by the American sociologists Harold Garfinkel and Harvey Sacks is one of the popular traditions in qualitative research methodology (Babbie, 2012; Heritage, 2007). As defined by Harold Garfinkel, "ethnomethodology is the study of the methods people use for producing recognizable social orders. 'Ethno' refers to members of a social or cultural group and 'method' refers to the things members routinely do to create and recreate the various recognizable social actions or social practices. 'Ology' as in the word 'sociology' implies the study of or the logic of these methods. Thus 'ethnomethodology' means the study of members' method producing recognizable orders" (Garfinkel, 2002, p. 06).

Ethnomethodology is involved in the study of various social actions and practices that people use for the production of social order and seeks to understand how social order is created through talk and interaction (Babbie, 2012; Bryman, 2012). Traditional ethno-sociological factors and norms have influenced the forming of the social order of the Kudawa GND and an elementary field survey and literature review revealed that this social order has contributed to political, economic, and socio-cultural challenges of CBET in this site. Thus, I examined contemporary social actions and practices in this site to understand the social order and its contribution to issues of the local CBET project and to do so, I used the 'ethnomethodology' tradition of qualitative research.

There is a profound correlation between qualitative methodology and inductive research. In inductive research, first, data is collected using relevant qualitative data collecting methods and then findings are linked with relevant theories, discourses, and concepts. This is the opposite way to conducting a 'quantitative-deductive research', so it is called a 'bottom up' research approach (Bryman, 2012; Burney, 2008; Thomas, 2012), as explained below,

The purposes for using an inductive approach are to (1) to condense extensive and varied raw text data into a brief, summary format; (2) to establish clear links between the research objectives and the summary findings derived from the raw data and (3) to develop a model or theory about the underlying structure of experiences or processes which are evident in the raw data. The inductive approach reflects frequently reported patterns used in qualitative data analysis (Thomas, 2012, p. 01).

The strength of a qualitative inductive research approach is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the 'human' side of an issue – that is, the often-contradictory behaviours, beliefs, opinions, emotions, and relationships of individuals. Accordingly, my research does not primarily concentrate on collecting numeric data as this study targets collecting ideas about how 'rich' and 'deep' intangible factors, such as gender, caste, norms, beliefs, traditions, local knowledge, geopolitics and local economic wealth influence development or the lack thereof. Consequently, a 'qualitative inductive research approach' was selected as the dominant methodological approach of this research.

3.3 Mixed research methodology and rationality

Qualitative research methodology is a useful way to study socio-cultural and anthropological phenomena in depth (Bryman, 2012; Hennink et al., 2011 ; Silverman, 2011; Sofaer, 2002). Yet, there are many biases in qualitative research methodology, which directly influence research findings. Even if a qualitative methodology allows obtaining valuable and profound data it, in some occasions, is impressionistic and subjective (Bryman, 2012; Silverman, 2011). Qualitative data is also difficult to replicate and lacks transparency. Creswell & Clark (2006) mentioned;

Qualitative research is seen as deficient because of the personal interpretations made by the researcher, the ensuing bias created by this, and the difficulty in generalizing findings to a large group because of the limited number of participants studied. Quantitative research, it is argued, does not have these weaknesses (p. 09).

However quantitative methodology is not a solution for biases in qualitative methodology, because quantitative methodology cannot be used for in-detail study of the nature of social relations, practices, problems, beliefs and norms (Bryman, 2012). Sometimes people explain their experiences or ideas, yet we cannot simply believe everything they say as true and honest. In order to get the real social context of a conversation we have to analyse not only 'what did respondents say' but also 'why did they say that'. Even if quantitative research methodology is a weak tool to collect such deep and complex socio-cultural data (Creswell & Clark, 2006), we can use it as a supporting methodology to verify collected qualitative data.

- Quantitative methodology to support qualitative methodology

Even though I have selected a qualitative research approach as the most appropriate for my research, I faced many issues in generalizing and validating the data collected. For example, when data on tourist satisfaction in this site was collected through the qualitative research method of semi-structured interview, a few tourists had presented their own ideas as common tourist thoughts, which would lead to research biases, if they were not common to other tourists as well. When I failed to differentiate tourists' own points of view from common tourist thoughts, I collected quantitative, numeric data to verify these qualitative findings.

Quantitative methodology mainly deals with numeric data and mathematical and statistically based analysis of social phenomena. This methodology fundamentally attempts to support the objectivity, reliability, and generalizability of the results that obtain from the qualitative research (Harwell, 2011; Muijs, 2011). In this methodology, research questions and hypotheses had to be developed while carrying out the research. Thus, it can be considered as a theory testing methodology; it is based on a deductive research approach (Bryman, 2012).

There are weaknesses in quantitative methodology if used to understand socio-cultural phenomena. Quantitative methodology is not suitable for a deep understanding of the nature of social arrangements and for finding their roots. In addition, the measurement process of social facts is often artificial. So this

quantitative methodological research process was not used in the designing process of my research. Quantitative methodology does not play a dominant role in my research. The questionnaire survey is used only to counterbalance biases in the qualitative data.

Many social researchers have preferred to combine methodologies to obtain counter balancing strengths. Gradually this method was named 'mixed methodology' and it helped to corroborate qualitative and quantitative data through a triangulation process (Bryman, 2012). As Olsen (2004) has explained, "in social science triangulation is defined as the mixing of data or methods so that diverse viewpoints or standpoints cast light upon a topic. The mixing of data type, is known as data triangulation'' (p. 03). The triangulation process can be used to change the qualitative/quantitative divide of the research and that is useful to identify different dimensions of the same phenomenon (Bryman, 2012).

This new paradigm of research methodology has been elaborated to provide rich socio-cultural details with a high level of transparency (Amaratunga, Baldry, Sarsher, & Newoton, 2002; Bryman, 2012; Creswell & Clark, 2006; Spratt, Walker, & Robinson, 2004). Therefore, mixed methodology is more suitable to obtain more evidential information for deep social research as it deals with both 'quality' and 'quantity' of collected data. Combining both quantitative and qualitative methodologies using multiple approaches helps to take advantage of each approach while counterbalancing their different weaknesses (Creswell & Clark, 2006; Johnson, Onwuegbuzi, & Turner, 2007; Spratt et al., 2004).

- Sub category of mixed methodological research

According to its objectives and questions, my research mainly focuses on examining cultural and social possibilities/challenges (including gender, caste, religion, norms, beliefs, traditions and local knowledge) to implement CBET. The nature of current economic activities of the community members, practical politics, infrastructure, and legislative and policy intervention processes of forest management are examined too. Hence, a qualitative research methodological approach is mainly used. On the other hand, questionnaire surveys were

conducted as a strategy to counterbalance qualitative data. Thus, when mixing dimensions of my research is considered, it can be identified as 'partially mixed', but conducted 'concurrently'.

3.4   Research ethics and ethical considerations

As I dealt with participants in a local community, tourists, government officers, researchers, and environmentalists. I strongly considered the research ethics of social research. Social research means simply a human being (researcher) carrying out research on one or more other human being(s) (also called participants of the research) (Tuzin, 2001). Therefore ethically many problems can occur. On the other hand, 'society' is multifaceted as its structure, arrangement, beliefs, culture, norms, religions, economic situations, politics etc. can totally vary from place to place, so 'social ethics' also differ. Therefore, in social research, research ethics must thoroughly be respected, which is complex and serious. After the 1960s, many social researchers have turned their attention to the importance of research ethics. That helped to build-up regulations, as well as social and behavioural research methods and theories that focused to insure no harm results from the research (Anderson & DuBois, 2007; Tuzin, 2001).

When engaged in ethical social research, the researcher should consider the vulnerable aspects of the research participants (Anderson & DuBois, 2007). Every human being has a public as well as a private life and if a researcher is determined to understand social reality s/he has to collect information on respondents' personal life too which includes his or her feelings, relationships and behaviour. However, the researcher must handle such information very carefully, as misuse of such data can be highly harmful and cause psychological, institutional, political, medical, health, economic or social effects. Therefore, a social researcher must have an ethical mechanism to protect research participants. If a researcher can protect research participants it will in return contribute to more 'quality, deep and rich' data since participants will be more willing to give information more openly and honestly (Sieber, 1993).

There are two main dimensions in ethical social research. The first is 'procedural ethics' which means obtaining ethical approval from the ethics committee of the

relevant university or research institute to carry out the research (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). According to the rules and regulations of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences human research ethics committee, the researcher must obtain ethical approval to carry on fieldwork before entering the research field. I submitted an 'application for ethical approval' to the University of Waikato Human Research Ethics Committee following its principles and guidelines and I obtained ethical approval for my research (appendix 1). I followed rules and regulations of the research ethics during my fieldwork and in every step of my research process (This is further discussed under the topic 'ethical considerations of the research').

The second dimension is 'ethics in practice'. While carrying out social research, the researcher has to face unexpected issues and deal with them successfully. According to the context, the researcher has to decide how to respond to such occasions (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Especially when doing field research in a developing country, the researcher has to consider many aspects such as the culture, languages, religions, economic and political background as well as social norms, beliefs, and practices connected with peoples' daily life. All these require attention to ethics while practicing social research (Benatar, 2002).

For example, for a researcher it is difficult to obtain data on certain issues such as gender differences, caste issues, sexual behaviours, and illegal social activities etc., in an Asian country because collecting this data can expose participants to social vulnerability and consequently create psychological issues for them. Yet this information may be important to the research. Then the researcher has to find another apt way to collect this information, respecting research ethics (Marshall, 1992). In interviews during my fieldwork, many government officers were unwilling to sign the 'consent form' and reluctant to give audio records because of the influence of regional politics. Yet, they agreed to give information without mentioning their names. Therefore, I rearranged my data collecting process following the supervisors' advice. Particularly, I did not use an audio recorder or consent forms, but participants were well informed about anonymity and confidentiality. I just put answers down in my notebook.

Following research ethics throughout the entire process of my research required certain actions.

a. Storing personal information, other data and maintaining confidential personal information

All information collected in this research (including filled questionnaires, signed consent forms, audio recordings, field notes and photographs) was safely stored in a locked file case at all times and inside a locked drawer in my office room at the University of Waikato. Computerized data is being stored in a password-protected file and the password has been changed over time. I am the only person to access raw data and all the information will be safely kept for at least a five-year period beyond the date at which the thesis will have been submitted. After that, if it is deemed no longer useful, data will be properly destroyed. No data that would identify the participants or personal information will be published, unless given express written permission to do so.

During the fieldwork in Sri Lanka, I safely kept all the collected hard copies of information in a locked cabinet at my home and the soft copies in a password protected file on my computer. I obtained written permission from the relevant person and group of people in case I might have to use photos or any other information that would reveal their identity or personal information.

b. Access to participants

I randomly selected 50 households for a questionnaire survey and they were contacted over the phone or by post to get appointments to meet them. According to their consent, they were personally visited at their homes to carry out the questionnaire survey to obtain data on the local community. Fifty tourists who had visited the Sinharaja rain forest at that time were also randomly selected to fill a questionnaire survey for tourists. All these were done by obtaining permission and assistance of the forest officers in charge of Sinharaja. I did not face difficulties in accessing other participants, as I had obtained official permission from the forest department and the village officer to carry out this research.

c. Informed consent

Before starting the questionnaire survey or interviews (individual and focus group), all the participants were informed of the research and ethics procedures of the University of Waikato, as well, participants' rights and role in the research were clearly explained. I assured them about the confidentiality of their personal information and the security of their privacy (for example, by using pseudonyms if they wished). Prior to the start of the survey, an introductory letter was provided to all the participants. When all the participants had read and understood the relevant information sheet (Appendix 3, 6, 9, 11), they were given time to ask any questions regarding the research and the interviews. Then, the participants were asked to sign the two copies of the consent form; they retained one copy while I kept the other.

In this research, all participants had the right to reject partaking in any interview or questionnaire survey and they had the right to refuse answering any question or part of the question. During the interviews, they had the right to refuse the use of audio devices to record their conversation. Additionally, the participants had the chance to withdraw provided information from the database up to three weeks after the data collection. For further inquiries about the research, both my supervisors' and my contact details were provided to all the participants (on the information sheets).

d. Potential risk to participants

The semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, and questionnaire surveys in this study did not involve any potential risk to any of the participants. Participants could avoid answering any question for which they were unwilling to reveal information. On the other hand, any socio-culturally sensitive, emotional, or embarrassing questions, which could possibly disturb the participants, were avoided in the research. The questions related to gender, caste, class issues and income level were optional and if participants were willing to provide such information this was highly confidential and used only for academic purposes.

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Nevertheless, if any participants seemed disturbed, uncomfortable or under stress over any question asked during the interview or survey, such questions were cancelled. The consent forms used before the interviews for the research explained how participants were protected from risk.

e. Publication of research findings

The purpose of the research and the nature of publishing research findings were clearly explained to the participants. They were told that the collected information will be published in my PhD thesis that will be available on-line. In addition, research findings will be used in other academic work, such as journal articles, conference presentations, and research papers but they will never be written in a way that would reveal the identity or other details of any of the participants unless they have provided written consent.

3.5   Positionality and Reflexivity

The notion of 'positionality and reflexivity' is normally connected with qualitative research methodology (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004; Walker et al., 2013). Every human being lives in a highly connected socio-cultural and political network. The nature of that network is different from place to place, culture to culture and time to time. That means every human being enjoys a special socio-cultural, economic and political 'position'. Whatever they do, talk, write, create etc., that 'position' is naturally displayed in their work. The social researcher is also a human being who has a separate 'position' that depends on his/her own socio-cultural values, beliefs, feelings and thoughts (Robert Wood Jonson Foundation, 2012). Many scholars have then argued that 'position' is exposed in many parts of a social research process (Walker et al., 2013).

'Positionality' will influence social research in two separate ways. First, the researcher's position affects the research production. The researcher's way of thinking, ideology, race, caste, class and political ideas, will be included in it. Second, research participants will play their role in the research in relation to the researcher's position (Kim, 1994). It is most likely to create a socio-cultural 'gap'

between research participants and researcher owing to the researcher's position and the way participants read the researcher's position. This will directly lead to research biases (Sultana, 2007).

I (researcher) am a Sri Lankan 36 years old male, and a Sinhalese (ethnicity) Buddhist (religion) from a middle class family in a rural area. I have carried out research on forest utilization and community based forest management in Sinharaja and in some other rain forests of Sri Lanka. Therefore, I am familiar with Kudawa-Sinharaja villagers and their culture too. Most of the research participants of Kudawa-Sinharaja were Sinhalese-Buddhists, and poor/middle-class rural people. Thus, my position in Sri Lankan society and my research experiences helped me to access and understand the socio-cultural context of my research site. Yet even researching at home or in a familiar area can create many 'positionality' issues (Sultana, 2007).

> Doing research at 'home' also brings in different dynamics, in terms
> of concerns of insider-outsider and politics of representation, across
> other axes of social differentiation beyond commonality in
> nationality or ethnicity. People placed me in certain categories,
> exerted authority/subservience, 'othered' me and negotiated the
> relationship on a continual basis. I was from the city, from an
> educated background, could read and write (in English no less!).
> Such overt differences immediately put me in a different location,
> and often in one of hierarchy, where people in rural areas have come
> to respect and be deferential to urban, educated elite. The fact that I
> wore shoes, a watch, carried a notebook, had a camera, all placed me
> in an irreconcilable position of difference (Sultana, 2007, p. 378).

I (researcher) am a senior lecturer in the Department of Geography, University of Ruhuna, Sri Lanka and my educational background has created a gap between the Kudawa-Sinharaja community and me. Sociologically, the caste of a person holds an important place in both Sinhalese and Tamil communities. However, the caste of a person is not talked about openly in any social conversation especially in the rural areas of the country (Silva, Sivapragasam, et al., 2009). Yet, most of the Sinhala surnames indicate the caste of the bearer. I belong to '*Govi*' (famers) caste, which is considered high in the Sinhalese caste hierarchy compared with the

caste of many Kudawa-Sinharaja villagers who belong to the 'Wahumpura' caste, which is considered low.

It is also common in village culture that girls and young women in the village are reluctant to talk with total strangers, especially with young male visitors. Thus, when I enter their village the young women seem to discriminate and suspect me as they could differentiate me in several ways such as my outer appearance including my dress, manners, my audio recorder, camera, notebooks, questionnaires and even my accent, which was different from theirs. Some villagers distrusted my research work and gathering data on their private life. Therefore 'my position' as the researcher and the 'position' of Kudawa-Sinharaja villagers as research participants created a social gap between me and them and that was a main challenge to collect realistic in depth qualitative data.

Hence, the notion of 'reflexivity' holds an important part in my research. As Bryman explains, "The social researcher should be reflective about the implication of their methods, values, biases, and decisions for the knowledge of the social world they generate. As such, knowledge from a reflexive position is always reflection of a researcher's location in time and social space" (Bryman, 2012, pp. 393-394). As Bryman further stated there are three sub areas of reflexivity such as, philosophical self-reflection, methodological self-consciousness and methodological self-criticism (Bryman, 2012).

The first part of this chapter would correspond with 'methodological self-consciousness' which led me to choose a mixed methodology over just a qualitative one since I worried that the results would not be considered transparent or robust enough. My philosophical self-reflection led to the construction of the specific theoretical framework spelt out in chapter 2. Methodological self-criticism occurred throughout the field trip as I questioned how adequate my earlier decisions were about the methods chosen. I did have to adapt as the research evolved over the 6 months actually spent in the field (out of 8 months dedicated to field work) as in the case of my approach to the villagers (see 4 paragraphs down).

Moreover, the process of reflexivity is useful to identify transparency, capacity and limitations of the research; it is as if the researcher watches him/herself at work (Robertson, 2002). Therefore, reflexivity can be considered as an attitude of questioning knowledge construction, especially the effect of the researcher, at every step of the research process (Bourke et al., 2012):

> Reflexivity involves critical reflection of how the researcher constructs knowledge from the research process; what sorts of factors influence the researcher's construction of knowledge and how these influences are revealed in the planning, conduct, and writing up of the research. A reflexive researcher is one who is aware of all these potential influences and is able to step back and take a critical look at his or her own role in the research process. The goal of being reflexive in this sense has to do with improving the quality and validity of the research and recognizing the limitations of the knowledge that is produced, thus leading to more rigorous research (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 275).

Since my research uses qualitative methodology, I was concerned about my 'positionality' through reflexivity. According to the university grant commission act, Sri Lanka, I have three main roles/duties as a university lecturer such as teaching, researching and contributing to social development. My institute itself is required to promote research for social development. For these reasons, my position in the institute helps the local community to obtain benefits from this research and it is expected in the form of recommended social policies for the betterment of their livelihoods. Personally, I am interested in researching on 'forestry and eco-tourism', which helps to promote my career as a university lecturer.

All of the community members who live in my research area use Sinhala as their mother language. As a native Sinhala person of Sri Lanka, I can understand, speak and write Sinhala, and my cultural background supports me to conduct the research, especially since I am familiar with local community members' traditional beliefs, norms, practices and religions. However, owing to my positionality, I faced many challenges at the beginning of my fieldwork. I applied my previous research experience to minimize ethical issues that could arise due to my positionality. When I arrived at the research field, I tried to develop good

social relationships with the villagers. First, I met the village officer and forester, and explained my research, my objectives and expected outcomes to them with official letters. They helped me to access the villagers.

I did not start qualitative data collection in the first week. Instead, I spent my time studying villagers and their biological and sociological relationships staying at the forest bungalow. Then I understood that my staying at the forest bungalow was a disadvantage as it further separated me from the villagers (following methodological self-criticism mentioned above). It created a false image of me among villagers that I worked for the Forest Department and it prevented friendly access to the villagers. Hence, in the second week, I moved to a homestay and it helped me to get closer to many villagers and obtain data on their private life such as occupation, education, and involvement in CBET etc. Most evenings, I played cricket with young villagers. At the beginning, there was a gap between the villagers and me. They respected me for being a university lecturer and outsider. Gradually they started to talk openly with me and consider me as one of their community members. Many villagers invited me to stay at their homes, and I moved from one villager's home to another at least once a week.

In Sri Lankan culture, especially in villages, it is considered disrespectful to call a person by his/her personal name alone, considering social etiquette. Instead they use different generic terms together with the personal name of the addressee depending on his/her gender and age, such as *mama* (uncle) or *nanda* (aunty) to mature adults and *ayya* (elder brother) or *akka* (elder sister) to young adults and *malli* (younger brother) or *nangi* (younger sister) to someone younger to the addresser. For example, "Yasarathna *ayya*" indicates that 'Yasarathna' is the personal name of the addressee whereas the term 'a*yya*' (elder brother) means that Yasarathne is a young adult to the addresser. The use of these honorary titles is meant to signify respect for others in the community, while at the same time acknowledging that the person is not a stranger. These generic terms also help to overcome the awkwardness of meeting new people. Thus, I started addressing villagers by their names together with these honorary titles in order to be close to the local community and this approach was very effective. I then started participating in CBET practices together with villagers, such as camping, tour

guide services, safari programmes, home-stay programmes while keeping regular field notes.

Even though I might have disagreed with the ideas of participants of qualitative interviews, I noted down or recorded their ideas during the interviews without obstructing the conversation with my personal views. Furthermore, I contacted my supervisors for necessary advice whenever there were issues regarding my positionality or research ethics.

3.6   Access to the research field and primary data collection

Prior to choosing the topic of the research and the specific location, a number of publications related to the field were comprehensively studied with the purpose of identifying the research objectives, problems as well as the study area. They also provided some of the secondary data. More secondary data was collected during the field trip for this study. Informal discussions with informants and field observations were conducted to determine the research area as well as various other data collecting methods.

First, the Kudawa Grama Niladari Division (GND) situated in the north western slope of the Sinharaja forest (part of Sinharaja in the Rathnapura district of Sri Lanka) was selected as the main 'geo spatial' administration area for the research project. Kudawa GND includes three villages namely, Kudawa, Petiyakanda and Pitakele. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were used for data collecting. Second, the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site (main access to the northern part of the Sinharaja rain forest) was selected as the specific study area, where again, both qualitative and quantitative data collecting methods were used. Thirdly, I used semi-structured interviews with relevant outsiders (government officers, researchers, policy makers etc).

3.6.1   Qualitative data collection methods

Participant and direct observation, semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews were conducted as qualitative data collection methods for this research.

- Participant and direct observation

The participant and direct observation method enables effective gathering of data regarding human norms and attitudes. Sociologists as well as human and cultural geographers have used participant and direct observation methods in their research to obtain qualitative grounded knowledge of communities (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994; Bryman, 2012; Dewalt & DeWalt, 2011; Jeorgensen, 1989; May, 1997). This method assists to collect socio-cultural information in depth and it is useful for systematic description of human behaviour and social setting. According to Kawulich, "Participant observation is the process enabling researchers to learn about the activities of the people under study in the natural setting through observing and participating in those activities" (Kawulich, 2005, p. 01). This method was developed in the anthropological and sociological research disciplines, yet at present it is used in many other social sciences (Fine, 2001; Iacono, Brown, & Holtham, 2009; Kawulich, 2005).

Participant and direct observation can be categorized under three main sub categories according to the level of participation. The first sub category is 'completely and actively participant'. According to this method, the researcher wants to become a member of the relevant community and s/he must actively participate in their work as a member of the community. This method is most useful in anthropological studies. The second sub category is 'moderate and passive participant'. Under this method, the researcher has to act as a passive participant and observer and s/he has to be present in the community yet must not engage in the community activities. The third sub category is 'nonparticipation observation'. Here the researcher is a mere observer of community work who does not participate in any social activity (Schostak, 2010). I selected the moderate and passive participant category in order to answer the research questions of my study. I did not actively participate in community members' work or activities of other relevant participants. I just observed their activities as a passive participant even when I joined a tour through the site.

Before accessing the research field, I contacted relevant government and administrative bodies such as the forest department, the regional secretarial office,

and the village officer's workplace to obtain the necessary legal permission to carry out the field research and data collecting process. After obtaining research consent, I distributed an introductory letter (Appendix 2) to the local people in the research area. Subsequently, participant and direct observation was conducted while staying in the community. I remained eight months in the research field and developed close rapport with its residents. I observed socio cultural and economic practices of community members while participating passively in their activities and I kept regular field notes and records.

- Semi-structured interviews

A semi-structured interview can be considered as a flexible interviewing method (Laforest, 2009; May, 1997). According to that method, the interviewer attempts to collect data questioning relevant persons following already formulated questions. Yet the researcher is not expected to follow the order in the question list and s/he should know how to obtain more information depending on participants' replies. If the participant seems to err from the question list, the researcher should know to bring the participant to the question list through his/her practical research experience. Thus, the researcher's qualitative research experience is also an important factor to conduct effective semi-structured interviews

In general, the researcher should use 'open- ended', 'direct', verbal questions to obtain detailed, narrative answers (Whiting, 2008) and to allow participants to explain their views, experiences and opinions freely with added opportunities, so, even if the list of questions is already prepared, a list of general themes can guide the interview. Semi structured interviews should be flexible and focus on obtaining rich detailed answers rather than numeric short answers (Bryman, 2012). Community members were encouraged to explain their own ideas on the interview topic and as they conversed, they often provided not just the answers to the questions, but also much background information related to the answer (May, 1997; Zorn, 2012).

As I examined environmental and socioeconomic sustainability of the implementation of a CBET approach, both particular community members and other stakeholders such as forest officers, environmentalists, relevant government officers, and tourists, were met for semi-structured interviews using the 'snow-balling' method. Snow-balling is based on the metaphor that when a real snow ball is rolling down the hill, its size gradually increases until it approaches saturation (Baker, 2012; Cohen & Arieli, 2011; Dodds, 2014). Thus, the researcher must gather enough data using a chain referral process until it approaches saturation (Baltar & Brunet, 2012). This method was useful in my research, since it helped to gather information from diverse respondents. As well, it helped to examine sensitive and confidential personal information important for the research objectives (Longhurst, 2009).

All semi-structured interviews took approximately 30 minutes to one hour. However, that was flexible and depended on participants' needs and willingness. Before starting the interview an 'information sheet' (Appendix 3) and an interviewing schedule (Appendix 4) were distributed to the participants to educate them about the research and the interviews [as a 'consent form' (Appendix 5)]. In this manner, questions that participants did not like to answer or discuss were eliminated. Altogether, 115 semi structured interviews were conducted in this research under several categorical layers (Table 2) and each interviewee was provided with a consent form too. Semi-structured interviews are presented by their categorical code and numbers in the chapters on data analysis. For instance, in SSI22G3, 'SSI22' stands for 'semi structured interviewing number 22' where 'G3' indicates semi structured interview categorical code (G3 = NGO members of Kudawa GND). This code is based on Table 2 - 'categorical layers of semi-structured interviews'.

Table 2: Categorical layers of semi-structured interviews (Duration from 10.09.2012 to 09.04.2013)

Category	Sub- Category	Numbers of Interviews
A. Forest Officers	-	06
B. Relevant other governmental officers	-	05
C. Regional politicians	-	04
D. Tourist agencies	-	04
E. Hotels/ Accommodation providers	E1: Hotel owners	01
	E2: Managers	02
	E3: Workers	02
F. Tourist guides	F1: National guides	03
	F2: Chauffeur guides / Safari drivers	04
G. Local Community (Kudawa GND)	G1: Local community who was not involved in CBET	07
	G2: Safari drivers	04
	G3: NGOs members	03
	G4: Research assistants	03
	G5: Site guides	11
	G6: Hotel owners	01
	G7: Hotel workers	05
	G8: Businessmen	04
	G9: Workers at FD	03
	G10: Mobile food suppliers	02
H. Visitors (local)	H1: University students	04
	H2: School students	03
	H3: Bird watchers	02
	H4: Photographers	02
	H5: Ordinary visitors	04
I. Visitors (foreign)	I1: Bird watchers	05
	I2: Photographers	02
	I3: Researchers	04
	I4: Ordinary visitors	01
J. Environmentalists	-	04
K. Researchers (local)	-	06
L. Tourist agencies		04
Total		**115**

- Focus group interviews

According to Bryman, the focus group interview method is a form of interview in which there are several participants (in addition to the moderator/facilitator); there is an emphasis in the question on a particular fairly tightly defined topic and the accent is upon interaction amongst members of the group and the joint construction of meaning (Bryman, 2012). Many scholars have stated that the number of participants in a focus group should be between 6-12 and there should be a researcher as well as a moderator (Alauutari, Bickman, & Brannen, 2008; Krueger & Casey, 2000). Social researchers have used this method for common data collecting, as it is more helpful in identifying participant's perceptions, ideas, beliefs, attitudes etc. (Coenenm, Stamm, Stucki, & Cieza, 2012; Coggan, Patterson, & Fill, 1997; Wedlunda, Nilssonb, & Tomsona, 2013). In this method, to create a 'group' for interviewing, the researcher should identify the interaction common to all participants. Some authors affirm that when in a group with common interaction, the incentive to provide information is high (Baker, 1997; Kelly, 2003).

In individual interviews, participants can interpret their own ideas and feelings as common social ideas and feelings. If participants provide the wrong information, the researcher lacks a method to recheck it. But in a focus group no participant can lie as such false information is corrected and moderated by other participants (at least to some extent) (Alauutari et al., 2008; Krueger & Casey, 2000). Yet, there are some constraints using this method of which the researcher should be aware. Participants reveal their ideas and information in front of a group of people from the same locale. This can make them face social vulnerability. In a focus group interview, certain participants can emerge dominant depending on their socio-cultural and political position and in a discussion their ideas can come to be imposed as group ideas (Wedlunda et al., 2013).

However, focus group interviews were used in this research as a tool for collecting primary data regarding local community experiences, practices, thinking patterns, politics, knowledge and beliefs as one more such source. This method was employed to understand people's attitudes and opinions about

different social issues from different perspectives (May, 1997; McLafferty, 2004). Some people were more willing to talk when in a group than alone. In order to bring a group of people together, a common place where villagers often gather such as a temple, village societies, branches of the Forest Department, etc., was arranged. Thus, assistance to meet people was sought from the chief monk of the temple and the Grama Niladari (villager officer; a government official).

Focus group interviews took approximately one hour. However, that depended on the particular context, participants' needs, participants' reactions, and willingness. Prior to starting the interview, an 'Information sheet for focus group interviews' (Appendix 6) and a 'focus group interview questions ' (Appendix 8) as well as a 'consent form for focus group interviews' (Appendix 7) were distributed to ensure their willingness to participate in the interview. Groups contained 5 to 10 people who were encouraged to talk freely among themselves about the objectives. They were seldom being disturbed unless discussion strayed too far from the subject. During their discussion and arguments, important data was recorded.

Focus group interviews are presented by their categorical code and number in chapters on data analysis. For instance, in FGI4A4: 'FGI' indicates 'focus group interviewing', 4 mean interview number, 'A4' is the categorical code of the focus group interview (A4 = Ordinary visitors) as indicated in table 3.

3.6.2   Quantitative data collection process

Quantitative data collecting methods supplemented the primary data collected through the methods described above.

- Questionnaire survey

A questionnaire survey is the most popular as a data collecting method in quantitative methodology. According to this method, participants have to answer series of questions within a limited time and probability statistical analysing techniques are easily used. The questionnaire survey was conducted with the

foremost objective of collecting numeric data on infrastructure, sanitary facilities, hotels, land availability in the study area and community members' current economic activities, income level, education level, communication skills as well as numeric information about incoming tourists (Bryman, 2012).

Table 3: Categorical layers of focus group interviews (Conducted time duration 10.09.2012 to 09.04.2013)

Category	Sub- Category	Numbers of Interviews
A. Visitors (local)	A1: Bird watchers	01
	A2: Photographers	01
	A3: University students	01
	A4: Ordinary visitors	01
B. Visitors (foreign)	B1: Bird watchers	01
	B2: Ordinary visitors	01
C. Local community	C1: Not involved in CBET	01
	C2: Involved in CBET (commonly)	01
D. Forest officers		01
E. Relevant NGOs		01
F. Safari drivers	(both community members and outsiders)	01
G. Tourist guides	G1. Site guides (local community members)	01
	G2. National and Chauffeur guides (foreign to the community)	01
H. Researchers		01
I. Hotel workers	(both community members and outsiders)	01
Total		15

Even if a questionnaire survey is useful to collect common details under this approach, the researcher is allowed to collect mainly numeric data rather than qualitative, deep and rich data (Desmidt, Prinzie, & Heene, 2008; Preston, 2009). In addition, the researcher cannot use the questionnaire method to understand the reality of field based anthropological and ethno-botanical phenomena (Edwards, Nebel, & Heinrich, 2005). As I focused on examining such effects when

implementing ecotourism as a community forest management approach in the Sinharaja rain forest, this method was not a key data collecting method. I used the questionnaire survey as a 'counterbalance' strategy for qualitative data. Two separate questionnaires were prepared to obtain data from each group: community members and tourists (Appendix 12 and 13). Fifty households and fifty tourists were randomly selected for the questionnaire surveys. An information sheet and introductory letter (Appendix 9, 10, 11,) were given to all participants, before the survey was started.

- Sampling method of local community in questionnaire survey

I randomly selected 50 households from the Kudawa GND for the questionnaire survey concerning the local community. First, I met the village officer and obtained a list of households in the Kudawa GND with household numbers. According to the administration system of Sri Lanka, each GND and each of its households has a code and a number. For example, the code of the Kudawa GND is 198B and the number is 145. Accordingly, 198B (145) - 1 means first household of the Kudawa GND (according to the village officer's list). There are 176 households in the Kudawa GND. The first household I had randomly selected was 198B (145) - 21 and that became my first sample household. Thus, each house that comes after five numbers was selected for the survey such as 198B (145)- 21; 26; 31; 36; …etc. When I visited households for the questionnaire survey, I selected individuals over 18 years of age with their consent to participate in the survey.

- Sampling method of tourists in questionnaire survey

Most of the tourists arrived in Kudawa- Sinharaja in groups. Generally, a local tourist group consists of a large number of people; however, comparatively small numbers of tourists can be seen in a foreign tourist group. First, I decided to start my questionnaire survey at the Kudawa- Sinharaja park exit where there was a relaxation hall run by the Forest Department. Most tourists tend to rest and relax there after their tour for more than half an hour. After explaining my research by

giving them the information sheet and introductory letter, I selected one person from each group considering their willingness to partake in the survey until I could complete 50 questionnaires.

3.6.3   Secondary data collection

Secondary data for the research was extracted from the following sources. A number of publications by local and international writers, especially those that include information about social science methodology and methods, development discourses, alternative development, eco development, ecotourism, community forest management, joint forest management, tropical forest management etc., have been used in the study. Mainly, these publications aid to develop the theoretical framework of the research and to define the research objectives, problems, and challenges further. Several publications about Sinharaja rain forest in Sri Lanka and its peripheral villager(s) were also used to gather significant facts about the area.

A large number of maps of the study area were collected; some were used as base maps and others to get details of forest resources utilization, location of peripheral villages of the Sinharaja rain forest and variations in the forest area. A number of websites related to community forest management, eco- tourism, forest utilization, traditional ecological knowledge, change, and trends in forest utilization, forest laws, policies etc. were used. Several governmental reports such as divisional secretary (DS) reports, reports of village officers and unpublished documents such as dissertations and institutional records were examined too.

3.7   Forms of analysis

Both qualitative and quantitative data analysing methods and tools have been used in the study.

3.7.1   Qualitative data analysis

A critical discourse analysis (CDA) method was used to examine both primary qualitative data, which were collected through participant and direct observation, interviews as well as secondary data. The data was analysed using steps such as

data understanding, categorizing, coding under themes, connecting with theories and discourses and described narratively (Description/Interpretation/Explanation) (Becker, 1958; Dewalt & DeWalt, 2011; Dey, 2003; May, 1997). Classification of themes from the collected raw data can be recognized as a process (Bryman, 2012). Intensive reading, careful reading and re-reading were conducted as a procedure to identify patterns in the data to recognize separate themes (Boyatzis, 1998; Fereday & Cochrane, 2008).

Discourse is shaped by relations of power that are connected with ideologies (Fairclough, 1992). Discourse can be considered a 'flow of knowledge through time' (Wood & Kroger, 2000). As Schiffin et al (2001) mentioned, the study of discourse mainly focuses on the language used and anything 'beyond the sentence' (Schiffrin, Tannen, & Hamilton, 2008). Theoretically, a discourse is created by society that supports the build-up of specific knowledge, social relations and also social identity. When analysing discourse, the notion of 'social power' and 'dominance' should be considered. Social power is based on position, status, gender, education, political connection, caste, class etc. According to Van (1993, 2001), social power can directly lead to social dominance. Moreover, social power and social dominance can usually be seen as organized and institutionalized. So lack of social power can directly cause a lack of access to the resources (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Van, 2001).

CDA is useful in my thesis to examine the structural social arrangements of social power and dominance in the Kudawa-Sinharaja area and to analyse geopolitical and economic challenges against successful implementation of CBET. According to Robert Kaplan (1990), a socio-cultural statement (the text or discourse) displays a multidimensional structure and layers. As Kaplan's explains; "it is just like a sheet of thick plywood consisting of many thin sheets lying at different angles to each other. The basics of a text (spoken or written) consists of several discourses" (Kaplan 1990 cited Dellinger, 1995, p. 01).Therefore, discourse analysis is most helpful in examining and understanding social phenomena and the changes that occur in social phenomena in relation to factors of time and space (Wood & Kroger, 2000). For instance, different participants in my field research provided multi-dimensional socio-cultural viewpoints and arguments relevant to

concepts of ecotourism, CBET, bottom up development, sustainable development etc. Subsequently, it made me examine socio-cultural relationships that exist in CBET in the Kudawa GND, paying attention to changes that occurred in those relationships with time, using critical discourse analysis.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) emerged in the early 1990s as a data analysing tool of humanities and social sciences and some scholars like Teun van Dijk, Norman Fairclough, Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen and Ruth Wodak have significantly contributed to the development of this field of study (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak (2011) stated that,

> Theoretically, CDA approach is characterized by a realistic social ontology (which regards to both abstract social structures and concrete social events as parts of social reality), a dialectical view of the relationship between structure and agency, and the relationship between discourse and other elements or 'moments' of social practices and social events and is 'internalized' by other social elements (pp. 1-2).

As Fairclough (2011) has stated, social practices are based on elements such as social activities, relations, objects, instruments, time and space, social subjects with norms, beliefs, values, knowledge etc. Therefore in the process of CDA, the role of power dominance and its relations in discourses are further examined with relation to social practices and geopolitical connections (Van, 1993, 2001). Hence, CDA does not deal with 'facts' and it is open to multiple readings of discourses. CDA displays how society and discourse depend on each other (Fairclough, 1992; Flowerdew, 1999).

CDA was primarily used here to examine discourses of 'sustainable development, bottom up development and CBET' with concerns about the social arrangement of the Kudawa-Sinharaja CBET site, which is based on social power, practices, dominance as well as geopolitical connections. In the end, CDA was used for multiple readings of activation, competency, challenges, and misused patterns of sustainable development and CBET discourses linked to the Kudawa- Sinharaja CBET site.

According to Fairclough (1992), there are three inter-related dimensions of CDA analysis such as the object of analysis (including verbal, visual or verbal and visual texts), the processes in the production that explain its reception by human subjects (writing/speaking/designing and reading/listening/viewing) and the socio-historical conditions which govern these processes (Fairclough, 1992; Janks, 2000). These three inter-related dimensions of CDA need different kinds of analysis such as text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation), and social analysis (explanation) (figure 1) (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Janks, 2000; Van, 2001).
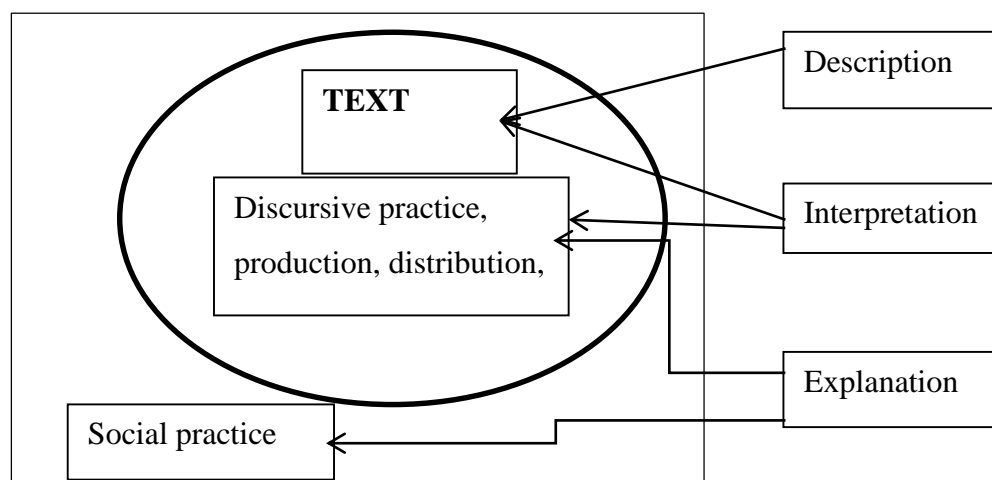
Figure 1: Fairclough's three-dimensional model for CDA (Sumber, 2007, p. 07)

In this research, geopolitical theories as well as socioeconomic theories related to discourses relevant to the local situation in Sinharaja were examined using this analysis tool. As the research focuses on analysing the challenges of developing CBET and determining which forms are most appropriate, it was important to examine the means of addressing potential challenges through local experience and knowledge.

- Quantitative data analysis

Simple statistical data analysing methods were used for the questionnaire using SPSS software including cross tabulation and correlations as well as the creation of charts, graphs and percentage tables. Originally SPSS means 'statistical package for the social sciences' yet lately it was changed to 'statistical product and service solutions' (Antonius, 2003; Bryman, 2012; Bryman & Cramer, 2001,

2005). If there were any differences between qualitative and quantitative findings, reasons were looked for, using relevant theoretical arguments.

3.8 Conclusion

The key focus of my research on potential socio-cultural, economic, and geo-political challenges against successful implementation of CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, is to carry out an in depth analysis of human geographical and sociological phenomena. Thus, I mainly applied a qualitative methodology and an inductive research approach to examine such phenomena. In practice, I encountered many difficulties based on positionality issues while conducting qualitative interviews. My position created a distance between me and the participants depending on their 'positions' even though I am Sri Lankan. Even if ideas of women in the research field were most important in this research, at the beginning I could not conduct successful interviews with them. As I observed, even in focus group interviews, most of the women remained silent and basically most of them agreed with and approved whatever the male villagers had to say.

When I realized all these hindrances I temporarily dedicated my time to develop sound social relationships with villagers. This approach was effective and research participants trusted me as a responsible person who would not misuse their personal information. This mutual understanding was the basis for collecting rich and deep qualitative data. My position as a university lecturer is to help the local community to obtain benefits from this research and gradually it encouraged them to participate more effectively in my research work.

Reflexivity' allowed me to consider the impact of my positionality on the research process to minimize the issues it would raise, including ethical ones. Theoretically, many ethical issues can occur during a social research project, concerning how data is obtained, analysed and used. Thus, I paid special attention to the potential ethical issues that can occur. I dealt with participants in a local community, tourists, government officers, researchers, environmentalists etc., and I identified that the information they provided may negatively influence their position and social life. Many participants, especially the government officers and

some villagers wanted to give information anonymously. I thoroughly considered their privacy and identity.

Questionnaire surveys, as a quantitative method were effective in my research as a counterbalancing method of qualitative findings; however, it contributed less in rich and in depth data collection which was much needed to achieve my research objectives. Qualitative methods (participant and direct observation, semi-structured interviews and focus group interviews) and a quantitative one (questionnaire survey) enabled me to collect primary data regarding CBET practices at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. As I expected, qualitative methods helped me to gather deeper and rich primary data and those methods were useful in diverse data collection from ideological perspectives of diverse respondents. Further, snow balling sample method was effective in saturation of qualitative data.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was useful to achieve my research objectives while identifying socio-cultural, economic and geopolitical interrelationships of challenges faced by CBET in this site. I developed my arguments in the analysis chapters based on information provided by participants in relation to relevant theories and discourses. Simple statistical data analysing techniques (descriptive statistics and correlates) were used for analysing the questionnaire through SPSS software to support my qualitative data analysing process.

Chapter 4: Description of the Study Area

4.1   Introduction

The Sinharaja forest reserve is a biodiversity hotspot and has been designated a world heritage site. It is the biggest rain forest of Sri Lanka and it has been threatened by forest degradation for the last few decades. These are the basic reasons why I selected this particular site for my research. The main purpose of this chapter is to introduce the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site located in the northern part of the Sinharaja rain forest as my study area (Figure 3). Other reasons for my choice include the fact that the Kudawa-Sinharaja site is one of the most popular rain forest ecotourism sites of Sri Lanka and it has been selected to implement CBET by the Sri Lanka Forest Department. The project aims to provide forest management and community empowerment based on sustainable bottom up development ideologies. The geo-physical location of the ecotourism site is a useful element to develop CBET effectively (Hudman & Jackson, 2003). Most importantly, the availability of diverse attractive bio-natural locations of geographical landscapes and watershed systems, contribute to increase the ecotourism value of this site (Bambaradeniya, Ekanayake, & Amarasinghe, 2006).

Before ecotourism was introduced, Kudawa Grama Niladari division (GND) was an isolated traditional society which was based on indigenous value systems. Yet, it gradually changed when capitalism was superimposed through CBET and cash crop plantation. The people residing in the Kudawa GND and their concerns about community-based ecotourism were selected as the sample local community for this research. The Kudawa GND is situated very close to the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site entrance. It is believed to be the most attractive entrance of all four entrances to the Sinharaja rain forest. Thus, local community members of Kudawa GND have more opportunities to participate in tourism and ecotourism activities. Subsequently, they are the most influenced such activities. This research also paid attention to the socio-cultural structure of the villages.

Ascertaining facts about the nature of the local community's desire to be involved in CBET is important. This research sought information on the involvement of the

local community in ecotourism related activities using a number of questions, for example, what are the available ecotourism related occupations in this site open for local residents? What percentage of villagers is involved in these activities? How does the Forest Department contribute to develop CBET related occupations here since it has been a top-down project, one of the challenges and possible cause of lack of success?

Because development of ecotourism or CBET is based on an administrative and political-economic process (Büscher & Davidov, 2013; Duffy, 2013), involvement of external organizations or institutes with official, political, and economic power in CBET to conduct project activities is essential. The Sri Lanka Forest Department plays an important role as the main administrative body of sustainable and bottom up forest management. One aspect examined is how the Forest Department contributes to the development of CBET here?

The first part of this chapter examines bio-physical settings and ecotourism attractions of the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, then, the historical relationship between the forest and local communities. Since statistical data of the sample villages seemed more important to gather general information about the Kudawa GND, sample villages of the research are next introduced depending on available secondary data. Finally, the nature of tourism and ecotourism development is discussed paying attention to local community involvement in ecotourism practices.

4.2 The Sinharaja rain forest

4.2.1 Location

The Sinharaja rain forest is biologically unique lowland rain forests located in the wet zone of Sri Lanka between latitudes 6°21-6°26 N and longitudes 80°21-80°34 E, within Southern and Sabaragamuwa provinces. The forest spans over three administration districts, that is, Galle, Matara and Rathnapura. The forest covers 11187 hectares of land and spreads over an elevation range of 150-1170 m above sea level (de Zoysa & Raheem, 1993; Gunatilleke & Gunatilleke, 1985; Kumara, 2013). The Hinipitiya range, which peaks at 1170 m, is the highest area of the

forest. The length of the Sinharaja forest from east to west is around 21 km, and its width from North to South is about 3.7 km. Additionally, Sinharaja was declared 'man and biosphere reserve' in 1978, as representing a tropical humid evergreen forest eco system in Sri Lanka. UNESCO has recognized it as a part of its international network of biosphere reserves. It was declared a national wilderness area on 21 October 1988 (Gazette No. 528/14) and a World Heritage Site in 1989 (de Zoysa & Raheem, 1993; Kumara, 2013; United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 1988; Vitarana & Rakaganno, 1997).

The Sinharaja forest is bounded by the Napola stream and Koskulana River to the north, Maha stream to the south, Gin River to the southwest, Kalukandawa stream and Kudawa River to the west and Beverley Tea Estate and Denuwa Mountain to the east. The four main tourist route accesses to Sinharaja are the Kudawa entrance (from Kalawana-Weddagala) on the north-western side of Sinharaja, the Rakwana morning side entrance on the north eastern side, the Neluwa entrance on the south western side and the Deniyaya-Pallegama entrance on the south eastern side (Figure 8). However, the Kudawa entrance is the only one developed as a community based ecotourism site at present.

4.2.2   Climate

Sri Lanka is divided into three climatologically different zones: wet zone, intermediate zone and dry zone. Sinharaja, which is situated in the wet zone has an average annual temperature of 24°C and an average annual rainfall of > 2,500 mm (Punyawardena, 2008). Yet, being a tropical wet evergreen rain forest, Sinharaja produces microclimatic changes within itself. Therefore its annual rain fall varies between 3000 mm to 6000 mm and the temperature rate keeps changing from 19°C to 34°C (Munidasa, Gunatilleke, & GunatillekeI, 2002). Precipitation in Sinharaja comes from the south-west monsoons during May-July and the northeast monsoons during November-January. Even in the dry season from December to April weather conditions cannot be forecasted as it may change in a short period. Normally, December to April is considered the most suitable period for visiting Sinharaja and the number of tourists visiting the forest during

these months is higher than in the other months (de Zoysa & Raheem, 1993;

Kumara, 2013; Munidasa et al., 2002).
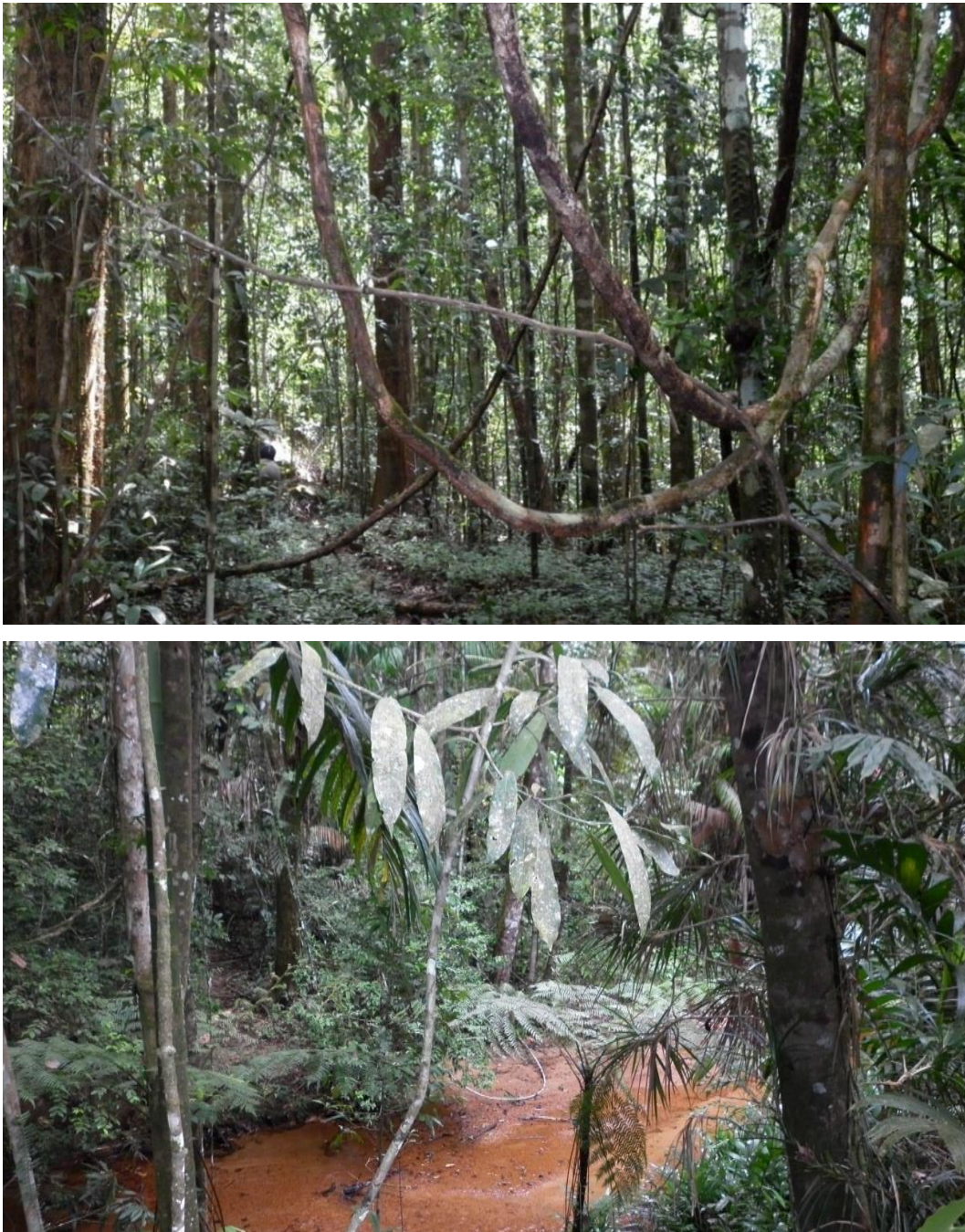
Figure 2: Inside the Sinharaja rain forest
Pictures taken by the author, 22.10.2012
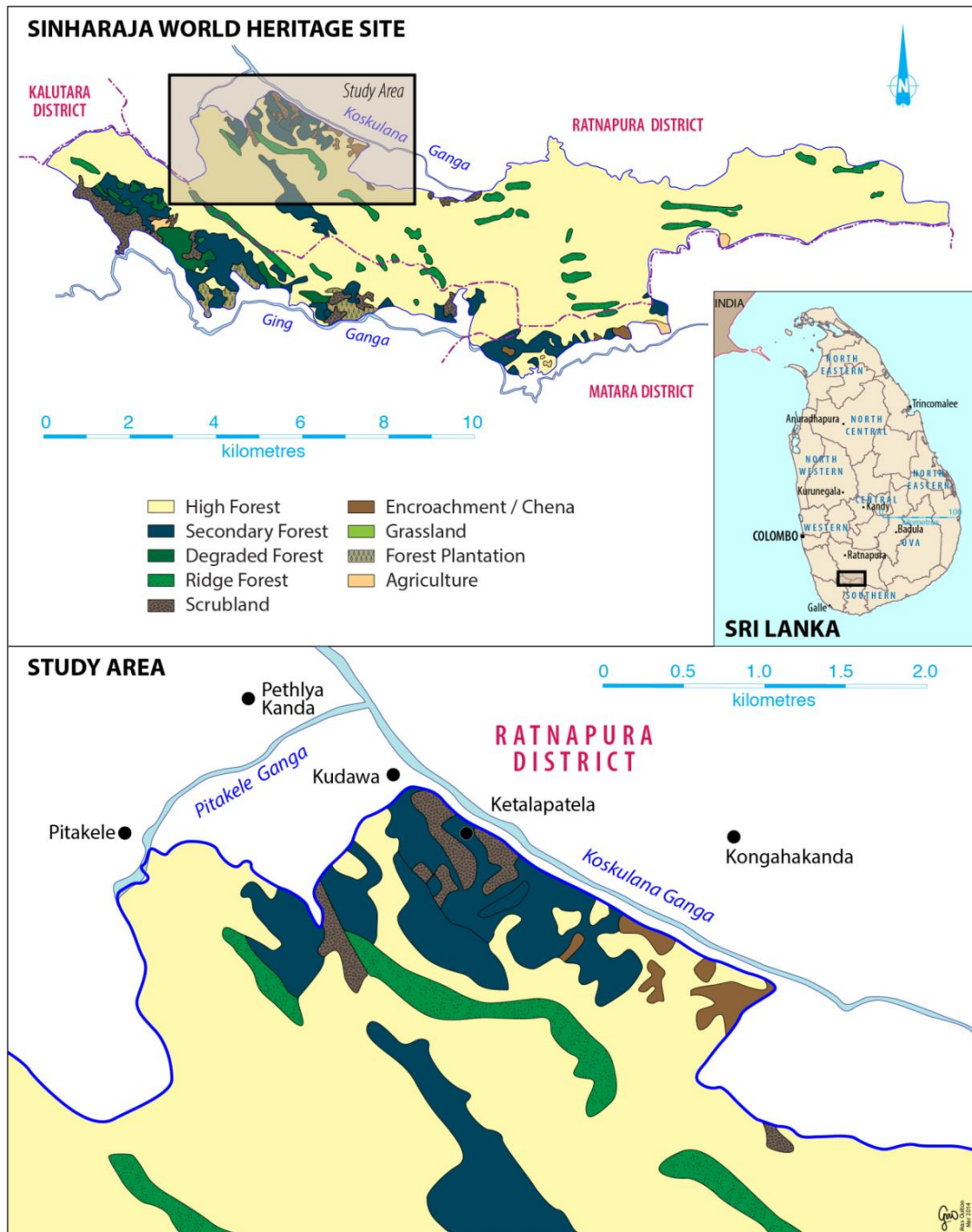
Figure 3: Location of the study area
Map drawn by Max Oulton

Figure 4: Watershed in the Sinharaja
Picture taken by the author, 04.12.2012

4.2.3 Biological situation of the Sinharaja rain forest

As many researchers have identified, biologically the Sinharaja rain forest is a rich and sensitive hotspot (Gunatilake, Wickramasinghe, & AbeygunaWardena, 2012; Jayawaradana, 2010; Munidasa et al., 2002 ; Salgado, 2010). Tropical rain forests are generally identified as biological niches. The Sinharaja rain forest is also rich in varieties of fauna species, especially birds, butterflies, fish, amphibians, reptiles, and mammals. More than 50% of these species are endemic to Sri Lanka. Large animals such as the Sambhur, Monk Deer and Barking Deer, or the Purple Faced Leaf Monkey are commonly seen here. Even though Ceylon Leopards inhabit Sinharaja, tourists can rarely spot them, even though researchers have confirmed sightings of them. Only three Elephants inhabit Sinharaja and have thus been identified as endangered. The Sinharaja rain forest is recognized as a very good habitat for many bird and butterfly varieties which attract large numbers of tourists (de Zoysa & Raheem, 1993; Jayasuriya & Abayawardana, 2008; Kumara, 2013; MSL, 2008)

More than 300 varieties of birds can be seen in Sinharaja. Out of the birds recorded here, 72% are resident non-endemic, and 13% are migrants. There are 33

98

endemic resident breeders in Sri Lanka and 32 of them can be seen in Sinharaja. Some endemic bird species are considered endangered or rare in Sri Lanka such as the Serendib Scops-Owl, Sri Lankan Bay Owl, Wood Pigeon, Green-billed Coucal, Sri Lanka White-Headed Starling (Sturnus senex), Sri Lanka Blue Magpie, Red-Faced Malkoha and Ashy-Headed Babbler (Chandrasekara, 2011; Jayasuriya & Abayawardana, 2008; Kotagama & Goodale, 2007).
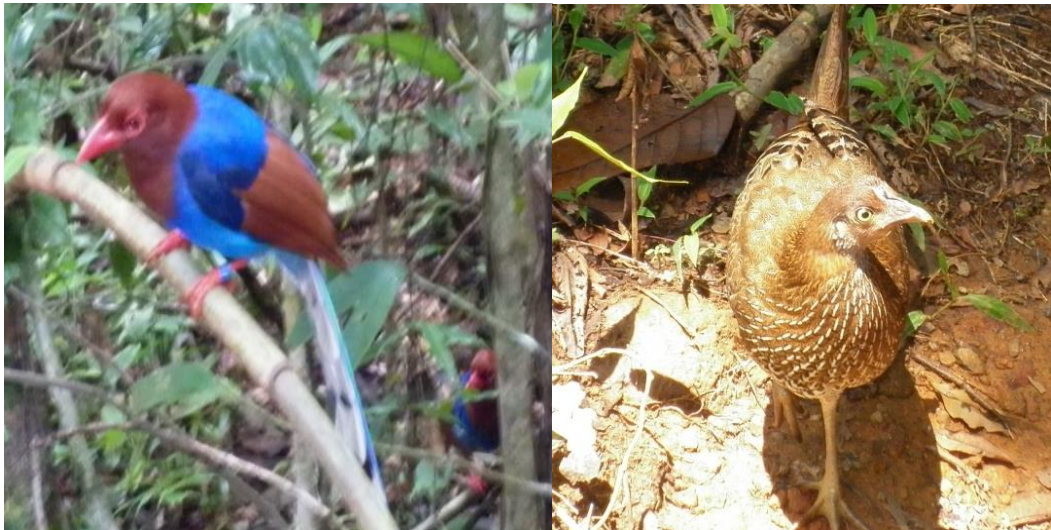
Sri Lankan blue magpie (Cissaornata) and Sri Lanka Jungle Fowl (Gallus lafayetii)
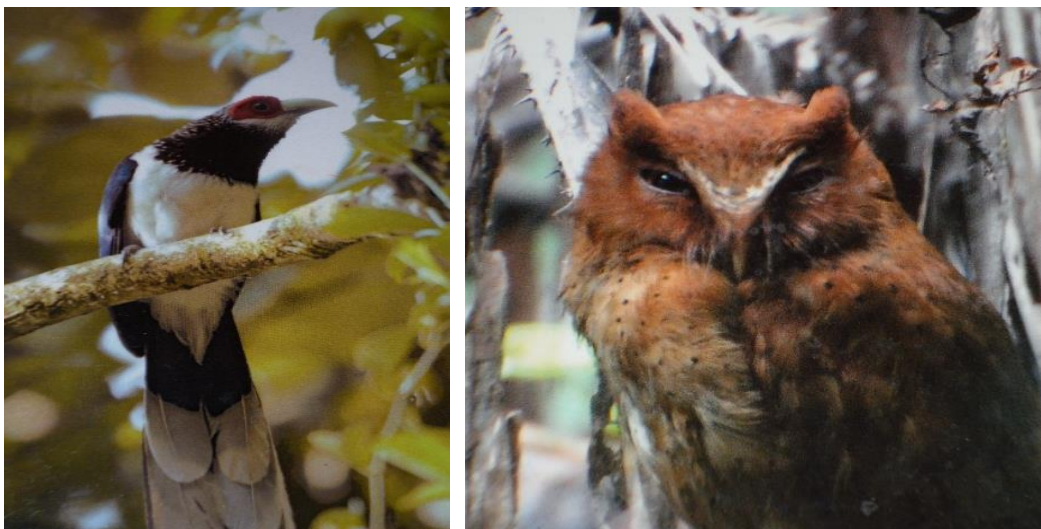
Red Faced Mal Koha (*Phaenicophaeus pyrrhocephalus*) and Serendib Scops Owl (Otusthilohoffmanni)

Ceylon Tree Nymph *(Idea iasonia)* and One Spot Grass Yellow *(Eurema andersonii)*

Sri Lanka Kangaroo Lizard *(Otocryptis wiegmanni)* and Green Forest Lizard *(Calotes calotes)*

Figure 5: Endemic birds, butterflies and lizards common in Sinharaja
Pictures taken by the author, between 10.09.2012 to 09.04.2013

Two kinds of flora species such as tropical wet evergreen rain forest flora and tropical lowland rain forest flora can be seen in the Sinharaja. According to the classification of the UNESCO-MAB, Sinharaja is identified as a 'tropical humid Ceylonese rain forest' in the Indo-Malayan realm. The Flora of Sinharaja can be categorized according to the topographical structure under three main types: slopes and valleys (between 150-600 meters) middle slopes (between 600-1000 meters) and upper slopes and ridges (above 1000 meters) (de Zoysa & Raheem, 1993; Guide, 2011; Jayawaradana, 2010; Ministry of Lands and Land Development/Forest Department, 1985).

Figure 6: Flora diversity in Sinharaja
Bamboo orchid (Arundina graminifolia) and Nil Binara (Exacumtrinervium)

Pictures taken by the author, 02.01.2013

The flora of Sinharaja is very rich in both species diversity and endemism and they have biological relations to ancient 'gondwanic' flora. According to Gunatilake and Gunatilake (1996), there are 211 flora species which belong to 119 genera and 43 families. Among them the dominant tree families are Clusiaceae, Dipterocarpaceae, Sapotaceae, Bambacaceae and Myrataceae. There are 13 flora species of Shorea and all are endemic to Sri Lanka. Among all the tree flora in Sinharaja, 64% of species are endemic to Sri Lanka (Gunatilake & Gunatilake, 1996; 2006). This flora diversity and the endemic flora species of Sinharaja have been one of its ecotourism attractions.

4.3 The forest and local communities

According to geopolitical and historical records, people have resided in the periphery of the Sinharaja forest and utilized the forest resources for various needs for more than five hundred years (Abeywickrama, 2003; Baker, 1937; de Zoysa & Raheem, 1993; Hoffmann, 1972). Most of the surnames or the family names of villagers are derived from village names in the Sinharaja peripheral areas. A study of Sinhalese 'family names' reveals that family names indicate the bearers' gender, ethnicity, caste and geographical origins. For example, looking at the full name 'Madugeta Kumarage Wasantha', where the family name is 'Madugeta Kumarage' and the given name is Wasantha, reveals that the bearer of this name is a Sinhalese male from *Govigama* caste [farming caste] and his family has its origin in Madugeta village, which is situated at the periphery of Sinharaja. Therefore, we can clearly identify that this person and his relatives have considerably long historical and geographical roots in their 'living space' (Silva, Sivaparagasam, et al., 2009; Silva, Sivapragasam, et al., 2009; Yalman, 1967).

Traditionally, villages at the periphery of Sinharaja were isolated and rural, and they lacked basic infrastructure facilities. Therefore, 'social and special mobility' of villagers and outsiders, into or out of the villages was rare and marriages occurred within the community or with neighbouring villagers. After 1980, infrastructure facilities were developed and villages at the periphery of Sinharaja were open to the other areas of the country. Consequently, some left the village and outsiders approached peripheral villages. Yet the majority of villagers residing in the peripheral area of Sinharaja will have traditional historical roots and connections with their living space (de Zoysa & Raheem, 1993; Kumara, 2013).

At present, there are 27 villages at the periphery of the Sinharaja rain forest. Total population is around 5000 individuals who engage in cultivation of tea and rubber on small farming plots. Even if most of these villagers are Sinhalese-Buddhists, a few families of Tamil–Hindus also reside there (Kumara, 2010). Most of the Tamil people are temporary migrant tea estate labourers and normally they do not stay more than two years in one estate. Traditional Sinhalese villagers have utilized the Sinharaja rain forest over years for various purposes. Kitul tapping is

the most famous. It has been one of the main income sources of the peripheral residents over the years. Kitul (Caryotaurens) being a flowering plant species in the palm botanical family is common in Sinharaja and has traditionally been tapped by the local community to collect sweet toddy to prepare Kitul treacle (liquid jaggery), Kitul jaggery as well as toddy.

Traditional forest utilization practices of the local community can be categorized under three main groups as non-timber forest use (NTFU), timber use and other forest resource use (OFR). NTFU can further be divided into three categories such as edible forest products (EFP), species of medicinal value and non-edible forest products (NEFP) (Gunatilake et al., 2012; Kumara, 2013). These forest utilization practices have accelerated forest degradation since the end of the 19th century with Sri Lanka's gradually increasing population. The annual population growth rate of Sri Lanka has reached + 0.88% (United Nations ESCAP, 2011) while the annual rural population growth rate is always higher than that (Kulcsár & Curtis, 2012). This is why 'rural community' and 'rural community development' have been considered important elements of this research.

I selected three villages namely Kudawa, Pitakelle and Petiyakanda situated in the northern periphery of the Sinharaja rain forest which belong to the Kudawa Grama Niladari Division (GND) (GND is the smallest administration unit in Sri Lanka) (de Zoysa & Raheem, 1993; Kumara, 2013). Those villages are situated close to the main entrance of the Sinharaja rain forest and the area where the forest department has selected to develop community based ecotourism activities and accommodation. Thus, this area is most likely to embrace ecotourism practices with the forest department's special attention and supervision (see 4.4).

The Kudawa GND (Grama Niladari = village officer) is in the Kalawana divisional secretariat of Ratnapura district, Sabaragamuwa Province, Sri Lanka (SGSR, 2013). At present, tea cultivation, forest resource utilization (including Kitul tapping) and tourism are the main economic activities here.

Figure 7: Traditional Kitul tappers' illegal hut inside the rain forest of Sri Lanka
Pictures taken by Manjula Lankanth, 01.01.2008 (used with permission)

Figure 8:   Main access routes and peripheral villages of Sinharaja
Source (LT, 2013)

Figure 9: Traditional forest utilization practices (Kitul tapping and its production)
Pictures taken by Manjula Lankanth, 01.01.2008 (used with permission)

In 1970, tea planting became popular in the peripheral villages of Sinharaja for which local community members cleared the forestland (Figure 10: forest encroachment). It was one of the main reasons for forest degradation during 1970 to 1980. After 1980, the Forest Department was strongly active against any illegal encroachment on the forest by the local community and at present, clearing of the forest for mono-crop cultivation is strongly prohibited by forest regulations. Thus, forest clearing for cultivation purposes has been limited in general. After 1980, tourism became popular in the Sinharaja forest and the local community members were keen to get involved in tourism related livelihoods as tour guides, safari drivers, restaurant workers, camping site creators etc. In the 1990s, the Forest Department also got involved in the development of community based ecotourism as a forest conservation strategy (Gunatilake et al., 2012; Kumara, 2013).

4.3.1 Characteristics of the sample villages and community

The three villages selected for the study share similar geographical and cultural characteristics [These villages have been specially marginalized socio-culturally based on caste and geographically, leading the community to live as isolated social groups. The situation of other villages is different as most of the community in other villages in the peripheral areas of Sinharaja belong to a high caste (*Govigama* caste)] where 95 % of the people are 'Sinhalese-Buddhists' who have resided in these villages for generations and the other 5% are 'Tamil-Hindus'

(Indian Tamil) who have migrated to the area as tea estate workers. There are two groups of Tamils in Sri Lanka: Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Tamils. Indian Tamils have migrated to Sri Lanka in the colonial period as tea estate labourers.
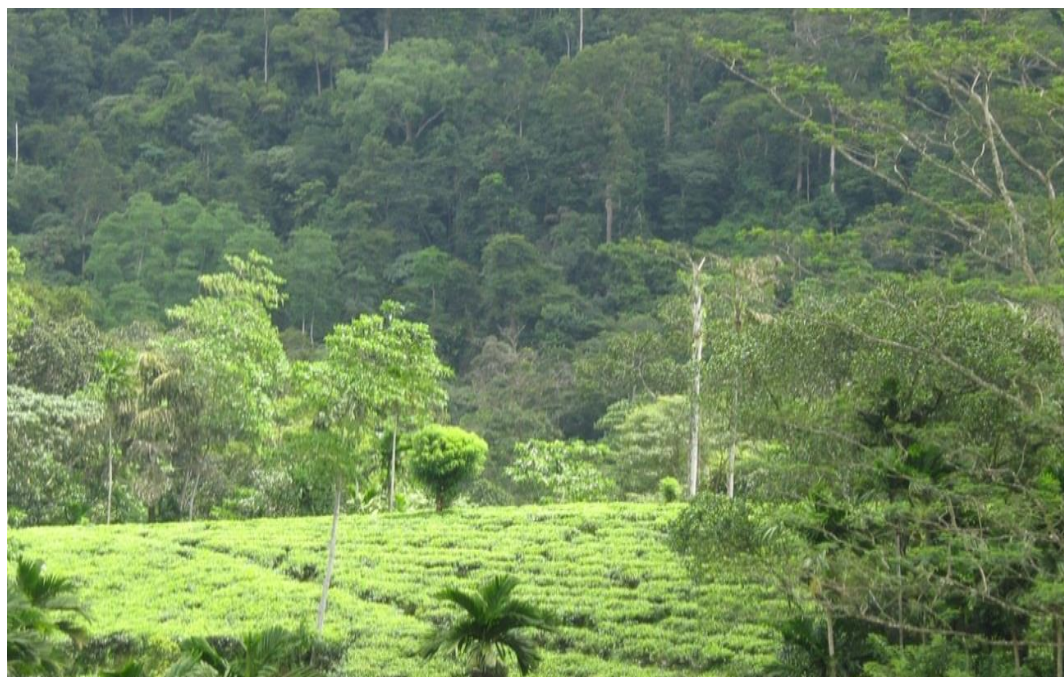
Figure 10: A tea plantation in Sinharaja
Picture taken by the author, 22.11.2010

Table 4: Age structure of the population at Kudawa GND

Age groups (years)	Female	Male	
0-5	30	33	
6-17	104	103	
18-40	114	132	
41-60	102	120	
60+	51	44	
Total	401	432	= **833**

Source: based on reports of Kudawa GND, 2013 (Kalawana Divisional Secretariat, 2013)

Presently, most of them reside in upcountry close to large tea estates and many are Sri Lankan citizens now. However, some Indian Tamils in Sri Lanka are not bound to one particular tea estate or area; they travel through the country shifting from one tea estate to another contributing to the tea plantation sector. Normally they stay less than two years in one estate and rarely develop relationships with permanent residents of that area. Thus, the Kudawa village officer has not maintained a record of these Indian Tamil migrant workers who stay in the Kudawa GND for a short period. However, Indian Tamil seem to not have been involved in any of the CBET activities or any sort of forest utilization practices (Kalawana Divisional Secretariat, 2013).

Culturally, most of the Sinhala Buddhists in the Kudawa GND belong to the Wahumpura caste, which is the caste Kitul tappers belong to. In the caste hierarchy of Sinhalese, the Wahumpura caste is considered low. Socio-culturally, caste and class issues are still prevalent in Sri Lanka. Even though one's caste is not openly mentioned, people who are considered to belong to low castes are susceptible to community marginalization (Silva, Sivaparagasam, et al., 2009)

Table 5: Educational level of the population at Kudawa GND

	No schooling	Grade 1-8	Grade 9-11	O\L	A\L	Graduate or above	Total
Male	29	156	148	65	33	1	432
Female	22	147	142	60	29	1	401
Total	51	303	290	125	62	02	833

Source: GND reports of Kudawa, 2013 (KDSR-2013)

According to Table 5, a few of the community members in the Kudawa GND have acquired higher education even if the majority has obtained only primary education. This means that the majority has to struggle to find white-collar jobs. Thus, most of the villagers concentrate on farming and forest utilization practices (Forest Department, 2013a; Kumara, 2013).

Table 6: Occupations in the Kudawa GND (only in age group 18< 65>)

Occupations	%	% of male	% of female
Government services	04	50	50
Farmers	42	71	29
CBET related jobs	36	83.5	16.5
Forest utilization	02	100	00
Other	06	66	34
Unemployed	10	20	80

Source: questionnaire survey of the research, 2013

In the Kudawa GND, 42% of the people are involved in farming (mainly in tea, rubber, and paddy cultivation). However, the new generation in the area has missed farming opportunities due to the lack of land available for cultivation. Three decades before, the local community had cleared the dense forest for farming, but this has since been prohibited by rigid forest laws and regulations. On the other hand, the young generation seems not to prefer a farming lifestyle.

Even if the government and the Forest Department have encouraged the young generation in this area to get involved in sustainable forest utilization practices, especially in Kitul tapping, this has not brought a satisfactory outcome. According to the data I collected, there are two main reasons for this. First, forest utilization practices require heavy manual labour: Kitul tapping is a risky and difficult task. Second, the young generation is highly sensitive to caste issues. If they participate in forest utilization practices, especially in Kitul tapping, they are generally categorized as low caste according to the traditional Sri Lankan caste system. Instead, many young in this area without higher education prefer to get involved in CBET and its related jobs in which they are not marked by their caste.

According to table 6, the unemployment rate in this area is 10% and among them 80% are women. The main reason is that most women become homemakers after

marriage. Even if the male in the area migrates to other parts of the country for livelihood, women tend to stay in the village looking after the family, the traditional job of women, which has culturally and socially been encouraged for years. This situation has contributed to economic marginalization of women within their own society and it is either directly or indirectly linked with their political and socio-cultural marginalization. Even if women wanted to be involved in income generating CBET ventures, these traditional socio-cultural settings have increased their unemployment level. However, if CBET is developed further in this area even women should be able to get involved in part time work such as handicraft making, hosts for home-stays, gathering and supplying local foodstuffs for hotels etc.

4.4 Tourism and CBET in Kudawa-Sinharaja

Tourism was formally developed in the Sinharaja rain forest after the 1980s. At present, there are four main tourist entrances to Sinharaja which were developed by the Forest Department at the end of the 1980s. The Rathnapura-Kudawa access on the north western edge of Sinharaja, is the easiest entrance to Sinharaja from Colombo, the capital of Sri Lanka and most tourists use this entrance as this has become the well-known eco site of the Sinharaja owing to advertising campaigns of the forest department. Access to the site here is provided by the forest department but not at the other sites of Sinharaja. Community involvement in tourism activities is thus high in this area and infrastructure facilities, tour guide services, accommodation facilities are better at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site compared with the tourist sites through other entrances to Sinharaja (Forest Department, 2013a).

4.4.1 History of the CBET project in Kundawa- Sinharaja site

After 1980, 'top to bottom approach' was ideologically used by the Forest Department to manage forest activities within the contemporary national policy frame work. As a result forest officers acted strongly against any illegal encroachment of the forest by the local community. Access to the forest was strongly prohibited for the Kudawa GND villagers (as well as for other villagers who live in the peripheral areas of the Sinharaja) by forest regulations (Forest

Department, 2013a). Thus, forest clearing for cultivation purposes has been limited in general and so Kudawa GND villagers could no longer access Sinharaja for their traditional forest utilization practices (Senaratne, Abeygunawardena, & Jayatilake, 2003). After 1980, tourism became popular in the Sinharaja forest and the local community members were keen to get informally involved in tourism related livelihoods as tour guides, safari drivers, restaurant workers, camping site creators (Kumara, 2015; Rathnasekara & Senarathna, 2011).

In the 1990s, the Sri Lankan government ideologically changed its forest management approach from 'top down' to 'bottom up' (Colchester, 1994). As a result, the Forestry Sector Master Plan (FSMP)-1995 based on bottom up development and sustainable development discourses was created by the Sri Lankan government taking contemporary global alternative development ideologies into consideration (de Zoysa, 2001). Based on this FSMP, the Forest Department implemented the development of community based ecotourism (CBET) as a forest conservation strategy in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site in 1996 (Forest Department, 2013a; Gunatilake et al., 2012; Kumara, 2013). The forest department was conceptually involved to create site guide services, homestay programmes and relevant other services as community based activities, Ecotourism had gained popularity after 1980s: that was another reason for CBET.

The Kudawa-Sinharaja site is one of the most popular CBET site of Sri Lanka and the geo-physical location of the ecotourism site is a useful element to develop CBET effectively (Hudman & Jackson, 2003). Most importantly, the availability of diverse attractive bio-natural locations, of geographical landscapes and watershed systems, contribute to increase the ecotourism value of this site (Bambaradeniya, Ekanayake, & Amarasinghe, 2006). From 1980, the number of local and foreign tourists visiting Sinharaja has gradually increased and thus, the geopolitical space and socio-cultural background of the study area is being changed as locals cater to the needs of the visitors on a more organized basis, overseen by the local Forest Department.

The Forest Department of Sri lanka maintains the Kudawa forest conservation center which facilitates tourism and provides accomodation facilities for tourists. This centre employs 24 forest government workers who are directly involved in

developing Sinharaja ecotourism practices and conducting forest conservation programmes but only three of them are from the local community. The rest has been recruited from other parts of the country. These three villagers work at the Forest Department as forest planting labourers. As far as I observed, Kudawa villagers were not able to join the the Forest Department as forest officers because they lack higher education and relevant geo-political power relationships. The improvement of the economic situation of the villagers should enable those interested (and their children) to gain more education. It would then enable them to apply for such jobs.

The forest department conducted a consultation program for local villagers with the help of 'Sinharaja Sumitoro' organization. 'Sinharaja Sumituro'(its meaning is 'friends of Sinharaja') is a social organization established by the forest department in 1996 to develop CBET in this site as a bottom up development activity. Forest officers and villagers were main stakeholders of this organization, however at present it is not running efficiently. At the beginning, 13 young male villagers were selected as site guides and 3 male villagers as assistant forest officers. As well, villagers were motivated to start homestay accommodation facility to tourists and small scale businesses based on tourism activities.

At the initial stages (1996) many government and non-government institutions such as the Sewalanka foundation, IUCN and UASID together with the forest department, directly or indirectly funded the project for a 5 year period (Forest Department, 2013a; Gunatilake et al., 2012; Kumara, 2013). Yet, since the Forest Department failed to achieve expected targets from the project after 2001 and was unable to write effective project proposals, it could not gain additional funds for the project from international organizations. On the other hand, even if the government further promoted the CBET project here, it could not allocate sufficient funds to continue the project since the government had to allocate more money on the ongoing civil war in the country (Forest Department, 2013a). Therefore, the forest department had to improvise with the limited funds allocated by the government annually for the CBET project. As well, even if the forest department was/is able to earn a considerable amount of income through tourism activities, this income must be sent to the central government according to

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government rules and regulation. Thus, the forest department did not have an opportunity to spend this income on their project (Forest Department, 2013a).

The Forest department developed ecotourism attractions in the form of trails from the1980s using former logging tracks. It also trained guides to take the visitors on these trails. The forest department provides some of the accommodation available here. Other tourist amenities such as different kinds of accommodation, different types of shops, safari jeep service and other services (e.g. agricultural produce sold to meal providers) have been developed in these three villages with the gradual increase in the number of visitors and in response to their requests (Forest Department, 2013a).

Figure 11: Some of the Stakeholders of CBET: Forest officers and site guides.

Pictures taken by the Chandana Abesinghe , 22.12.2012. (used with permission).

4.4.2 Main nature and ecotourism trails

At present, four main nature and ecotourism trails, namely Giant Nawada tree trail, Mulawella trail, Gallenyaya (rock caves) trail and Sinhagala (Lion rock) trail are available from the Kudawa forest conservation centre to the Sinharaja forest. These eco trails were established because of the different eco systems and landscapes of the area (Forest Department, 2013a). Only tourists can walk in these trails on their own and around 15000 tourists use each trail every year. In rainy

seasons (May to September) tourists face some difficulties due to trails getting muddier and growing varieties of leaches (Forest Department, 2013a).

- The Giant Nawada tree trail

There are 2.5 km from the Kudawa entrance to The Giant Nawada tree. This is the shortest nature trail available in the Sinharaja Kudawa tourist site. This is not a difficult trail compared with other tracks and is convenient for bird and butterfly viewing (Forest Department, 2013a).

- The Mualawella eco trail

Mualawella is one of the mountains situated in Sinharaja; this trail of 4.5 km ends at the peak of the Mulawella mountain (elevation at trail head: 457 m and at trail end: 758 m). This trail is famous for watching the primary forest and large endemic tree species of the Dipterocarpaceae flora family as well as endemic reptiles, mammals, and bird flocks. It is marked by the presence of purple faced leaf monkeys (Trachypithecus vetulus) which are rare and endemic to Sri Lanka. Tourists can gain a memorable experience of virgin rain forest by trekking through this trail (Forest Department, 2013a).

- The Gallenyaya (rock caves) trail

'Gallenyaya' means 'a range of rock caves' in English. Many natural rock caves can be seen within the thick and dark primary forest at the end of this 4.5 km long trail. This track offers primary rain forest experience to hikers allowing them to view a large number of reptiles, bats, birds and small mammals. Even though footprints and trails prove the presence of the Ceylon leopard in this area, it is rarely seen (Forest Department, 2013a).

- The Sinhagala (Lion rock) trail

The 17 km long Sinhagala (Lion rock) trail ends at the Peak of Sinhagala Mountain. The elevation at trail head is 743 m. Few visitors take this trail owing to its length and comparatively difficult climb. It is generally a 12 hour hike. Yet this is the best trail for viewing many endemic wild animals, bird flocks, and

different types of endemic flora species, orchids, and wild flowers (Forest Department, 2013a).
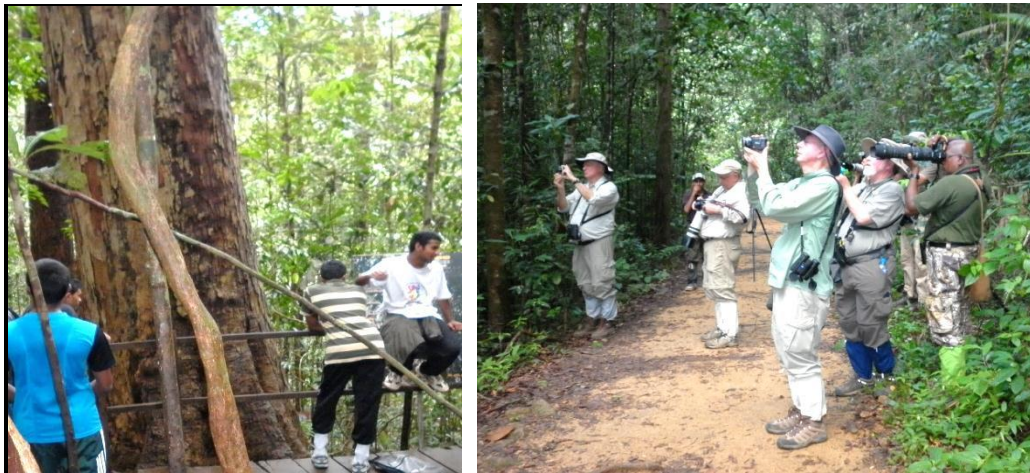
Figure 12: Giant Nawada tree trail
Pictures taken by the author, 22.12.2012

Figure 13: 'Purple faced leaf monkeys' (Trachypithecus vetulus) in the Mulawella eco-trail
Pictures taken by the author, 22.12.2012 (used with permission).

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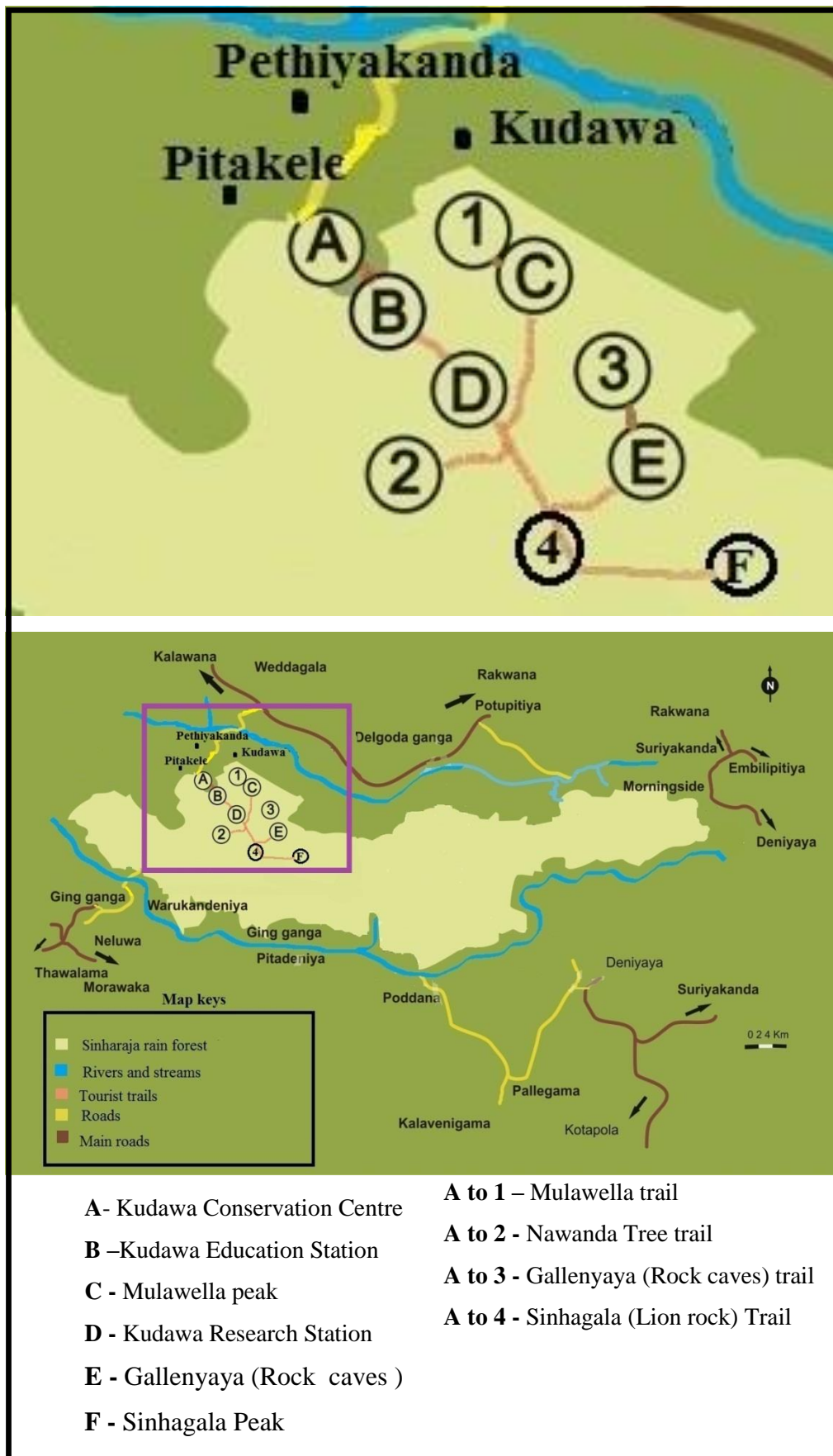
Figure 14: Location and boundaries of Sinharaja

A- Kudawa Conservation Centre

B –Kudawa Education Station

C - Mulawella peak

D - Kudawa Research Station

E - Gallenyaya (Rock caves)

F - Sinhagala Peak

A to 1 – Mulawella trail

A to 2 - Nawanda Tree trail

A to 3 - Gallenyaya (Rock caves) trail

A to 4 - Sinhagala (Lion rock) Trail
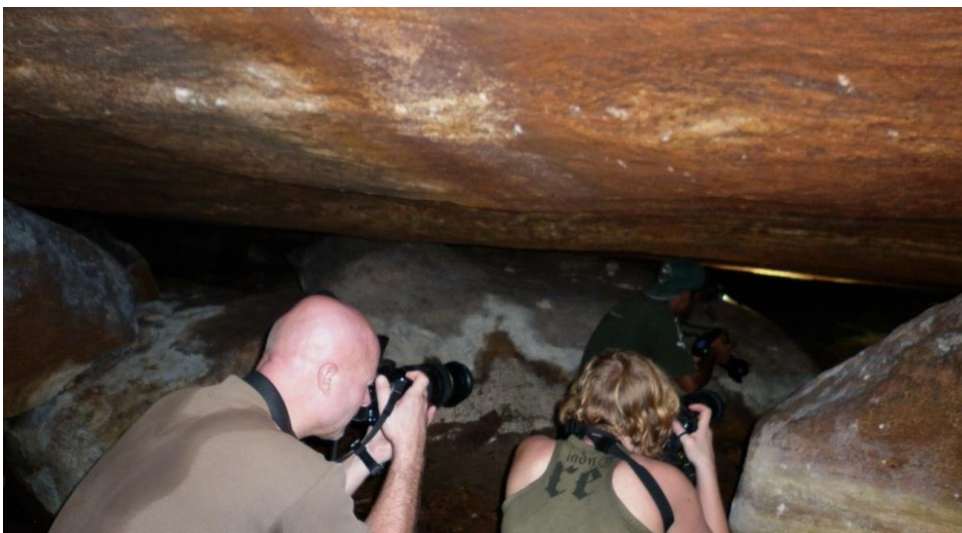
Figure 15: Rock caves in the Gallenyaya trail
Pictures taken by author, 24.12.2012 (used with permission).

Figure 16: The Sinhagala trail
Picture taken by author, 24.12.2012 (used with permission).

4.4.3 Ecotourism attractions of the Kudawa-Sinharaja site

Biological richness has made this area an attractive tourist destination, an advantage to develop ecotourism. Sinharaja has become especially famous as a bird watching site in the last few decades because people have gained greater knowledge about the flora and fauna of many different parts of the world and increased wealth has enabled more to visit these bio-rich places. Sri Lanka, and the Sinharaja in particular, is blessed with numerous endemic species of birds. Bird watchers also compete amongst themselves for the largest number (and the name) of the species they have observed (personal comment by a birdwatcher). A place like Sinharaja enables one to collect photos of numerous species

- 'Bird flocks' and bird watching

According to the data of the questionnaire survey of the study, 36% of tourists have visited the Sinharaja for bird watching and 83% of tourists from Europe have selected Sinharaja as a bird watching site. Watching mixed species bird flocks is an interesting experience in the Sinharaja forest and it has become one of the major ecotourism attractions. As a researcher commented,

There are more than 100 birds in a normal bird flock. About 40 species including 12 endemic species can be watched. When the bird flock is active, they use several layers of the vegetation to find foods: forest floor, undergrowth, mid canopy and high canopy. That is interesting for the tourist, especially bird watchers. Other animal species have accompanied bird flocks, so tourists can see other uncommon wild animals if they are lucky to catch a bird flock in the Sinharaja (SSI25K- researcher of bird behaviour, 14.10.2012).

Bird watchers tend to spend more money in site compared with tourists visiting the forest for other purposes and if bird watchers are satisfied with the tour and service of the site guide, they normally tend to offer a 'handy tip', which means more than 3,000 SLR (about US$ 23).

Many European tourists, especially from the UK and Germany are expert bird watchers. Some tourists visit repeatedly and they are well aware of Sri Lankan bird species. They just want to watch and get a good photograph. Normally bird watchers are more knowledgeable and interested not only in bird species but in environmental protection and eco-friendly tourism. Even tour guides can obtain experience and learn from these professional bird watchers. As confirmed by my field experience:

> I met a professional bird watching team from the UK and I asked their group including the tour guide for permission to join them in bird watching in the Sinharaja rain forest (I explained to them about my research). They were willing to take me on two conditions: I was to be silent inside the forest and to walk very quietly and carefully. There were five tourists in the team (three males and two females) and they had brought expensive cameras, telescopes, and field books. We accessed the forest at 6.15 am and tried to locate a bird flock. We were lucky enough to trace a bird flock at 7.45 am. They keenly observed and very quietly got a large number of photographs and video clips without disturbing the behaviour of the bird flock. They exited the park at 10.45 am. They tipped the local guide Rs. 3,500.00 (about US$ 27) (Field notes, 2012. 09.22).

Professional bird watchers are also interested in home-stay programmes in villagers' homes rather than in tourist hotels; which helps bottom up community development. As an overseas bird watcher explained to me,

> I am so interested in the home-stay programme; actually every time we visit here we stay at the Martin Lodge or Baby Singho's home. Villagers' homes

are situated very close to the forest. Therefore, I can leave for bird watching early in the morning. Even some bird species are seen in the village area too. Some owl species can only be seen at night, and if we stay in a villager's home, we can easily see them. Villagers also seem to have a very good knowledge about birds and bird behaviour and they have helped me trace some rare birds (SSI61I1, 23.11.2012).

Ideas expressed by this participant are commonly shared by most of the formal bird watchers and these ideas can positively be used to develop community based homestay accommodation in this site.

- Rich biodiversity

The rich biodiversity in the natural park opens opportunities to develop ecotourism (Ghai & Vivian, 2014). As a biodiversity conservation strategy, community based ecotourism has been applied in several countries of the world (Frapolli, Orozco, Mohenob, Manriquec, & Fernandez, 2007; Kiss, 2004; Stefan, 1999). Tourists can see a large number of endemic flora and fauna species in Sinharaja within a small area. Many researchers are also interested in this forest as a research site and according to the questionnaire survey, 6% of visitors have accessed the Sinharaja as researchers. As a biologist explained,

This is really a biological hotspot and more than 60% of flora and fauna species here are endemic to Sri Lanka. Large animal species cannot be easily seen here; yet small animals such as monkeys, lories, butterflies, birds, fresh water fishes, spiders, and also different types of flora varieties, ferns, wild flowers, and orchids can easily be seen here (SSI82K, 2013.01.20).

Normally domestic tourists want to escape from the hectic city life and the Sinharaja rain forest is an ideal place for it. This type of tourists is not interested to be educated on forest or its wildlife, yet they look for rarely seen animals, beautiful flora species, and striking sites. Some of them wish to experience a day in rural Sri Lankan village life, as exemplified by this interview,

I am a bank officer from Colombo [Colombo is the capital of Sri Lanka]. The Kudawa-Sinharaja site is 125 kilometres and 3.5 hours away from Colombo] When I have free time, I like to visit Sinharaja with my family, because I like to spend my leisure time in the countryside. That is good for

my mind. Normally I stay at a villager's home. They prepare local specialties for us. My wife and children love the local food, which we hardly prepare at home. We like to see rare and endemic animals, large and beautiful wild flowers, and trees too. Also we like to breathe clean, fresh air (SSI33H5- local tourist, 2012.10. 22).

- Landscape diversity and watershed systems

Mulawella and Sinhagala mountain trails at the Sinharaja-Kudawa entrance are difficult and tricky. Yet, tourists can enjoy different types of landscapes and ecosystems by using this entrance. Most of the young tourists are willing to use these trails to watch different landscapes and wildlife, as they describe below:

> We are students of the University of Ruhuna. Most of us have visited Sinharaja before, except a few in our group. We came here to climb Mulawella Mountain. That was a bit difficult, yet we enjoyed it. Last time we went to climb Sinhagala. As a tourist site, it is very attractive, as it has different types of landscapes and ecosystems. Next time we hope to enter the park by Gallenyaya (rock caves) trail. Now we are staying at the forest bungalow. We will bathe in the Koskulana River this evening. That is so good for swimming because the water is clean, warm, not that deep, and safe too. This tourist site is enjoyable as an adventure tourism site (FGI03A3- local tourists, 2012. 09. 29).

According to my field experience and observation, every tourist visiting this ecotourism site hopes to enjoy the experience, even though their feelings, objectives, and needs are different. According to local site guides, diversity of geographical landscapes and watershed systems helps satisfy diverse eco- tourists' wants. Thus, the diversity of geographical landscape and attractive watershed systems in Kudawa-Sinharaja site can be considered a strength for developing CBET.

4.5 Local community involvement in ecotourism

At present, the local community is involved in ecotourism activities in several ways and this can further be extended. According to the data of the questionnaire survey, 36% of the local community in the Kudawa GND is involved in at least one sort of CBET related livelihood (Table 7). It means only a little more than one third of the villagers benefit from some tourism related income. According to my

field experience, however, most of the males are involved in ecotourism related activities only as part-time workers; their main economic activity is tea cultivation. One of the important findings here is that local community members who are involved in ecotourism related livelihoods have higher monthly incomes compared to those non-involved (Figure 18), because they do cumulate two activities.

Figure 17: Waterfalls and streams in Sinharaja
Pictures taken by author, 12.02.2013 (used with permission).

Table 7: Involvement of the local community members in the Kudawa-Sinharaja in ecotourism related livelihoods

	Percentage
Not involved	64.0
Provide 'homes-stay' and other accommodation services	08.0
Safari vehicle owners and drivers	02.0
Shops and food supply service	04.0
Tourist guides	16.0
Other services	06.0
Total	100.0

Source: Questionnaire survey
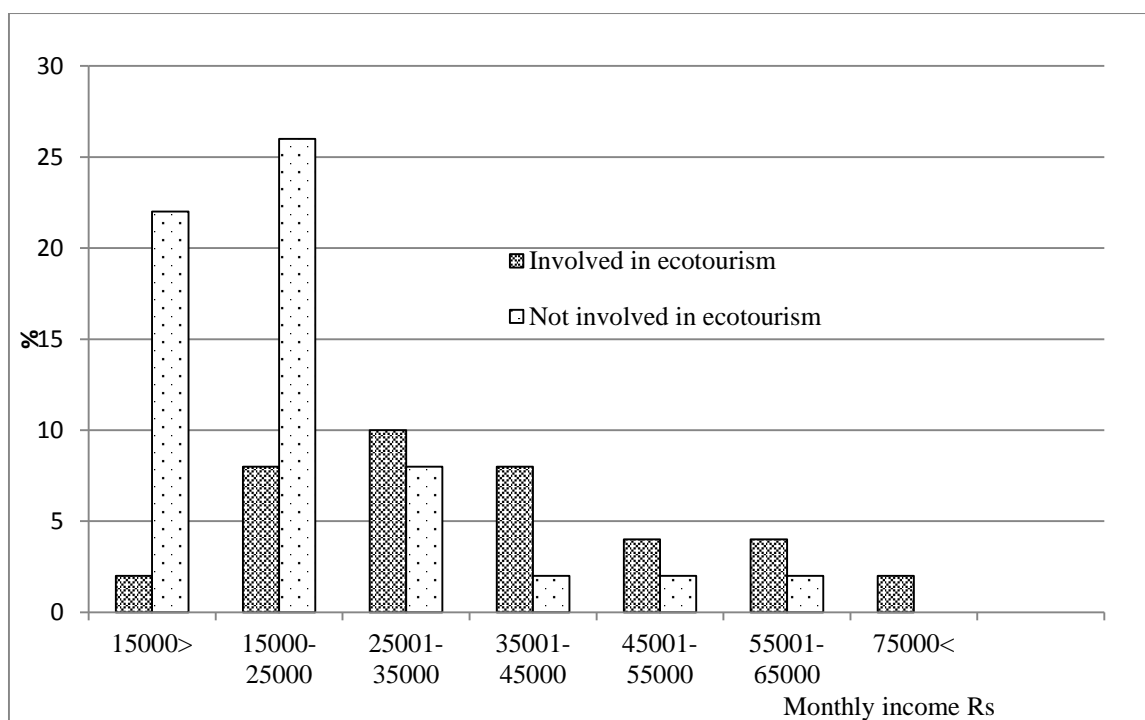
Figure 18: Monthly income Distribution of the local community in Kudawa GND
Source: Questionnaire survey

4.5.1   Tour guide service

Local community members can join the ecotourism sector as tour guides in the
Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site. The Forest Department introduced and
maintains this tour guide service, which it regularly monitors and evaluates
(especially the forester at the Kudawa regional forest office).

> **Chaminda**: Can you tell me about the history of the community based tour
> guide service in this site?

> **Forester:** Earlier (1980) community members had voluntarily worked as
> site 'trackers'. Normally they went with the tourists just to show trail paths.
> They were not employed by the Forest Department at that time. Therefore, it
> was rather an informal service

> **Chaminda:** When did the Forest Department start a community based tour
> guide service?

> **Forester**: It was introduced in the mid-1990s, and we selected young people
> among the community to train as tour guides. We considered their
> knowledge, interest, and history of behaviour. In the beginning, only eight
> people worked as tour guides and now there are 27. All the tour guides here
> are from the local community.

According to the rules and regulations of the Forest Department, every tourist group must enter the site with a local tour guide and tourist groups should pay for the tour guide. The tour guide is responsible for educating tourists in the group on the rules and regulations of the park and the importance of the site. In addition, the tour guide helps tourists to be familiar with settings while closely experiencing the forest and its natural resources. This clearly established the process, rules and distinct responsibilities given to both guides and tourists by the Forest Department and it preserves ecotourism related occupations for villagers.

> **Chaminda:** How do tourists select their tour guide?
>
> **Forester**: Tourists cannot select a tour guide as they wish. Tour guides work in shifts. Therefore, tourists have to accept the guide available at the time they come to the ticket counter.
>
> **Chaminda:** If somebody complains about the service of a guide, what do you do?
>
> **Forester:** I (as forester) have powers to inquire into the matter and to make a decision. If the tour guide has done something illegal or unethical, I can directly dismiss him/ her.

The forester's statement indicates that community members who are employed in the guide service through CBET project work under the close supervision of forest officers but are not allowed to partake in the decision making process of ecotourism related site guide service. This is a sign of the top-down attitude in this project but it does employ locals. Villagers are selected for site guide service by forest officers or the forester (see the interview below), but as I observed, forest officers lacked knowledge about guide service or ecology of the site.

> **Chaminda:** How can a local community member join the tour guide service here?
>
> **Forester:** We advertise about available vacancies, and then recruit guides through an open interview. At present, we do not have vacancies, yet if the number of visiting tourists increases, we hire tour guides giving local villagers an opportunity to get involved in tourism (SSI37A, the Sinharaja forester, 2012.10.27).
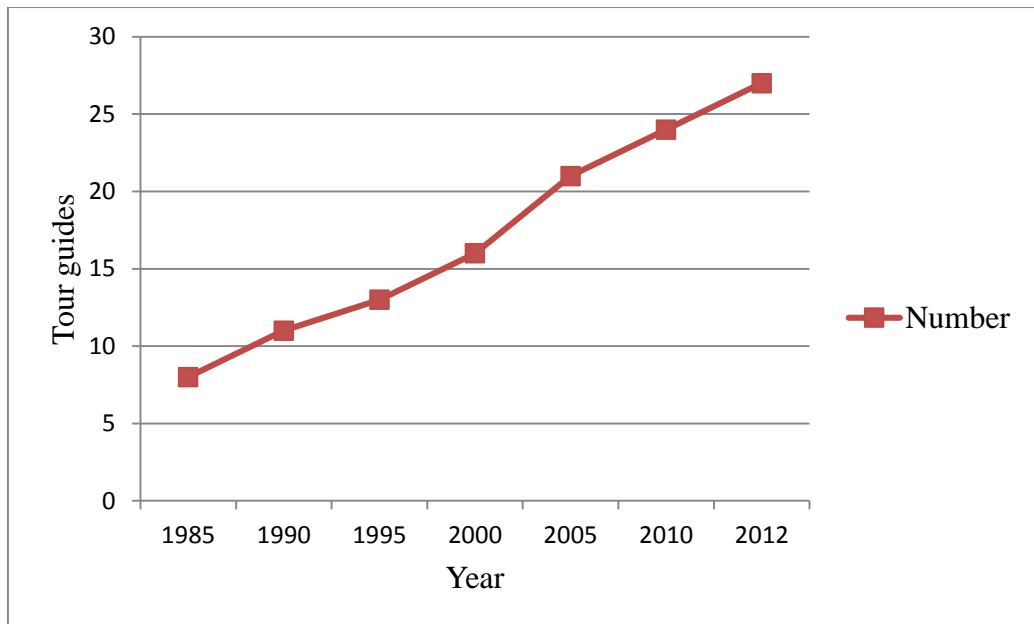
Figure 19: Increasing number of local tour guides in the Kudawa- Sinharaja ecotourism site from 1985 to 2012
Source : (Forest Department, 2013a)

Enrolment as a tour guide in Sinharaja has become an extra income source for the villagers, especially during the tourist season, from November to April. The parents and grandparents of most of the tour guides here had been involved in illegal forest utilization practices such as Kitul tapping, collecting timber and non-timber forest products, clearing forestland for cultivation and hunting. However, after two generations, tour guides now work as forest conservationists. The Forest Department strategically wanted to shift the local community from an 'eco-enemy' lifestyle to an 'eco-friendly lifestyle'.

As a Kudawa-Sinharaja site guide explained,

> I am one of the experienced tour guides here as I have 17 years work experience. My father was a Kitul tapper in this forest. Even though it is a less harmful way of utilizing forest resources, it is illegal according to the rules and regulations of the Forest Department. Parents and grandparents of many tour guides here had utilized the Sinharaja forest for survival and livelihood. Their major forest utilization method was Kitul tapping inside the forest. Others had used the forest for logging, hunting, and collecting edible products. Some had encroached on the forest area for cultivation. However, we do not use the forest as our ancestors did. Anyway, now the forest conservation rules are very strict. Yet the number of the unoccupied

less educated, and landless youth here is still high. Some have found employment as tour guides (SSI20G5, 2012.09.23).

Most of the visitors to Sinharaja compliment the community tour guides as they are satisfied with their service, knowledge, language skills and manners (Table 8).

Figure 20: Local tour guides in the Kudawa- Sinharaja ecotourism site

Picture taken by the author, 13.11.2012 (used with permission).

Table 8: Tourist satisfaction and feelings about community guides service in the

	Frequency	Percentage
Strongly satisfied	19	38.0
Satisfied	27	54.0
Not satisfied	3	6.0
Strongly not satisfied	1	2.0
Total		100.0

Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site

Source: questionnaire survey

According to my experience through participation and direct observation, community tour guides are active as a volunteer forest conservation team. Community members are more familiar with the forest than the forest officers. In urgent situations, tour guides quickly get to the relevant place. They have a good rapport with each other as well as with the villagers. As well, their information network is very strong. In an emergency, they are able to inform each other of the situation quickly and gather guides on duty at that moment and available villagers around for their support. The following extract from my field notes is an example of this healthy relationship.

> Today (2012.11.13) early morning, at about 6.30, I went to the ticket counter of Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site to start my field work. There were around 8-9 tour guides waiting for their shifts. Some were playing cards and I too joined them. At around 8.15 am another local tour guide arrived on a motorbike and informed others about an 'illicit break in to the forest by a foreign tourist'. All the guides present got into action and informed the forest officers and the forester about the intrusion. After a quick discussion, all of them entered the forest using different paths to trace the intruder. Some villagers also participated and I joined one group. At about 10.30 am, one group caught the intruder and they quickly informed our group and other groups. I hurried to the forest office to collect more information. When I arrived there, the forester was questioning the foreign intruder and a large number of villagers and local tour guides had gathered around. That foreigner had illegally accessed the forest to collect genetic resources, yet he had thrown away all collected biological stuff on his way

out of the forest when tour guides and forest officers were after him. Later, he was released after being toughly advised by the forester (field notes, 2012.11.13).

4.5.2 Accommodation service

According to the reports of the Forest Department, most of the tourists who enter the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site have spent more than a day there (Forest Department, 2013a). Thus, the local community has a great opportunity to provide accommodation facilities to tourists and at present, some villagers do.

The Forest Department manages and maintains three forest bungalows in this area namely, Sinharaja Kudawa base camp, Sinharaja Murakele Bangalow and Sinharaja Govi sewana (Table 9). These forest bungalows do not provide meals, however, cooking facility is available. If tourists bring grocery items they can prepare meals on their own or the forester can appoint a laborer to cook for the guests on request (Forest Department, 2013b). According to my experience the cooks appointed cannot supply a good meal to tourists, since they lack professional experience.

11 villagers provide full board homestay accommodation and they can accommodate only a couple or a family at one time. As a villager Martin Wijesinghe is an exceptional character, since he owns two hotels with other facilities sought by tourists such as hot water, internet, telephone and TV. Martin Lodge (1) has ten rooms including four triples, four doubles, one quadruple and a dormitory, which can accommodate up to ten guests. Martin Lodge (2) has six double rooms (Forest Department, 2013b).

Table 9. Accommodation facilities at the Sinharaja.

Apartments	Location	Nature of Residence	Number of Guest
Kudawa base camp	Kudawa	Dormitory	30
Kudawa base camp	Kudawa	Cabin	12
Kudawa base camp	Kudawa	Cabin	06
Kudawa base camp	Kudawa	Cabin	04
Murakele Bunglow	Kudawa	House	11
Govisewana	Kudawa	House	15
Total			**78**

Sources: Forest Department, 2013b

- Host community houses (home-stay)

Home-stays are still not formally developed in the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site, just casually by community members. There is great potential in this site to develop 'home-stay' accommodation for domestic as well as foreign tourists. The diary notes of my field survey below explain the available facilities.

> Last week (from 07.12.2012 to 13. 12.2012) I visited and observed accommodation facilities available in the 'host community houses' in the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site in seven places. Basically, the houses which provide home-stays to tourists have well-furnished spacious rooms and most rooms have attached bathrooms. I stayed two nights in two different host community houses. Both the rooms I stayed in were arranged with care but at a very basic level. One host community house had a bathroom attached to the room but in the other place, I had to share the bathroom with the members of the house. They charged me only 1,500.00 Rs per day including meals and this was cheap compared with rates at the hotels and lodges available at the site (up to 3,500.00 Rs per day, without meals. Normally tourists can enjoy homemade local dishes during a home-stay (that is included in the room price) (Field notes - 2012.12.14).

Figure 21: Accommodation facilities in a host community house
Pictures taken by author, 12.01.2013 (used with permission).

Although the forest service has not supported or interfered with local provision of accommodation, villagers have found other means of financing their projects thanks to NGOs as my field diary indicates:

Sewalanka foundation and Gemi diriya project run by the government have financially assisted villagers to arrange their houses for home-stays (Field notes - 2012.12.14).

Mr. Martin Wijesinghe at Kudawa village is one of its outstanding personalities. He started providing 'home-stay accommodation' in 1990 as a normal villager. Gradually he attached rooms and dormitories to his home and at present, he maintains his home as a tourist lodge. He also owns a tourist hotel in the area and his history is a good example for the possibility of developing home-stays in the community which means community based eco-tourism. However he was not always so prominent (see section 5.2) and he is a perfect example of the individualist entrepreneur, jumping on opportunities. But not all villagers can follow his example because there would not be enough tourists to fill all those hotels. When one entrepreneur succeeds, he also limits access to such opportunities to the other villagers.

Other Kudawa villagers have already started providing home-stay facilities to tourists by adding separate rooms to their houses, as I described above. A Kudawa villager adds,

I can foresee the Kudawa-Sinharaja site being developed as an ecotourism centre in the near future. Therefore, I hope we would earn some money providing rooms to tourists. Many tourists seem to enjoy a stay in village homes and tasting local specialities. Even if hotels are available very close to the Kudawa-Sinharaja site now, the rates are so high. Domestic tourists especially cannot afford staying in hotels. Even I have considered adding one or two rooms with attached bathrooms to my home that I can rent to tourists for very convenient prices. They will be ready at the end of 2013 (SSI26G11, 2012.10.15).

Figure 22: Martin Wijesinghe's home/ Martin Lodge and his new hotel
Mr. Martin, the owner of the Martin Lodge, hotel, and I
Pictures taken by Manjula Lankanath and author, 02.03.2013 (used with permission)

- Community based eco-camping

Community based eco-camping can be used as a CBET component (Jones, 2004;
Paul, 1997; Woodward & Bastin, 2008) . According to the Sri Lankan forest
regulations and laws, eco-camping sites cannot be established inside the Sinharaja
rain forest. Yet, my field observation discovers that there are plenty of suitable
forestlands adjoining the Kudawa-Sinharaja site to establish community based
eco-camping sites. Some of these blocks belong to local community members.
Yet, unfortunately, local community members still have difficulty getting
involved directly in the eco-camping projects, because of lack of money for the
basic investment.

Figure 23: Adding separate rooms to local homes at Kudawa village for 'home-stay'
Pictures taken by the author, 24.01.2013 (used with permission).

There are two main camping sites in the Kudawa village, namely, Sinharaja adventure resort campsite and the Sinharaja Kudawa Mahoora standard campsite. These are run by an eco-camping company of a Sri Lankan person. Most of the land used in eco campsites here has been rented out from the villagers by the companies. This is unfortunately an example of outsiders able to jump on opportunities at the expense of locals. It is not in the spirit of CBET even if some local community members work part-time in these camping sites; there is some economic benefit for them but it is minimal.

I had the opportunity to visit one of these eco-camping sites,

> Today I went to observe the Sinharaja-Kudawa Mahoora standard campsite'; run by 'Eco-team' - a company that launches mobile camping programmes in Sri Lanka which was owned by Sri Lankan company. This site is located on the bank of Koskulana River, which flows along the boundary of the Sinharaja rain forest. The surroundings of the campsite are

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very peaceful and attractive and it is a fine place for bird watching and swimming in early mornings.

This eco-camping site is situated in the Kudawa GND about 100 m away from the site entrance and belongs to a Kudawa villager. The Eco-team company rents it out for 1,000.00 SLR (about US$ 7.50) per day when they conduct eco-camping programmes.

> It is a luxury campsite including comfortable tents, chairs, tables, beds, hammocks, flushable toilets, showers and a fully equipped kitchen with chilled beer. Barbecues and campfires are available in the camping package. Eco-team offers two tourist packages; 'Mahoora standard camping Sinharaja' (US$ 586 for one night inclusive of food, and eco trips for two) and 'Mahoora luxury camping Sinharaja' package (US$ 900 for one night inclusive of food and eco trips for two).

As I observed, these eco-camping programs aim to attract rich international tourists, especially Europeans, who are interested in getting an exclusive ecotourism experience with luxury facilities. Many Sri Lankans from outside this area have joined these programmes as stakeholders.

> When I arrived there, I saw eight foreign tourists and nine camping staff including two chefs, two tour guides, and five labourers. Foreign tourists were there on a three night camping package.

A few villagers were given an opportunity to be involved in these programmes as low paid labourers since they lack proper training in eco-camping conducting.

> Only three community members from Kudawa village have joined the site as labourers and all the other trained staff members were permanent 'Eco-team' workers who come from areas outside of Kudawa GND, but they are from Sri Lanka. A local community labourer is paid 750 Rs (US$ 5.73) daily. Trained staff members' daily salary is between 2,500.00- 5,000.00 Rs (US$ 19- 38) (Field notes, 2012.11.05).

As I noticed these eco-camping programs are concerned with environmental sustainability and protection. According to their environmental policy both tourists and programme conductors focus on ecosystem conservation, especially in garbage management since all garbage is collected using mobile tanks and taken away for recycling.

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Figure 24: Sinharaja Adventure Resort campsite
Pictures taken by the author, 10.01.2013 (used with permission).

The field data revealed that some local community members obtained a few benefits from available existing eco-campsites in Kudawa-Sinharaja. However, some local community members seem to have their own plans to launch 'community based eco-camping' as revealed in the following statement.

> We have found some land blocks near the Sinharaja forest which are suitable for community based eco camping and we are planning to start an eco-camping project in these blocks. Outside camping companies seem to earn lots of money using land in our village. However, if we start community based eco-campsites we can supply the same service for cheaper rates as we can use greens from our gardens. We can also work as tour guides, safari jeep drivers, cooks and coolies (FGI08C, local community members, 2013.01.17).

This is ideologically important and these people demonstrate the same spirit of enterprise as Mr. Martin did; however, there are certain issues in this plan. As the same person added, financing can be one of the main barriers.

> We can launch this through the 'Sinharaja Sumituro' environmental society but first we need financial assistance from a donor or an institute because

we have to buy all the required equipment such as tents, chairs, tables, beds, hammocks which are essential for this sort of project (FGI08C, 2013.01.17).

There would also be the problem of providing what international tourists really want: luxury (maybe) service (certainly) which is a real skill; but mostly those campers are looking for a space where they do not have to communicate with the villagers except when they need a guide. So language knowledge (hence a certain level of education) would be necessary. They also need to reach these markets: it is generally done via tourism agencies, who take a fee or using the Internet, which also requires knowledge of its use and hardware as well as access to the web.

As I identified, most of the Kudawa villagers lack capital to invest in these eco-camping programs and they are still looking for a solution. Thus, this issue can hinder the achievement of CBET goals. On further examination, I propose the use of micro-credit theory and community banking system to address this issue (more in chapter 2, section 2.2.3 and chapter 6, section 6.7).

4.5.3   Safari jeep service

Safari jeep service is another major ecotourism activity in which local community members can be involved (Bulut & Yilmaz, 2008; Joshi, 2010; Yaman & Mohd, 2004). According to the forest regulations and rules, a safari jeep service cannot be maintained inside the forest area. However, a safari jeep service can run within the village or in areas along the forest boundary. Vehicles that bring tourists to the Kudawa-Sinharaja site can only go near the ticket counter. The distance between the ticket counter and the main entrance is more than two kilometres and most of the way is hilly. Tourists, especially unfit, elderly, feeble, or indulgent ones like to hire a safari jeep to travel this distance. Therefore, at present, some villagers and outsiders (CBET development is being taken advantage of by those who have more means even if they do not live in the area, which is contrary to CBET principles) have started an informal safari jeep service from the Kudawa-Sinharaja ticket counter to the Sinharaja main entrance. Yet the Forest Department or any other institute does not monitor this service. A local resident describes,

> We have a safari jeep service from the Kudawa-Sinharaja ticket counter to the Sinharaja main entrance and this is informal. I am also a safari jeep supplier. Currently, there are eight vehicles there. Five of them are local

community members' and the other three are owned by outsiders. We just give a ride to tourists who do not like to walk from the ticket counter to the main entrance. Sometimes we get hires from tourist hotels to fetch their guests to the Sinharaja main entrance from the hotel (SSI62G2, 2012.11.24).

According to my field observations, it would be possible to develop a community based formal safari jeep service that is beneficial for both owners of safari jeeps and tourists. Currently, the safari jeep service at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site operates unofficially and it is much disorganized. The charges are high and unfair as intermediaries (often outsiders, looking for quick gain at the expense of local residents) are involved in the service by linking safari jeep drivers and tourists. Therefore, both local and foreign tourists who cannot afford such a high fee are unable to use the service even if they need it. The Forest Department or any other government institution need to support or initiate the development of a formal, well-organized safari jeep service, which covers safari tours within the village and around the forest boundary, to develop community based safari jeep service.

4.5.4   Shops, boutiques and other business opportunities

Business opportunities can be developed and encouraged in community-based ecotourism. Local community members can be involved in small scale businesses to increase their income and improve their livelihoods (Bushell & Eagles, 2007; Gurung & Scholz, 2008; Spenceley, 2001). Businesses based on local resources can be developed, but such possibilities are not formally taken into account at the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site. However, some villagers have entered the market by themselves in an informal way. They have focused on the needs of tourists visiting the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site. As my interviewee explained,

> Three decades before there was only one boutique in Kudawa, and it supplied villagers' everyday needs. When Kudawa-Sinharaja became famous as a tourist site, many tourists visited Sinharaja and most of them stayed several nights in the village. Gradually local community members opened many shops to meet the growing demand of tourists to Sinharaja. Now there are more than ten permanent shops (SSI88G8, local woman boutique owner, 2013.02.07).

Figure 25: Boutiques in Kudawa junction
Pictures taken by author (HIGC Kumara), 18.11.2012

According to my field study, if carefully planned there is a possibility of developing the Kudawa junction area as a small tourist marketplace in future. At present, some villagers run small stalls here to sell provisions for tourists.

> I started my shop in 1995. There is good demand for village products like Kitul treacle, Kitul flour, bee honey, handcrafts like cane baskets, and fresh fruits. Local visitors like to stop at our shops on their way to Sinharaja. They usually wait for a hot tea, coffee or herbal brew like Polpala, Belimal, Kotalahimbutu and Ranawara with a piece of Kitul Hakuru (SSI88G8).

Nevertheless, these villagers focus on selling provisions for domestic tourists. Even if international tourists like to spend money in the site, these stall owners have not identified their interests. Thus, most of the businesses here have become small scale seasonal activities.

> In the tourist season, some villagers build temporary stalls or become itinerant sales people of Kitul Hakuru (jaggery), and bee honey. Our village is famous for 'Kitul production', local tourists do not forget to buy Kitul treacle and jaggery as it is one of our specialities. Foreigners do not buy local stuff but they buy chocolates, plastic bowls, water bottles, leech socks, and anti-leech creams. When they come here they have already shopped at outside supermarkets (SSI88G8).

I identified two main barriers to develop Kudawa junction as a community based business area, which can supply overseas tourist needs. First, villagers lack marketing knowledge to present village produce to satisfy demands of overseas tourists. For example, villagers fail to present village production attractively such

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as Kitul related production, in hygienic and high quality condition in their temporarily built stalls. Second, villagers lack money to invest in building permanent stalls which look more appealing to tourists. Developing a market place funded by a community banking system as a part of CBET would be a solution for these issues.

According to my field observation, seasonal village fruit could be sold to the tourists and the tourist hotels in this area, as many different local fruit varieties are available from home gardens of the local community. At present villagers sell bananas and pineapples but I have noticed that there are many other edible fruit varieties in their courtyards that can be sold (Table 10).

Some of these fruits available for sale are rare and endemic to Sri Lanka. For instant, 'Kekuna' is a popular fruit variety in the Kudawa Sinharaja area and it is similar in taste to cashew nuts. 'Gokatu', 'Mihiriya', 'Mora', 'Himbutu' are flesh fruits like 'Rambutan'; 'Veralu' is a sub species of the olive family and 'Etamba' is a sub species of the Mango family. It is noted that both domestic and foreign tourists like to taste such uncommon and rare fruits.

Some fruit varieties like papaya, coconut, king-coconut, passion fruit, sour-sap, jackfruit, pineapple and banana are available all year but 'Rambutan', different mango varieties, 'Durio', cashew nut, 'Kekuna', 'Himbutu', 'Etamba', 'Veralu', 'Gokatu' and 'Mora' are seasonal fruits. Normally the fruit season in Kudawa-Sinharaja is from March to May. That is also an advantage as most of the tourists arrive in Sinharaja during this period. If there is a mechanism to collect these fruit varieties in time and distribute them to forest bungalows, hotels inn, lodges and camping sites, Kudawa local communities could earn considerable income.

There is a demand for souvenirs too among tourists. During my field visits, I noticed that many tourists looked to buy an 'eco-souvenir' before they left the site. Yet this demand seems ignored by the local community. As an overseas tourist explained,

> I visited many ecotourism sites during my visit to Sri Lanka, and I collected souvenirs from each site as they can remind me of the time I stayed here. But I could not find a place to buy a souvenir here at the Sinharaja site. I

wish I could find a handicraft made of wood, may be, as it can remind me of this beautiful forest (SSI108I4, 2013.03.22).

Table 10: Local fruits varieties available in Kudawa GND

Fruit name	Scientific name
Rambutan	(Nepheliumlappaceum),
Sour-sap	(Annonamuricata),
Papaya	(Carica papaya),
Different banana varieties	(Musa paradisiaca),
Passion fruit	(Passifloraedulis),
Different mango varieties	(Mangiferaindica),
Purple mangosteen	(Garciniamangostana),
Jackfruit	(Artocarpusheterophyllus),
Longan	(Dimocarpuslongan),
Avocado	(Perseaamericana),
Guava	(Psidium),
Pineapple	(Ananascomosus),
Durio	(Durioneae)
Cashew Fruit	(Anacardiumoccidentale),
Rose apple	(Syzygiumsamarangense),
Different coconut, king-coconut varieties	(Cocosnucifera)
Kekuna	(Ganariumzeylanicum*)
Himbutu	(Salacia reticulate)
Etaba	(Mangiferazeylanica*)
Veralu	(Elaeocarpuslaevis)
Different Dan varieties	(Syzygiumaromaticum*)
Gokatu	Gokatu(Garciniamorella*)
Mihiriya	Mihiriya (Palaquium grande*)
Mora	Mora (Euphorialongana*)

Source: based on participatory and direct observation of the field research (*endemic species)

From my point of view, creating 'eco-souvenirs' using resources available within the village areas can be developed as a cottage industry under the current CBET project. Basic training and financial support were given to villagers who would like to be involved. This is also an activity that women can participate in since they do not have to leave the home while fashioning the souvenirs.

4.6   Chapter Conclusion

The influence of the Sinharaja rain forest on the traditional lifestyles of Kudawa villagers seems enormous. In the past, forest utilization, Kitul tapping in particular, had become a main part of their everyday life. Regardless of the

choice, the traditional system had motivated these villagers to partake in Kitul tapping since they were born in a Kitul tapping caste and their lifestyles based on forest utilization included different socio-cultural beliefs and attitudes. Yet the mutual bond shared by the forest and villagers has diminished with the effects of forest degradation and socio-cultural marginalization experienced by these communities.

After the 1980s, Kudawa villagers tried to adjust their traditional lifestyles to cash crop cultivation and they cleared large areas of the forest to establish farmlands. As a result, the Sri Lankan government and the Forest Department implemented forest conservation programmes to limit illegal encroachments on forest and they have theoretically adopted a community based forest management approach based on bottom up and sustainable development ideologies.

The Kudawa-Sinharaja site provides numerous ecotourism attractions owing to its geo-spatial characteristics, with its rich biodiversity and diverse landscapes and rich watershed systems. The high percentage of endemic bird species in Sinharaja offers opportunities to watch mixed species bird 'feeding flocks', which has become a special tourist attraction. The Forest Department has used these advantages to develop sustainable tourism here following the country's development policy and forestry sector master plan (FSMP).

Some villagers are already involved in CBET ventures and they successfully gain various benefits such as increased family income, employment opportunities and high self-esteem. Therefore, most of the other villagers are also glad to participate in CBET ventures. However, the findings of the research reveal theoretical and practical issues. First, ecotourism practices are developed here in an informal way and only the site guide service is formally operating under the supervision of the Forest Department. This situation does not help the marginalized community to be involved in bottom up development processes as expected theoretically; only a few villagers who could adopt ecotourism services have gained most of the benefits.

Second, the local elite, and outside companies have already gained economic benefits of ecotourism and it is one of the main challenges to develop CBET here.

CBET is about supporting local participation so that economic benefits are spread as wide as possible through the community, rather than advantaging just a few. The only benefit for some of the villagers then would be as poorly paid labourers. Third, even if villagers are involved in ecotourism activities to a considerable level, village women receive fewer benefits from these ventures. On the other hand, female unemployment (inability to earn cash) is still a serious issue in the research area. Therefore, women can be identified as 'the most marginalized social group', since they are further marginalized in a marginalized community. Without addressing these issues, ecotourism cannot provide expected outcomes.

An analysis of challenges in the implementation of ecotourism in this site is useful to rearrange the present CBET practices to provide more realistic results. The individual chapters that follow will analyse economic, geo-political and socio-cultural challenges of the CBET project in detail providing potential solutions to particular issues. The next chapter focuses on analysing the influences of capitalism and superimposed capitalism on this site as the main challenge to achieve theoretical and practical expectations of CBET as a sustainable, bottom up development approach.

Chapter 5: Challenges of Capitalism and Superimposed Capitalism

5.1 Introduction

As revealed in the literature review and the basic field survey, before the 1980s, socio-economic activities of the communities in the Kudawa GND had depended on the traditional Sinhalese system, which promoted collectivism and collaborative activities in the particular social groups. Yet, this situation had started changing at the beginning of the 1980s as a result of the influence of capitalism. Capitalism has been superimposed on this site with the development of tourism, and cash crop plantation. Capitalism is greatly interconnected with individualism (Myers, 2012) creating an individualistic socio- economic society (Dellinger, 1995), whereas bottom up development approaches theoretically depend to a great extent on collectivism and cooperative activities (Gunawardene et al., 2007; Wickramasinghe et al., 2012). It is realistic to expect that capitalism associated with individualism may challenge this kind of bottom up development project.

Collectivistic economic activities of the local communities in the Kudawa GND, which were based on traditional Sinhala values, are gradually shifting towards individualistic preferences with the influence of capitalism; however, most importantly, these communities have failed to sever ties with traditional social norms and values. Their struggle has created a new socio-cultural and economic structure which is ideologically different from that of western capitalist societies and traditional Sri Lankan-Sinhalese society. I have identified it as a 'superimposed capitalist socio-economic structure' (see section 2.6). Knowing the characteristics and nature of this new social structure is important for this project to reach realistic goals.

According to the field data, I identified three main challenges due to superimposed capitalism that would reduce or prevent achievement of expected goals of CBET in this site. First, increasing socio-economic conflicts regarding benefits and resource distribution have challenged the project in several ways. As

I discuss in detail in this chapter, this challenge associates with issues of traditional socio-cultural hierarchy, increasing economic competition, economic individualism and market-based values.

The second challenge is environmental degradation in this site. Practically ecotourism activities in the southern peripheral countries have contributed to generate many environmental problems (Cater & Lowman, 1994; Higham, 2007). Anthropogenic disturbances on wildlife have directly affected biodiversity in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. Biopiracy, bioprospecting, forest genetic resources and wildlife smuggling have increased (Mgbeoji, 2005). Even members of the host community are involved in or support illicit forest resource trafficking for profit. As I argue in this chapter, the newly adopted superimposed capitalist socio-cultural values considerably worsen this situation while the local community and other stakeholders of the CBET project neglect environmental protection.

According to ecotourism philosophy and theory, a code of ethics for ecotourism is a must to achieve ecotourism and CBET goals successfully (Donohoe & Needham, 2006; Malloy & Fennell, 1998b; Weaver & Lawton, 2007; Wight, 1993). Local community members as well as other stakeholders of this CBET project including tourists are involved in unethical practices which challenge the achievement of realistic project targets. Even if unethical behaviour of the participants of a CBET project can be identified as a socio-cultural issue of the project, in my point of view, the contribution of superimposed capitalism to create these ethical issues cannot be ignored. The chapter covers the challenges described in the above paragraphs in the order indicated.

I have chosen to examine only these particular challenges in this chapter because, based on the field data, I have identified conflicts in benefits and resource distribution, environmental degradation and ethical issues of ecotourism as the direct consequences of capitalism being superimposed in this site. Nonetheless, superimposed capitalism is also in/directly linked with other challenges such as geo-political and socio-cultural changes. I have thus paid special attention to superimposed capitalism and geo-political and socio-cultural issues in this and the next two analysis chapters.

5.2 Capitalism, superimposed capitalism and individualism

CBET focuses on helping isolated and marginalized people develop income while conserving natural resources. Critics, using post colonialism and sustainable development ideas have helped build up the rationality of this approach (Brydon, 2004; Ziai, 2011). Even if this concept seems philosophically lofty, in practice, implementation of CBET is challenged by 'individualism' in southern peripheral countries as a result of the influence of superimposed capitalism (section 2.6). This is common to the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. Before the 1980s, the Kudawa villages were isolated rural Sri Lankan villages, where lives were based on traditional values and where the villagers depended on each other for survival.

> Our village was an isolated community until 1980 and most of the villagers depended on Kitul tapping and shifting cultivation for livelihood. At that time, men in the village who produced the income for the whole family stayed several weeks inside the forest for Kitul tapping and came out to sell their Kitul produce (Kitul treacle and Kitul jaggery). Then, the whole village acted as one unit [SSI42H5-Senior Kudawa villager (Male -78 years old), 2012.11.01].

According to most of the senior villagers in Kudawa who are above 60 years of age, the village life in that period was harmonious and self-sufficient. Their 'memory of the past' is not fully true or false, because historical facts they reveal of their village at that time reflect a mixture of fantasy and reality (Loewenberg, 1995; Scott, 2001). However, they had to work as a unit in that time to survive whether they liked it or not. For example, most of the women with their children stayed many nights in the village without their husbands who had left home for livelihoods and thus a sound relationship with ones neighbours was necessary for females for their security.

> When I was a young wife, my husband spent many nights inside the forest for Kitul tapping and I had to stay home with eight kids. In that period, elephants were roaming in the village looking for food at night [at present there are only three elephants in the Sinharaja forest] and sometimes they attacked our houses as well. Therefore, either I invited my neighbouring women to stay at my home for nights or I sometimes stayed nights at their homes with my kids. When elephants or other wild animals intruded into the village, all the women got together and shouted as loud as we could to chase

these animals away from the village (SSI73G1- 71 years old female Kudawa villager, 2012.12.17).

Local traditional systems had helped villagers to form strong relationships with each other in other ways too. For example, most of the Kudawa villagers traditionally belong to the Kitul tapping caste which is considered a low caste in traditional Sri Lankan caste hierarchy (Silva, Sivaparagasam, et al., 2009) and the villagers marry within the village and caste and this was easy as Sinhalese traditional values support relative 'cross-cousin marriages' (De Munck, 1998; McGilvray, 1982). This biological relationship helps to create 'collectivism' in the community and a 'collectivist economy'.

> Most of our villagers belonged to the same caste and we all are relatives, hence we all worked as a family in that period (SSI42H5- 78 years old male Kudawa villager, 2012.11.01).

Before capitalist values arrived as superimposed capitalism, there was no competition among the members of the local community of the Kudawa GND and they were ignorant of economic development. Theoretically, the members of a collective society, based on traditional values, hold group values, beliefs and attend to seek collective interests. Individually they enjoy a simple life (Huff & Kelley, 2005; Triandis, 2001). This was common to the Kudawa GND as well. According to a senior villager,

> We were not rich. We had not lots of property and our needs were simple. We lacked precious things, and we lived in temporary wattle and mud houses, ate what we got from our surroundings but we had plenty of time to maintain our social relations (SSI42H5, 2012.11.01).

Even if this villager owned land, he did not count it as property. However, this statement depicts that these villagers were not led by complex capitalist development needs, since their lifestyles were based on Sinhalese traditional values which had promoted a barter economic system.

> When we sold our Kitul products to outsiders, we did not receive money for that, instead we exchanged our production for groceries and goods like rice, dry fish, salt, clothing etc, which were essential for our everyday needs. We knew nothing about development [physical and

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economic development was meant here] and we did not save money for the future (SSI42H5, 2012.11.01).

This situation was common to many of the isolated villages at the boundaries of rain forests of Sri Lanka (Gunatilake, 1998; Gunatilake, Senaratne, & Abeygunawardena, 1993). This can be taken as the image of a traditional Sri Lankan village with simple wants, which practiced a barter economy. It was based on their own norms, beliefs, and social practices where caste, religion, ethnicity and kin relationships were the foundation of the society (Hennayaka, 2006; Lakshman & Tisdell, 2000). Colonial tea plantations did not change this social structure because local villagers did not participate in the production or the profits.

Until the 1980s Kudawa was an isolated society. When the 'tea economy' was introduced to Kudawa after the 1980s, the villagers started growing tea on their private lands. Later, ecotourism became popular in Kudawa. Gradually, capitalism was superimposed upon the community as Kudawa first earned some income from tea and as it became popular as a tourist destination. The development of a tea economy and the popularity of ecotourism directly influenced the material development and quality of life of the villagers; at the same time, traditional values shrunk due to the influence of superimposed capitalism and its values (see section 2.6). All the interviews with senior villagers mentioned below depict the changes that occurred at the grassroots level at this site in view of the influence of super imposed capitalism.

> Economically our village was rapidly developing after the 1980s, because of ecotourism and tea planting. Currently, we have modern houses with facilities, roads, a medical centre, electricity etc. Our village is open to the world and we freely interact with other outside communities. However, villagers get more and more isolated and our social relations are very poor now. Everyone here is busy earning money (SSI44G1- 72 years old female Kudawa resident, 2012.11.02).

The change occurred in the village economy, and life styles of villagers as well as in peoples' perspectives. At present, the villagers not only are in a rat race to earn money but also compete with each other to gain better social status. This situation negatively influences healthy social relationships:

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> Making money has become the major concern of many of the youth here. They ignore our traditional values and practices and they do not have time to follow their religious faith or maintain healthy social relations (SSI42H5-78 years old male villager at Kudawa, 2012.11.01).

As is common to many other societies in which capitalism is superimposed, capitalist values and traditional values are mixed up in the Kudawa GND. For example, even though villagers there share capitalist values, they still maintain some of the ancient values like caste hierarchy or gender biases. One of the negative things here is that most of the young people who are involved in ecotourism as service providers suffer from jealousy as they compare themselves with other villagers on material development. Hence, they have failed to work as a team and most of the senior villagers are worried about this situation. As senior villager (68 years old, female) explained,

> Most of the young people who work as service providers to tourists here suffer from jealousy. They work hard to achieve their targets and they cannot stop comparing themselves with others. It is sad that this has developed so far as to carry personal grudges. If tourists want accommodation, village safari jeep drivers or site guides refer them to outside hotels although they can easily send these tourists to the Martin Lodge or any homestays here. This is because they are jealous that other villagers would earn something more than themselves (SSI65G1, 2012.11.28).

The Martin Lodge is owned and run by Martin Wijesinghe who has become rich when he joined ecotourism as a tourist accommodation provider (for the history of his advancement, see section 4.). As I noticed in the field, most of the young people are not friendly with him even without a particular reason. As Mr. Martin himself explained later,

> Before I could earn money and gain benefits from ecotourism, the villagers were friendly with me and accepted me as one of their own. However, when I became richer than the others here, most of the villagers including my relatives held grudges against me as I could become more materially successful than them. I even helped villagers financially to put up a new hall in the village school and I would like to help them more, yet they do not like me just because they are jealous of me (SSI94G6, 2013.02.12).

One of the other important facts is that villagers who are currently involved in ecotourism related employment prevent other villagers from entering new occupation opportunities in the field of ecotourism.

> At present, I run a safari jeep service in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site to fetch tourists to the park entrance from the ticket counter. However, this is a tough job since some of the tour guides from my own village seem to work against me. If I take tourists for birding around the village in my jeeps, site guides keep grudges against me. They think they are the only people eligible to guide tourists in nature walks or bird watching. This is my village and I too should have the right to guide tourists around the village if they are willing to accompany me (SSI01G2- Safari jeep driver from Kudawa GND, 2012.09.09).

This individualistic culture (shown by the driver quoted above too, who demonstrates his own desire to earn a maximum himself) where there is great competition out of jealousy between the members of the same community who are relatives by descent or marriage, to gain economic status can be identified as a major negative effect of capitalism super imposed upon the Kudawa-Sinharaja GND. Such a situation is not conducive to develop CBET for several reasons. First, CBET is a bottom to top approach, which promotes collectivism (Hipwell, 2007).Therefore, unity among community members is essential to achieve goals of ecotourism and success of the project depends on cooperatively accomplished project purpose, direction, and action (see section 2.2.3). Second, villagers here have adopted the values of capitalism, which prevents them from implementing sustainable ecotourism practices since their main goal is to earn money from ecotourism. Hence, they have neglected sustainable development ideologies, such as environment conservation, sustainable resource utilization, needs of future generations and cooperation.

Third, even if CBET targets equity and improvement in the quality of life of the marginalised local community, the individualistic, superimposed capitalism structure does not support achieving this goal. Individualism and super imposed capitalism have resulted in unequal development and only a few people like Martin Wijesinghe are successful in obtaining more economic benefits. A few have become winners of the capitalistic competition whereas most of the marginalized people failed to obtain equitable benefits owing mainly to economic

jealousy and conflicts between villagers. For example, a few poor villagers who have tried to provide homestay accommodation to tourists, have failed to do so since other villagers who are capable of supporting them have rejected to assist these poor villagers out of economic jealousy. Economic and social jealousy of community members for the success of other members of the same community or their own relatives has become one of the main characteristics observed in this society on which capitalism has been superimposed.

Finally, if CBET aims at enhancing and protecting traditional local culture, it has almost changed under superimposed capitalism. For example, the cherished traditional socio-cultural network of Kudawa communities has negatively been influenced through the development of ecotourism as capitalism has been superimposed. This situation cannot lead to the achievement of ecotourism and CBET goals in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. These kinds of 'socio economic' barriers have been identified as main challenges in CBET projects carried out in other southern peripheral countries (Foucat, 2002; Higham, 2007; Jamal, Borges, & Stronza, 2006; Nick, 2005; Ross & Wall, 1999).

Without clear understanding of the individualistic social structure of Kudawa GND, any CBET project will be unable to achieve sustainable development goals. Some scholars have suggested to 'redesign ecotourism' practice, with special attention given to the concepts of 'cultural equity' and 'participatory practice' in order to minimise such an issue (Jamal et al., 2006). As Lappe explained, political and economic systems can be re-arranged and designed like a 'home garden, so that community structures can be redesigned under the notion of 'social empowerment' and 'collective responsibility' (Lappé, 2010, 2011, 2013). This view is useful to rearrange the individualistic culture of superimposed capitalism as in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, in order to implement collectivist CBET projects that can achieve grassroots level sustainable development.

5.3 Conflicts about benefit distribution

After the 1990s, Kudawa-Sinharaja became one of the most popular tourist destinations for many foreign eco tourists visiting Sri Lanka (Forest Department, 2013a). Ecotourism opened a large number of occupation opportunities at that

time to the host community and became a main income source, which promised to bring foreign exchange to the site. At the same time, lifestyles of local people here changed with superimposed capitalism. This background created conflict situations in several ways about the benefits sharing process of CBET projects.

5.3.1 Conflicts within the community

After the 1990s, the income gained by local site guides gradually increased as a result of ecotourism development and the increasing number of tourists visiting the site. Consequently, many other local villagers wanted to join ecotourism as service providers, especially as site guides. Then the Forest Department gave chances to local villagers to be involved in ecotourism in the site by recruiting many new tour guides from time to time. The present tour guides can be categorized into three main groups on the basis of their service such as most senior site guides (i) with more than 15 years' experience, senior site guides (ii) with 5-15 years' experience, and new site guides with less than 5 years' experience.

According to my experience, most of the senior site guides (i) enjoy their job and they do not worry about the gratitude tip they are offered by tourists after a successful tour. As one of the most senior site guides explained,

> This forest is my most favourite place after my home; so, I want to visit it every day. I had more than 15 years' experience as a site guide here and currently I am physically weak for this job and my wife and kids have advised me to resign. But I still could not make up my mind to do so as I love this job (FGI12G1, 2012. 09.06).

Most of the experienced site guides (i) are more than 55 years old and they represent the collectivistic culture, which is based on traditional values. Although superimposed capitalism has influenced their life styles, they have not changed very much. On the positive side, these guides like to work collectively as one community group, they generously help other members involved in CBET practices, and voluntarily train the new site guides. However, the negative side is that their ecological knowledge and language skills are insufficient and updating too slowly for effective performance as tour guides. They are also less motivated to acquire new knowledge and skills in the field.

Eco-tourists suffer from 'thirst of eco knowledge' and obtaining eco knowledge is an important factor in successful implementation of any community based ecotourism project (Belsky, 1999; Campbell & Mattila, 2003; Nelson, 2004). According to an experienced researcher who is involved in many research projects in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site,

> Up-to-date and accurate eco- knowledge is an important factor to develop real ecotourism practices here. For example, knowledge of newly found bird species in the country and their behaviour pattern is essential for a site guide to satisfy the birders visiting the site (SSI110K, 2013.03.24).

According to my field experiences, formal bird watchers are well educated about available bird species and their behaviour in the site as they have studied and researched on bird varieties beforehand. Site guides can update their knowledge while maintaining a good relationship with them and in return they can use this knowledge in the field to satisfy other tourists' needs. Most of the senior site guides in category (ii) have joined the service after the 2000s and many of them have worked as research assistants earlier in the botanical research projects carried out in the Sinharaja forest. This has helped them possess a great ecological knowledge of their surroundings. As one of the researchers in this site described,

> I have carried out many research projects on endemic birds and bird flocks in the Sinharaja rain forest. One of my PhD students from the USA stayed in this field for more than a year to study bird behaviour patterns. Many local villagers worked as research assistants under this student and me and they acquired a good knowledge about wild animals here especially about birds. I have seen that many of the villagers who have earlier worked as our research assistants are now involved in ecotourism, especially as tour guides (SSI25K, 2012.10.14).

The research experience and knowledge that they gain help them to succeed in their career. Thus, the guides in category (ii) are more knowledgeable than senior site guides in category (i) and they try to update their knowledge to offer formal eco- tourists a better service. Some of these guides have even published research papers on wild life phenomena of the Sinharaja in academic journals (Figure 26). However, most of these guides in category (ii) seem to be in a

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constant struggle to market their ecological knowledge. There is competition among these guides to serve rich and formal eco-tourists who can spend money generously on wildlife viewing. Tour groups who enter the site can be divided into two groups such as domestic and foreign. The domestic tourists include students, rich/middle class local people where as foreign tourists include European and non- European tourists. Most of the formal eco tourists come from European countries. As a forest officer explained,

> Site guides, especially later joined senior people, are willing to guide European bird watchers, as these tourists offer handy tips to the guide after each successful tour. However, there is a rule that all site guides should work on the roster of the forest department in which free selection of tourist groups to be guided in the site is limited for the guides (SSI70A, 2012.12.15).
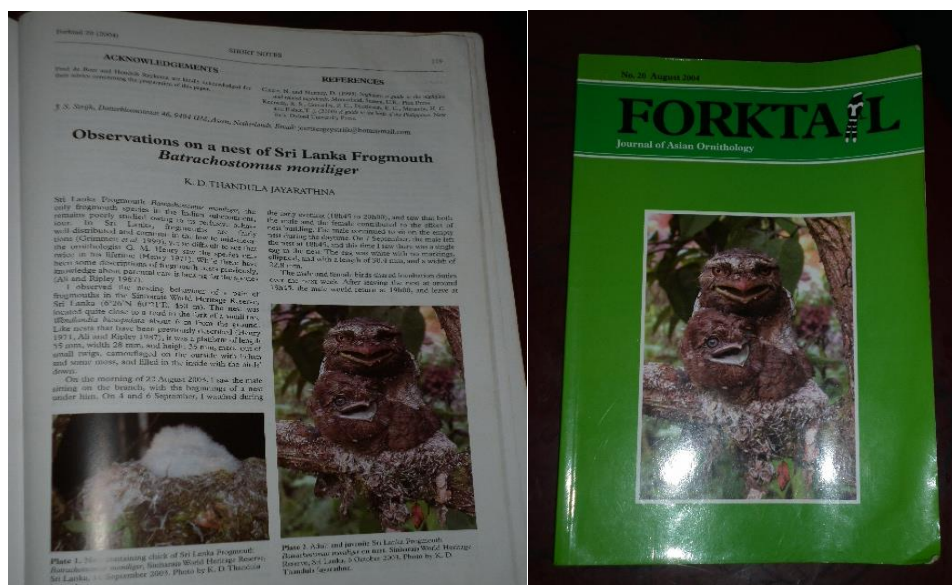
Figure 26: Research article published by a site guide in Kudawa-Sinharaja
Photographed by author with relevant permission, 12.12.2012

Yet my field experiences reveal that senior site guides (ii) violate this rule. According to one of the new site guides in the category (iii),

> Some of our guides have links with national tour guides and tour companies. These companies or national tour guides contact our guides before tourists arrive at Kudawa. Then, they arrange a time tallying with the roster system where they can accompany the tourist group privately. Then tour companies and national tour guides bring formal European eco tourists at the time of their friends' turn (SS96G5, 2013.02.14).

As I identified, tourist companies and national tour guides prefer the service of knowledgeable site guides who can satisfactorily guide their tourists rather than the newly joined ones. Hence, the roster system designed by the forest department for fair service chances has become useless and normally newly joined site guides have to fetch only domestic and non-European tourists.

One of the other setbacks here is that some site guides, especially the senior site guides in category (ii), take the overseas eco tourists who come to visit Sinharaja to the surrounding forest patches, which are similar in many ways to the Kudawa-Sinharaja site but not used as formal ecotourism sites. The rare and endemic bird species available in the main forest can be seen in these forest patches and thus formal bird watchers do not hesitate to visit forest patches instead of the forest if they can watch a large number of endemic birds in the forest patches. As the fosterer of the Kudawa-Sinharaja site explained,

> This practice is totally illegal and unethical. We had to interdict several site guides who were involved in or supported this practice of taking tourists coming to visit Sinharaja, elsewhere. Mainly there are two outcomes of this sort of practice: the Forest Department loses income as tourists do not pay an entrance fee and on the other hand, this ruins the harmony among the co-workers as they miss their chances on the roster system (SSI71A- 2012.12.16).

All of the newly joined site guides are young people compared with other site guides and they lack service experience, sound eco knowledge or language skills. It was noted in the field visits that senior site guides in category (ii) do not support these newly joined co-workers for career development simply out of increasing competition to be successful or jealousy that the young staff would rise above them. Owing to lack of sufficient ecological knowledge and unethical conduct of senior site guides in category (ii), these newly joined young staff are unable to earn much money from the site guide service, even if they have joined the service with the dream of earning lots of money. Thus, a cold war between the newly joined young site guides and senior site guides in category (ii) is going on at present and conflicts often occur between these two groups. Occasionally, they clash in public over the issues of these unethical suite guide practices of senior guides. However, it is observed that most of

these young site guides respect the most senior site guides in category (i). My field notes mentioned below provide good evidence to understand the conflict among site guides.

> Today morning (2013.01.22) I went near the Kudawa-Sinharaja ticket counter, and there were about 15 site guides waiting for their turns on the roster. There was an aggressive dispute among these site guides about misconduct of one of their staff members. According to them, this particular member had accompanied a group of overseas birders to the village for viewing rare and endemic birds. The guide on duty on the roster at that moment missed his turn to accompany tourists, the guide fee, and the gratitude tip he expected after the tour. Hence, the group of overseas tourists had left Kudawa without entering the park, as they were satisfied with birding around the village. Here the dispute was over the break of this rule where one of the guides had taken around the village a group of overseas tourists who are much preferred by most of them, ignoring the daily roster. After a few minutes, the argument became a tumult in which the culprit was beaten by the other site guides. Forest officers intervened and this was reported to the forester. Within a half hour the forester came to the site and after an inquiry he temporarily dismissed the site guide who had been proven to have violated the regulations of the guide service (Field notes, 2013.01.22).

Some of the issues discussed above can be controlled or avoided by establishing a strong legal and policy framework and there should be an effective as well as practical legal framework to minimize internal conflicts on CBET benefit distribution (Fennell & Dowling, 2003). However, it was noted that the Kudawa-Sinharaja site still lacks a well-designed and transparent ecotourism policy framework for CBET.

Some internal conflicts that arise within the host community who are involved in CBET as service providers cannot be avoided by a policy framework. For example, a constant clash is observed between villagers who joined the Forest Department as formal site guides and villagers who provide transport facilities to the tourists at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. As one of the safari jeep drivers explained,

> I have a jeep and I provide them transport from the accommodation site to Kudawa-Sinharaja Park entrance on request. I have eco knowledge, especially about birds. Most of the European tourists come here for

birding. If they are not satisfied with the service of the site guide they got at the park entrance, they sometimes have asked me to accompany them for bird watching in the village. In that way, I could earn some more income. Yet some site guides, even though they are my relatives, argue with me over this. They force me to stop accompanying tourists into the forest patches. They can be formal site guides to the park but in my village I have the right to take anyone for birding or wildlife viewing as long as I do not enter the park (SSI52G2, 2012.11.15).

Only a few villagers are casually involved in providing safari jeep service for tourists in the site and they are registered under neither the Forest Department nor any responsible authority. According to one of the formal site guides,

> The villagers who work here as informal safari jeep service providers are one of the main challenges in our job (FGI12G1, 2012. 09.06).

Consistent with my field experiences, there is considerable rationality in this statement. Village safari jeep drivers seemed professional in attracting rich foreign tourists and they have already built up contact with formal overseas bird watchers, national tour guides and travel agencies. They do not enter the park but they take tourists around the village for birding or wildlife viewing. As there is no clear boundary between the forest and the villages, tourists roaming in the village can easily see wild animals and birds. Or they simply take these tourists to forest patches close to the villages.

Many social conflicts within the host community have stemmed from issues of benefits distribution in CBET and this has weakened the community bond in the village. This sort of issues cannot be solved only by means of a better administrative framework as they have roots in superimposed capitalism. According to one of the Kudawa forest officers,

> Although some site guides here often complain about tourists being guided by other villagers for birding or wildlife viewing in the village or forest patches, we are unable to set limits for that by our forest regulations. We cannot prohibit either tourists or villagers from free entrance to the village or forest patches (SSI70A, 2012.12.15).

With the gradual development of a capitalistic economy in north hemispheric countries many social and economic conflicts occurred (Holloway, 2010; Susen, 2012). Superimposed capitalist societies in southern peripheral countries

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were in danger, as super imposed capitalism there was not a 'regular evolution process'. It had just been artificially added on the old 'Asiatic production system'(JVP Party of Sri Lanka, 2009). At present, the Kudawa local community members who are involved in ecotourism are in a constant struggle to be more successful than the others villagers and they suffer from jealousy and anger. They are also involved in illegal tourism practices to earn more money. They have taken ecotourism in its economic sense, which is a good source of income, and have neglected its ecological sense where it is responsible for environmental conservation. This perspective has created internal conflicts within the local community.

This situation is common to many other ecotourism sites of the southern peripheral countries. For example, as Nelson (2004) argued, internal conflicts that emerged based on economic reasons have not supported CBET targets (Nelson, 2004), argument revealed by the grassroots level reality of Kudawa-Sinharaja. Many scholars have argued that CBET practices in the southern peripheral countries have highlighted the need for theoretical attention to the notion of 'reciprocity' between ecotourism practices and objectives and 'social conflicts'(Jamal et al., 2006; Liua et al., 2014; Reimer & Walter, 2013; Stronza & Gordillo, 2008). However, these scholars have not paid much attention to the contribution of capitalism and superimposed capitalism to social conflicts about benefit distribution. One of the weaknesses of capitalism, it fails to provide an appropriate 'economic mechanism' to distribute income and profit of CBET among stakeholders and thus there are increasing inequalities of wealth and income which cause social conflicts (Adler, 2013).

5.3.2 Conflicts between forest officers and villagers

Management and conservation of the Sinharaja rain forest is one of the official responsibilities of the Forest Department of Sri Lanka. Thus, the role of the Forest Department is crucial in the development of community-based ecotourism in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. At present, the Forest Department has prioritized community based forest conservation strategies and plans. This background can also be identified as one of the possibilities in community based ecotourism in the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site (Dangal & De Silva, 2010; Forest Department,

2014). Even if the Forest Department has adopted community based forest management and 'bottom up' development approaches as its management policy, practically there are many challenges in achieving its goals. My field experiences reveal that there is a 'social gap' between villagers in the Kudawa GND and the present forest officers at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. The forest department is still applying 'top to bottom' management practices. As one of the senior villagers in the site explained,

> Before the 1980s, the main livelihood of the majority of the villagers here was Kitul tapping and at that time we resented forest officers as they could bring trouble in our livelihood. Kitul tapping was a prohibited forest utilization practice. When they raided our Kitul Wadis (huts) or rock caves where we store our Kitul production in the forest, we used to run away. Then they destroyed any forest products we had collected and stored there including our Kitul production. There were occasions when the villagers attacked the forest officers and the forest office. In fact, we did not have a sound relationship with them (SSI65G1, 2012.11.28).

However, this situation gradually changed after the 1990s, as a result of the new community based forest management policy (Vitarana & Rakaganno, 1997). Most of the villagers have shifted from Kitul tapping to tea cultivation and ecotourism based occupations as their main livelihood. This situation minimized the clash between the forest officers and villagers. Forest officers were also encouraged to develop better relationships with villagers in the forestry sector master plan of the country (de Zoysa & Inoue, 2008; Forest Department, 2013a; Gunatilleke, Gunatilleke, & Abeygunawardena, 1993).

The present forester of the Sinharaja site has started some effective programs to develop an agreeable rapport between the villagers and the current forest officers in the site. Villagers also bear a positive image of the present forester at the site. According to a villager,

> The present forester here is a nice chap and it seems most of the villagers like him but we cannot still be friends with many of the forest officers in the site (SSI65G1, 2012.11.28).

The Forest Department has also organized and helped many socio-cultural events in the Kudawa GND to develop and maintain a good social relationship with

villagers and some of the programmes have achieved considerable improvement (Forest Department, 2013a). The Forest Department has especially helped the youth in the Kudawa GND to form the local environmental organization called *'Sinharaja Sumituro'* in many ways. As the Sinharaja forester explained,

> I think it's very important to get some knowledge about the social and cultural roots of the community and their villages where we are supposed to work as forest officers. We cannot achieve our targets of forest conservation and management while benefiting the community members simultaneously, without villagers' support (SSI83A, 2013.01.21).

Since most of the villagers are traditional Sinhala-Buddhists, he started organizing a social event which has cultural and religious worth, and was familiar and admired by them all: an annual alms-giving programme at the Kudawa-Sinharaja forest office in May 2013. As the forester mentioned,

> This was a real community-based activity in which both villagers and the staff of the forest department together organized and invited a number of Buddhist priests here for alms giving. This was a big hit (SSI83A, 2013.01.21).

Although the Forest Department and its forest officers have paid much attention to establishing effective and sustainable CBET practices while developing a good rapport with the villagers through collective social work, my research findings reveal that there are still disagreements between these two groups on CBET benefit distribution regardless of all this effort. It is common that social disputes occur about the benefits distribution of a collective project such as CBET in a society where there is an imbalance between growing capitalistic values and traditional socioeconomic and cultural values (Bopage, 2010).

As discussed previously, the traditional Kudawa villagers belong to a low caste and marginalized community in Sri Lanka and most of them are comparatively uneducated. However, many forest officers are from outside areas of the country and belong to higher castes. For the villagers, these officers are educated government officers from town areas. Even if caste is not publically considered in Sri Lankan society, still it has the power to establish one's place in the social hierarchy (Silva, Sivaparagasam, et al., 2009). It has become a

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common issue in many developing southern peripheral countries in South Asia (Clifford, 2007). On the other hand, the forest officers in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site seem to maintain this social gap based on caste, education, and permanent residence. For example, the forest officers here are willing to be addressed as 'Mr' or 'Sir' while they address the villagers by their names.

Figure 27: Community based alms giving, a Buddhist religious ceremony-2013 organized by the forester
Photographed by Chandana Abesena (used with permission).

After ecotourism was developed in Kudawa-Sinharaja, some villagers could earn a considerable amount of income by getting involved in CBET as service providers. Being richer than other villagers and forest officers in the site has made them powerful in the newly capitalistic society. As a forest officer mentioned,

We are doing a low-paid government job and within a few hours, village site guides can earn more money than our monthly salary as they get handy tips from overseas tourists. We participate in every stage of CBET here as project conductors, monitors, and supervisors. Yet, we obtain a fixed and low salary from the government and we do not receive any benefit from tourism, even if we work hard to develop CBET here. Thus, most of the forest officers are less motivated to develop ecotourism further in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site (FGI2D, 2012.09.10).

During the field interviews, the forest officers highlighted the issues of being low-paid as government employees: superimposed capitalism has influenced their personal lives as well. In a capitalistic society where one's power and status majorly depend on money, these forest officers take many part time jobs and some of them are even involved in illegal forest utilization practices. As I observed during my field visits, the forest officers here envy the villagers who make money by being involved in ecotourism. As Martin Wijesinghe who has become a successful businessperson by providing services to tourists in the site explained,

I worked at the forest department as a labourer and at that time I had to address all the forest officers as 'sir'. I helped them in many ways but when I became a hotel owner and a popular person here, they completely ignored me and even stopped talking to me. I think this is because they are jealous of what I am now (SSI94G6, 2013.02.12).

From the forest officers' point of view,

Martin was a labourer at our office earlier, and when he was able to gain some money he became very arrogant. He even does not like to talk with us now (SSI70A, 2012.12.15).

When these two statements above are considered, it is clear how social values have changed in a superimposed capitalistic society in which relationships are defined in terms of money. This situation would be further aggravated when Kudawa villagers are able to gain more economic benefits through ecotourism. Without considering the ground reality of socio-economic conflicts, CBET cannot effectively be developed in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site.

Many scholars have paid attention to the complexity of using ecotourism as a sustainable development tool while mostly focusing on critical issues of

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ecotourism policy planning and management (Buckley, 1994; Dowling & Fennell, 2003; Fennell & Dowling, 2003; Higham, 2007; Wearing & Neil, 2009). However, issues of benefit distribution within the local community and among stakeholders do not support achieving ecotourism goals, even with a clear policy framework (Bookbinder, Dinerstein, Rijal, Cauley, & Rajouria, 1998; Coria & Calfucura, 2012; He et al., 2008). This kind of situation can lead to more serious social as well as economic issues in the context of southern peripheral countries (Duffy, 2000; Griffin, 2002). Especially, scholars have not weighed the role played by superimposed capitalism in socio-economic conflicts between the host local communities and administration bodies of ecotourism projects in that context. However, according to my research findings, this kind of conflicts based on effects of superimposed capitalism are the major barriers in achieving sustainable, bottom up development goals of CBET projects at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site.

5.4 Conflicts of resource distribution

Geo-physically, land is the most important physical resource of the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site. When ecotourism was first introduced, there were no major issues concerning physical resource distribution within the community. There was enough land. As a senior villager mentioned,

> I have spent my whole life in this village and now I am 58 years old. Before the 1980s, all the village land was owned by our people (Kudawa traditional villagers) and not a single outsider wanted our land (SSI86G1, 2013.02.06)

Yet, this situation has gradually changed after the village was chosen as an ecotourism site. The market value of village land increased and many outsiders including individual buyers, agencies and companies came to the village looking to buy villagers' land for ever higher prices. Those villagers have sold most of their extra land to these outsiders because the high prices they paid became an extra source of income. As a villager explained,

> The outside people (Sri Lankan) bought our land as they could know how the market value of our land would increase when Kudawa-Sinharaja would become an ecotourism site. However, our villagers were unaware of this and did not want to think ahead. They only thought about the money they could

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get by selling land. At present, more than half of village land is owned by outside people (SSI86G1, 2013.02.06).

As my field experiences reveal, Kudawa villagers are losing land for tourist attractions. For example, there were two natural land blocks suitable for camping sites in this village. One of these blocks was sold to an outside businessperson during my fieldwork and many people were trying to buy the other block of land as well. It would soon be sold to an outsider for a large sum of money. Outside people and companies have the financial capacity to invest in businesses in this site or for them it is easy to get a loan from some financial institution, which is much more difficult for the villagers here. Therefore, these outside investors are quick to buy land in this site and construct new hotels/lodges and camping sites. For many villagers selling land is an easy method to earn a lot of money quickly. Yet the tragedy here is that most of them are unaware how to invest the money they receive. As a villager stated,

> After selling their land to outsiders, many of our villagers have started working as labourers under these outsiders. We have become outsiders in our own land (SSI86G1, 2013.02.06).

With the development of ecotourism in rural eco-sites, outside people and companies seem to invest large amounts of capital at the beginning and they gradually acquire resources of the host communities with their economic power. This is a common situation in most of the ecotourism sites in southern peripheral countries (Ogutu, 2002; Southgate, 2006). Even if the concepts of 'community participation', and 'community benefits' (see section 2. 4.5) are majorly used in the CBET or ecotourism project planning phase, in practice outsiders to the host community like tour companies, outside investors, or elite of the community obtain more benefits at the end (Medina, 2005). According to my study, losing land ownership by the local villagers has become a serious issue and it is the leading factor for a reduced chance at getting ecotourism benefits by the marginalized local communities in future.

One of the other issues is that the trend in selling land to outside investors rather than to someone from the village is caused by social envy. The fieldwork showed that villagers hesitate to sell land to members of their own community out of

suspicion that the other would be more successful. According to Martin Wijesinghe,

> My kinsmen like to sell their land to outside rich people and companies. Even if I offered the same price for these land blocks they would not like to sell them to me (SSI94G6, 2013.02.12).

Internal conflicts have occurred within the local community owing to social envy, which stems from superimposed capitalism. At the early stages of ecotourism and CBET discourses, Belsky has pointed out that 'inequitable distribution of ecotourism opportunities, income and support' is a sociological challenge of such projects (Belsky, 1999). Jones (2004) identified that 'social capital' is shattered with the development of CBET and it is a main challenge to the sustainability of this kind of developmental approaches (Jones, 2004). As revealed in my research, degradation of social capital and growing social envy over economic possessions and status of members within their own community even though almost all are relatives is one of the main reasons that local community members lose their own land and its high ecotourism value.

Theoretically, one of the main principles of CBET projects is that they are accountable for protecting the traditional culture of host communities while addressing poverty of marginalized people (Black & Crabtree, 2007; Hill & Gale, 2009; Lindberg & Hawkins, 1998; Zhang & Lei, 2012). However, with the development of ecotourism, Kudawa traditional villages are gradually disappearing under the influence of superimposed capitalism. According to a social researcher who carried out research on Kudawa GND,

> With the development of ecotourism here, the attributes of traditional Kudawa villages are disappearing culturally as well as physically. Educated and rich villagers migrate to urban areas looking for better social conditions. Remaining villagers sell their land to urban investors and many outside people migrate into the village as hotel and land owners, workers, planters or plantation labourers (SSI110K, 2013.03.24).

As Coria and Calfucura argued (2012, p. 47), "in practice, ecotourism has often failed to deliver the expected benefits to local communities due to a lack of mechanisms for a fair distribution of the economic benefits of ecotourism, and land insecurity". This is a common situation in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site too.

As some contemporary social scientists have argued, ecotourism is typically a neoliberal conservation strategy based on northern hemispheric development ideologies (Fletcher, 2012; Igoe & Brockington, 2007; Roth & Dressler, 2012). Neo-liberalism is based on concepts of free market competition, individual freedoms and private property ownership (Harvey, 2005; Saad Filho & Johnston, 2004). According to my research, this kind of neoliberal or capitalist structure does not support the achievement of realistic goals of CBET in southern peripheral countries. For instance, with the gradual development of ecotourism in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, outside rich investors and companies started putting up hotels/guest houses on environmentally sensitive lands in the site. As a secretary of the 'Sinharaja Sumithuro' environmental organization pointed out,

> When the outside investors own our land, they put up new buildings where villagers had earlier avoided construction on environmental or cultural grounds. For example, the villagers here did not clear the green coverage of riverbanks or floodplains, as it was a traditional belief that such places were village common resources although it was an individual's legal property (SI67G3, 2012.11.29).

As I identified, these environmentally sensitive areas are habitats for a variety of organisms, especially endemic and rare bird species. However, outsiders have no such norms or beliefs to limit their constructions and it has become one of the main reasons for environmental degradation and loss of wildlife habitats. Yet villagers are unable to do anything to protect these biologically sensitive lands once they have sold them.

5.5   Anthropogenic disturbances of wildlife

Ecotourism and its related ideologies and discourses like 'sustainable development', 'post colonialism', 'bottom up development' have basically attended to environmental conservation as a main principle of alternative development processes (Desai & Potter, 2002; Hall & Tucker, 2004; Hollinshead, 2004; Ziai, 2011). Yet, practically, ecotourism activities also have contributed to the occurrence of many environmental issues (Cater & Lowman, 1994; Higham, 2007). This situation is common to the Kudawa-Sinharaja site and it is further examined in the following section.

The Forest Department has introduced clear and straightforward forest regulations and policies to protect wild life and their habitats in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site from outside human disturbances. Before entering the forest, tourists are well educated about the forest rules and regulations by the tour guide as part of their duty (Forest Department, 2013a). However, tour guides have limits in handling irresponsible tourist behaviours inside the forest and even forest officers are unable to control irresponsible tourists. The following extract from my field notebook describes such an event.

> Today morning around 10.45 am, a group of students with two teachers from a mixed gender school arrived at the entrance of the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. I got permission from the teachers as well as two site guides accompanying them into the park to join the group during their tour to observe their behaviour inside the forest. There were about 75 students in the group. Before the tour, the site guides clearly explained the code of conduct and wildlife ethics to be followed within the forest and as a part of it, they advised the group to be silent inside the forest. However, a few minutes after they entered the forest, the students started chatting, which later developed into shouting and hooting but the tour guides were unable to control the behaviour of the students and even the teachers were helpless.

According to my field experiences, this behaviour is common among most domestic tourists and tour guides are unable to control large groups of tourists if tourists choose to ignore the instructions given. My argument here is responsible tourism or recreation which complies with ecotourism ideologies cannot be accomplished only by rules and regulations. The following extract from my field note book provides a good example for it.

> In the middle of the eco trail, we met a forest officer and he thoroughly instructed the group to be quiet inside the forest but within a few minutes, the students forgot it. They had brought some biscuits with them and they fed the wild animals on their way.

Nonetheless, this kind of tourist behaviour and attitude can negatively affect wildlife, their procreation as well as ecological balance. This kind of unethical behaviour prevents the development of formal ecotourism practices.

> During my field tours, I have noticed that some birds such as the Sri Lanka Jungle fowl and Sri Lanka Blue Magpie, which are endemic to Sri Lanka, are often fed by tourists. Even if tour guides advised the group to stop

feeding wild animals, its members neglected the advice. Some students tried to catch butterflies. As I observed, those students disturbed not only the wildlife but also other formal eco-tourists and bird watchers around (Field observation note, 2013.01.10).

Irresponsible tourism has become a common issue in many ecotourism sites and the prevalent laws and regulations do not seem sufficient to answer the problem (Kinnaird & O'Brien, 1996; Reynolds & Braithwaite, 2001). Excessive numbers of visitors in a small area and their irresponsible behaviour has badly affected bird and animal behaviour and their fitness (Buckley, 2004). Populations of some bird species such as the Sri Lanka Jungle fowl *(Gallus lafayetii)* and Sri Lanka Blue Magpie *(Urocissaornata)* have suddenly increased in the Kudawa- Sinharaja site, due to bird feeding by tourists within the park. On the other hand, this sort of anthropogenic disturbances on wildlife can cause habitat loss for other animals and birds, as they tend to reduce the use of their habitat by limiting their movements or avoiding areas of human activities. So even if ecotourism is considered as 'responsible travel to natural areas that conserve the environment' (Ahmad, 2014), in practice it cannot be easily achieved. As a Kudawa-Sinharaja forest officer mentioned,

> Most domestic tourist groups include more than 50 members in a group, and a single guide alone has no control over them. Most of the time, their irresponsible behaviour disturbs wildlife. They are irresponsible because they lack self-discipline on one hand and on the other hand, they are unaware of wildlife behaviour and ethical tourism. The present laws and regulations are not enough to stop unethical and irresponsible tourism practices (FGI2D, 2012.09.10).

Development of a community based wildlife protection programme along with well-defined laws and regulations with an effective evaluation and monitoring process can be applied to minimize such environmental issues. Any project on ecotourism should comprise efficient environmental impact measuring and minimizing as a main component (Buckley, 2004).

A community based wildlife protection programme can be developed as a component of the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism project as described in Foucault's political ecology concepts of 'disciplinary environmentality' (Foucault, Burchell, Gordon, & Miller, 1991). The Forest Department and Kudawa villagers

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can organize it using the key elements of 'disciplinary environmentality' philosophy. As Youdelis explains,

> Disciplinary environmentality, which seeks to 'conduct conducts' through encouraging the internalization of discursive concepts, producing and reproducing regimes of truth about 'nature' that would nurture community members' beliefs, educate their desires, and direct their self-conducts accordingly (2013, p. 166).

This kind of programmes are useful in developing environmental friendly behaviour of both tourists and villagers (Agrawal et al., 2005). However, it is observed that changing attitudes, values and norms of local community members here as a result of values imposed by superimposed capitalism will not support community based wildlife protection programs based on the philosophy of 'disciplinary environmentality'. Currently, the local community members in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site are also involved in harmful and disturbing ecotourism practices in order to achieve financial or material benefits, as revealed in the following interview with the forester and forest officers.

> **Chaminda:** What is the playback method? How can it disturb birds and their habitats?
>
> **Forester**: Many eco-tourists visit Sinharaja for viewing rare and endemic bird species. Some bird species, like owl species cannot be seen easily, as they are very shy and avoid areas of human activity. Then, site guides use bird songs recorded in the field via an audio device to attract these birds into view. Thus, playback means playing a recording of a bird's song and voice to lure a shy bird into view by the sound of a potential rival or a mate.
>
> **Forest officer 2 (BFO):**   But the problem is if a male bird has been repeatedly cheated, it tends to avoid the natural call of its mate in the breeding season. Therefore, the biologists warn about the harmful effects brought by repeated use of the playback method for bird watching.

Based on my experiences in the research field, I realized that use of the playback method in birding in this site can create serious future environmental and ethical issues. Site guides here are tempted to use this trickery to lure the limited number of available rare and endemic birds in the whole forest which are too shy to come in to the open, in to tourist view. Since this can cause unnatural stress on birds and disturb their natural activities such as foraging and mating while exposing them to

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predators, these rare bird species are endangered by the use of the play back method. Use of this kind of unethical and environmentally disruptive method cannot be easily controlled since this practice is linked to the influence of individualistic pursuits for more money which are leading to more negative practices here.

> **Forest officer 3 (FO):** At the beginning of the 1990s, community tour guides did not use these practices for birding. However, when tourists started to offer tips, they gradually tended to use all the methods available to attract birds into view regardless of them being harmful or prohibited.

> **Forest officer 4 (FO):** The daily salary of a site guide here is 1000 SLR (about nine USD), but occasionally there were cases where birders had offered the guide a tip of 100000 SLR (about 765 USD) for one satisfactory birding tour in the park. Thus, there is competition among site guides to obtain 'tips'. They are motivated to use the playback method or pishing (to 'pish' is to say 'pish, pish, pish ...several times in a low voice in the hope that a curious bird will come and investigate) and mimicking bird calls even if they are totally banned here.

> **Forester:** Mr. Chaminda, can you guess my monthly salary? It is about 27,000 SLR (about USD 207). Sometimes a tour guide has an opportunity to earn more than my monthly salary at once after a successful birding tour. Offering tips has become one of the major barriers to prevent the use of these banned bird-watching methods (FGI2D, 2012.09.10.01).

All forest department employees bear negative attitudes towards the playback method and other disturbing means of attracting wildlife to view used by village site guides. As a result, the Forest Department still has dilemmas in introducing new eco-trails for wildlife watching, ecotourism or human recreation in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site as it can lead to greater human access into the forest. It would consequently affect wildlife severely by hindering their free movement, limiting gene flow, and increasing population fragmentation (Pelletier, 2006).

The goal of CBET, which is to create an incentive to preserve ecosystems while at the same time gaining economic profit and community development, has become difficult to achieve in practice due to the influence of endorsed values of superimposed capitalism on host communities. It seems that in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site people want CBET to be a profitable business for them individually rather than as members of the community and even if it harms the environment or

the local culture, which is totally against the ecotourism philosophy. At the beginning, the local community was responsible and respectful of wildlife rights. Gradually, achieving financial benefits from ecotourism has become prominent, and competition among local community members to 'earn money' depending on the demand for wildlife watching has increased. For example, the Serendib Scops Owl *(Otusthilohoffmanni)* now has a 'business value' because of the demand of the tourists to watch this recently discovered rare and endemic bird.

At present, there is immense competition among site guides from the local community to lead the birders to watch this bird, as their effort to show the bird to tourists would bring them profit from larger tips afterwards. With that target in mind, tour guides become irresponsible; they ignore the ethics of wildlife viewing or their prime duty of protecting the forest and its wildlife. The development of CBET here has presently been tangled up with neo liberal and capitalist values. This has become one of the key challenges of ecotourism projects (Fletcher, 2011; James, 2004) and Foucault' s political ecology concepts of 'disciplinary environmentality' cannot be usefully applied in this context.

5.6 Issues of biopiracy: Loss of forest genetic resources and wildlife smuggling

Protecting the right of the local community/country to use their own genetic resources available in a particular area is an important element of environmental and biodiversity conservation (Kamau, 2009; Sampath, 2005). However, one of the main challenges of biodiversity conservation in the southern peripheral countries is biopiracy which simply can be defined as the commercial use of genetic resources or indigenous knowledge without obtaining permission or properly paying the relevant community or country (Mgbeoji, 2005). As Sharma indicates:

> Biopiracy refers to the process by which the right of indigenous culture to natural resources and knowledge are erased and replaced by monopoly rights for those who have exploited indigenous knowledge and biodiversity. Biopiracy occurs when multinational companies make billions of dollars by claiming intellectual property rights to traditional knowledge and genetic resources (Sharma, 2012, p. 142).

Since tourism has been viewed as a saviour of all ailing economies by the governments of many Asian countries, tourism has been promoted in various new forms such as ecotourism, biodiversity friendly tourism, agro-tourism, etc. With the development of the tourism sector of these countries, over the last decades, smuggling and illicit trade in valuable flora and fauna have increased (Dellinger, 1995; Pleumarom, 1999; Subasinghe, 2013; Tella & Hiraldo, 2014). Theoretically, CBET is supposed to support environmental conservation and biological protection but in practice, it has been challenged in many ways. For example, when ecotourism is developed in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site loss of forest genetic resources and wildlife smuggling also increase.

A growing number of biopirates venture into Sinharaja for its genetic resources and they have understood that smuggling of biological material is easier and more successful if they cooperate with local indigenous people living at the forest peripheries. Thus, biopirates enter the targeted country posing as innocent tourists and they do not hesitate to pay large sums of money to villagers who deal with them for genetic resources or wildlife smuggling. Regardless of all prevalent laws and regulations against bioprospecting, biopiracy, biological resource and wildlife smuggling, authorities have still failed to control these activities in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site because of the support given to bio-pirates by the local community. Local villagers possess an excellent knowledge about local genetic resources and are well aware of forest geography. Hence, they can quickly access the forest resources and collect them incognito. According to an environmentalist,

> Activities of genetic and biological theft have become a key environmental issue at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site as well as in other ecotourism sites of the country. Unfortunately, many of our local community members are uneducated on the real value of our biological and genetic resources and the importance of preventing genetic theft. The international gene thieves are well aware of what they want and they do not hesitate to offer money to indigenous people or the local community for their assistance to search for and extract biological and gene resources. Between 1990 and 2000, most genetic resources in plant species endemic to Sri Lanka such as Kotalahimbutu *(Salaciareticulata)* and Nil Binara *(Exacumtrinervium)* have been stolen for their medicinal values. However, after 2000, international biopirates act only as agents in biological and genetic resource smuggling while local people are employed to steal them (SSI17J, 2012.09.14).

Genetic forest resource loss caused by wildlife trafficking and biological or genetic resource smuggling is one of the major environmental challenges faced by many developing countries. Most of the indigenous people in developing countries, as underlined by the environmentalist interviewed above, are unaware of the biological value and the importance of protecting for their own future most of the genetic resources available in their natural environments. They see only the immediate economic value of these resources when they see how much they are paid by biopirates. Thus, they are unaware of the size of the loss of their own future genetic resources when biopirates access these resources. This has made the people and the places they live in vulnerable to theft of genetic and biological resources (De Carvalho, 2000; Odek, 1994; Posey & Dutfield, 1996). Sri Lanka also faces this problem and it has become one of the key challenges of practicing positive ecotourism in the country. According to the records of the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, many international tourists have been charged with wildlife trafficking and biological and genetic resource theft (Forest Department, 2013a) but it has not discouraged practice as is illustrated by these field observations.

> On 18th September 2012, around eleven thirty in the morning a newly joined local site guide informed the forester about suspicious behaviour of an overseas tourist couple who had entered the site as eco-tourists. The forest officers on duty at the time hurried to the exit of the site to investigate the matter. They found the couple, a middle-aged man, and a woman, at the exit and requested to check their baggage before leaving the park premises. At first, they refused and the officers explained their right to check the baggage. Unwillingly and hesitantly, the couple opened their bags which were full of illegally collected orchid varieties of the park. Then the forest officers asked the couple to follow them to the forest office with the baggage for further investigation. The couple seemed to be in a dilemma about what to do next and one of the forest officers tried to collect the baggage from the woman. At that time, the woman was very angry and she suddenly bit the hand of the forest officer (Field note, 18.11.2012).

They had collected more than 300 orchid plants including 18 rare species endemic to Sri Lanka. A case was filed against them in court and it was later revealed that the couple were Russian biologists with an excellent knowledge of Sri Lankan plant species and their local chauffeur guide had helped in the smuggling. They were proved guilty and fined SLR 1,200,000.00 (about USD 9,213).The court ordered the convicted smugglers to leave the country immediately after paying the

fine and their names have been blacklisted (Shantha, Padmabandu, & Wijesooriya, 2012).

The percentage of endemic flora and fauna species is very high in the rain forests of Sri Lanka and Sinharaja being the largest rain forest in the country (Gunatilleke, Gunatilleke, & Dilhan, 2005) has become a famous destination for commercial gene hunters who enter the forest posing as ordinary eco-tourists. At present, smuggling out Wallapatta plants *(Gyrinopswalla)* and gathering Kimbul Huna *(Sri Lankan golden gecko),* a nocturnal reptile species, have become profitable in Kudawa-Sinharaja as well as in other rain forests of the country (Forest Department, 2013a).

Since Gyrinops species (Wallapatta plant) are recognized as producers of agarwood, many countries approve limited permits for agarwood-producing tree products to prevent it being endangered by trade. Owing to the very high price on the international market for other commercially used species of agarwood, Gyrinopswalla has been identified as a substitute. Recent information reveals that Gyrinopswalla smuggling has occurred in Sri Lanka for a long time. The highest single amount discovered to be exported was 13,489 kg as recorded in May 2013. The data obtained from Sri Lanka police and customs depicts that over 17,500 kg of Gyrinopswalla had been harvested in the last 12 months (Subasinghe, 2014).

Gyrinopswalla which is an endemic species to Sri Lanka, grows freely in Sinharaja. In recent times, it was discovered that this tree produces a resinous substance named agarwood, when infected by fungi. Other countries pay a high price for agarwood as it is used in the production of perfumes. As there are many freely growing Wallapatta trees in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, paid local people enter the site looking for these trees to extract its resin. Within the last few years, a large number of Gyrinopswalla trees have been destroyed from the harvest and smuggling of agarwood from the country (Dharmadasa, Siriwardana, Samarasinghe, & Adhihetty, 2013; Subasinghe, 2014).

My research reveals that many locals are also involved in collecting agarwood, owing to its high demand and market value, which is even higher than the value of a gold sovereign (for the same weight) in Sri Lanka. During my field study, many

local villagers and foreign tourists who were involved in gathering agar wood, which later deforms the Wallapatta tree, were arrested by the police with the support of forest officers.

I met the senior forest officer Mr. Herath H.M.A.B who first discovered Gyrinopswalla smuggling within the country in the middle of 2009. In his own words,

> It all happened in my field visit somewhere in the middle of 2009. Some local villagers and several foreign tourists were caught illegally collecting the resin of Gyrinopswalla trees in the Sinharaja forest and later they were arrested with the support of the Sri Lankan police. At that time, Sri Lankan researchers/biologists or any other person had no idea why they collected the resin from this particular tree. Therefore, I searched the importance of resin of the Gyrinopswalla, and discovered that it is called agarwood, which is highly demanded on the international market: a kilogram of this resin is sold for approximately US$ 76,700.00. The international smugglers of this resin are willing to pay a local around US$ 3,840.00 for a kilogram of illegally collected agarwood. I have informed the head office of my department about the vulnerability of Gyrinopswalla in this situation and presently, we have banned the removal of agarwood from the forest without a permit. As well, we are alert to any agarwood smuggling in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site (SSI70A, 2012.12.15).

During fieldwork, I noticed the issue of Gyrinopswalla smuggling gradually increased and had become a serious biological issue by the middle of 2014. For example, three local villagers were arrested on 18.01.2014 by the Sri Lankan police with their collected Gyrinopswalla resins and at a rough government estimate, the market value of the collected resins was over SLR 100,000,000.00 (US$ 767,725.00). However, these local villagers were ready to sell the collected Gyrinopswalla resin for 5,000,000.00 Rs (around US$ 38,400) which was only one twentieth of the real market value (Ariyadasa, 2014).

Other issues of biopiracy have also greatly increased within the last few years in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site as well as in other rain forest areas of the country. For example, a new trend of Sri Lankan golden gecko *(Hemidactylus leschenaultii)*, commonly known as Kimbul Huna in Sinhala, which means 'crocodile-gecko', smuggling was observed after 2012. This reptile is an endemic, rare and attractive species that can be seen in the rain forests of Sri Lanka (de Silva, 2006). During

the years 2013 and 2014, many local villagers and some overseas tourists have been arrested by the police for Sri Lankan golden gecko smuggling. As a police officer stated,

> We were able to seize two villagers who were ready to sell several golden geckoes to overseas tourists last month. These overseas visitors had agreed to pay them US$ 9,200 for one gecko and we wondered why they were ready to spend such a lot of money for a gecko (SSI21B, 2012.09.24).

Figure 28: Gyrinopswalla tree and agarwood
Photographed by Manjula Jinasena (used with permission).

The role played by super imposed capitalism in increasing wildlife trafficking and genetic forest resource smuggling cannot be denied. The local community in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site take risks in forest genetic resources smuggling because it provides them with the means of earning much money within a short period. As a negative effect of capitalism, more profitable yet illegal and unethical global businesses are being developed. Genetic trafficking is the most profitable business in the world behind weapon and illegal drug smuggling (Fison, 2011) and wildlife

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crime is the fifth largest international criminal activity in the world (Dudley, Stolton, & Elliott, 2013).

In this global situation, southern peripheral countries are more prone to be negatively affected by these businesses with their ailing economies. Development of ecotourism in Kudawa-Sinharaja has opened the biodiversity rich Sinharaja rain forest to gene pirates and thus the virgin forest is prone to bioprospecting, biopiracy and wildlife smuggling. This situation does not support achieving CBET goals. Even if some scholars have theoretically identified 'ecotourism' as a biosecurity management strategy (Fennell, 2007; Hall, 2007; Hill & Gale, 2009), in practice the opposite has occurred in many southern peripheral countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia (Cater, 2004).

Regardless of all the strong policies and laws on biopiracy, Sri Lanka is still battling with gene pirates and the legal mechanism has not helped to resolve the problem totally (Forest Department, 2013a). In this situation, 'community empowerment' and 'collective leadership' theories (more in, section 2.2.3) can be used to design community based biodiversity protection programmes as a part of CBET projects implemented in the forest areas to minimize vulnerability. However, it should be noted here that changing socio economic values of the local communities of the Kudawa GND under superimposed capitalism could hinder the development of such community-based programmes.

Therefore, educational and awareness raising programmes are necessary to help local people to recognize issues of biopiracy. If local villagers are capable of understanding the actual market values of genetic resources in their native lands, they would not be so easily cheated by genetic smugglers. On the other hand, the government together with the Forest Department can implement community-based programmes to plant marketable flora species like Gyrinopswalla (Wallapatta) outside the reserve for international trade, which would benefit community members as well as the country's economy.

5.7 Ethical issues in ecotourism

A code of ethics for ecotourism is thus essential in order to help achieve CBET goals successfully (Donohoe & Needham, 2006; Malloy & Fennell, 1998b; Weaver & Lawton, 2007; Wight, 1993). Honey (2008) and Fennel (2004) have considered principles, values and ethics as the philosophical 'base' of CBET (Fennell, 2004; Honey, 2008). However, in practice many ethical issues constantly occur in ecotourism projects (Buckley, 2005; Higham, 2007). As Buckley has stated,

> I do not disagree with this philosophy. But, I do not think that an ethical test can easily be incorporated into operational criteria for any practical application of ecotourism (2005, p. 129).

Nevertheless, lack of ethics for hinders the promotion of responsible and sustainable tourism and its capacity to achieve development that benefits all sectors of society, especially the most susceptible and overlooked communities while minimizing its negative impacts. This is one of the main challenges of successful implementation of CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site as well.

It was observed in the field that the quality of the service offered by many tour guides in the Kudawa-Sinharaja park depends on the socio economic status of the tourists where the rich overseas tourists are well served while most of the domestic visitors with less money to offer extravagant tips are poorly served. As noted in the my field notebook,

> On 25 February 2013, a group of university students visited the Kudawa-Sinharaja site and I joined their eco tour with permission. A senior local site guide in the category (ii) accompanied them into the eco-site but he seemed to rush through his duty of offering interesting or enlightening information about the points of interest at the site. When the students asked the guide for an eco-trail suitable for them, he encouraged students to hike on the Great Nawada tree trail, which is the shortest of four eco-trails available in the site. He explained that the other trails were difficult to hike on and there was not much to be seen.

The site guide's reason mentioned above for not choosing other trails was obviously untrue since I personally have trekked every trail in this site. In my opinion, the guide chose the Great Nawada tree trail to finish the tour early as it

could save his time and energy. This assumption was confirmed by the way he managed the rest of tour.

> During the walk on the selected trail, the group encountered many endemic and rare bird species as well as other interesting plant varieties and small animals but the guide seemed to overlook them and students were deprived of all the ecological information they deserved. To my surprise, the guide finished the tour in half the time it was supposed to last and even he was not in a good mood after the tour.

I had developed a close relationship with these site guides during the few months of my field stays and it was useful to understand their genuine attitude towards CBET. Hence, after this tour, I asked the particular site guide in a friendly manner why he was unhappy about the tour and noted down his response and later my comments on it. They are as follows,

> I could have guided an overseas tourist group instead as the students were unable to offer any gratitude tip". With these beliefs, he had neglected to offer the students information and interpretations of the tour points of interest. It was obvious that the weight he put on his duty and responsibilities as a site guide largely depended on the amount of money he was offered as tips (field notes, 2013.02.25).

The same tour guide behaved differently when he guided an overseas group of birders in the park. In that tour, he encouraged the birders to hike on the longest trail and explained every single detail of interest they encountered on their way. The guide was so much livelier, friendlier, and supportive with the foreign bird watching group. This difference in the service offered to tourists based on their socio-economic status is common for most of the senior site guides in category (ii). The behaviour of senior site guides in category (i) is different. They enjoy guiding the domestic tourists around the park and try their best to offer proper information and to motivate conservation values by interpreting the natural and cultural forest environment for the domestic children and students. I have noticed in the field visits that they even refused the gratitude tips offered by the domestic tourists. As one of the senior site guides in category (i) stated,

> I do not accept any gratitude tip from groups of domestic students visiting this site, although I have to spend more time explaining attractions in the forest. Actually, I am so happy to help them with my eco-knowledge. If

foreign tourists happen to offer me a gratitude tip, I present them a small guide book of Sinharaja rain forest back (SSI2G5, 2012.09.09).

The behaviour of senior site guides in category (ii) as well as new site guides is then obviously influenced by superimposed capitalistic ideologies where personal gains and financial benefits come first in anything they are doing. They thus tend to ignore the principles, values, responsibilities, and ethics of ecotourism. However, regardless of the influence of values of superimposed capitalism, senior site guides in category (i) are not too obsessed with monetary benefits due to the inculcation of traditional values. When ecotourism is practically developed in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site as an industry mixed with capitalistic values, issues of ecotourism ethics have occurred and it does not support achieving CBET goals sustainably. As Carrier indicates, unethical economic consumption is an ill effect of capitalism (Carrier, 2010). The ways of unethical consumption in ecotourism practices of local communities in the Kudawa GND affect and are affected by the new social situation. According to an overseas female bird watcher,

> We arrived here as a bird watching team and we wanted to watch and photograph rare and endemic birds we have not seen before, especially we hoped to view Serendib Scops owl *(Otusthilohoffmanni)* and Sri Lankan frogmouth *(Batrachostomus moniliger)*. Anyway, the site guide provided at the entrance to the park was unable to trace these two bird species inside the park although he accompanied us to the park twice. Finally, we told him that we wished to view these two species before we left the park. He replied that if we could pay him SLR 20,000.00 (about USD155), he would be able to arrange a tour outside the park to watch these birds (SSI45I1, 2012.11.02).

My research experience confirms that foreign bird watchers commonly encounter this kind of experience in this site since some site guides pretend that these bird varieties are very rarely seen to maintain the demand for bird viewing among tourists although they easily can trace these two bird varieties in the site and in outside areas. Even I could trace these two bird species inside the park with a minimum effort, using the considerable knowledge I obtained about birds and their habitats during the field research. The tourist group mentioned above were guided to watch these birds very near the park after they paid the guide the amount he requested. As I understood during the conversation, the guide had taken them to one of the small forest patches in the Kudawa GND; however, these foreign tourists had undeniably noticed the unethical behaviour of the site guide. According to the tourist,

> Even if we could watch these rare birds as we wished, we are really unhappy about the site guide's behaviour. We strongly believe that he could easily trace the birds within the park itself. But, he did not do so as he wanted to exploit us to get more money on top of his guide fees. We have very bitter feelings and it was one of the bad experiences we ran into during our holidays in Sri Lanka (SSI45I1, 2012.11.02).

As I understood, some site guides here like to pretend that seeing an endemic and rare bird species in the site is very difficult as they could exploit the chance of tracing the birds on demand for monetary gain. On the other hand, they do not hesitate to use unethical methods of attracting birds into view such as the playback method and pishing to satisfy the tourists. This conduct of local guides is neither an ethical nor socially and environmentally sound ecotourism practice. Site guides seem especially uninterested in letting local tourists who are unable to offer monetary tips to see such attractive birds although these domestic visitors pay the guide fee.

Alternatively, tipping has become an expectation of guides here, neither a gesture of gratitude, nor a reward for work well done. Accordingly, many local people from the host communities who are involved in CBET as service providers have the habit of exaggerating their poor economic status, social barriers, and family burden before foreign and rich domestic tourists, expecting a tip. Even though the Forest Department as the main administration and monitoring body of CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site has identified these unethical operations, it has no means of addressing them successfully. As a senior forest officer here stated,

> We have recognized that many community members are involved in unethical ecotourism. If someone complains about the service of guides employed by the forest department, we can take an action but many tourists do not complain about these issues (SSI70A, 2012.12.15).

On the other hand, forest officers are dissatisfied with the behaviour of some local site guides in front of overseas tourists since they seem to exaggerate their miserable status to overseas tourists. The same forest officer continued,

> We do not know why they behave in that manner without showing some self-respect and respect for their position. It seems many of them have the false belief that if they act as destitute people to overseas tourists, they

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would be offered some extra money. On the other hand, they refuse to offer a worthy service to domestic tourists (SSI70A).

As many scholars argue, at present we are theoretically standing in the 'sustainable development era' which is based on conservation and consumption-based solutions to face the environmental challenges of 'late market capitalism'(Brockington, Duffy, & Igoe, 2008; Igoe, Neves, & Brockington, 2010; Sklair, 2001). Obtaining justifiable economic benefits with environmental conservation was the main target of sustainable tourism (Hardy et al., 2002). Ecotourism is a sub component of sustainable tourism since it focuses on the socio-cultural development of the local community, protecting their culture as well as the surrounding environment. In other words, it focuses on developing marginalized communities as respectable people giving equitable economic opportunities while protecting their socio-cultural values (Fennell & Weaver, 2005; Jamal & Stronza, 2008).

Many scholars have carefully considered how ethical issues in ecotourism challenge achievement of its real targets (Buckley, 2005; Fennell, 2006; Higham, 2007). Yet, they have not paid enough attention to ethical issues in ecotourism practices of local community members in the southern peripheral countries, especially not to the influence of superimposed capitalism on local traditional social values. My research reveals that such ethical issues in ecotourism practices of the local community in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site who are involved in ecotourism as service providers do not support the development of socially and environmentally sound CBET here.

When these local community members involved in ecotourism focus on achieving financial benefits they ignore their obligations and responsibilities. When they demean themselves by working as 'lowly servants' to overseas rich tourists instead of pursuing their expected responsibilities as a service provider in ecotourism, because they seek to earn extra money, it creates a 'master-slave' relationship between tourists and local community members. This situation does not help improve the self-esteem or self-image of local community members as service providers in ecotourism. In turn, it affects the development of respectable

CBET in which sustaining the wellbeing of the local community and protecting their cultural values are principal components.

Building a strong community based ethical framework for CBET with proper monitoring and evaluation mechanisms is one of the solutions for this issue. Theoretically, Hadjistavropoulos and Malloy's (2000) comprehensive ethical decision-making module is useful to build an ethical framework. This module has three stages such as sources of ethical decision making, moderators influencing ethical decision making and the process of ethical decision making. The process of ethical decision making is based on seven steps, which help to create an effective CBET ethical framework namely, (1) identification of ethically relevant issues or practices, (2) development of alternative solutions, (3) evaluation of replacements solutions, (4) finding a more effective solution, (5) intention, (6) selection of real decision, (7) evaluation of real decision (Hadjistavropoulos & Malloy, 2000). As Fennell describes in one of the case studies in an Antarctic ecotourism site, visitors have violated the ecotourism ethics by disturbing wildlife habitats and thus he proposes a 'comprehensive ethical decision making module' to create a better ethical framework for ecotourism in that context (Fennell, 2006).

This module is practically useful in the context of the Kudawa-Sinharaja site for several reasons. First, this module can be used by the Forest Department when it prepares a mechanism to answer the identified ethical issues of CBET practices in the site. Second, as an important component, this module includes an evaluation process of ethical issues, which should be added to the CBET project implemented in this site according to my field study. Third, when in use, this module activates as a live process, which is more useful in this site since monitoring ethics in CBET ventures implemented in the site is neglected by the forest officers as they lack proper methods to do so.

5.8 Conclusion

Data analysis of this chapter discloses several theoretical and practical socio-economic challenges of CBET as a sustainable bottom up development approach. Implementation of sustainable and bottom up development ideologies based on western alternative development approaches, can bring western capitalism into the

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particular context along with project activities. Most importantly, capitalist values are ideologically against bottom up development values (Pawłowski, 2012). Based on the research findings, my first argument is that sustainable development discourse suffers from its own ideological and theoretical weaknesses as it lacks a mechanism to face western capitalism values merging into sustainable and bottom up development measures.

Even if sustainable and bottom up development approaches have been introduced to limit the unhealthy development of certain forms of capitalism, application of sustainable and bottom up development can bring capitalism fundamentals into the particular context which can create problems within the sustainable development process. Thus, until western capitalism is triggered, sustainable development is a fantasy which cannot become a reality and failure of most of the sustainable development projects launched during the last three decades provides evidence for this (Gunawardene et al., 2007; Hall & Vredenburg, 2012). Therefore, sustainable and bottom up development discourses must theoretically and practically take the function of capitalism within these discourses into consideration as a key challenging area in order to recover theoretical weaknesses of these alternative development approaches.

Development of ecotourism practices have created a new socio-economic structure in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site with superimposed capitalist values and this structure is different from western capitalism or the traditional Sri Lankan socio-economic system. As revealed in the research, superimposed capitalism has contributed to create an individualistic culture and society in the Kudawa GND where traditional cultural and social values based on collectivism eroded rapidly. This sort of individualistic culture which is characterised by great competition among its members (even though they are related to each other by descent or marriage) for economic status out of social envy can be identified as a major challenge in effective implementation of CBET (Foucat, 2002; Higham, 2007; Jamal et al., 2006; Nick, 2005; Ross & Wall, 1999). It challenges achievement of realistic CBET targets in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, so that benefit and resource distribution issues, environmental vulnerability and unethical ecotourism practices become prominent.

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My second argument is that most of the socio- economic challenges here are based on lack of attention to altering the western development modules when used in local contexts. In my point of view, CBET has been implemented in this site as a sustainable and bottom up development approach following a 'top to bottom/core to periphery' policy intervention process. As a result, the project has been designed by outside development planners without any contribution from local communities. These designs are based on western ideological alternative development modules; however, alternative development approaches must be rearranged considering contextual differences since socio-economic structures differ in different spatial contexts. The change that occurred in the traditional socio-cultural structure of this site under the influence of superimposed capitalism can hinder achieving project targets.

Contemporary ecotourism practices in the site have boosted the economy of the local community and several local villagers were able to climb up the social ladder by changing their economic situation from marginalized poverty to rich village elite. This can be considered a positive effect since creating income generating opportunities can change traditional socio-economic barriers which are the cause for social marginalization of these villagers. Yet, the problem is that excessive economic boom of a few villagers can prevent other villagers' opportunity to enter into CBET ventures as explained in the case study of Mr. Martin Wijesinghe. In my point of view, his economic achievements as a hotel owner and homestay accommodation provider prevent the development of small scale homestay accommodation service within the village. Therefore economic boom for a few villagers cannot be considered a successful achievement of CBET project targets.

Disappearing traditional village identity and character alongside loss of ecotourism attractive land resources and economically valuable environmental resources can be identified as the main socio-economic vulnerabilities of the project. Outside rich elite people and companies as well as both domestic and overseas tourists are ready to obtain economic benefits generated in CBET owing to competition led by capitalist values. Overseas tourists from the western world represent capitalist socio-economic lifestyles. My third argument is that local

community members have either directly or indirectly contributed to create these vulnerabilities as tourists and host communities have prioritized financial benefits over other values.

Taking all these into consideration, here are my suggestions. First, CBET practices must be rearranged to be compatible with bottom-up and sustainable development project activities designed according to a 'bottom up' planning process within the particular site. Controlling and minimizing the influence of capitalism and individualism on project activities must be a key aspect of the project. As I argued, theories of community empowerment and collective leadership can be used (see chapter 2, section 2.2.3) to generate CBET ventures based on values of the specific spatial context considering geopolitical and socio-cultural ground realities of the site. Protecting village resources through law and regulation must be added to this process.

Second, plant species with economic value in this site such as Wallapatta (*Gyrinopswalla*), Karapincha (*Murraya koenigii*), Kotalahimbutu (*Salaciareticulata*) can be planted in home gardens of local villagers through a community based plantation project under the supervision of the Forest Department or any other relevant government institute.

Although this kind of approach may be irrelevant to CBET, it will help minimize certain socio-economic issues of contemporary project practices and open up new prospects of community based development for the local villagers who have not yet obtained opportunities to be involved in ecotourism related occupations. Villagers would not sell their land to outside business people if they had any means of using their land for income generating activities. On the other hand, by securing their own land resource which would help them to earn extra income, involvement of villagers and outsiders in illegal genetic resource and wildlife smuggling could be controlled. Villagers would stop supporting outside gene pirates as such collaboration would decrease the market demand for their own production.

Finally, as far as I have understood, the socio-economic challenges discussed above and the suggestions proposed are related to the geopolitical power

relationships of CBET in this site. Thus, the influence of geopolitics can be identified as one of the most important aspects of the research, hence, the next chapter focuses on analysing potential geopolitical challenges of CBET in this site.

Chapter 6: Geo-political Challenges

6.1   Introduction

Development is a socio-economic as well as a geo-political process (Kala, 2013; Nadeau, Heslop, O'Reilly, & Luk, 2008) because world development processes are strongly linked to global geo-political relationships and global power balance (Chatterjee & Finger, 2014), especially, the development process of southern peripheral countries like Sri Lanka (Adams, 2009; Wickramasinghe et al., 2012). An analysis of the nature of Sri Lanka's geo-political links with global hegemonic power relationship networks and their changes over time might help understand whether bottom up development approaches implemented in the country have a chance to provide sustainable livelihoods to its people. Hence, this chapter focuses on examining three levels of power relationships to determine the geo-political challenges to the CBET project at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site and how to face them to achieve expected project goals. Tourism and ecotourism, for example, largely depend on world tourist moving patterns. The question is whether changes that occur in the political space and political relationships of a developing country with global political hegemonies can influence the moving patterns of global tourist communities. If yes, in which ways can it affect this particular CBET project?

Theoretically, the internal geo-political situation and related issues of the destination country are highly considered in tourist destination selection and it has become an important factor in ecotourism development in the world (Hall, Timothy, & Duval, 2012; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006; Pizam & Mansfeld, 1996; Sönmez, 1998). There is a relationship between tourists' destination selection and internal political stability of the destination country (Ezebilo, Mattsson, & Afolami, 2010). Human rights violation which have stemmed from changes in internal political environments and socio-ethnic conflicts based on regional political issues, have become common in the global geo-political periphery (Hall et al., 2012; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006). They can decrease the number of tourist

arrivals and de-motivate local communities from getting involved in ecotourism or tourism ventures (Hall, Timothy, & Duval, 2004).

The Kudawa-Sinharaja CBET site can be identified as a micro level geo-political unit and all of its socio-economic activities are associated with power relation networks. Most importantly, the majority of rural communities in the developing world experience economic and socio-cultural marginalization based on their lack of political power to make decisions on their own lives and development work in their own surroundings (Dixit & Narula, 2010). Alternative development policy planners are strongly concerned with this situation and according to the theories of bottom up development, political empowerment of particular communities to participate in every step of the project is an important and essential part of CBET (Garrod, 2003; Sproule, 1996). These ideologies are mostly developed by western scholars to empower the marginalized community in political as well as administrative spheres to obtain sustainable benefits (Li, 2006). However, many issues have challenged this western conceptualization in practical situations in the southern peripheral context (Tosun, 2000).

The chapter is organized on the basis of these three main levels of power relationship behaviour. The relationship between global geo-politics and Sri Lanka which influences CBET practices of the country is first analysed. Second, the internal geo-political situation and related issues which influence tourist destination selection is examined paying attention to safety issues and corruption, since these two factors are the cause for most of the present internal political issues in Sri Lanka. Finally, issues of power distribution in this particular CBET site are discussed considering the site as a micro level political unit. Here, I paid especial attention to three major issues such as community participation in the decision-making process, stakeholder coordination and challenges of accessing funds, since they seemed critical issues in this site at present.

6.2   Global geo-politics and Sri Lanka

Global and regional geopolitics can have a direct influence on ecotourism and CBET development (de Lima, 2008). Geopolitically, Sri Lanka is located in the

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'southern periphery', which means it is a politically less powerful developing country. Therefore, 'northern hemispheric' countries, those which are capitalist and politically more powerful developed countries, possess hegemonic power to force tourism and ecotourism or CBET in Sri Lanka (De Silva, 2012; Gunasinghe, 1980). The geopolitical situation within the country is also an important factor in the development of CBET.

The United National Party (UNP) of Sri Lanka came to power by parliament election in 1977 and remained in power until 1994. They promoted 'economic liberalization' as the principal economic baseline of the development of the country (Abeyratne, 2004) and they were geo politically better connected with western countries than with socialists countries (DeVotta, 1998; Moore, 1990). The UNP government failed to maintain sound geopolitical relationships with India and China regardless of the great geo political hegemonic power held by them in the Asian region (Mazumdar, 2012; Wheeler, 2012).

This geopolitical background directly and indirectly affected tourism and ecotourism practices of Sri Lanka as well as in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. As a national tour guide stated,

> Most of the formal birders who enter the Kudawa-Sinharaja site are from the UK, Germany, the Netherlands, and France. They want to get environmental specific knowledge about birds and bird flocks and they spend more time in the field. At least they stay three- four days within the village areas. They do not look for luxury hotel facilities within the site and most of them are happy to stay in the Martin lodge, which is owned and run by a villager here. Especially, they are ready to spend more money in the field. If the site guides can show them many rare and endemic birds, they normally tip them generously (FGI11G2 , 2013.03.24).

My field experience confirmed that most of the formal eco-tourists who have visited the site to obtain a real eco-friendly and eco educational experience respecting local culture and values are from Europe. Further, most of these European tourists have a positive image of implementing CBET in this site compared with the view point of Asian tourists (Table 11).

Table 11: Impression of tourists on CBET

Implementation of ecotourism through CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site can bring environmental, social and economic sustainability						
Geo political region	Idea distribution					
	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No idea	Total
Sri Lankan	05	08	05	02	01	21
European	12	05	00	00	01	18
Other Asian	01	02	05	00	00	08
Other	01	01	00	00	01	03
Total	19	16	10	02	03	50

Source: Questionnaire survey

According to the statistical data of the Sri Lankan tourist board, before the 1990s, about 70% of tourists in Sri Lanka were from Europe and 45% of them were from the UK and Germany. The highest numbers of (more than 25%) tourists was from the UK. However, this situation changed between 1995-2005 (Sri Lankan Tourist Board, 2000), influenced by the geopolitical situation and policy changes discussed below.

The People's Alliance (PA) party was elected as the new government of Sri Lanka on August 16, 1994. Thus, Ms. Chandrika Bandaranayake Kumaranatunga, the only female president of the country to date, was elected president in 1994 and ruled the country for 11 years from 1994 until 2005 representing the PA party. Under her ruling, the government implemented new geopolitical policies to join regional and global politics (Samarasinghe, 1994). In this government a prominent place was given to build a healthy and cooperative rapport with Asian countries, rather than Europe and North American countries. India and other Asian countries were considered immediate neighbours, best political relations and friends (Sivarajah, 2004). This was one of the main reasons why percentages of Asian tourists visiting Sri Lanka increased from 10% to 28% in this period. As of 1999,

India became the third largest country of tourist arrivals to the island and it became the first in 2005 (figure 29 & 30). On the other hand, the percentage of European tourist arrivals gradually decreased from about 65% to 41% during this period (Sri Lankan Tourist Board, 2005). This trend affected the ecotourism practices in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site and as a senior site guide stated,

> Between 1995 and 2005, the Forest Department launched many programmes to implement CBET in this site and many villagers were involved in CBET. Yet ecotourism did not develop as we expected. Especially, even if sufficient numbers of domestic tourists arrived here, the number of overseas tourists who visit the site looking for ecotourism experiences was very low. Particularly, the percentage of formal bird watchers visiting the site decreased and thus our income decreased as well (FGI12G1- 2012. 09.06).

Even though the percentage of tourists coming from South Asia had increased in this period, they were not interested in ecotourism or CBET, according to this interviewee. There are some reasons for that: most South Asians, specially Indian tourists, like to visit beach areas and cultural sites, particularly the historical site related to the Rama-Sita legend in the Ramayan (Goldman, 2007). For example, most Indians like to visit the 'Sita kovil' Hindu temple in Nuwara Eliya, one of the upcountry towns of Sri Lanka. South Asian tourists do not show a special interest to visit Sinharaja or any other rain forest areas of the island, because they can visit such ecotourism sites within their own countries (Dixit & Narula, 2010; Ezebilo et al., 2010).

A new political order emerged in Sri Lanka after the presidential election held on 17 November 2005, when Mahinda Rajapaksha was elected as the new president who represented the United People's Freedom Alliance party (Department of Elections, 2005). According to the geopolitical strategy of the Rajapaksha government, political relationships with China and Russia were further tightened rather than with other countries in South Asia or countries further west in the northern hemispheric region. In fact, the new government maintained a distant political relationship with these last. Even if Sri Lanka is traditionally considered a nonaligned country, the government in power between 2005 and early 2015 seemed to promote the socialist power bloc. Its political relationship with present

or former socialist countries like China, Russia, Cuba is much stronger compared with its political rapport with capitalist countries (MEASL, 2014).
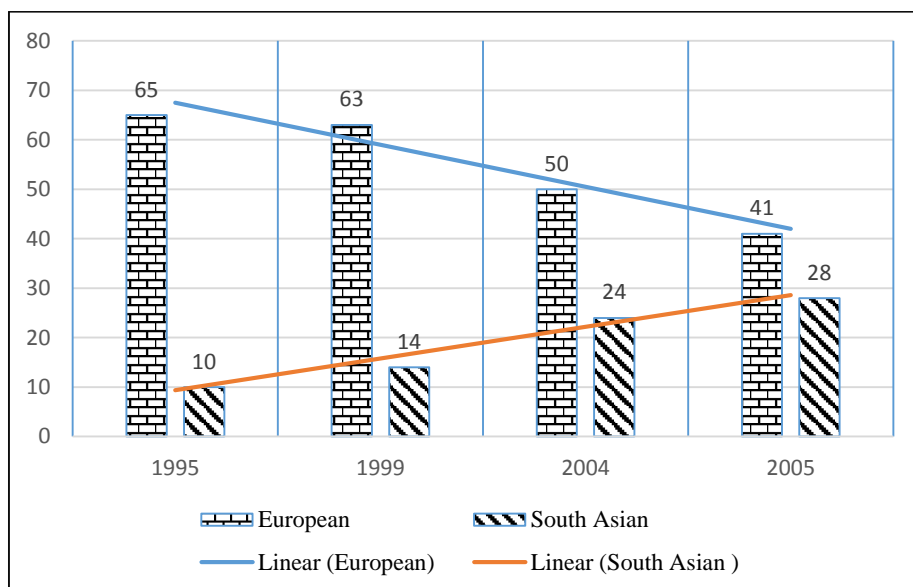
Figure 29: Changes in the percentage of tourists' arrival in Sri Lanka from 1995- 2005

Source (Sri Lankan Tourist Board, 2005, p. 08)

Regionally, the Sri Lankan government maintains a healthier and stronger geo-political relationship with China than with India (International Crisis Group, 2011). The Chinese government and companies have invested in several development projects of the country owing to this geo-political relationship (Wheeler, 2012). Sri Lanka has not failed to cater to the political power of India. Regardless of minor political conflicts between the Sri Lankan government and the government of the Tamil Nadu state of India on Tamil – Sinhala ethnic issues, Sri Lanka still maintains a positive political relationship with the central government of India in which India is playing the role of 'big brother' to its smaller neighbouring countries in South Asia. Both nations have encouraged Indian economic investments in Sri Lanka several times (Samarasinghe, 2003).

After the end of the civil war in 2009 the UN Human Rights Council adopted a resolution permitting an independent international examination of allegations of war crimes and crimes against humanity in Sri Lanka by a vote of 23 in favour, 12 against, and 12 abstentions in a meeting held 27 March 2014 in the UN Human Rights Council of Geneva. Most of the developed capitalist countries such as the USA, UK, France, Germany and Ireland had voted in favour of the resolution

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whereas socialist countries like China, Russia, Cuba and their supporters had voted against it, and India abstained (United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC), 2014). This indicates how Sri Lanka is politically supported by these socialist countries and the state of global geo-political hegemonic power relations.

However, Sri Lanka is still dependent on northern hemispheric capitalist countries for development and economic needs rather than on socialist counties because Sri Lanka exports most of its apparel and tea product, which bring a large amount of foreign exchange to the country, to these capitalist countries. Sri Lanka is also a major financial aid and loan recipient of these capitalist countries. As a southern peripheral country with its weak political and international relations with most of the northern hemispheric countries, Sri Lanka has to face many geo-political and economic challenges (Bateman, 2014). This situation either directly or indirectly influences contemporary ecotourism practices, and successful implementation of CBET in rural areas of the country including the Kudawa-Sinharaja site.

At present, the Sri Lankan government has promoted eco-tourism and CBET through implementation of several CBET projects in selected areas of the country (Breuste & Jayathunga, 2010; Jayasuriya & Abayawardana, 2008; Newsome, 2013; Ratnayake, 2011; Wickramasinghe, 2013). The government is keen on developing the infrastructure of the country, which is essential for tourism development such as a new international airport, a new harbour, and a highway from Colombo to down south. Owing to all these government programmes promoting ecotourism, the number of tourists arriving has increased; especially many Indian, Chinese and Russian tourists seem to regularly visit the country (Ministry of Economic Development, 2011; Sri Lankan Tourist Board, 2013). Yet, most of the overseas tourists from socialist counties or from other developing countries such as China, Russia, Pakistan, and India are not high spending tourists compared with the visitors from developed nations in Europe and North America. As an eco-tour agency owner explained,

> European eco tourists carry money with them to spend, and this money can generate jobs and incomes for households and communities in and around national parks and other natural protected areas. They are ready to spend money generously on ecotourism activities. In my point of view, in order to promote ecotourism and CBET, the Sri Lankan government should focus on

attracting quality tourists (formal eco-tourists) to the country who can bring more foreign exchange instead of just increasing the number of tourists visiting Sri Lanka (SSI79D- 2013.01.18).

According to this respondent, the Sri Lankan government has developed a plan and strategies to increase the number of international tourists visiting Sri Lanka, especially after the post war period (Subasinghe, 2013). Mere growth of the number of international or domestic tourist arrivals can lead to development of mass-tourism practices rather than small scale sustainable tourism. Boosting the number of tourist arrivals can create a vulnerable context in tourism development, since it can add to the various pressures on the environment including environmental pollution, ecosystem destruction and/or landscape degradation. (Tella & Hiraldo, 2014). Since the Sri Lankan government has proposed to develop ecotourism as a bottom up and sustainable tourism development strategy and to grow international tourist arrivals in Sri Lanka at the same time, a contradiction in government policies regarding tourism development of the country can be observed. The number of tourist arrivals in Sri Lanka has increased from 2010 to date but the number of formal eco-tourists arriving in the country has further decreased. As one of the professional national tour guides stated,

> I have been working as a national tour guide during the last 20 years and especially as an organizer of bird watching tours around the country for overseas tourists. Any formal birder visiting Sri Lanka should not miss the opportunity to visit Sinharaja, the country's largest rain forest. Sinharaja is an ideal place to watch many endemic and rare birds and attractive bird flocks. I have visited Sinharaja many a times. However, I have decided to change my career path to go with the new trends in tourism in Sri Lanka. There will not be a good market for bird watching eco tour organizers in the future, as the number of overseas tourists, especially Europeans, visiting the country is decreasing although the total number of tourist arrivals has increased (SSI109F1, 2013.03.23).

Most of the formal bird watchers come from Europe, particularly from the UK and Germany. As both of these respondents highlighted, tourists from Europe are interested in formal ecotourism and bird watching practices; however, the government has ignored this fact when supporting the ecotourism development plan of the country.

2011   2012

India   UK   Germany   France   Aus.   Maldives   USA   Canada   Russia   Netherlands
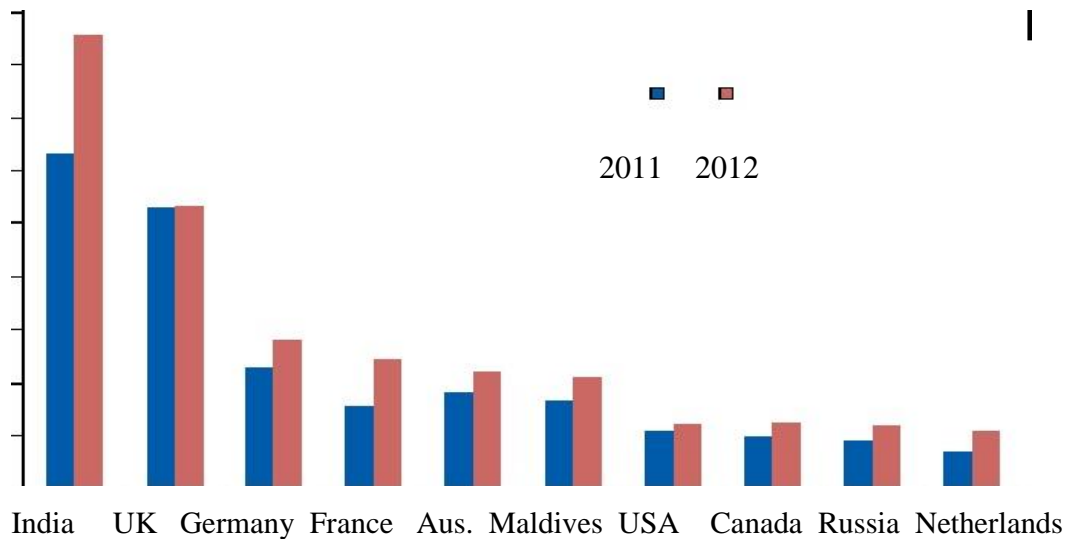
Figure 30: Top ten countries in proportion to the number of tourists visiting Sri Lanka during 2011/2012
Sources (Sri Lankan Tourist Board, 2013, p. 16)
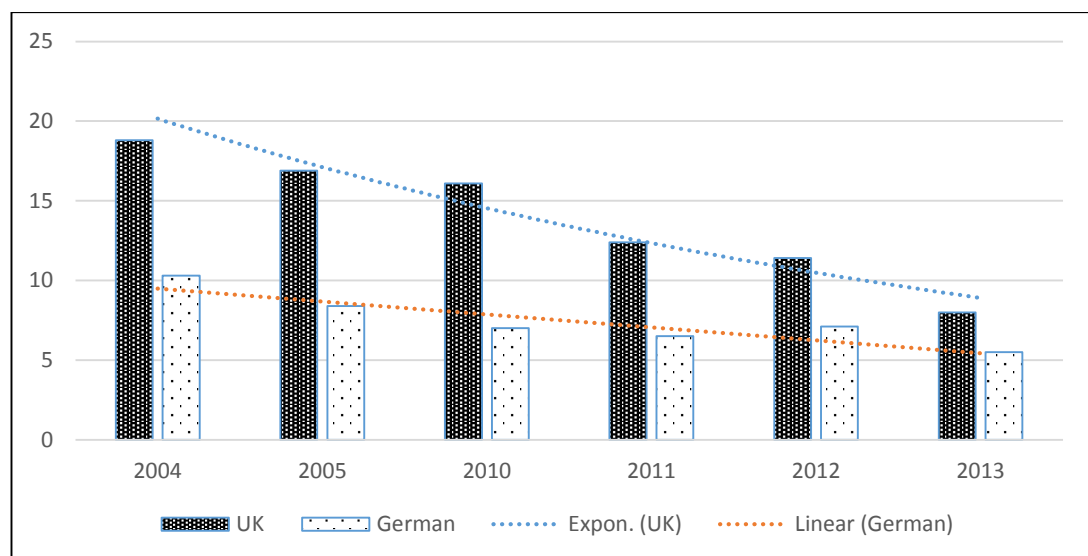
Figure 31: Decrease in the % of tourists arriving from UK and Germany, 2004-2013
Source: (Sri Lankan Tourist Board, 2013)

There is an apparent relationship between the geo-politics of Sri Lanka and the variation in the percentage of tourists visiting Sri Lanka from China, Russia and India during the period 2004-2013. Even if the percentage of Indian tourist arrivals had increased between 1994 and 2005, there is a decrease in the percentage from 2011 to 2013 (Figure 32), since the Sri Lankan government seemed to tighten up its political relationship with China and Russia (Wheeler,

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2012) when there were geopolitical conflicts between India and China during that particular period (Scott, 2008). Hence, this political situation has influenced a decrease in the percentage of Indian tourists visiting Sri Lanka. However, the highest numbers of tourists arriving in Sri Lanka are still from India (Sri Lankan Tourist Board, 2013). When Sri Lanka maintained a strong geo-political rapport with Russia and China, the percentage of tourist arrivals from these countries gradually increased by 80.4% for Russians and 96.5% for Chinese according to figure 31 between the years 2004 to 2013 (Sri Lankan Tourist Board, 2013).
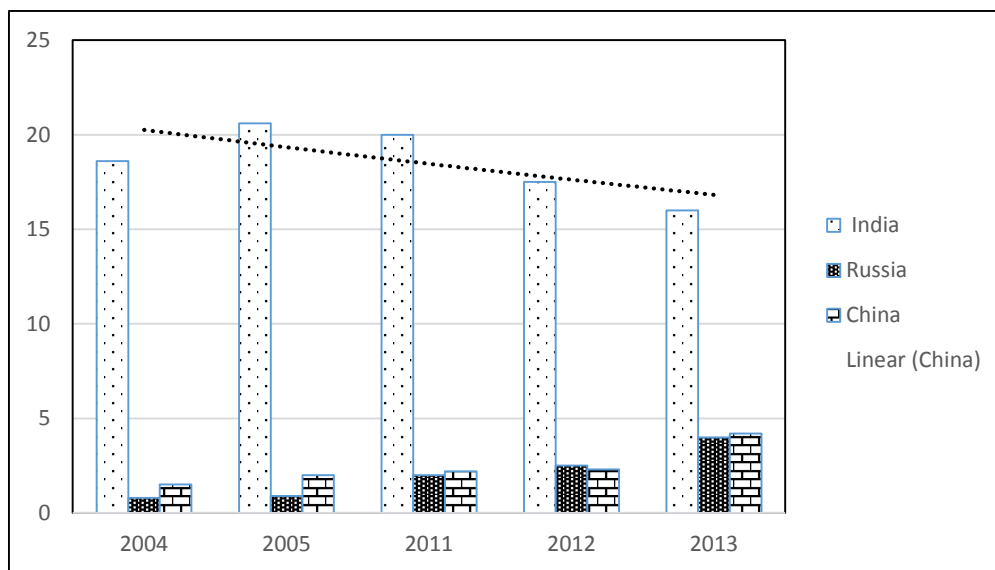
Figure 32: Changes in tourist arrivals (%) from China, Russia and India
Source: (Sri Lankan Tourist Board, 2013)

A new trend is observed: a considerable number of Chinese, Russian as well as other south Asian tourists except for Indian tourists have visited Sinharaja since 2010. However, most of these tourists are ordinary tourists rather than formal eco tourists. According to a villager at the site who provides a homestay facility to tourists,

> These days many overseas tourists visit the Kudawa-Sinharaja site from China, Russia, Pakistan and Middle East countries and their tourism needs are different from those of formal eco-tourists who visited the park before. Usually most of these new tourists like to watch large mammals like leopards and elephants and they are not interested in watching small animals or birds. Some like watching the scenic beauty of the forest and prefer having a swim in streams and creeks inside the forest. As well, many of

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them like to take part in adventure tourism activities and water rafting in the river (SSI58G11, 2012.11.20).

The current ecotourism practices in the site seem unsatisfactory for many of these tourists from China, Russia, Pakistan and Middle East countries for a number of reasons. First, tourists cannot easily view large mammals like elephants or leopards within the Kudawa-Sinharaja site due to the structural characteristics of a tropical rain forest. Second, swimming in fresh water bodies inside the forest can disturb the wildlife, its habitats and other formal eco-tourists. Third, even if nature tourism activities such as adventure ones and water rafting are useful to attract more tourists, theoretically these events cannot be organized successfully under ecotourism or CBET ideologies and there are practical issues when organizing such events.

Since adventure tourism involves taking risks, activity guides must properly be trained and well experienced in the field to avoid potential accidents as they are responsible for the safety of tourists (Simon, 1999; Welford & Casagrande, 1997). Hence, it is practically difficult for Kudawa villagers to organize such activities. Participating in tourist activities where tourists come into close contact with fresh water and damp soil such as freshwater kayaking, rafting, canoeing or swimming increase the risk of leptospirosis infection which is more likely to be found in tropical climates. Tropical rain forest areas of Sri Lanka show high endemic rates of leptospirosis infection with the yearly number of reported cases exceeding 4000 between 2007and 2011(Fernando et al., 2013). Thus, fresh water bodies in the tropical rain forests of Sri Lanka are unsuitable for water related adventure tourism.

One of the other issues is that overseas tourists who do not wish to participate in any formal ecotourism practices are unsatisfied with minimum facilities in homestay accommodation. According to a homestay service provider at the site,

> If these tourists (tourists who do not wish to participate in formal ecotourism practices) select home staying during their tour, they expect and ask for lots of facilities and some of them cannot even be supplied in a rural area like this. On the other hand, the formal eco-tourists we have encountered to date, especially bird watchers from Europe, are easy to be satisfied and understanding. They do not expect all the comforts and

luxuries of home when they are away from their homes. They have a specific purpose for their visit and they spend most of their time inside the forest exploring something or other (SSI58G11, 2012.11.20).

Most importantly, most of non-European overseas tourists are not satisfied with the Kudawa-Sinharaja site although they have selected it as one of their tourist destinations (Table 12). Most of these tourists have spent only a few hours in the site, in opposition to formal eco tourists and bird watchers from Europe, who normally spent several days in the site and village. According to Mr. Martin Wijesinghe,

> Formal bird watching teams normally stay more than three days within the site and some groups even stay more than a week. They are not in a hurry to see many sites and do not rush through the forest but are happy to spend the whole day to view only one particular bird of their interest. They like home staying and especially they like to stay at my lodge, because they know that they can obtain much information about the forest from me (SSI94G6, 2013.02.12).

Table 12: Tourists' point of view on the importance of Kudawa-Sinharaja as an eco-tourism site

Geo-political region	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No idea	Total
Sri Lankan	05	10	05	01	00	21
European	15	03	00	00	00	18
Asian	01	02	04	01	00	08
Other	01	02	00	00	00	03
Total	22	17	09	02	00	50

Source: Questionnaire survey

Many villagers who are involved in ecotourism in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site often complain that non-European tourists normally do not offer any gratuity for their service. One site guide explained,

I am paid only Rs 1,000.00 (about USD 8) for guiding an overseas tourist group, but there are many days I do not get a chance to guide tourists. These days I have to return home empty handed after a long wait near the ticket counter for getting a chance to guide tourists. I am pretty sure that I can earn Rs 1,000.00 at the end of the day if I do any labouring work around the village. However, I like this job with all its disappointments because if I am lucky enough to get a chance to guide a group of overseas formal eco tourists, I can use my eco knowledge to satisfy them and I am sure that they would offer me a handy tip for my service. Normally, European formal eco-tourist groups offer us at least 3,000.00-5,000.00 Rs for one-day service as gratuity, and they tend to spend more than two days in the field (SSI95G5, 2013.02.13).

According to this respondent, the opportunities for site guides to make extra money above their guide fee are high if they use their eco knowledge wisely to satisfy the tourist needs. However, tourists visiting Sri Lanka from other Asian and Middle East countries are not interested in partaking in extended ecotourism experiences. Thus, knowledgeable site guides no longer have a role with these new tourists and they choose to be 'trackers' as these tourists hardly ever offer any gratuity.

Hence, it is apparent that there is a strong interrelationship between global geo-political relationships of Sri Lanka and ecotourism practices in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. Therefore, without considering global hegemonic power relations, CBET cannot be successfully implemented in this site. Planners of CBET projects must take political behaviours of northern hemispheric capitalist countries into consideration since interest in ecotourism has emerged in those contexts as a political and new liberalism ideology of eco-friendly development (Duffy, 2006; Reid, 2003). What should specially be noted here is that tourists who promote formal eco-tourism in the site such as bird watchers represent these capitalist countries (Sekercioglu, 2002) and the geo-political environment of the site influences what destination tourists choose to visit . Thus, ecotourism and CBET are directly linked with global politics.

Duffy (2006) explains the relationship between geo-politics and ecotourism practices in Madagascar,

Ecotourism has developed as a part of a broader set of structural changes in the global system. Ecotourism in Madagascar is heavily interlinked with structures of global governance, including environmental NGOs and donor organisations. As a result, it is important that ecotourism be regarded in the context of its wider political arena. Furthermore, ecotourism is one example of the global spread of neo-liberalism and wider critiques of liberalisation are equally relevant to ecotourism development. It is clear that ecotourism is not a politics free option: it is not politically, economically, or socially neutral. As a neo-liberal form of development, it is highly a political choice (pp. 139-140).

Albeit the Sri Lankan government has strived to implement tourism, ecotourism or CBET as a sustainable development strategy in the post-war Sri Lankan context, it has geopolitically failed to build strong relationships with northern hemispheric capitalist countries which in return would have helped the effective implementation of such task. Instead the Sri Lankan government has prioritized and promoted political relationships with socialist countries like China and Russia (Ministry of Economic Development, 2010). As a result the number of tourist arrivals in the country has gradually increased but the percentage of eco-tourists from Europe who bring foreign exchange into the country and contribute to the development of ecotourism in its rural areas has decreased (Sri Lankan Tourist Board, 2013). Remedying this failure to attract quality tourists to the country for its development needs (which depend on 'the power relationships between north and south') (Duffy, 2006b) is one of the great challenges to developing CBET.

As a policy, Sri Lanka has traditionally attempted to maintain nonaligned geopolitical affiliations with global political movements and this approach seems an effective way to face such challenges. However, it is difficult to change prevalent geo-political relations. Yet, there are simple strategies that can be applied in the Kudawa-Sinharaja context. The Forest Department and the Tourist Board can promote CBET activities focusing on non-European tourists. Local villagers are worried about losing gratuity, which has been an extra income for their families, especially for site guides who are underpaid. One solution would be to offer them more chances for guiding tourists with higher guide fees. Generally, a site guide is allowed to guide only one eco tour for a day within the present rules of tour guide service in the site. An eco-tour around the site normally takes about three hours. Thus, within the daily working hours a guide could take three trips

within the site working nine hours a day. If the rule can be changed that a guide can take three eco tours for a day, s/he could earn 3,000.00 Rs as guide fees per day and would not need to worry about gratuity money.

At present, a site guide is asked to guide a tourist group of ten foreign tourists or sixty domestic tourists. This policy can be changed where a site guide is given a group of five foreign tourists or ten domestic tourists. There are three main advantages in this change. First, site guides have the chance to be involved in many tours within a day. Second, when guides are given small groups they can effectively serve the tourist groups for their ultimate satisfaction. Third, many local community members get the opportunity to be employed as site guides and receive ecotourism benefits.

6.3   Internal politics and security issues of the country

Internal politics and security have a direct impact on the tourism and ecotourism industry and many scholars have identified that political stability and safety is one of the most important factors affecting the choice of tourist destination of any kind of tourist (Hall et al., 2012; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006; Pizam & Mansfeld, 1996; Sönmez, 1998). The mental imagery of tourists regarding a particular tourist site can directly impact destination selection (Hall et al., 2012; Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006). Issues of political stability and security affect not only travellers, but also local people who are willing to be involved in tourism or ecotourism activities. When the market environment seems unsafe, unstable and insecure, local people, especially investors, hesitate to enter the tourism industry (Hall et al., 2004).

The potential of the Kudawa-Sinharaja site for tourism is strong since the environment is comparatively peaceful and safe compared with many other tourism sites of the country. As an experienced police officer stated,

> Villagers of the Kudawa GND have an excellent social network, and they are strongly capable of solving their problems within the villages and they rarely pop up at the police station with their issues. This is a safe place for tourists and nobody has yet complained about their safety and security in this site (SSI21B, 2012.09.24).

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Even my field experiences prove that issues of safety and security of tourists are not reported in this site. However, political instability, disorders, and other safety issues of the country have directly influenced ecotourism in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. According to a senior national chauffeur guide,

> Issues of tourism security are still not reported in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, its image as a tourism destination is still secure, and the environment is safe and suitable to develop CBET practices. However, the overall image of the country as a tourism destination is not strong and there are many political and security issues in the country, which hinders development of tourism. Most importantly, overseas tourists first select the destination country and then the places of interest in the particular country. Hence, we cannot underestimate the fact that tourism destinations are vulnerable to political, social, and economic safety and stability (SSI3F2, 2012.09.10).

Political instability, crime, terrorism, civil war and other security issues of Sri Lanka can challenge tourism and ecotourism development in the country and these issues directly or indirectly affect CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site even if the site itself has no safety issues. For instance, during the civil war period in Sri Lanka from 2006 to 2009 the number of overseas tourist arrivals in the country as well as at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site decreased (Figures 33 and 34).
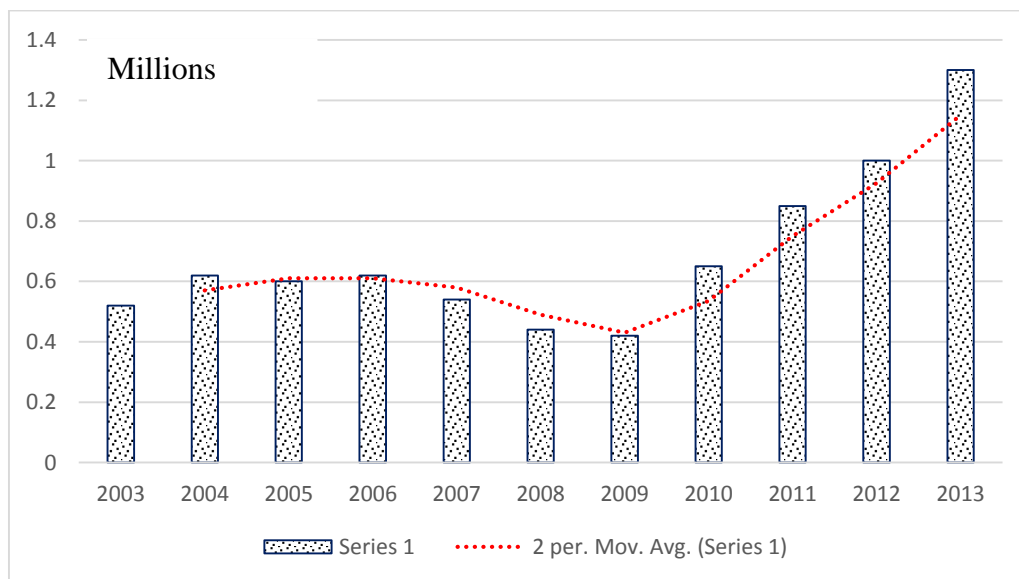
Figure 33: Major changes in tourist arrivals in Sri Lanka

Source : (Sri Lankan Tourist Board, 2013)
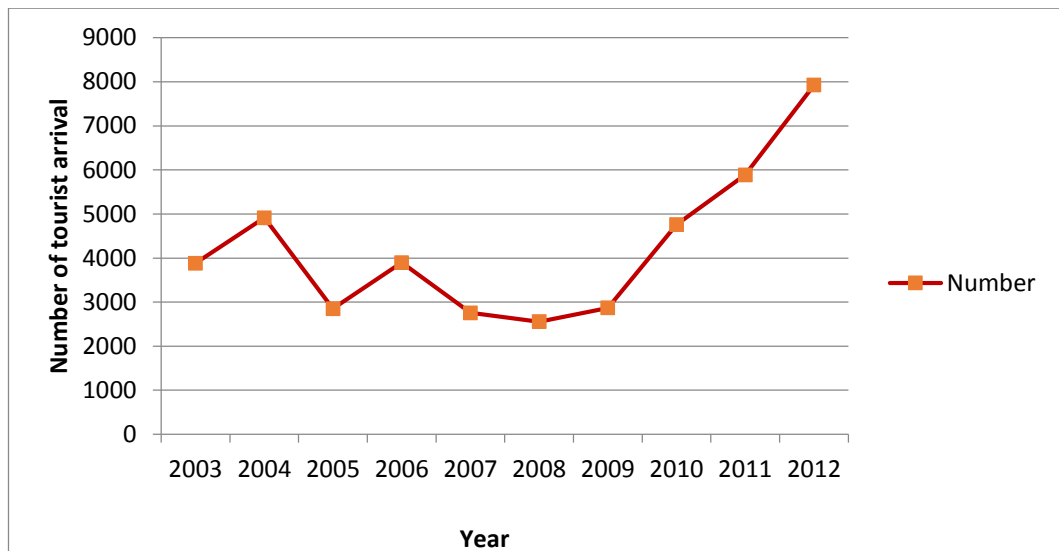
Figure 34: Changes in overseas tourist arrivals at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site
Source (Forest Department, 2013a)
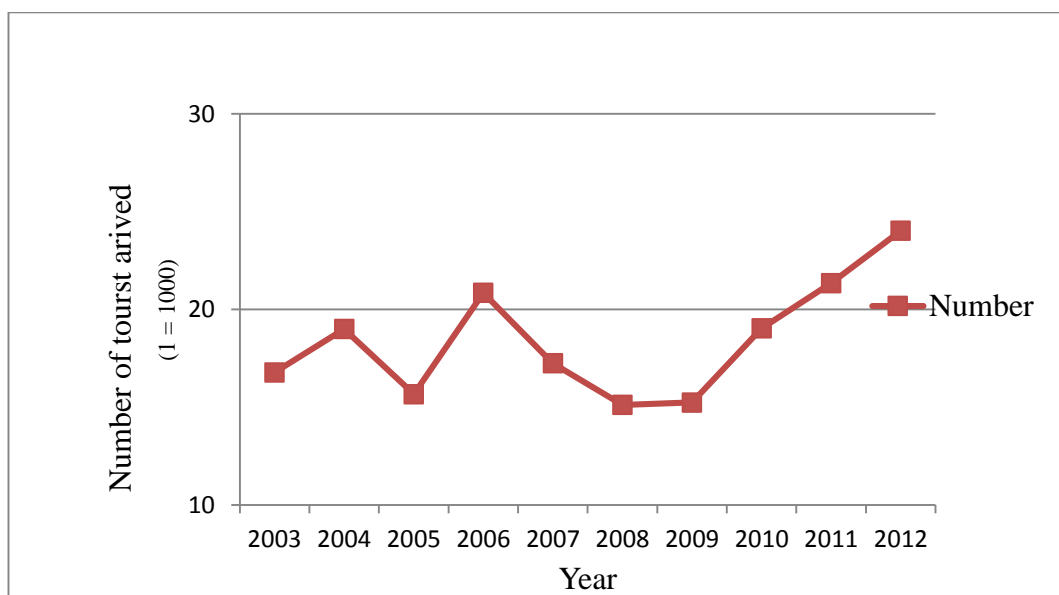
Figure 35: Changes in domestic tourist arrivals at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site
Source (Forest Department, 2013a)

It was observed that during this civil war period the number of domestic tourists at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site had also decreased (Figure 35). When the civil war ended in 2009, the number of tourist arrivals in the country as well as at the site gradually increased. This clearly indicates how political unrest, terrorism, riots or civil war situations in a country can challenge tourism development by damaging

the image of the destination country, which affects tourism demand (Selvanathan, 2007; Wij, 2011).

Most importantly, the negative influences brought by internal political and security issues on CBET at the Kudawa-Sinharaja ecotourism site cannot be handled by the Forest Department, which is the key responsible authority of CBET project planning. Though the Forest Department has planned to implement CBET here, there are many external factors challenging its successful implementation. Internal political issues, social unrest, ethnic conflicts, safety, and security issues are the most difficult challenges to be addressed. According to a senior forest officer,

> We (The Forest Department) encouraged the Kudawa villagers to be involved in CBET development in this site, gave them opportunities to join ecotourism here as site guides by the end of 2006, and conducted many programmes to develop CBET practices to our best ability. However, the civil war started again in the northern part of the country and the number of tourists visiting the site decreased drastically. Finally, with all these internal safety and security issues, our programmes aimed to uplift CBET here failed. By the end of 2009, we had no particular programmes to develop ecotourism or CBET practices here but the number of tourists visiting this site started to increase gradually even without any special programmes to promote this site (SSI70A-, 2012.12.15).

The Sri Lankan government has adopted tourism, ecotourism, and CBET development as one of its main economic development strategies in the post- civil war period. However, regional political issues, an increasing rate of violence and crimes, ethnic conflicts, and other safety and security problems within the country still challenge the sustainable development of tourism in the country. Even though the civil war was brought to an end, the conduct of regional politicians of Sri Lanka at present has created an unsafe and vulnerable social and political environment for both foreign and domestic tourists. One of the classic examples for this is the murder of Khuram Shaikh, a 32 year-old Red Cross worker from Britain, inside a coastal hotel in Tangalle, Sri Lanka in 2011 (Stone, 2014).

Khuram Shaikh visited Sri Lankan coastal areas with his Russian partner Victoria Alexandrovna in order to celebrate New Year eve of 2011 and they stayed at the hotel 'Nature Resort' in Tangalle. That hotel had organized a 31st night party,

which had been visited by some regional politicians with their supporters. As it was reported, these politicians had tried to harass Victoria sexually, and Shaikh was attacked while trying to protect her from these men. He was shot and stabbed while his girlfriend was beaten unconscious and raped later. Even if the authorities had started investigating the crime, it was very slow due to political influence. This incident badly affected the tourism sector as it created a negative image of the regional political situation and legal framework of Sri Lanka. The British government and their tourists were extremely concerned about this crime (Nelson, 2013; Stone, 2014).

During the last few years, the impact of the behaviour of regional politicians of the country on the tourism sector has been destructive. This situation has affected negatively ecotourism and CBET development of the Kudawa-Sinharaja site too. As a national tour guide stated,

> Most overseas tourists visiting Sri Lanka seem to be afraid to travel unaccompanied as some of them have encountered scam, sexual harassment, or drug trade. Sexual harassment is commonly experienced when tourists use public transport services. It has been reported that some locals have tried to persuade female overseas tourists to enter prostitution and in other cases, locals have tried to sell illicit drugs to these foreigners. It was observed that most of the locals who engage in these illegal activities have close relationships with regional politicians. I believe that this would be a challenge to develop tourism and ecotourism here (SSI71F1, 2013.01.02).

Most of the participants of my field research shared the belief in this corrupt relationship, however, owing to security reasons these people hesitated to provide detailed responses, even if they seemed to know much more about these issues. A country's failure to provide its international tourists with a safe and pleasant visit can be a cause for declining tourist demand for the country and can create a negative mental imagery about the country. It will affect destination choice of international tourists. The issues of safety and security can redirect tourism to recede from destinations affected by political instability, violence, crimes, and war situations. This is not only relevant at the time of crisis, but also during the period following it since negative mental imagery of a destination country can become a common image shared by many tourists (Cavlek, 2002). As Mansfeld and Pizam (2006) explained,

Personal security is a major concern for tourists. Thus, most tourists will seek safe and secure destinations and avoid those that have been plagued by all sorts of violent incidents. All form of security incidents that occur at tourist destinations by war, terrorism, political upheaval, or crimes, negatively affect their image, and cause a decline in tourist arrivals. This phenomenon is more evident in long-term trends and more specifically related to long lasting security situations. Declines in tourist arrivals lead to diminishing tourist receipts and may result in a full-fledged economic recession in destinations that specialize in tourism (Mansfeld & Pizam, 2006, pp. 14-15).

Security and safety issues in tourist sites, which stem from internal political corruption, have challenged tourism development in many areas of the world. For example, tourism development attempts of the present South African government in Cape Town have been blocked by the unsafe social and political environment there (George, 2003).

During the post war period in Sri Lanka after 2009, a large number of domestic as well as overseas tour agencies promoted Sri Lanka as a safe tourist destination. Most of the local investors tended to invest in the tourism sector and it was a new trend in development. As a result, the tourism sector of the country added a large number of guest houses with about 9000 new rooms and 43 new large hotels in 2013 (Miththapala, 2014). The Kudawa villages were not spared by these new trends in the tourism sector and local villagers were eager to be involved as service providers such as safari jeep drivers, site guides, homestay providers, etc. As one of the villagers stated,

When the civil war was over the number of tourists at this site increased and as other villagers here, I thought to get involved in ecotourism to earn some extra money. I own a stall near by the Kudawa-Sinharaja park entrance and I planned to expand my business by adding more of the fast selling goods and to attach several rooms to my house to provide homestay to tourists. I even got a loan from a bank and started putting up the rooms (SSI74G1, 2012.12.17).

According to the field data, this experience is common to many Kudawa villagers. After the civil war, they had new hopes for ecotourism and many young villagers are looking for opportunities to join ecotourism as service providers, especially as site guides. Considerable numbers of villagers attached new rooms to their homes

to provide homestay facilities for tourists. However, by the end of 2012, an ethnic riot between minority Muslims and majority Sinhala Buddhists emerged creating a negative picture of tourism safety in Sri Lanka. In this situation, local community members were uninspired to invest further in the tourism sector. This was common to the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. The same villager further continued,

> I am in a dilemma now whether I have made the right choice to be involved in ecotourism here as there is a cold war going on between Muslims and Sinhalese Buddhists. Rumour has it that this cold war could develop into a serious ethnic riot in the future. If so, tourism would be affected negatively, even this site would not be spared. Therefore, I am now a bit worried about my investments of time, money, and energy in these new add-ons (SSI74G1).

During my fieldwork, anti-Muslim/Buddhists sentiments and resentments were welling up in both Muslim and Sinhalese Buddhist communities of the country whose ethnic composition includes Sinhala 74.9 % (Sinhala - Buddhist 70.9%), Muslim 9.2%, Sri Lankan Tamil 11.21% and Indian Tamil 4.16% (Department of Census and Statistics Sri Lanka, 2012). The political extremists from both parties and so-called nationalists of the country have played a considerable role in the internal politics of Sri Lanka over many years and their contribution to worsen the situation between these two nations into ethnic unrest cannot be ignored (DeVotta, 2007; Tambiah, 1992). Unfortunately, quite opposite to the philosophy and essence of teaching in Buddhism, which is tolerant of all other beliefs and religions, Sinhala Buddhist nationalists and their political supporters and devotees promote racism and violence in the country at present (DeVotta, 2007; Kapferer, 2011; Schalk, 2007).

By the year 2014, anti-Muslim movements were growing in the country and in the middle of June 2014 Sinhala Buddhist nationalist politics developed the movement into a religious and ethnic riot in south-western Sri Lanka, especially in Beruwala, Aluthgama, and Dharga towns, which are famous tourists destinations of the country (Karunarathne, 2014). It was reported that 4 people were killed, about 80 people were seriously injured, and about 10000 people including 8000 Muslim and 2000 Sinhalese were displaced by the riots; large numbers of houses, shops, factories, mosques and a nursery were burned down (Azeez, 2014; BBC, 2014; Farook, 2014; Perera, 2014). This ethnic conflict

directly influenced the tourism sector and many countries named Sri Lanka as an unsafe tourist destination (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australian Government, 2014; Government of Canada, 2014; Government of United Kingdom, 2014). This situation can mount a challenge to CBET development at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site in the future.

As many writers have explained, issues of internal politics and safety which lead to a 'negative media image' among tourists is harmful for the tourism sector development in a country since mediatisation, in which media frames and shapes societal ideals, has an important role in the increase of demand for tourism (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Knudsen & Waade, 2010; Lagerkvist, 2007). Contemporary tourism is promoted and highlighted by media and if media can frame an attractive picture of a particular site, the possibility of it being selected as a famous destination is high regardless of the real situation on the ground (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Hjarvard, 2013).

However, there can be vast differences between the real situation of a tourist site and the constructed media image of that place (Cohen & Cohen, 2012; Jansson, 2002; Jensen, 2010). For example, ecotourism practices in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site have been challenged by the issues that have occurred in other areas of the country such as the civil war and the anti-Muslim movement since media conveyed a negative image on the situation of the country, even if Kudawa-Sinharaja has been a peaceful and safe tourist site for the last three decades.

Controlling and managing issues of internal politics, security and safety of a country is not an easy task, especially in poor southern peripheral countries since ethnic- religious conflicts occur in many areas of these countries and challenge their internal political systems (Gurr, 1994; Hale, 2008). However, if Sri Lanka wants to develop ecotourism and CBET in rural areas of the country like Kudawa-Sinharaja as a sustainable approach, it has to pay special attention to issues of tourism safety and security.

6.4 Issues of corruption

Political corruption is one of the common issues in ecotourism and CBET development processes in the world, especially in the poor southern peripheral

context (Duffy, 2000; Reno, 1997). Corruption can simply be defined as an 'unlawful use of resources and opportunities to satisfy private needs' (Smith & Walpole, 2005; Transparency International (TI), 2003). Corruption in the southern peripheral context includes illegal activities and bribery under political influences and support (Davis, 2004; Smith & Walpole, 2005). As many scholars have stated, corruption is a barrier to any kind of development work while causing a decline in economic growth and productivity (Doh, Rodriguez, Uhlenbruck, Collins, & Eden, 2003; Kaufmann, 1997; Lambsdorff, 2003).

Biodiversity conservation and community based development projects are also challenged by corruption which is aggravated by political influences of domestic elites and politicians (Mansuri & Rao, 2004; Smith & Walpole, 2005). This situation is common in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. Most importantly, political corruption in this site has links with super imposed capitalism and individualism (see section 5.2). Economic competition within a superimposed capitalism structure has promoted different forms of corruption in CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site.

Biologically sensitive areas in the Kudawa GND are illegally used for ecotourism related constructions by influential outsiders to the community with the support of politicians or their followers. For instance, illegal construction of hotels and lodges along riverbanks has become common at the site. According to government regulations, any development work including construction along riverbanks is prohibited as an area of thirty meters from the river is considered river reservation (Chandrasekara & Gunawardena, 2011; National Physical Planning Department of Sri Lanka, 2011). The Koskulana River flows through Kudawa GND close to the Sinharaja rain forest and many streams starting inside Sinharaja flow into this river. As a villager stated during the fieldwork,

> We (Kudawa villagers) do not encroach into the river reservation either for cultivation or construction purposes since it is strictly illegal. If we are caught clearing the reservation area, the forest officers here do not hesitate to get us arrested under their power. Some villagers who had cleared riverbanks had these experiences. These riverbanks are in high demand among the tourists visiting the site due to their scenic value. River water is so clean and warm and tourists enjoy river swims. Riverbanks are biologically rich areas; especially they are habitats of many bird species.

However, riverbanks have been used for hotel and guesthouse construction by politically powerful outsiders. Forest officers or other responsible institutions seem to ignore their work as they have no power to oppose them (SSI46G1, 2012.11. 03).

During the fieldwork, I observed that villagers resent the construction works started by politically supported outside investors in these biologically rich areas of the site; they also resent the unequal treatment of government bodies where the rich can violate all the rules with political support while the underprivileged villagers are prohibited from doing the same. Especially, resentment and dislike are welling up in the young generations of the Kudawa villages regarding this inequity and corruption. This situation leads to the widening of the gap between the villagers and administrative bodies regardless of the attempts made to link both parties for sustainable ecotourism. The president of the environmental society 'Sinharaja Sumituro' confirms that:

As a community owned environmental organization, we noticed how politically supported rich outside investors have encroached into many biologically sensitive areas of our villages even against the prevalent environment laws of the country (SSI29G3-, 2012.10.23).

Villagers, especially the youth who have joined Sinharaja Sumituro society seemed to be aware of issues of outside intrusions on biologically sensitive areas of their villages. According to the president of the society, though villagers report many of these incidents to forest officers who are legally responsible to handle these cases, forest officers tend to overlook them.

Though we informed the forest officers here on these illegal and harmful encroachments, they did not pay enough attention. Then we informed the Head Quarters of the Forest Department about this issue and other relevant government bodies (SSI29G3).

As a result, several administrative officers have visited the site for inspections, yet according to villagers, nothing happened. As many villagers explained, these officers are well connected with the investors and most of the time bribed to be silent over these issues. Several reasons lie behind this kind of behaviour. First, the relationship between villagers and forest officers is distant owing to trust issues. Both groups bear negative images of and avoid listening to each other. On the other hand, many outside investors have strengthened relationships with forest

officers and other government officers using their economic and social power. Superimposed capitalistic values and the prevalent capitalist social structure have added to the social relationships based on economic benefits. However, the president of Sinharaja Sumituro stated that this kind of situation is against CBET development in the site.

> How can we genuinely be involved in the CBET project with these corrupt administrative officers who evade justice for their own benefits? They destroy our villages and help outsiders to exploit all the resources here (SSI29G3).

Politically well-supported rich outside investors reap more ecotourism benefits through unethical and illegal means whereas the local people are banned these means as they lack backing from any authorities in power. It seemed that even the administrative bodies are struggling to fulfil their duties against such illegal ecotourism activities due to political interruptions, pressure, persecution, and ambiguities in the legal system. As one of the forest officers stated,

> Kudawa villagers and the 'Sinharaja Sumituro' organization have complained to us about illegal hotel construction going on along the riverbanks of the Koskulana River several times. They think we are partial and bribed by these outside constructors. This is false. We did investigate this case. They have all the relevant legal documents to carry on the constructions there. We do not know how they have obtained these documents but as they have these documents, we cannot proceed with our investigations. On the other hand, most of them are well-supported by the regional politicians, so we have to be extra careful when fulfilling our duties on such issues as political persecution is very common (SSI16A, 2012.09.13).

This interview reveals that government officers on duty hesitate to interfere in issues where their livelihood is threatened by a corrupt political system. Political corruption in a country stems from unequal power relations so that marginalized and less powerful community members face the negative effects of this corruption. This situation is common in many other ecotourism sites in poor southern peripheral countries. For example, the Kwazulu Natal and Phinda resource ecotourism sites in South Africa. Even if the Kwazulu Natal ecotourism project was planned to achieve sustainable development goals through empowerment of local community members, most of the ecotourism benefits were

grabbed by outside private companies and the project planners were unable to control this situation owing to the political backing these outsiders received. The local communities have no voice either in the administration process of ecotourism related activities in the project in the Phinda resource project (Brennan & Allen, 2001). Duffy (2003) studied CBET practices of local communities of Mayans in Belize and according to her, political corruption has negatively influenced the provision of actual and expected ecotourism benefits to the Mayan people within their own traditional homeland.

Corruption in political relations of power and resource distribution in the poor southern peripheral counties have become main barriers to implementing modules of cooperative and grassroots level development projects such as CBET (Desia, 1995; Tosun, 2000). Domination of the elite who are politically more powerful enables them to benefit from such projects in most of the southern peripheral countries and when benefits of a community based development project increase, they are suddenly involved in these projects to grab most of these profits. They do not hesitate either to use their political power to overcome any barriers on their way to capture these opportunities (Saxena, 1997; Smith & Scherr, 2003; Sundar, 2000). This kind of outside intervention can directly harm the sustainability of any community based development project. On the other hand, issues of political corruption in the relevant institutional structures and their regulations are capable of worsening these problems. According to Tosun (2000):

> In most developing countries there is very little democratic experience or semi-democratic experience or no prospect of an opening to freedom. In some other developing nations, although there is a formal structure of constitutional, multiparty democracy, these democratic institutions and regulations are not shared with the majority (p. 621).

Theoretically, 'political empowerment' of the local community is an essential and important part of any bottom-up and sustainable development approach (see chapter 2, section 2.2.3) and it must be implemented for successful achievement of CBET goals (Butcher, 2013). However, the current settings in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site do not support the political empowerment of its local communities. This can be considered one of the barriers to successful implementation of CBET and this has been proved by previous studies as well. For example, as Nick (2005)

realized, CBET practices could not achieve their real objectives in the Phuket and Ao Phang-Nga projects in Southern Thailand owing to weaknesses in 'political empowerments' of the relevant communities. At present, communities at Kudawa have become voiceless and destabilized because of ongoing corruption and injustices within the site. On the other hand, many of them hesitate to question the corruption, as they are not politically empowered. According to a villager,

> We [Kudawa villagers] are well aware that forest officers carry out the orders of politicians. It looks as if both these parties work together and they even are involved in illegal ecotourism practices. However, we are not going to protest against these, actually, we do not want to face any prosecutions afterwards. Most of the outsiders who exploit our resources here are rich, powerful, and well connected with authorities. So, any grudges against them can bring long lasting adverse outcomes (SSI43G1, 2012.11.02).

However, behind the patience of these villagers, resentment over corruption and inequity of justice is gradually welling up. Giving space for the voice of local people is important in a bottom-up development approach. CBET especially is not only a process for environment conservation with given economic benefits to the local community but it must also promote socio-political strengths of the local community to be involved in the management process of their own project (Charnley, 2005; Honey, 2008). For example, although CBET was implemented in the Ngorongoro conservation area in Tanzania with the aim of protecting both nature and indigenous Maasai people, it failed to deliver satisfactory outcome since Maasai people were deprived of the necessary political power to manage their own project. Primarily, they did not have a method or voice to answer political corruption that occurred in the CBET project due to the involvement of outside elites and tour companies to exploit their resources (Charnley, 2005). Political empowerment of local communities (see section 2.4.5) can be identified as the most difficult part of any CBET project and planners of most of ecotourism projects still lack a proper mechanism to implement that (Honey, 2008).

Many Kudawa villagers blame the Forest Department, which acts as the conductor of CBET projects in this site, for the issues of corruption in the site. As a Kudawa safari driver stated,

The Forest Department is biased and their rules vary according to the status of people. For instance, there was a scenic land block in our village in very close proximity to the river and the forest but it had been marked as a landslide prone area. Thus, the Land Use Department declared it a reservation area and banned the villagers from using it for any construction or cultivating needs. Then this block of land was taken into the custody of the Forest Department. However, all of the sudden a forest officer of a higher rank got that land and put up a hotel. Nobody knew how he got that land and used it for construction (SSI01G2, 2012.09.09).

Further, my field observations prove the sincerity of this statement. The particular senior forest officer mentioned above had built up a tourist hotel in the environmentally sensitive land block in the village going against the law by means of his economic, political and social powers. This type of corruption affects social relationships, disconnecting the more powerful from the local villagers and creates distrust between villagers and government officers. One of the other negative results is that when such illegal and unethical activities occur in the site, local villagers are further socially, economically and politically marginalized. According to the same safari jeep driver,

To make a complaint against this kind of unlawful deed, we again have to go to the Forest Department. It is like 'asking prophecy from the mother of the thief'. If we happen to cut a single tree for our needs, the forest officers are soon there to charge against us but when the same or worse is done by the people with power they act deaf and dumb. This is actually a tragedy (SSI01G2).

Institutional corruption has become a great challenge against environmental conservation and community based development in this site as well as in other ecotourism sites of Southern peripheral countries. For example, instructional and political corruption and weak law enforcement directly caused the failure of the development and conservation project of Philippine mangroves ecosystems (Primavera, 2000). According to data analysis, issues of corruption hinder the successful implementation of CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja context. Project planners must attend to political empowerment of the local communities to

achieve realistic CBET goals. There should be a mechanism to control and limit the illegal interventions of powerful outsiders for ecotourism benefit exploitation.

Slow progress in achieving solutions to minimize negative effects of power and politics in tourism and ecotourism is a weakness throughout the tourism sector of Sri Lanka (Fernando & Shariff, 2013). CBET cannot be implemented and achieve sustainable livelihoods in any particular area without giving some political power to the relevant community members so they can participate and without minimizing corruption in ecotourism activities. There must be a legally accepted unbiased government mechanism to monitor and evaluate political corruption in the site.

6.5 Lack of community participation in the decision-making process

Empowerment of local communities to participate in the decision making process of their own project can be highlighted as one of the main components of a bottom-up development approach (Fraser et al., 2006). Community participation in every step is an important and essential part of CBET (see section 2.4.5) (Garrod, 2003; Sproule, 1996). As western scholars have mentioned, local participation in every step of the administration process of a community based development project is essential for the relevant community to obtain expected benefits (Li, 2006). However, there are many issues of community participation in the decision making process of such projects carried out in the poor southern peripheral context (Tosun, 2000). Above all, the socio-political background of these countries does not fully and effectively support local community participation in the administrative process of CBET projects in the developing world (Garrod, 2003). Thus, lack of community participation in the decision making process of community based projects has become a major issue in the Sri Lankan context (Kumara, 2010) including in the Kudawa-Sinharaja CBET site.

There are many practical advantages of this approach. First, when the local community is allowed to participate in the project designing and monitoring processes, project planners can identify the actual capacity and needs of the field through the experiences of community members (Carruthers & Tinning, 2003).

Second, if community members are given opportunities to get experience in administration of the project, they are able to handle it sustainably afterwards, at the time the project planners must leave (Fraser et al., 2006; Freebairn & King, 2003). Lastly, an opportunity to be involved in the administration process of such a project as a team can strengthen the community bond (Fraser et al., 2006). This is very important since a superimposed capitalistic social structure can create and promote individualistic social activities that work against achieving CBET targets (see section 5.2)

However, the Forest Department at Kudawa-Sinharaja has not yet applied bottom-up methods in CBET practices, although they have stated that they use this approach in their project policy (see section 4.4). The Forest Department has not given the local community here an opportunity to be involved in project planning activities. According to the president of the Sinharaja Sumituro society,

> The Forest Department is still using the top to bottom approach in forest management. Anyway, they have named their approach a 'bottom to top' method but in my opinion, they are abusing the term. As far as I know, none of the local community members in this village was given a chance to participate in the project planning stage of any of the CBET projects launched here. The authority was not open to the ideas of the villagers (FGI04E, 2012.10.24).

According to my observations, two main reasons create such a situation on the ground. First, misuse of the terms 'sustainable and bottom up development' is common when these concepts are practically applied in a capitalist socio-economic system (Priantha & Chandana, 2013). Second, socio economic and political structures of most of the southern peripheral countries are immature to implement this kind of western development ideologies. The data collected in the questionnaire survey of the research confirms that declaration; 94% of the villagers have identified that poor community participation in the decision making process of the CBET projects was the main weakness of these projects.

As many villagers have highlighted, the Forest Department has given the villagers an opportunity to obtain ecotourism benefits, yet it has not taken their stances or ideas into account in the project administration process. Conversely, the villagers have no proper understanding of the administration of CBET projects. Most of the

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villagers here are still unaware of the current CBET plan for this site. Forest officers have implemented some programmes in the site from time to time and they allow the villagers to participate manually in these programmes as workers. As a site guide stated,

> Normally, joining the CBET projects as site guides is currently popular here. If there are any complaints against any villager who has joined CBET projects as a site guide, the forester has the authority to dismiss that particular guide after an inquiry but no villager is allowed to be a member of that inquiry board. Providing homestay facilities and safari jeep service to tourists are individually handled by villagers under the rules of the Forest Department, but without its help. However, these rules have solely been formed by forest officers without obtaining the participation of the villagers here. Actually we are still unaware of the future CBET plans for this site (SSI35G5, 2012. 10. 25).

The above situation does not support meaningful CBET and is against bottom -up development ideologies (Crescenzi & Rodríguez-Pose, 2011). However, according to the forest officers here,

> The situation at the Kudawa GND is still immature to allow the community to be involved in the decision making process, in its full sense. As well, the department cannot take the responsibility of any harm done to the forest, its wildlife, or the community itself, after allowing active participation of community members in the decision-making process of forest management projects. I hope we would get more opportunities to use that approach in the future but at present, that approach can bring more harm than benefits to the community as well as to the forest and wildlife in this site (FGI2D, 2012.09.10.01).

This viewpoint of the forest officers for not allowing community participation in certain phases of project management can be viewed through two lenses. First, the forest officers do not believe in the idea of decentralizing their power in the management of CBET projects even though they like to name their forest management tool a 'bottom to top' approach. According to the villagers,

> The forest officers here always like to be dominant and commanding whenever it comes to the point of management. They do not want to decentralize this power they enjoy at present and are unwilling to share the responsibilities with us since decentralization of power would automatically

empower us and in return, they eventually become less superior (SS97G1-2013.02.15).

This sort of point of view nurtured by CBET project coordinators, which is common in a 'top-down' approach, can negatively affect the whole CBET project where the authorities hold back local community empowerment by giving them fewer opportunities to join in decision making and management phases of the project. These kinds of limitations are common in the southern peripheral context (Coria & Calfucura, 2012; Okazaki, 2008; Tosun, 2000).

Secondly, such an ideology reveals the fear and dilemma of the authorities on possible negative repercussions of a community based approach to achieve success in a development project. Although western scholars have proposed the bottom up decision-making process as the best option for a community based development project, the practical socio-political situation at ground level can negatively influence the quality of the project. The situation of CBET projects at Bouma National Heritage Park, Fiji better illustrates that. In this project, indigenous governance and democratic decision making systems were introduced and encouraged but in return, they failed to contribute to political empowerment of local people; instead it created many complex and problematic issues within the project where local micro-political systems blocked the successful achievement of project goals (Farrelly, 2011). Farrelly (2011) concludes,

> A greater attention to the cultural values, local governance, and micro politics of the Bouma National Heritage Park provides tourism researchers with a more complex view of what is happening beneath the veneer of its international acclaim as a model example of community based ecotourism. Democratic decision-making systems introduced through external development do not always provide the best alternative to traditional decision-making systems (p. 830).

There is considerable rationality in Farrelly's statement when the grassroots level situation of the Kudawa-Sinharaja site is considered. Accepting traditional systems can be viewed as a positive way of incorporating the local community, however, the project planners must focus on monitoring, and reducing possible marginalization issues where they can educate the whole community to become more democratic. Yet adapting such bottom up development principles based on

traditional systems is not always uncomplicated. According to the forester of Sinharaja,

> At present regional politicians cannot influence me on the decisions taken in forest management here. I am happy to respect and respond to the rules of our department and decisions taken by senior officers. However, if we allow the local community participation in decision making in the project, the decision taken by them will soon be influenced by external forces such as crooked regional politicians and it would lead to prolonged conflicts within the community. As well, there is a possible risk that ideas of a few dominant members in the community with political power become a collective ideology because a few villagers with power and capacity can overpower the majority of less powerful and feeble others (SSI71A, 2012.12.16).

During the field experiences in focus group interviews, I did notice that a few influential villagers in the Kudawa GND dominated the collective work within the village and most of the times they tried to dominate the conversation in interviews too. As I understood through direct participatory observation and qualitative interviews, most interestingly, these dominant figures in the village are supporters of regional politicians.

Thus, though 'community participation in the decision making process' is an important aspect of 'bottom –up' development projects, in practice, such community independence and democratic decision making in CBET projects carried out in many rural villages in southern peripheral countries can create complex issues within both the projects and local communities owing to social, economic, and political challenges. The local elite and the most powerful people in these communities are able to hinder the bottom up development approaches (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004; Mansuri & Rao, 2004) and this situation has become common at the Kudawa-Sinharaja CBET site.

The research findings of Li (2006) on community participation in decision-making practices of CBET in the Jiuzhaigou world heritage forest reserve in China, reveal that though western thinkers have highlighted local participation in decision-making is a precondition for benefits reaching local communities, this approach is practically problematic in the rural contexts. According to Li's analysis, the geopolitical situation in the Jiuzhaigou ecotourism site has not

supported the implementation of bottom up development with the associated local participation modes in decision making (Li, 2006). This situation is similar to the CBET project in the Bouma National Heritage Park in Fiji (Farrelly, 2011). As Li (2006) concludes, "this does not mean opposition to community participation in decisions but rather it is not a necessary condition in all contexts" (p. 141).

The prevalent 'top to bottom' approach in CBET development projects in Sri Lanka has blocked the community-based approach to ecotourism development at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site in its full sense. All ecotourism practices here including local community integration in ecotourism ventures have been planned and developed according to the ideologies and knowledge of a few forest officers. Thus, they have failed to understand the different dimensions at ground level. An experienced researcher at this site confirms that,

> Currently, the forester and divisional forest officers play a dominant role in the decision making process of CBET projects here and they have planned and managed all the phases of ecotourism development in this site as they pleased. Nevertheless, this method is not always effective in CBET development. For instance, now the forest officers are planning to introduce new eco trails to the site. For me, this should be considered a crucial task, which needs careful planning (SSI82K, 2013.01.20).

According to my field data, existing eco trails in the site hardly suit the needs of formal eco-tourists. There should be eco trails to see marshland forest biological areas and stream bank ecosystems since these areas are the habitats of most endemic and rare bird species. The lack of a well-planned eco trail system has forced some tourists and site guides motivated by their needs to trespass illegally into these areas. This has led to misuse of the forest and its animal and bird habitats against all the current forest conservation rules. Hence, a well-planned and well-developed formal eco trail system suitable for all tourism needs is essential for tourism development.

However putting up such a system of eco trails within a biologically sensitive piece of land is very difficult (Aslam, Awang, Samdin, & Othman, 2014). Such a development activity must consider all the possible environmental impacts (Chen

& Liaw, 2012). Yet, as the researcher mentioned above identified, a group of forest officers alone cannot fulfil this task easily. According to him,

> Before starting this type of development work alone, they should look for expert advice and consult people around them like researchers and knowledgeable local villagers who have long-time experiences in this site. Then we can help their effort to establish new eco-trails in the site in a very practical way as researchers who own more than thirty years of ecological experience in this site. Local villagers, especially site guides, are well aware of very sensitive animal habitats and tourists needs. Even many other environmental organizations, especially 'Sinharaja Sumituro' can help the Forest Department in various ways (SSI82K- experienced zoologist in Sinharaja, 2013.01.20).

Thus, the application of a 'collective leadership' approach in the decision-making phase of the CBET development project at this site is promoted and positively viewed by many outside entities. A collective leadership approach contributes to bottom up development (see chapter 2, section 2.2.3) (Day & Harrison, 2007). At present, CBET ventures at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site are handled by the forest officers according to their preferences but if other stakeholders of this project were given opportunities to participate in them, the officers would have better chances of viewing their task in different dimensions and thus improving its results as they pay special attention to traditional knowledge and expertise.

A CBET project must retain the perspective and ideas of the local host community regarding ecological management based on their own knowledge and experiences (Berkes, 2004). Hence, the collective leadership approach can be identified as a better decision-making method, which can be implemented at this site instead of the current top- down approach. Even the present policy framework of the Forest Department states that more opportunities should be given to the local communities to be involved in planning and decision-making of forest management (de Zoysa, 2001).

However, according to the forest officers the key issue in collective leadership and decision-making is that there is not a single entity to take the ultimate responsibility,

At present we make decisions cooperatively with regional and divisional forest officers. When all agree on the proposal, we implement project activities. We take responsibility for any decision we have applied in the field. Nevertheless, if villagers and other stakeholders are involved in the decision-making process of CBET, we (forest officers) have to amend some of our decisions according to their proposals even though we prefer carrying out things in our way. If some of these new changes made on our plans following the initiatives of other stakeholders go wrong, who is going to take responsibility? We can only be accountable for things what we have decided and carried out but not for the things forced on our plans by outside entities (SSI70A, 2012.12.15).

Theoretically as well as practically the argument of forest officers is rational. Yet, many scholars have identified stakeholders' theory and collective leadership theory as a better way out for issues in taking ultimate responsibility of CBET projects (Honey, 2008; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Jamali, 2008). One of the key arguments of stakeholder theorists is that local communities will actively participate in and be responsible for nature conservation if they are provided with more opportunities to participate in the decision making process and obtain benefits from the ecotourism project (chapter 2, section 2.2.3) (Honey, 2008).

Therefore, stakeholder theory or collective leadership theory, which encourages decision-making in cooperation with other stakeholders, can be used in the Kudawa-Sinharaja context to offer enhanced opportunities to the local community members to participate in the decision making process of CBET. However, the socio-cultural and educational background of the local communities must be studied prior and CBET plans should be developed allowing a better mesh of concepts of collective leadership theory in relation to the values of the particular community. For example, Fletcher (2009) studied the possible challenges of stakeholders theory in the Futaleufú ecotourism site in Patagonia, Southern Chile and he stated that,

> Ecotourism can also be viewed as a discursive process, embodying a culturally specific set of beliefs and values largely peculiar to this demographic group that promotes and often unwittingly, seeks to propagate through ecotourism development. As a result, local peoples' response to ecotourism promotion may depend partly on how this particular cultural perspective resonates with their own understandings of the world. Thus,

future research and planning should pay greater attention to the ways in which ecotourism discourse is perceived and negotiated by local actors" (Fletcher, 2009, p. 269).

6.6   Issues of stakeholder involvement and coordination

Stakeholder involvement and coordination is an integral element for the success of any CBET project (Jamal & Stronza, 2009). Even though local community members are centred in a CBET development project, active participation of other relevant partner groups in the project is equally important to obtain project goals. Integration and cooperation of all relevant groups is essential to avoid conflicts in a project (Okazaki, 2008). Therefore, many scholars have paid greater attention to define the specific role of various stakeholders in each phase of an ecotourism and tourism development project such as designing, development and planning, management, monitoring and evaluation (Ashley, 1998; Beeton, 2006; Simpson, 2008; Tosun, 2006).

According to the data collected in the questionnaire survey, 84% of villagers have accepted the fact that there are a number of accountable stakeholders at present and their sustainable contribution to projects is crucial to develop CBET in the Kudawa- Sinharaja site (questionnaire survey). The key stakeholders identified thus far in the CBET project here are the local community, which is the main stakeholder, the Forest Department and relevant other institutions and people such as travel agencies, environmental organizations, researchers and academics, funding agencies and regional politicians. However, lack of integration among these groups challenges CBET development on several grounds. An experienced researcher at the site believes that:

> We lack supportive, productive, and proactive interrelationships among all responsible ecotourism partners in this site. I have more than forty years of experience as a zoologist and an ecological researcher in this site. Having worked close to each other over many years, we have built a very good rapport with the villagers here (SSI25K, 2012.10.14).

During the progression of this research-, both researchers and villagers have worked together. Many villagers had worked as research assistants and some of the villagers had provided homestay accommodation for researchers. This

closeness developed strong social relationships, trust and understanding between the two groups during the last few decades. The same researcher quoted above continued that they never had a close relationship with forest officers.

> It was difficult to build a strong relationship with either the Forest Department or its officers, even though it is the main administrative body here for forest management. The forest officers seem to neglect our work as researchers and they even do not know what sort of research we have carried out here for many years. Even the villagers have difficulties in interacting with them formally. Only the villagers who have joined the department as tour guides have an affiliation with the forest officers. As well, they have not asked us to participate in any stage of ecotourism or CBET projects so far (SSI25K).

A considerable number of academics have carried out long-term research projects on biology, zoology, sociology, archaeology, geography etc., of this site and they are one of the key stakeholders in the CBET project since they are experienced and knowledgeable about social and environmental aspects of the site. Thus, they can contribute to achieve project targets, especially as advisers, designers, and impact assessors. According to Bodorkós and Pataki (2009), who studied linking academic and local knowledge of community-based research and service learning for sustainable rural development in Hungary, academics play a considerable role as designers and assessors in a project supporting the concepts of bottom up, micro regional level and community based development (Bodorkós & Pataki, 2009). However, the Kudawa-Sinharaja Forest Department has failed to obtain the support of academics owing to several facts. According to the Divisional Forest Officer (DFO) here,

> At times we clash with researchers or environmentalists as our needs conflict. Most of them pay greater attention to forest conservation than to ecotourism or CBET development. Hence, their involvement in the project creates conflicts due to the differences in our expectations and priorities. Further, if practically viewed, bringing all these different stakeholders together at one place for ongoing regular sessions is time and money consuming (SSI4A, 2012.09.10).

This statement indicates that the Forest Department lacks proper mechanisms and processes to facilitate stakeholder involvement and communication during project planning or implementation, even if they have worded that they use the bottom up

development approach in their project policy. Forest officers here are also most likely to be domineering in project planning and implementation as they consider that other stakeholder involvement can hinder CBET development by being over influential. This idea can be accepted to a certain extent when outcomes of some ecotourism projects carried out in other poor southern peripheral countries are considered. For example, Araujo and Bramwell (1999) who studied the issues of multiple stakeholders' involvement in a Costa Dourada project in Brazil conclude that this project was unable to achieve its goals because of increased ideological conflicts among diverse stakeholders.

On the other hand, gathering all stakeholders together at one place for ongoing and regular sessions over a considerably long period is practically difficult and there should be a well-organized mechanism and financial assistance to make this achievable (Araujo & Bramwell, 1999; Sproule, 1996; Wood, 1998). Lack of integration among relevant stakeholders is a limitation and a challenge to develop CBET in a sustainable way in this site. According to a travel agency owner,

> I run my own travel agency and I help eco tourists to visit natural areas of Sri Lanka. Hence, I visit Sinharaja very often and during the last ten years, I have worked as a tour guide as well. Anyway, I have not built any relationship with either the Forest Department or the local villagers here, because there are no means for that. I personally know Mr. Martin Wijesinghe who has become a successful businessperson by providing services to tourists in this area and a few other villagers who work as safari jeep drivers and site guides. Some villagers here provide homestay accommodations to tourists but I do not know much about them or the condition of their places, so I do not recommend homestays for tourists (SSI8L, 2012.09.10).

Hence, it is clear that most of the partners of the ecotourism projects in this site function individually as isolated entities focusing only on their expectations due to the lack of a proper mechanism to develop stakeholder coordination, communication, and collaboration to bring their diverse interests together in order to achieve CBET goals.

The above situation can also lead to issues of environmental vulnerability in the project even though environmentalists and local organizations aimed at

environmental protection have taken part in some development programmes here. For instance, some of the ventures carried out by the Forest Department are against eco-friendly concepts owing to the lack of attention and knowledge of ecological conservation. As confirmed an environmentalist,

> The Forest Department has implemented some ecotourism practices here without doing an environmental impact assessment. As an example, they have put up a small artificial pond in front of the ticket counter near the access gate of the site, just to add some sparkles to the scenic beauty. They have put some foreign fish varieties into this pond and now these fish are increasing in number threateningly. However, forest officers here have not considered possible impacts of introducing foreign fish varieties into a sensitive ecosystem where there are many endemic and native fresh water fish species. Especially, in rainy seasons, this pond overflows and these introduced foreign species or their eggs can easily flow into the nearby waterways (SSI19J, 2012.09.23).

It is true that a little act carried out purely for aesthetic reasons can be a major cause for the complete collapse of the aquatic ecosystem (Jarrad et al., 2011; Likens, 2013). However, if the committee of CBET here includes environmentalists or ecologists as stakeholders, these types of harmful mistakes can be avoided.

In order to encourage stakeholder involvement, integration and communication, there must be a well-developed institutional arrangement which is capable of addressing issues of uneven power relations among diverse stakeholders and institutional limitations which hamper stakeholder coordination (Hiwasaki, 2006). Developing a strong socio-political relationship network among relevant stakeholders is a better practical option to coordinate them under one umbrella. Unequal power relations of participants should be carefully handled by project planners to minimize their own ideological biases on the project (Mahanty & Russell, 2002). Project planners or key administrative institutes have to strategically build trust in the relationship between the project and its stakeholders since successful coordination mainly depends on trust (Bramwell & Lane, 2000; Jamal & Getz, 1995).

Work of Ladkin and Bertramini (2002) on collaborative tourism planning of the Cusco ecotourism site in Peru provides a good example. Lack of confidence and trust among stakeholders is one of the major causes of coordination failures in this project. This does not support the development of comparative work of the stakeholders. Project planners must consider cultural reality and complexity and they must use socio-cultural friendly access methods to address every stakeholder to obtain their genuine support for the project (Hjalager, 2010; Ladkin & Bertramini, 2002; Tosun, 1998). However, all these essentials for stakeholder coordination are lacking in the Kudawa- Sinharaja context. As Mr. Martin Wijesinghe stated,

> Many forest officers are ignorant of the history of this site. In the 1970s, the government conducted logging operations in this site and many environmentalists and researchers strongly campaigned against it. Thanks to all those courageous environmentalists and the public, the forest was saved from possible devastation. However, the present forest officers seem to neglect the role of environmentalists and researchers. Sometimes they are very arrogant not to meet these researchers arriving at the site. Therefore, senior environmentalists and researchers hesitate to build any sort of friendly relationship with forest officers. But I know the history and I respect them so much and that is why they like to stay at my place (SSI94G6, 2013.02.12).

Causes for the lack of stakeholder involvement ranges from economics, socio-politics, to differing visions. Especially politics based on socio-cultural issues can be great barriers for stakeholder collaboration not only in this site but also elsewhere in the world, especially in poor southern peripheral countries. Hence, Arnaboldi and Spiller (2011) propose 'Actor-network theory' as a theoretical approach to face such issues (more in chapter 2, section 2.2.3) (Arnaboldi & Spiller, 2011). The Forest Department can also use this kind of theoretical approach to encourage involvement and coordination of the stakeholders already identified and those to be identified, whereby all of them are encouraged to become more inclusive in the decision making process as they might better appreciate the knowledge and skills of the other stakeholders including local residents.

A community based social organization can be created to gather all the relevant stakeholders under one umbrella with the coordination of the Forest Department.

Most importantly this social organization must ensure that it provides some sort of CBET benefits to each and every stakeholder to encourage their involvement. Different stakeholders are attracted to different types of project benefits, such as ecological knowledge, decision making power in the project, free access to the site, free accommodation in forest bungalows, income generation etc. Especially, the work done by forest officers as coordinators of the project should be counted in service promotions when they make the effort to encourage stakeholder cooperation. There should be too a mechanism to flow a portion of income generated by the Forest Department through increased sales of entrance tickets or providing accommodation at forest bungalows etc., to the forest officers, for example, as a bonus added to the salary during high income generating periods. The proposed social organization would contribute to the process of rearranging CBET practices in this site. The theoretical approaches proposed in the data analysis chapters as solutions for various challenges should be used as key policies and agendas when creating such a social organization.

6.7 Challenges of accessing funds

At the initial stages of the Kudawa-Sinharaja CBET projects, many government and non-government institutions had directly or indirectly funded the project performances (see section 4.4) (Forest Department, 2013a). Obtaining funds for such a project from donors is an administrative as well as a political process. Geo-political reasons such as the government's interest in this sort of a project, money allocation priorities of ministries, the nature of government links with relevant NGOs or donor agencies can directly influence the process of obtaining funds for a development project. For example, after the Tsunami in December 2004, a large number of NGOs and donor agencies arrived in the country with funds and coordinated many community based development projects with the support of the Sri Lankan government. Politically, both government and funding agencies had a positive relationship in this situation and funds flooded into the country (Khasalamwa, 2009; Korf, 2005; Korf, Habullah, Hollenbach, & Klem, 2010). However, many NGOs and funding agencies raised the issues of human rights violation in the country after the civil war and it became one of the main reasons for the collapse of the positive political relationship between the Sri Lankan

government and NGOs and it resulted in lowered financial support for community based development works from international NGOs or funding agencies (Ratnayake, 2014.07.10; Samath, 2014)

In the present political situation, accessing the necessary funds to develop CBET ventures further has become difficult. Many local community members here are willing to participate in ecotourism ventures as tourist-focused service providers but they lack initial capital of their own but also the government and other institutions were not sufficiently funded (see section 4.4). According to a Kudawa villager,

> I work as a site guide here and I started attaching separate rooms to my house, so I can host homestays for tourists. However, I cannot complete the construction as I lack money. Most of my income is spent on daily needs and I do not have many savings either. I am the only employed person in the household and it is difficult to manage household expenses with two kids in school (SS95G5, 2013.02.13).

According to my field experiences and analysis of focus group interviews conducted with villagers (FGI08C), this is quite a common situation for most of the Kudawa villagers who are willing to get involved in CBET practices. Large numbers of NGOs from northern hemispheric countries have facilitated CBET projects in poor southern peripheral countries offering expertise or funds for some specific time period to conduct projects. Those donor agencies have targeted the build-up of self-sustainability of those projects after the funding period is completed, yet it has not happened in many of the projects (Dixey, 2008; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Salafsky et al., 2001).

This situation is common at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. Many scattered CBET programmes have been independently operated in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site with financial backing from different sources at different times (see section 4.4) (Forest Department, 2013a). However, all these failed to continue when the initial capital was exhausted, disappointing the people involved in the project. For example, the Kudawa Sinharaja Sumituro environmental organization was started as a community based forest management organization with funds from IUCN, but many ecotourism programmes and ventures it initiated collapsed at the end of the funding period as they had no means to become self-sustaining afterwards. Often,

the number of visitors is insufficient to provide the necessary cash flow to keep the project going (see section 4.4) (Forest Department, 2013a).

Further, as the key project planner of CBET projects, the Forest Department branch at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site has no mechanism to coordinate funding agencies and its administrative structure does not support direct linking with outside funding agencies. As one of the Sinharaja forest officers explained,

> Even if the Kudawa office of the Forest Department implements CBET projects in Kudawa-Sinharaja, we lack funds to extend these projects further. The Forest Department allocates a considerable amount of money for this site every year but it is still rather insufficient. This year we built new entrance gates in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site with the allocated money and we are unable to do anything more for this year unless we get more funds. On the other hand, being a regional office it's unable to reach possible outside funding agencies directly to implement such programmes (SSI69A, 2012.12.05).

Hence, two main challenges are identified such as lack of sufficient funds allocated to develop CBET in this site by the Forest Department or any other relevant institutes and the inability of projects to be self-sustaining when the allocated funds are over. One of the reasons is explained by a researcher who is doing a sociological study on Kudawa GND,

> Planning and implementing large scale projects which require a large amount of funds from outside donations are not effective to develop CBET practices in this context. According to my sociological experiences, local villagers here are not self-motivated to continue community based development projects, when money is donated by outsiders. There should be a mechanism within the community to create capital by themselves as a village banking system is more effective than receiving macro funding from outside (SSI110K-, 2013.03.24).

This statement indicates a significant understanding of the grassroots level situations in poor rural areas (Anderson, Locker, & Nugent, 2002; Waller & Woodworth, 2001). A community banking system based on the 'microcredit theory' can be developed to increase accessibility to the funds necessary for the local communities' self-employment activities (see section 2.2.3). This theory focuses on developing village banking systems according to a microcredit methodology at the grassroots levels allowing villagers to take a small loan

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whereby very poor and marginalized community members are supported in their own sustainable livelihoods (McKernan, 2002; Yunus, 1998, 2007). Thus, development of community banking systems at the Kudawa GND under the administrative support of the Forest Department or any other responsible stakeholder would be an effective mean for villagers to obtain capital to invest in CBET ventures, facilitating their participation in decision making.

6.8 Conclusion

Based on the data analysis, I have determined that the nature of geo-political power relationships among countries can create challenges to CBET as an alternative development approach, since geo-spatial realities of development are linked with the nature of power relations. From my point of view, 'alternative development' as an ideology is constructed by thinkers of the western world and its practicality efficiency and success depend heavily on the level of political power of its participants. Core-periphery dependency in global political hegemonic power is a global geo-political reality. This power relationship either directly or indirectly has influenced sustainable and bottom up development projects carried out in poor southern peripheral countries. That involvement may be positive or negative according to the nature of core-periphery geo-political relationships between the particular countries (Flint & Taylor, 2007).

Geo-political relationships of poor southern peripheral countries are based on their political agendas rather than development needs. The contemporary Sri Lankan government has not developed reliable geo-political links with capitalist northern hemispheric countries, owing to its special attentiveness to present or former socialist countries, especially China and Russia. This policy is based on political needs and interests of the present ruling government of Sri Lanka and political leaders. Simply, the Sri Lankan government still depends on western development ideologies for its economic development but maintains a distant political relationship with them. This kind of ideological discrepancy hinders the achievement of realistic CBET goals. My conclusion is that in order to achieve expected project goals, poor southern peripheral countries must maintain well balanced geo-political relationships with wealthier countries when they implement development projects based on western alternative development ideologies such

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as CBET. From my point of view, if Sri Lanka is practically able to sustain a 'non-aligned' foreign policy, it would be one of the efficient ways of developing effective geo-political relationships in the long run.

Eco-tourists' travel interests and selection of a particular country to visit is one of the major components to determine the level of ecotourism success in that country. As revealed in the research, ecotourism interests can very much depend on the nature of geo-political stability of the particular country. Nonetheless, issues of security and political instability are common in most of the poor southern peripheral countries other than Sri Lanka and many of these issues are rooted in colonial effects and historical effects of geo-politics (Englebert, 2000). Developing countries like Sri Lanka, must attend to maintain healthy global geo-political relations which in turn can help create a positive image of the country as a tourist destination, but this can be a difficult task without a genuine attempt to establish 'good governance' within the internal geo-political context.

According to the bottom up sustainable development ideology, 'political empowerment' of the marginalized local community is an essential and integral part of any CBET project to achieve its goals (Butcher, 2013). This idea proves its theoretical rationality when the grassroots level situation of my research field is considered. Political interference in power and resource distribution in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site has become a major obstacle to implement cooperative and grassroots level development projects that would politically empower the marginalized in the local community. This issue is linked with superimposed capitalism where the elite have tried to achieve capitalistic targets using their political power. This is one of the major reasons for bottom up development project failures. Thus, this issue needs theoretical attention as it can directly affect maintaining sustainability in a community based development project (Saxena, 1997; Smith & Scherr, 2003; Sundar, 2000). One of the main issues in the western sustainable and bottom up development ideologies are that they fail to understand the grassroots geo-political realities in the southern peripheral context.

In this research project, I suggest 'collective leadership theory', 'stakeholders' theory' and 'actor-network theory', which are directly linked with bottom up development phenomena as suitable theoretical applications, to address challenges

of allowing a community based decision making system for CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. As I have identified, geo-political marginalization of rural local communities of the developing world and their economic marginalization are interrelated and thus can be the basis for many other CBET challenges. In this site, CBET could not address geo-political marginalization of rural communities at a sufficient level since the CBET project has failed to support the means of economic sustainability of local marginalized communities. The theoretical and practical approaches mentioned above must be used to achieve political empowerment of the marginalized community members in the site without forgetting the role of superimposed capitalism and while taking potential socio-cultural issues into consideration

I have suggested the application of 'microcredit theory' and 'village banking system' which are aimed at economic, political and socio-cultural empowerment of rural marginalized community members of the developing world, as a common approach to address these issues. Most importantly, this approach theoretically originated in the poor southern peripheral context taking its grass roots reality into consideration and it has been implemented in real situations. Project planners should pay particular attention to gender and caste issues in the site since they are the major causes for socio-political and economic marginalization of rural communities of Sri Lanka. Thus, the next chapter focuses on socio-cultural challenges of this project.

Chapter 7: Socio-cultural Issues

7.1 Introduction

Negative effects brought by the socio-cultural situation and changes to that situation have become regular challenges to CBET in developing countries (Nelson, 2004; Schellhorn, 2010; Vieitas et al., 1999). Further, tourism and ecotourism have an impact on the economic and political situations of tourist sites and thus in turn contribute to changes in their socio-cultural composition (Nyaupane & Thapa, 2004; Reimer & Walter, 2013). Socio-cultural changes are not always negative and change is natural in any live social structure, yet, the likelihood of socio-cultural changes to affect achieving realistic CBET goals or sustainability of lifestyles of the relevant community cannot be ignored.

At times, traditional socio-cultural practices of developing countries and changes that occur in them can act against bottom up development activities. In particular, societies of the outback of poor southern peripheral countries still maintain their own traditional values, norms and belief systems whereas development ideologies such as sustainable development and bottom up development represent western alternative development philosophy (Adams, 2009).The two do not always match. In this situation, many socio-cultural challenges can arise that derail the goals of CBET and I have considered four main aspects in this chapter.

The local socio-cultural situation has theoretically hindered the achievement of expected project targets. Capitalism has been superimposed on this site and it has changed the traditional socio-cultural structure, which is now a mixture of local traditional values and capitalist values (see section 5.2). Further, local and regional geo-political power relationships maintain this superimposed capitalistic socio-cultural structure (see sections 6.5 and 6.6). This situation has created a new socio-cultural context in the site and I have paid special attention to its influence on reaching the project targets. CBET ventures have opened a new space where the community's culture mixes with diverse cultural ideologies and practices of tourists' culture, which has directly influenced the socio-cultural situation of the

site. I have focused my attention on those contemporary socio-cultural changes that may bring negative results in the future.

According to the field data, I identified four main socio cultural issues of CBET in this site, which are gender, caste, tourist behaviour, and drug and sex tourism. Identifying these issues is critically important because CBET, as a bottom up development approach, should directly address empowerment of marginalized social groups to participate in economic and political activities to achieve sustainable development. In general, traditional Kudawa villagers have been marginalized based on their caste and women are marginalized on gender on top of their caste. Gender and caste issues can be viewed as common challenges to achieve bottom up development targets in many areas of South Asia (Kabeer, 2003). This is identified as the main socio-cultural issue in CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja as the community maintains some of its traditional socio-cultural values and ideas.

Philosophically, since CBET aim to protect both natural and socio-cultural phenomena in particular areas, they are implemented as sustainable development approaches (Chiu, Lee, & Chen, 2014). However, it is practically hard to achieve both these goals due to various cross cultural differences prevalent among particular social groups, tourists and other stakeholders (Solstrand & Gressnes, 2014). This has become a serious socio cultural challenge in many ecotourism and CBET projects in the world, especially in poor southern peripheral contexts (Berkes, 2010; QingMing, HongGang, & Wall, 2012). Therefore, analysing and studying issues and trends in consumer behaviour in ecotourism and CBET are important to achieve realistic bottom up development and sustainable development targets (Chiu et al., 2014; Kerstetter, Hou, & Lin, 2004; Tangeland, 2011).

Most importantly, tourist behaviour can affect ultimate project outcomes in negative and positive ways. My research reveals two distinct socio-cultural behaviour patterns between international tourists and domestic tourists. Thus, in-depth analysis of tourist behaviour and its influence on the success of CBET development projects is a timely need and one of the key areas of my research.

Parallel to the development of tourism and related regular tourist services in many poor southern peripheral countries, demand for illicit activities, especially drug consumption and sex commerce have increased (Rogstad, 2004; Scheyvens, 2002). These kinds of illegal activities have become profitable businesses in Sri Lanka as well as in many other developing southern peripheral countries (Faeh, Viswanathan, Chiolero, Warren, & Bovet, 2006). Effects of superimposed capitalism and geo-political corruption increase the effects of such illegal activities. On that basis, I specifically examined socio-cultural issues that might result from drug consumption and sex commerce as possible or potential practices in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site.

7.2 Gender issues

Gender issues are one of the major development challenges in the world, especially in poor southern peripheral countries where gender issues are directly responsible for the collapse of many alternative development projects based on bottom up and sustainable development approaches (Rocheleau, Thomas-Slayter, & Wangari, 2013). Addressing gender issues has become an important aspect of development projects in order to achieve overall sustainable development goals (Oparaocha & Dutta, 2011). In particular, the involvement of women is considered an essential part in community based environmental conservation projects as it provides scope for their ideas, voice and active participation (Asteriaa, Suyantib, Utaric, & Wisnud, 2014). Many scholars have paid attention to feminist and gender roles and perspectives in tourism, ecotourism, and bottom up development ventures (Aitchison, 2005; Ferguson, 2011; Gentry, 2007).

Regardless of all the strategic plans of the Sri Lankan government to raise women's involvement in sustainable development projects, there are many socio-cultural barriers against it. The traditional socio-cultural structure with its values, norms, and beliefs has promoted male hegemonic power whereas it has abandoned women in their effort to obtain social power. As Jayaweera, Wijemanne, Wanasundera, and Vitarana (2007, p. 45) explain, the "parliamentary scene is bleak with the minuscule percentage of women representatives declining

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from 5.3% in 1994 to 4.9% in 2004. The same pattern of under representation prevails in the local assemblies, around 3% in Provincial Councils and Municipal Councils and around 2% in Urban Councils and Pradeshiya Sabhas or local councils - perhaps among the lowest record globally". The above statistics explain how women in Sri Lanka are politically maginalized and it is linked with   and directly responsible for socio-cultural and economic maginalization as well.

Gender refers to the socio-culturally created role of men and women based on their biological/sexual differences (Alsop, Fitzsimons, & Lennon, 2002). This socially constructed role differs from society to society, as it highly depends on socio-cultural norms, beliefs and religious values. of the particular society (Inglehart & Norris, 2003) rather than on significant physical differences. Gender roles have created many inequalities between men and women in several societies, especially in the less developed context, such as economic disadvantages and the frailer social position of women (Connell, 2012).

7.2.1   Gender issues in ecotourism related occupations

Gender issues were the main social issues in traditional Sri Lankan society in which reproductive work was considered the main task of women (Hyndman & De Alwis, 2003; Lynch, 2007; Marecek, 1998; Miller, 2002). They had limited occasions to enter economic or political activities (Hewamanne, 2008; Malhotra & Mather, 1997). Although women participated in farming or agricultural production, they were defined as helpers rather than farmers. Even if post-colonial development policies and contemporary bottom up development policies have focused on incorporating women in the development process their efforts have not been very successful (Attanapola, 2004). This situation is common in my research site as well, since it is a rural area of the country consisting of marginalized villagers.

Gender issues are more likely in rural areas of Sri Lanka than in urban areas (Marecek, 1998). Because of the traditional socio-cultural hierarchy, women are less motivated to be involved in development activities like CBET, thus, have fewer means to reap benefits of any development movement. Women of this site

can be considered as marginalized community members who have less opportunity to participate in development works. As a bottom up development approach CBET is targeting empowering such a marginalized community group. Therefore, giving space for women and their voice in a CBET project is essential (Asteriaa et al., 2014). Paying attention to and studying gender roles and perspectives of ecotourism and bottom up development activities is thus theoretically and practically very important (Aitchison, 2005; Ferguson, 2011; Gentry, 2007).

Issues of gender differences and lesser participation by women associated with socio-cultural issues have become one of the major challenges of improving CBET at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. For example, there are 26 male site guides at this site but only one female villager has chosen this career. The reason was revealed during focus group interviews with villager site guides.

> **Chaminda:** For 26 local male site guides here, I see only one female site guide. Why do not female villagers join the department as site guides?
>
> **Site guide 3 (58 years old male**): It is just because even if some girls join us as site guides, they tend to leave the job when they get married. This is typical in Sri Lankan traditional villages that after being married women choose to stay at home as homemakers instead of working at a career. One of the other reasons is that parents do not want their daughters to work as tour guides here (FGI12G1, 2012. 12. 06).

After capitalism had been super imposed on this site, the village economic system changed but socio-cultural values did not as villagers maintain traditional values. The site guide's outlook that 'after being married women choose to stay at home' is not rational. Women are compelled to stay at home since many societal challenges and cultural stigma push women out of the workforce. This patriarchal society considers the man to be the breadwinner and the woman the homemaker, thus, socio-culturally home is the place for women. The common social belief is that women are incapable of doing men's jobs like site guide service. Further, in this community it is commonly believed that married women have more than enough household work to attend to such as cooking, washing, cleaning, raising children etc. than taking a career outside. The male villagers are reluctant to accept that women might want a career or at least to earn some income and so

men support gender inequalities in their own community openly, which prevents women from career opportunities. Hence, male participants in this research have given many other reasons for the reduced participation of women in site guide service.

> **Site guide 2 (32 years old male):** A few females were involved in site guide service and in other CBET related ventures earlier. Most of the women are busy with general household work. Married women seem to have no time to take up this job, and usually parents refuse to send unmarried girls to this job (FGI12G1, 2012. 12. 06).

I observed that most of the male villagers are ignorant of gender inequalities in their own society. Thus, according to them, lack of accessibility to CBET for women is a natural phenomenon in the system. That is one of the main challenges since male villagers who hold hegemonic power in the community fail to identify or accept gender biases and inequalities as a problem. On the other hand, they like to maintain their traditional social order.

> **Site guide 4 (67 years old male)**: In my point of view, most of the jobs related to CBET are male jobs, so females cannot join them. If they try to do such jobs, it will ruin their family life (FGI12G1, 2012. 12. 06).

According to this site guide, CBET related jobs are male jobs. In other words, for him CBET is a male dominated industry where female community members have fewer opportunities. The idea behind his outlook- 'it will ruin their family life' is that women's participation in CBET occupations can challenge the superior position held by men in the household as CBET careers are income-generating, which would lead to economic empowerment of women. Project planners should have a proper mechanism to address these ideologies in women's empowerment through CBET. On the other hand, as male site guides stated, certain socio-cultural issues in contemporary society can prevent women involvement in CBET related jobs like site guide service.

> **Site guide 1 (26 years old male)**: This is a difficult job for women, as we have to deal with drunken domestic tourists some times. Going inside the forest with them is unsafe for a female guide. She [pointing to the only one female site guide] also studies tourists first, before she accepts her turn to guide them and if she or forest officers think that tourists' behaviour is not

good enough for her to accompany that group, a male tour guide usually takes her turn (FGI12G1, 2012. 12. 06).

As many male site guides have pointed out and argued, 'site guide service is a difficult job for females' and 'tourist behaviour is not so good for female site guides'. These two statements by current male site guides indicate two prevalent conditions at the site. First, there is a certain truth in these statements since it was noticed that some tourists are drunk when they visit the site and they lack social discipline. To accompany them into the forest alone can put a female site guide's personal safety at risk where she is vulnerable to oral or physical harassment or victimization (even the female site guide highlighted this issue). Secondly, the hint of patriarchal gender roles and ideologies indicated in these two statements cannot be neglected.

> **Site guide 5 (36 years old female)**: I am the only woman tour guide here at this time. I work and enjoy my duty as a tour guide and my husband too works here as a site guide. I have seen that partners do not like their wives to join the guide service. I am a mother of two kids. My mother takes care of them while I am away at work, so I am free in that regard. Other women are confined to daily household routine. By doing this job, I earn a considerable income similar to my husband, yet, practically I face many difficulties, which are rarely encountered by male site guides here. Especially, the behaviour of local tourists is socially unacceptable and unfriendly; they harass women by obscene jokes, sexist remarks, or humour about sex or women in general. Therefore, I am extra selective in accepting tourist groups to guide. If there is not a single woman in a tourist group, I do not accept to guide it (FGI12G1, 2012. 12. 06).

The aforementioned perspectives (FGI12G1) indicate that there are external and internal socio-cultural barriers, which prevent women's involvement in CBET ventures at the Kudawa GND. The most significant barrier that still prevails is male dominance in decision-making where the male decides that CBET ventures are too difficult or socially unacceptable for women to be involved in. Thus, involvement in such employment without the consent of a male member of the family, usually the father before marriage and husband after marriage, can negatively affect the personal and social life of women at the Kudawa GND.

In this community, there are distinct gender roles, which are explicitly defined and it is predominantly expected that they will be followed without questioning. For example, none of the female villagers works as safari jeep drivers as it is

traditionally viewed as a 'male' job. Women at the Kudawa GND have traditionally been assigned specific roles, most of which are in the domestic sphere as wives, mothers and daughters whereas the role of the men is one of authority and dominance. Women seem silently to agree to submit themselves to their father's control as daughters and then to their husbands' after marriage.

According to data revealed in focus group interviews, all the male guides regardless of their experience or age accepted that site guide service is meant for 'males' and thus it is a tough and insecure employment for village females. This ideology is a clear example that the change in economic status of villagers brought by capitalism has not changed some of their cultural and social values. This is a common socio-cultural phenomenon within a society on which capitalism has been superimposed. In this society, males of households have traditionally handled economic and political power at all times and male villagers are still not ready to hand this power to females even if monetary empowerment of women can improve the economic situation of the family. Many of the barriers for empowerment of women in developing countries lie inbuilt in these cultural and social norms, which do not support positioning women on an equal footing with men.

Figure 36: Percentage of villagers involved in CBET in the Kudawa GND
Source: questionnaire survey

According to one of the Kudawa female villagers,

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> I have two kids and both are at school. I am busy all day with their work as my husband leaves home early since he is a site guide here. In fact, I do most housework alone from early morning to late night. Therefore, I do not have time left to be involved in other jobs. When I have free time I do gardening, yet I do not think about getting involved in ecotourism ventures (SSI9G1, 2012.09.11).

Within the traditional social system, women are assigned to a specific gender role as a mother or homemaker and these socio-cultural values have remained the same even though the economic system has changed due to capitalism. During data collection, I was repeatedly referred to male members in households whenever I happened to ask the women in these households about CBET ventures in Kudawa villages. However, they willingly answered most other general enquiries related to the research. In my field diary, I noted that:

> Today and yesterday, I conducted two focus group interviews with local community members at the Kudawa GND. The first group interviewed included six villagers, three males and three females and the second interview included five males and three females. However, male villagers dominated throughout both these interviews answering most of the questions without giving female interviewees a chance to respond. Instead, the female interviewees kept silent and seemed to approve things said by the males (research field note, 2013.01.18).

At the start, I focused on obtaining women's perspectives through direct questioning in such situations, however, most of the time, I received simple yes-no answers from these female villagers. Yet, male interviewees answered my questions in detail on behalf of the females. Unfortunately, explanations given by male villagers were totally based on their point of view.

> Despite my effort to persuade women interviewees to speak up and voice their own perspectives on issues of CBET at this site, these female villagers remained passive where male interviewees dominated the conversation. This situation was common even in semi-structured single interviews. When I visited the selected households for data collection, male villagers participated in the interview in most households while female members tried to avoid the interview (research field note, 2013.01.18).

Hence, I had to stop interviewing women in households for a while until I could develop trustworthy and close social relationships with villagers through participation and direct observation activities. When I became friends with them, I could interview women more effectively and even male villagers seemed more

patient not to chime in my interviews with female members of the family as they used to do in earlier interviews. I had become more like family in their households, so the males felt less defensive.

7.2.2 Issues of socio-cultural setting in women's empowerment

Programmes aimed at empowering village women to participate in CBET ventures might consider how to change this passivity in women and improve their involvement in development projects. However, this sort of change in social structure can only be brought forward after careful planning since changing a traditional social structure with inbuilt cultural and social norms favouring male dominance in decision-making can bring some other serious social issues. For instance, the CBET project implemented in a traditional Akha community in Thailand aiming to achieve sustainable development empowered women in that society by giving them more opportunities to be involved in CBET ventures and thus to generate income for their households. This new economic system disrupted the status quo and traditional patriarchal hegemonic power within households and thus brought social conflicts. As Ishii analysed, "this new gender division of labour in the household income structure conflicts with patriarchal gender complementarities. This 'contradiction' and 'stigma for men' sometimes leads to alcohol and narcotic abuse among the community's men. According to the nesting double marginalization structure, the role of kin-based household economies to strengthen ethnic identity and gender roles is threatened" (Ishii, 2012, p. 307).

This experience is common in the Sri Lankan context as well. For example, after the 1990s, many women who lived in marginalized societies in the dry zone of the country became involved in income generating occupations: many of them migrated to Middle East countries as house cleaners. As a development strategy, a large number of garment factories were established by the government in urban areas of the country and many women found employment opportunities in them (Rigg, Kumara, & Hewage, 2011). However, the changes that occurred in traditional lifestyles and patriarchal hegemonic power relations in those households owing to women being monetarily empowered have resulted in the

collapse of traditional social relationships and instigated other socio-cultural issues. One of the main issues is loss of traditional social status of the men in those families, relative to the rest of the villagers. It has shaken the husband and wife relationship and many men have become alcoholics whereas some of them started extra marital relationships with neighbouring women, prostitutes or they abused their own children (Rigg et al., 2011).

Empowerment of women in a traditional social system with ingrained cultural norms and gender gaps must be facilitated after a careful examination of potential subsequent social effects. Project planners can make use of strategically systematic approaches to put women on an equal footing with men by giving them equal opportunities in every stage of the project and respecting traditional values at the same time. Steady and well-planned monetary empowerment of women can bring positive changes in traditional patriarchal systems. For example, Bakiga people have been involved in community-based ecotourism in South western Uganda and female villagers have been encouraged and involved in housekeeping, hotel gardening and tour guiding with the support and permission of their household heads, typically father or husband. When the project progresses, traditional patriarchal values and women's socialized gender roles have positively changed with time allowing many females to obtain autonomy with the new income (Tucker & Boonabaana, 2012).

At present, only a few females have been involved in ecotourism ventures such as site guides, homestay providers or eco camping organizers etc., in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. These few women villagers have chosen ecotourism ventures, which do not challenge the traditional role assigned to them. According to a female businessperson here,

> When ecotourism was developed here, many male villagers were involved as site guides and safari jeep drivers. Yet being a woman, I have limits in joining these jobs (SSI14G8, 2012.09.12).

This view is shared by most of the women in the Kudawa GND as they realise the limitations imposed by the patriarchal society they live in. She explains:

> I have a school age daughter and have to get up early in the morning for cooking and other household chores. Once I thought if I could cook some more food in the morning, I could supply breakfast for tourists as well. Then

> I started catering and it became successful since domestic tourists who arrive here early in the morning for bird watching have not usually taken their breakfast (SSI14G8).

This woman has opened a small eatery and sells village products such as Kitul treacle, jaggery, seasonal fruits, leech socks, and bottled water, etc. As she indicated in the interview, before starting this business, she had lived in a temporarily built wattle and daub house with her family, yet gradually she could save some money to build a permanent house. As a woman, she is very proud of herself and the things she has achieved so far. In my point of view, the economic power she obtained has made her an 'important character' within her household and she is happy to escape from women's traditional role. Most importantly, she is a widow as her husband suffered from a chronic disease for a long period and was unable to be involved in any income generating activity to support the family. She was able to obtain economic power in the household because the patriarch hegemonic structure in her household is weak following her husband's death. Her incapacity to be involved in high income generating ecotourism activities like site guide service or safari jeep service depict how patriarchal hegemony is still in practice in Kudawa villages.

Most married women seem busy with household chores and lack time to consider work in CBET ventures. On the other hand, their husbands seem not to promote women's involvement in CBET. As one of the village safari jeep drivers explained,

> I am so busy in my job since I have to transport tourists to a variety of places around the village. Therefore, I lack family time and my wife is responsible for looking after the household, my kids, and their education. If she also joins CBET ventures here who is going to take care of my kids? And even she has many things to do at home like cleaning, cooking, washing and so on, rather than using her time on CBET activities. I earn enough money for living and she can spend it on household expenses or on whatever she likes. So, why does she need a job? (SSI52G2, 2012.11.15).

An analysis of the above viewpoint of the male villager discloses two main ideologies common in most of the male villagers in the community. First, he still admires traditional social values and thus fears consequences and hardships the family might have to bear if the mother/wife is employed. In his point of view, nothing can be as good as traditional lifestyles. Second, he enjoys being

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financially the most dominant and important figure in the family as the sole employed person in the household: being employed gives him high self-esteem. He protests against any changes made in the prevalent traditional patriarchal hegemonic power structure.

On the other hand, while living within this traditional social structure, the spouse of this particular safari jeep driver struggles to be involved in CBET ventures to earn some more money. According to her,

> Similar to many other homemakers at this village, I also maintain a home garden and grow seasonal fruits and vegetables in order to sell them to tourists or tourist hotels around here. Especially, I have planted different banana varieties, as there is a good demand for them. Since my husband has links with most of the hotels here, I can sell my fruits and vegetables with his support (SSI5G10, 2012.09.10).

This woman's husband has helped her to contact relevant business people so she can sell her produce. He has also offered to transport her production. He seems to realize that extra income is a bonus for the whole family, so long as her earnings remain smaller than his. For her husband, the wife's 'business is nothing major'. His statement indicates that he is doing the major work in this family and he is ready to help his wife's business so long as it remains a minor income source and does not challenge his economic hegemonic power within the family structure. This woman acts consciously or subconsciously, as 'her business is nothing much and cannot be run without her husband's help'. Her behaviour reveals how women in this society allow traditional patriarch values in order to avoid conflicts in their family lives.

As a fundamental step for women's empowerment through CBET projects, the project planners can promote this kind of economic activities, which do not challenge the traditional socio-cultural values in the first phase. However, this sort of basic approach cannot address other issues of gender discrimination even though it is useful to involve female villagers in the project. One such issue is inequity of benefit distribution between males and females. For example, even if some female villagers at Kudawa are involved in ecotourism related income-generating activities, they earn less than the men who are involved in CBET ventures.

This situation is common in many other CBET projects carried out in poor southern peripheral countries (Tran & Walter, 2014). According to Gentry (2007) who has studied opportunities for and impediments to women employment in ecotourism practices in Belize, in this community ecotourism related jobs were divided between males and females on traditional gender divisions of labour where females were employed in low paid part time ecotourism activities. Women were not involved in high paid full time activities since they were expected to carry on the traditional wife's duty at home: "working women in Belize often have a double workday when responsible for their labour outside the home and for the majority of household chores as well" (Gentry, 2007, p. 485). Because of this heavy workload, they are unable to be fully involved in ecotourism activities continually, even if they are willing to do so. This situation is common too in the ecotourism project near Gunung Rinjani National Park in Indonesia (Schellhorn, 2010).

The same situation arises in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, as getting involved in CBET ventures has doubled the workload of village women, as the above interviewee had indicated: she cooked for tourists because she was cooking for her family in the first instance. According to another female Kudawa villager,

> I run a small stall at the Kudawa tourist area. I have three kids. As a homemaker, I do all the household chores alone; help my kids in their schoolwork and sometimes my husband's work. I get up early in the morning; cook for the whole family, and then I open the stall. When I close the stall in the late evening, I rush home to prepare something for dinner and help my kids do their homework. I go to sleep very late every night after doing all the laundry, washing, cleaning, and tidying up. I sometimes feel I am stuck and life is too hard (SSI22G8, 2012.09.24).

The double workload has its roots in the traditional patriarchal hegemonic power structure (Schellhorn, 2010) in which general household work is assigned to women and considered a woman's task. For instance, many local women have been involved in the CBET project of Cardamom Mountains of south-western Cambodia as chefs and cleaners in tourist accommodation places, however, these women faced two challenges. First, they were paid less even if they worked the

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same hours in the same job as their male counterparts and second, their workload was doubled, as they had to do the same 'cooking and cleaning' at their homes after work. Women tend to balance household chores and long hours at the work place in order to keep domestic harmony. Involvement in CBET practices, however, has made the life of village women even harder with added stress, tiredness and silent suppression (Reimer & Walter, 2013). In order to achieve realistic social justice through CBET projects, project planners need to understand these social situations and find strategies to address them gradually as these issues will not fix themselves.

7.2.3 Strategies for women's empowerment in CBET

In bottom up development projects planners need to consider women's empowerment as a main part of CBET with special focus on open economic opportunities for women and on increasing their social mobility and self-confidence (Pleno, 2006; Reimer & Walter, 2013). Most importantly, any programme targeted at women's empowerment should not be limited to women but it should involve men as well through mechanisms to change their deep-rooted attitudes about gender roles. Gender inequalities, after all, are embedded not only in the social structure but also in internalized social values and attitudes. When men identify with negative effects of traditional gender roles and power relationships, they might be ready to change their positions (Tran & Walter, 2014). The CBET projects implemented in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site require such formal women's empowerment programs or training programmes, which could contribute to successful female involvement in so-called male dominant and well-paid CBET ventures like site guiding and homestay accommodation provision.

CBET practices or related programs have failed to change traditional patriarchal ideologies and thus to open increased opportunities for women to be involved in such occupations. This is a common weakness prevalent in CBET projects implemented not only at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, but also in many other southern peripheral countries (Schellhorn, 2010; Scheyvens, 2007). However, project planners have achieved considerable success in women's empowerment

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through CBET by launching certain programmes and workshops to alter traditional social values and gender stereotypes. For example, women in Nepal have traditionally been banned from involvement in ecotourism as site guides in the Himalayan eco trails owing to socio-cultural values. However, through the project Empowering Women in Nepal (EWN) and its training and leadership programmes for women, the project planners could address not only skill development targets but also could positively change social attitudes. At present more than 400 women successfully work as women site guides without being challenged by males in that society (Jackson, 2010).

Women's empowerment projects and training programmes for women in the Giao Xuan CBET project in northern Vietnam is also one of the classic examples for long lasting women's empowerment. As Tran and Walter (2014, p. 125) explain, "Men in the Giao Xuan CBET project also gained a greater awareness of gender roles and the possibility of change. Since the CBET project started, local men have joined training programs for cooking, and now not only cook for tourists, but also help their wives with family cooking and housework. The knowledge, skills, and experience that Giao Xuan women obtained from participating in the CBET project also helped them to become more aware of their status and rights as women" (Tran & Walter, 2014, p. 125). Hence, CBET projects implemented at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site can be re-arranged using successful women's model empowerment and training programmes, which could effectively address traditional socio-cultural barriers to ecotourism development based on gender issues.

7.3   Caste issues

Prevalence of caste systems has been one of the main development barriers in South Asian countries over centuries and it is still in practice, especially in rural areas, regardless of all formal efforts taken to abolish it. The Asian caste system has its origin in Hindu religious ideologies according to which society is divided into strict compartments and hereditary groups called '*Jatis*' (Fontaine & Yamada, 2014). Traditionally there are five main caste groups in Indian Hindu society such as Brahmins (religious elites), Kshatriyas (political elites), Viasyas (economic elites), Sudras (marginalized group including peasants, servants and

commoners) and the Out Caste/ Untouchables (extremely marginalized group consisting of street sweepers, latrine cleaners and other despised workers) (Gupta, 2000).

According to Fontaine and Yamada (2014, p. 408), "the *Jati* system is characterized by large inequalities. Traditionally, the social and economic positions of individuals were largely shaped by the *Jati* to which they belonged, conferring social and economic power on some castes and excluding others. Indeed, the *Jati* used to determine the type of jobs one could have, and consequently the level of wealth and possession that an individual could expect even though this correspondence was not one to one". This caste system identified in Hinduism has gradually got into and influenced other religions in South Asian countries including Buddhism, Christianity, and Sikhism.

7.3.1   Nature of caste issue in Sri Lanka

Socio-culturally and traditionally, the caste system has been practiced in both Sinhalese and Tamil societies in Sri Lanka and there are many similarities between them. They are, however, very different from the Indian Hindu caste hierarchy, even though historically they have roots in Hindu ideologies (Silva, Sivaparagasam, et al., 2009). In the indigenous caste system among Sinhalese, the position of diverse castes in the social ladder is linked to their occupations and the labelling of an occupational group as a caste with a particular rank has occurred following historical developments. The Sinhalese caste system seems to have emerged under the Sinhalese monarchy where '*rajakariya*' or the 'king's work' was the most important. A community's caste was determined according to the specific occupation and services provided to the court and religious institutions.

Caste among present Sinhalese is near invisible and less significant in many respects compared to India. Owing to official efforts to abolish the caste system from Sri Lanka, it prevails very much as a hidden social entity: it is not openly addressed by society; however, it is still a considerable social phenomenon in determining one's social activities. People who are supposed to be of low caste are directly or indirectly discriminated by so-called high caste people (Silva, Sivaparagasam, et al., 2009). In present Sri Lanka, divisions between castes are

noticeable, especially in rural areas, by different forms of language and etiquette. Each caste has caste specific family or personal names and many adapt slightly different forms of speech by which others often identify someone's caste.

The eventful modern lifestyles have made caste niceties impossible where people interact without feeling uncomfortable about the caste they belong to. Most social interactions take place without reference to caste at all in present Sri Lankan society. Further, employment, health, education, and other welfare opportunities are officially open to all without discrimination based on caste. On the other hand, regardless of the near invisibility of caste in public life, caste based factions still exist in modern social and governmental institutions, especially in marriage where the overwhelming majority of unions occur between members of the same caste, considering the so-called 'purity' of the clan. Unemployment, landlessness, poverty, low human dignity, and poor living conditions do subsist, alongside with constant discrimination by neighbouring communities and institutions (Silva, Sivaparagasam, et al., 2009).

7.3.2   Caste issue and CBET in Kudawa GND

Traditional villagers of Kudawa GND are Sinhala Buddhists said to belong to the 'Vahumpura' caste, which is considered a low caste. These communities had experienced social injustice based on caste discrimination and had been marginalized in many ways by high caste people. Most of the villagers still marry within their own community since neighbouring villagers who represent higher castes are still reluctant to link with these communities through marriage. According to a villager,

> Before the 1980s, we experienced much discrimination based on caste as we belong to the Vahumpura caste. We also hesitated to build new social connections with outsiders to our clan, however, this situation was changed some when we could become economically more stable with tea plantation and tourism practices after the 1980s. With time, social values changed positively, our dignity raised with our improved economic conditions and at present, we feel more confident and comfortable in social interactions than before. No one openly comments about our caste state but high caste people are still reluctant to relate to us by marriage (SSI9G1, 2012.09.11).

The spirit of superimposed capitalism has reduced traditional practices such as caste hierarchy but inside the Sinhalese mentality, caste is still a considerable

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social phenomenon. When I was in the field, both forest officers and villagers were alert to my caste background. Although they did not openly ask me anything about it, many could not help asking for my surname whenever I happened to introduce myself to them by first name. This became one of the main barriers in primary data collection since the fact that I belong to a so-called high caste created a social gap between the villagers and me. The villagers tended to categorize me as an 'other' the first time they heard my surname. Others, members of a high caste, especially the forest officers who came from outside areas of the country were closer and considered me as one of them.

When I analysed this situation, I clearly identified that my positionality based on caste was the reason for the differing behaviours of forest officers and the villagers. With the intention of gathering all possible quality and realistic data, I changed my accommodation from a forest bungalow to homestay with villagers where I had close interaction with them, in order to overcome the difficulties arising from my positionality based on caste. Traditionally, the high castes are not supposed to be staying in a house that belongs to people of low caste. I noticed that most of the forest officers here represent so-called high castes and they still maintain a social gap with villagers (chapter 5, section 5.3.2). The interview below depicts how most of the forest officers here react to the issues of caste.

> Kudawa GND consists mostly of Kitul tappers [this was an indirect mention about the caste of the villagers], and we do not have very close personal relationships with them despite our job as forest officers here (SSI16A, senior forest officer at the Kudawa FD office, 2012.09.13).

The forest officer thus confirms the reluctance of higher caste people to interact with those of a lower caste, which would make cooperation over CBET development difficult. He continued to illustrate what he considered is the social reality in the area:

> We had a very fine young man here working as a volunteer tanning officer. He had joined us just after completing his graduate degree and he happened to meet an attractive girl in this village. He was head over heels for that girl and wanted to start an affair. Even the girl's parents approved and many of their relatives in this village were happy about it but to be honest this fellow is from a high caste family and we [forest officers] explained to him the consequences of such a relationship. Luckily, he was also intelligent and

understood that starting such relationship with a girl from a low caste family can ruin his future social and personal life (SSI16A, 2012.09.13).

Table 13: Sri Lankan Sinhalese caste hierarchy

Caste hierarchy	Name of the caste		Traditional occupation
	Govigama	Radala (Elites)	Land owners/ political leaders
		Govi (farmers)	Crops cultivation
		Patti (farmers)	Animal husbandry
Low castes	Karava		Fishing
	Salagama		Cinnamon peelers
	Durava		Toddy tappers
	Hunu		Chunam production
	Achari/ Nawandanna/ Galladu		Blacksmiths
	Hena/ Rada		Cleners
	Vahumpura/ Hakuru		Traditional Jaggery makers or Kitul tappers
	Badahela/ Kubal		Clay production
	Duura		Elephant keepers
	Nekathi/ Berawa		Tradtional dancers
	Batgama/ Padu		Labourers
	Gahala		Tom tom beaters
	Kinnara		Pallet makers
	Rodi/ Huluwali		Beggars
Source : (Silva, 1999; Silva, Sivaparagasam, et al., 2009)			

This kind of social gap between forest officers and villagers does not support the development of effective CBET in this site, since the forest officers do not genuinely help the social mobility of these villagers. This situation is common in many other South Asian countries where the high castes directly and indirectly

maintain social gaps with the low castes and block the social progress and mobility of the marginalized community members (Thorat & Neuman, 2012). However, in situations where traditional economic systems have changed as a result of capitalism being superimposed on them, certain opportunities have emerged to help the social mobility of the underprivileged and marginalized rural local communities. Caste hierarchy, however still has the power to block these prospects (Deshpande, 2011; Kumar & Heath, 2002).

Project planners who design CBET need to study this social issue in depth before implementing project activities. For example, the forest department and the Sri Lankan government together planned to build a traditional Kitul tapping village in the Kudawa GND as a part of the CBET project. This project aimed to achieve two main goals; first, to help the local community to grow Kitul groves within village areas to strengthen their traditional Kitul tapping practices and culture. The decision came after a careful examination of market demand for Kitul production. The second reason was to increase tourist attraction by creating model conventional villages at the forest periphery with traditional livelihoods. Yet this project completely failed to achieve either of its goals because it directly involved a caste based occupation. As a government officer explained,

> The foremost reason for the project failure for building a model traditional village of Kitul tappers in the Kudawa GND is the lack of community participation. The government allocated a lot of money into this project, but the young villagers seemed hostile and suspicious of the project purpose. They thought that creating a model traditional village of Kitul tappers supported continued caste hierarchy and thus, the village youth did not want to see their caste identified by their occupation (SSI72B, 2012.12.17).

Regardless of the growing market demand for Kitul production, the majority of the present village youth in the Kudawa GND is still reluctant either to be involved in Kitul tapping or to be introduced as the future generation of traditional Kitul tappers. According to a village youth,

> Project planners and forest officers tried to create a model traditional village of Kitul tappers in our area and we were strongly against the project for many reasons. Most importantly, the project planners wanted to picture us as traditional low caste communities who practiced Kitul tapping for our livelihood using old traditional methods. That was where they tried to establish a good market to sell our culture to tourists by belittling us using

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our caste in front of them, especially before the local tourists (SSI51G1, 2012.11.15).

Lower caste people have to live with this stigma but they certainly do not want it emphasized, especially when they want to interact with visitors as service providers. The interviewee continued to explain that:

> If we chose to develop our village as a traditional Kitul tappers village, we had to bring forward our history to tourists including our caste, as this occupation was caste based. This project could be financially sound but its social effect could not be neglected at any rate. On the other hand, the forest officers wanted to promote such a project, because they were happy to keep us within the limits of Kitul tappers forever (SSI51G1, 2012.11.15).

The above statement is neither completely true nor false, because that is how most villagers have viewed the goals of the project based on their fantasies about project planners and forest officers' intentions. Still, this statement reveals the anxiety and pressure the village youth currently endure concerning caste issues. Hence, the project planners should carefully handle this kind of socio-culturally sensitive aspects in any project.

The tradition of Kitul tapping is gradually fading away from society, as it is an occupation identified with a low caste even though it has proven to be an excellent income source: demand for Kitul production is very high in the present market. In order to escape social discrimination based on caste, many village youths have chosen tea plantation instead of their antecedents' traditional livelihood of Kitul tapping. However, currently young villagers have found out that even tea cultivation is impossible due to limited land availability in the Kudawa GND. According to one of the safari jeep drivers at Kudawa,

> At present, I work as a temporary safari jeep driver in my friend's vehicle. I cannot say this is a good job, because I work only a few days each month; I would like to join any other CBET venture, since I can avoid working at my village then. There, my father has small areas of tea land. I also wanted to cultivate tea but to find new land for cultivation is difficult. I never wanted to be involved in Kitul tapping as most of my ancestors did. I would rather like to join ecotourism related jobs, such as site guides or safari jeep drivers; yet, I am still unsuccessful in finding such a permanent job (SSI60G2, 2012.11.24).

This situation is common for many other young villagers at Kudawa who were unable to obtain higher education. They would like to be involved in ecotourism

ventures, as those do not denote traditional caste hierarchy. One of the positive observations is that caste is not observed in providing homestay accommodation services for tourists.

> **Chaminda**: Why did you select homestay accommodation?
>
> **Tourist 01 (27 years old male from Colombo)**: I am a photographer and I have visited this site several times, as it is an ideal place for photographing. I chose homestay for two reasons. First, it is very cheap and second, I can stay next to the forest.
>
> **Chaminda:** Do you think the socio-cultural background can influence the development of homestay accommodation at Kudawa, especially with regard to caste issues?
>
> **Tourist 01:** Caste? That is ridiculous. I am from Colombo, to be true; I do not have any idea about the caste of people here and I even do not want to know about that. This time I came with seven friends, what we all care for are the facilities we get at homestay and an environment with minimal disturbances. I am not a bit worried about the social background of my host so long as the hosting family is polite, reliable, and cooperative (FGI06A4, domestic tourists 2012.12.20)

From my point of view, these domestic visitors totally ignored the caste of their host as they represented the middle-income upper class social strata in urban areas of Sri Lanka. They represent educated youth in our current society who tend to ignore negative aspects of our traditional socio-cultural heritage.

> **Tourist 02 (25 years old male from Colombo):** What is the caste of these villagers? We forgot to read about it before we came here (all laughed).
>
> **Tourist 03 (21 years old male from Kandy):** In my point of view, tourists visiting this site from urban areas tend to stay only for a few days and thus they generally ignore the social background of villagers if they behave well with tourists (FGI06A4, 2012.12.20).

On the other hand, they are not worried because these people will only be seen as their servants; as the providers of a service; and for a short time; not as real people that they need to interact with socially, so there will be no public disapproval if the providers of their homestays are not of their caste. The visitor confirmed:

> I am from the central highlands of the country and there caste becomes a major issue in marriage. I strongly believe that domestic tourists visiting this site should not look down upon these villagers on such traditional social ranks, which should be eliminated from our society (FGI06A4, 2012.12.20).

It is clear, then that if project planners can positively handle socio-culturally sensitive areas of the project where communities' ego and self-rating is involved, even negative socio-cultural situations can be overcome in CBET development.

7.4 Issues of tourist behaviour

Protecting socio-cultural values of the particular areas is one of the main targets of bottom up development approaches (Chiu et al., 2014). Yet, this fundamental notion has been challenged in the CBET project in the site since it involves different types of stakeholders with different socio-cultural values. At times, a very simple disparity in tourist behaviour can be shocking to the host culture. For example, some western tourists visiting the Kudawa-Sinharaja site use the term 'fuck' freely, which is a common term in their everyday speaking like 'fucking rain, fucking leech' etc., but a taboo in the local culture. Similarly, women smoking or women using alcohol is looked down upon and considered a bad influence on the local culture. These social outlooks are based on their own cultural norms, values, and beliefs. Hence, it is very difficult to decide whose behaviour is right with regard to different cultural practices. Project planners need to be aware of the social-cultural values of the hosting community so that they can be protected and respected while developing CBET.

Since objectives and perspectives of tourists representing different socio-cultural backgrounds expand through diverse ranges, project planners cannot easily address the cross cultural complexities in tourist behaviour (Berkes, 2010; QingMing et al., 2012). Thus, many scholars have extensively researched issues and trends in consumer behaviour in ecotourism aiming to achieve sustainable development targets (Chiu et al., 2014; Kerstetter et al., 2004; Tangeland, 2011). According to many of them, socio cultural variables such as gender, age, education, social class, as well as socio-cultural diversity can influence tourist behaviour in the field of ecotourism and it will be effective to change socio-cultural roots of particular host communities in different ways (Hedlund, Marell, & Gärling, 2012; Lee, 2009). My research even reveals that issues of tourist behaviour have become one of the main socio-cultural concerns in CBET, thus, need to be attended to by project planners.

7.4.1 Issues of domestic tourist behaviour

Being open to tourism, the Kudawa GND is open to socio-cultural influences. It was observed that being open to excessive tourism has brought some negative socio-cultural impact on the local community here. Domestic tourists visit the Kudawa-Sinharaja site for different objectives and most of them select this site for recreation. The majority of domestic tourists comes from urban or semi urban areas of the country and represents the middle social strata of society. They visit the site in large groups at weekends or during holidays in order to experience rural lifestyles away from the daily clamour of the city. Hence, most of them consider the site as a retreat from hectic urban lifestyles, and are not prepared for serious eco experiences, and are even unaware of the principles of CBET.

These tourists generally stay at Kudawa forest bungalows or homestay accommodations because they are the cheapest accommodation available within the site. Only a few of them including researchers, bird watchers, photographers, and painters visit the site for genuine eco-tourism experiences. Domestic tourists stay for longer periods at the site compared with overseas tourists visiting Sinharaja and thus social interactions of these domestic tourists with the local community are more frequent. Therefore, the tourist culture that they bring on vacation can have an enormous influence on the host culture so hosts are more or less willing to accept CBET projects.

According to my field experiences, most of the domestic tourist groups visiting the site only for recreation tend to violate ecotourism ethics and norms either intentionally or accidentally. According to one of the senior forest officers,

> Most of the domestic tourists from middle social class visit this site only for recreation. We have particularly observed many of them to be nuisances when it comes to outdoor recreation in the park. The majority gets drunk, mostly in evenings and when they get blind drunk they start singing, shouting, fighting, arguing, and what not. Anyone can imagine how it disturbs the whole neighbourhood when a large group of alcoholic tourists start all this late in the evening and carry on for hours (SSI16A, 2012.09.13).

Even my field experience confirms the truth of this statement. As I observed, such disturbing and unethical behaviour is commonly noticed in most domestic tourists staying in forest bungalows. This kind of behaviour has occasionally led to social conflicts and violence in the Kudawa GND.

> Some of them even tend to quarrel with forest officers or villagers here. Most domestic tourists usually stay two days within the site, especially on weekends, but they rarely wish to acquire genuine ecological experience. Thus, even during the tour in the site their behaviour is irresponsible and rather unethical as they disturb wildlife by talking loudly, dropping litter, trekking off the eco-trails, and neglecting site guides' advice and forest regulations (SSI16A, 2012.09.13).

The sincerity of the statement mentioned above can further be attested by the notes from my field experiences. I remarked, on 2013.02.10,

> A large group of domestic tourists arrived at the Kudawa forest bungalow in the evening. I went to meet them to arrange a semi-structured interview with them if possible; however, before I could meet the group, one of the forest officers advised me not to contact them since most of the male tourists in the group were blind drunk at that point.

I did not want to give up an opportunity to obtain more qualitative data, so then,

> I decided to hang around nearby as a passive observer. The surroundings of the forest bungalow were very unpleasant with litter, shouting, singing, arguing, and other unacceptable behaviour. All these activities were carried out until around midnight.

The next day, I noticed that,

> Although they had planned trekking inside the site today, only a few of the group (mostly women and kids) participated while others stayed in the forest bungalow. I joined the people who visited the eco site; however, they also tried to make fun of it instead of having an eco-experience. Many of them talked very loud with each other while the kids ran astray and played all the way up and down the tracks. Their cell phones rang many a times and cameras flashed often. Even after several reminders by their site guide to be more responsible and silent during the tour, this disturbing behaviour continued until the end of the tour. After the tour most of the tourists in this group were unhappy and stated that this site was not good enough to implement CBET (Field notes, 2013.02.11).

Accordingly, the site guide became only a co-tracker and avoided most of the ecological explanations on the things of importance, as there were no serious listeners. Most might not really understand what 'ecotourism' is really about, which is confirmed by the table that follows. The table clearly indicates that a

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small percentage only of domestic tourists have any interest in ecotourism products.
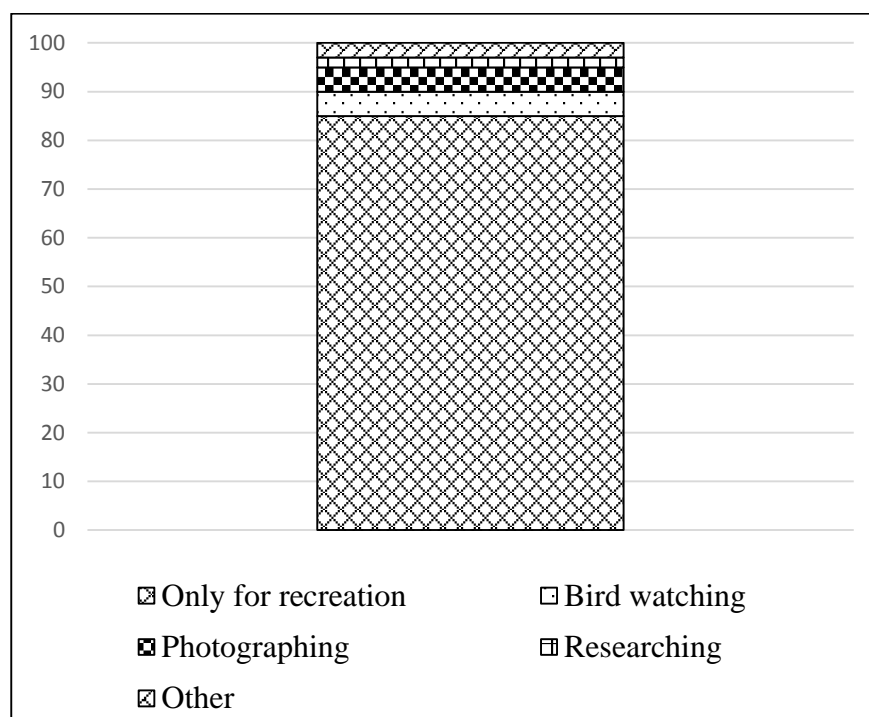

Figure 37: Objectives of domestic tourists visiting the Kudawa-Sinharaja site (%)
Source: Questionnaire survey

The trend of domestic tourists drinking heavily and practicing other negative behaviours in order to maximize their satisfaction while staying at village accommodations on holidays has brought negative social as well as cultural changes over the local community. The data depicts that the majority of domestic tourists have not yet adopted a realistic and genuine ecotourism or CBET culture and they even are oblivious of ecotourism values. One of the major problems in applying the concept of ecotourism based on northern capitalist ideologies in a poor southern peripheral context is irresponsible tourist behaviour. Domestic tourists are not yet psychologically ready for the implementation of such alternative development ideologies. Tourist travel to certain geographical areas for recreation or other experience and quality of that experience largely depend on emotions and attitudes of these tourists (Chiu et al., 2014; Lian Chan, Kim, & Baum, 2007).

Many domestic tourists still believe in consuming alcohol, singing, shouting, and other unacceptable outdoor recreation activities as essential means to have fun tours and this mentality can hinder achieving realistic CBET goals. As a domestic environmentalist has explained,

> Project planners were able to convert the Kudawa-Sinharaja site into an ecotourism site, but they could not change the mentality of domestic tourists visiting the site. Most ordinary domestic tourists lack a sense of ecology and environment. They are unaware of or intentionally overlook the ecological importance of the forest. For them, watching rare birds patiently or being introduced to various plant species is something of little importance and they cannot gain satisfaction from such activities. Being silent and listening to one's surroundings is now unknown to them. For these people, 'natural-quiet', the sounds of nature, are not an important resource to be protected (SSI6J, 2012.09.10).

Further, according to many scholars, showing respect to and protecting the local socio-cultural structure and its values is one of the major principles of ecotourism and CBET. Thus, tourist behaviour must adapt to the particular local social structure (Honey, 2008; Reimer & Walter, 2013). Yet, in practice this is overlooked in many ecotourism development projects so that the environmentalist quoted above could add: "What they know and brings them satisfaction are most ordinary things in their lives such as singing and consuming alcohol. Especially, they become aggressive when they get drunk and it seems violence has become very common in their lives together with clamour". It is also overlooked in projects carried out in other areas of the world, especially in the southern peripheral context (Carrier & Macleod, 2005), as for example, in the CBET project implemented in the Annapurna conservation area in Nepal.

The domestic tourist behaviour discussed above would lead local people to refuse to further develop any tourism activity that would bring such visitors to Kudawa GND. That in turn would reduce the capacity of CBET to improve their incomes. According to a homestay accommodation provider at the site,

> I have a very bad experience about domestic tourists; most of the domestic tourists come from urban areas and they are rich and educated compared to us but their behaviour is so bad that the majority of tourists who have stayed at my place got blind drunk (SSI13G11, 2012.09.12).

Drunkenness of visitors seems to be a leitmotiv in the complaints of local residents, probably because as the provider continues to explain:

They like to have barbecues and then they start drinking. They have no limits; they argue, use bad language, and fight with each other when they are blind drunk. This behaviour normally continues until midnight. At the end, I was so tired of all this, I decided to stop providing homestay accommodation to domestic tourists. What opened my eyes to it all were my kids speaking offensive words by listening to these tourists (SSI13G11).

7.4.2 Issues of overseas tourist behaviour

The socio-cultural gap between local villagers and overseas tourists has created some issues in this site and this situation can become a cause of cultural change. One of the goals of CBET is to enable people to improve their economic situation but also to maintain as much as possible of their culture. International visitors need to understand that requirement and behave accordingly. According to a site guide here,

> Some overseas tourists, especially European tourists like to swim in the river, as water there is clean and warm. So, many of them staying within village limits, request for a swim in the river just after their eco-tour. Yet the problem is that women's swimming gear such as bikini is a sort of revealing clothing, which is not accepted in Sri Lankan culture. Therefore, we repeatedly explain to them the cultural effect of wearing revealing clothing around the village but the majority ignores this fact (SSI20G5, 2012.09.23).

Issues related to cultural disparities between indigenous people and international tourists are common in many CBET sites, and many societies have gradually become more empathetic and tolerant of such cultural disparities. For example, at the beginning of the CBET project in the Cardamom Mountains of south-western Cambodia, local communities experienced a cultural shock when they saw overseas tourists wearing revealing swimming gear, for them it was like a 'magic show', however, later they adapted and were tolerant of cultural differences (Reimer & Walter, 2013).

While mixing with other cultures, changes occurring in local culture are inevitable and conversely, change and evolution are common in any live culture. Cultural changes are not always negative if both local people and overseas tourists can adjust accordingly without contributing to social degradation. Theoretically, protecting local cultural values, norms and beliefs as well as minimizing negative socio-cultural effects on local culture are considered basic principles of CBET (Butler & Menzies, 2007; Zeppel, 2006). One of the important and positive

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aspects in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site is that most of the villagers here have very few complaints against overseas tourist behaviour compared with domestic tourist behaviour. A homestay accommodation provider confirmed that,

> Most of the overseas tourists visiting Sinharaja have specific ecotourism needs and in general, they are educated and very easily adapt to the local culture. Some even like to be familiar with local cultural practices. They like our traditional local cuisine and even try out Sri Lankan dining etiquette like eating meals served on banana leaves with the hands. They are not alcoholics and they do not cause troubles or disturbances.

Local people are obviously not adverse to differences when they do not cause trouble to the surrounding nature and are not disrespectful.

> If we happen to point out some unacceptable behaviour, they soon apologize and kindly acknowledge it. In my point of view, cultural diversity is not a serious issue to hinder CBET development here. I provide homestay accommodation only to overseas tourists since we like their polite ways of behaving (SSI7G1, 2012.09.11).

Efforts by visitors are always appreciated so people can more readily accept the expansion of CBET projects. It was noticed that villagers like to provide accommodation to overseas tourists because not only do they behave well but they also tend to offer the host a generous tip when they leave. Even my field experiences affirm that most of the overseas tourists are educated, knowledgeable, and experienced eco-tourists and their behaviour is usually environment and community friendly since they seek quality ecotourism experiences and are genuinely concerned about the host community and its environment. In particular, most of the overseas visitors have arrived here for special ecotourism needs whereas only 10% have visited for recreation.

 Most importantly, some of the local socio cultural values of the host community have changed positively as they mixed with foreign cultural values. As a social researcher confirmed:

> A difference between the social behaviour of villagers who are involved in CBET especially, site guides and other villagers can be noticed where the villagers involved in CBET somehow have learned many fine values from overseas tourists. They even have applied these newly learnt values in their everyday lives. For example, they have become more tolerant and socialized, their etiquette has improved, they dress clean, and smart, their language skills are better (SSI110K, 2013.03.24).
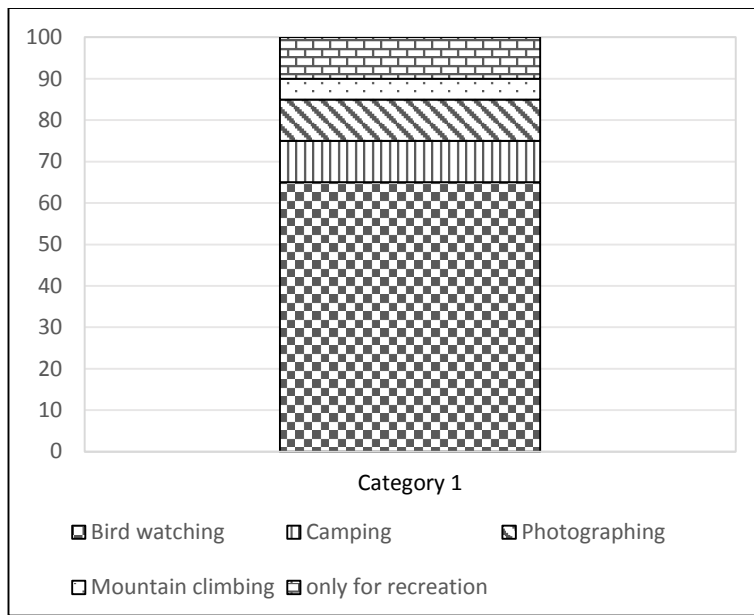
Figure 38: Objectives of overseas tourists visiting Kudawa-Sinharaja site
Sources: Questionnaire

Based on my field experiences, this statement is quite rational and I observed that most of the villagers who participate in CBET are motivated to educate their children through their understanding the value of education by everyday contacts with educated tourists in their occupations. As well, they are conscious of hygiene and tend to maintain their houses and gardens properly.

These kinds of positive socio-cultural changes were also identified in CBET projects of the Amazonian regions of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia (Stronza & Gordillo, 2008). As I observed during the field survey, allowing the traditional host culture to mix with other different cultures can bring positive changes in negative traditional social aspects, for example, discrimination based on caste has been over looked with the development of CBET in the site. Kudawa villagers seem to suffer from an inferiority complex and low self-esteem for being marginalised over their social rank for years; however, given opportunities to merge with overseas cultures the villagers involved in CBET have overcome these psychological traumas by identifying themselves as important civilians.

The analysed field data depict that Kudawa villagers are mainly troubled by domestic tourist behaviour rather than overseas tourist behaviour owing to several

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reasons. First, overseas tourists bring more money with them to spend and local villagers being aware of this fact tend to tolerate mistakes and other small troubles they cause. Second, in general overseas tourist behaviour is environmental and community friendly and thus acceptable. Third, most of them show respect to local villagers, their values, customs, and indigenous knowledge, regardless of their social background. Thus, Kudawa villagers are tolerant of many of the socio cultural disparities prevalent between the local community and overseas tourists. The only woman guide available in the site added that,

> Overseas tourists come from different social backgrounds. Their socio-cultural behaviour is so different from ours that in the beginning of my career, I faced lots of embarrassments, misunderstandings, anxieties, and confusion. For example, most of the overseas tourists kiss each other in public. In our country, lip kissing between a male and female in public is usually considered inappropriate and even cheek kissing is not an acceptable form of social greeting in our community. I am still not used to these practices and feel embarrassed in such situations. While I was guiding two overseas women once, they suddenly started kissing each other inside the park, and I was so upset and a bit shocked actually. Now I know that kissing in public is common in some other cultures (SSI47G5, 2012.11.03).

As I understood, these overseas women could have been same-sex partners. Same-sex relationships are generally considered immoral in traditional Sri Lankan society. Even if some *homosexuality* exists, its practice is hidden and is mostly a taboo subject. However, Kudawa villagers have gradually learned to tolerate such different cultural habits and they have adapted to accept differences in cultures.

7.4.3 Planned tourist behaviour

Many domestic tourists demonstrate neither environment nor community friendly behaviour when they visit. Thus, there is a need for a strong mechanism to educate domestic tourists on the general sense of ecotourism. On the other hand, there should be programmes to educate overseas tourists on local cultural norms, traditions, and taboos for overseas visitors. For the purposes of environmental education, many academics have pointed out the importance of environment responsible tourist behaviour, which includes civil, educational, financial, legal, physical, and persuasive action, as well as green consumption methods (Puhakka, 2011; Smith-Sebasto & D'Costa, 1995; Thapa, 2010). An environmental education action is more useful to change negative effects of domestic tourists, since visitors

adapt their needs to enjoy more realistic ecotourism practices like bird watching when they are properly educated on principles of ecotourism and environment conservation (Ballantyne & Packer, 2011; Dierking et al., 2004; Woods & Moscardo, 2003).

In reality, there is a need for tourist educational programmes in this site on either ecotourism or CBET to support tourists to obtain an ideal and a memorable ecotourism experience. According to a site guide here,

> Some domestic visitors arrive at this site without any knowledge of ecotourism and most of them show deviant behaviours; outside the park they consume alcohol and then behave very badly inside the park. Yet, it was observed that a few domestic tourists tried to adopt eco-friendly behaviour after being educated on eco-tourism practices. They even enjoyed being enlightened travellers who visit in order to learn and experience the cultures and environments of their destination rather than being mere tourists who visit to be entertained by images and experiences. Some of these tourists visit this site repeatedly as they have become interested in it and we clearly notice positive changes in their behaviour as well as in their attitudes (SSI2G5, 2012.09.09).

As described by Weaver (2005), two dimensions of ecotourism can be identified based on the level of sustainability outcomes such as 'minimalist' and 'comprehensive'. The minimalist emphasises maintaining superficial learning opportunities to reach the aims of the ecotourism project whereas the comprehensive aims at a deep change and transformation of visitors' behaviour until suitable to achieve the ecotourism objectives of sustainable development (Weaver, 2005). The education approach in the comprehensive is one of the best options to change the negative behaviour of the domestic tourists in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site; however, to work, it needs well-defined and practically applicable programmes.

Lack of formal attention to control the negative effects of the social behaviour of tourists, especially deviant behaviour of domestic tourists is one of the major problems in this site at present and project planners as well as other project stakeholders are asked to solve this issue before it damages the site resources and the community any further and thus in the end reduce the general well-being of those communities. For this task, 'theory of planned behaviour', and 'theory of reasoned action' can successfully be used as theoretical baselines (Lee &

Moscardo, 2005; Malloy & Fennell, 1998a; Powell & Ham, 2008). These theories have been further explained in chapter 2, section 2.2.3.

In the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, CBET project planners can make successful use of these theoretical approaches to change the negative behaviour of both domestic and overseas tourists positively. In practice, they can conduct many educational programmes; for example, before entering the park, forest officers or community members can spend a little time to educate domestic tourists on ecotourism and CBET, for them to maximize their ecotourism experience. As an experienced zoologist explained,

> Community members can organize brief desirable awakening programmes for both domestic and foreign tourists. These tourists have nothing important to take part in at night; therefore, they spend time singing and drinking. If stakeholders of CBET are sensible enough, this time can be allocated for virtual tours or travel documentaries to provide the tourists with knowledge about different cultures, wildlife, or even CBET (SSI25K, 2012.10.14).

This zoologist did point out though that poor behaviour of tourists cannot be blamed just on lack of knowledge or on insufficient awareness about certain tourist destinations:

> In practice, these kinds of programmes would not help to manage all negative behaviours of domestic tourists, and to address such situations, sanctions or other legal actions can be used (SSI25K).

From my point of view, not only the Sinharaja park area but also the area that belongs to Kudawa GND must be considered a part of the sensitive ecotourism area where project planners make laws and regulations to establish ethical tourism. It is essential to create an environment where tourists respect the local community and their socio-cultural values and norms, forest regulations and country laws, and the rules and themes of the particular ecotourism programme. Otherwise, CBET cannot improve the lives of the local people and might even have to be abandoned. Heavy drinking and associated issues must be controlled by general country law in which damaging property and disturbing the neighbourhood after heavy alcohol consumption is an offence. Most importantly there should be a proactive mechanism to control negative behaviour of tourists under the legal framework and even authorizing the forest officers/selected local

community members or any other relevant stakeholders to evaluate and monitor tourist behaviour.

7.5 Potential exposure to 'drug–sex' tourism

Most European visitors are attracted to tropical countries like Sri Lanka for the 4Ss factor- i.e. Sun, Sand, Sea, and Sex. Hence, increasing illicit drug use often-associated with sex commerce including child prostitution and human trafficking have become one of the major social issues in many Sri Lankan tourist and eco tourist sites (Ratnapala, 1999; Squire & Wijeratne, 2008). Even if prostitution and drug trafficking is totally banned in Sri Lanka, local people are involved in both these activities in well-developed tourism and eco-tourism destinations of the country, especially in coastal areas. However, spread of SID and HIV viruses and other venereal diseases has still not become a serious social issue in the country (Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2007).

When the number of drug users and sex workers in an area increases, it is common that spreading of SID, HIV and other venereal diseases and the number of victims or carriers of these viruses in the particular area become high. This has been identified as a common problem in many other poor southern peripheral countries (Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2013; Miller, 2002; Uriely & Belhassen, 2006). Providentially, the Kudawa-Sinharaja site is still not influenced by drug-sex tourism, but there are future prospects of increased illicit drug consumption or people turning to sex tourism as a lucrative way of earning money, considering the influence of superimposed capitalism and geopolitical corruption in this site. Hence, paying special attention to this issue is essential for the sustainability of CBET projects.

Most of the coastal areas of Sri Lanka are popular tourist attractions offering warm sandy beaches, coral gardens, wetlands and mangrove eco systems and many local community members are involved in tourist services. Some of them support supplying illicit drug and sex workers, as describes a national tour guide:

> I have 20 years of experience guiding tourists to beaches and coastal ecotourism sites of the country, especially to down south districts of Sri

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Lanka. Many foreign tourists visit Sri Lanka looking for the 4Ss. There is a huge demand for prostitution and illicit drugs in the coastal sites of the country even though both are totally banned by the government. I personally know many locals who act as agents supplying drugs and prostitutes to tourists. That is a large business. What is pathetic is that there is a huge demand for child sex workers in beach areas and many underprivileged children and street children are forced into this business (SSI109F1, 2013.03.23).

Presently, the issues related to trafficking of illegal drugs like, Cocaine, Heroin and Marijuana have become serious in the costal tourist sites of the country (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2005) and the percentage of domestic drug users has gradually increased (Dissabandara, Dias, Dodd, & Stadlin, 2009). This situation has produced many socio-cultural dilemmas to both local community members and international tourists. An international female tourist expressed,

This is my first visit to Sri Lanka. I particularly looked forward to visiting Sri Lanka's wide-open beaches and rich costal ecosystems. Anyway, I was often bothered by local people's behaviour while staying at a beach down south, especially by 'beach boys'. They tried to persuade me several times to hire them as guides or helpers during my stay, though I did not want any. When they contacted me repeatedly, I was actually a bit scared of being alone in an unknown country (SSI31I1, 2012.10.24).

This particular tourist did not want to abandon her trip so found another solution to avoid such harassment:

Then I asked my formal tour guide to take me to another site, which is why we are here now (SSI31I1).

The recent observable fact in Sri Lankan coastal areas is young males getting on with prostitution as an occupation, generally referred to as 'beach-boys' [hangers on the beach] who work on the beach as tour guides, arrangers of boat rides and other entertainment and generally handymen in the tourism industry. These beach boys are sexual partners to older women and/or same-sex foreigners and often the providers of prostitutes. A national tour guide confirms:

Many overseas tourists are attracted to Sri Lankan beach areas looking for sex and drugs during their short stays. When they arrive at the sites, these beach boys have trained eyes to spy these tourists and quickly offer companionship (SSI109F1, 2013.03.23).

His perspective is not that they 'harass' visitors, but rather that;

> At times, beach boys are skilled enough to motivate tourists to use illegal drugs and to engage in sexual activities (SSI109F1).

This phenomenon has caused serious socio-cultural issues such as child prostitution, sexual slavery, exploitation in the pornography industry, increasing number of carriers of SID or HIV viruses, spreading of other venereal diseases, effects on marriage and other social institutions and degradation of socio-cultural values. This situation is unfortunately common in many tourist destinations in the world (Bauer, 2014; Guilamo-Ramos et al., 2013) . Fortunately, Kudawa-Sinharajais are still not influenced by drug-sex tourism due to several reasons mentioned by this national tour guide,

> Kudawa GND is still a traditional village, which is minimally affected by the effects of globalization, thus, villagers here are not involved in drug-sex tourism as a result of their well-built socio-cultural background. Most of the international tourists visit this site for particular ecotourism needs such as birding, wildlife viewing, nature hikes etc., and they do not look for sex and drugs here (SSI41F12012.10.30).

My field experiences prove the above assertion as many overseas tourists I encountered in the field bear a positive image about this site in relation to drug-sex tourism.

> I like this site and the villagers too. We are least disturbed and do not get harassed by local people here but at coastal areas we got so disturbed by beach boys (SSI31I1- female overseas tourist, 2012.10.24).

On the other hand, during the fieldwork, I observed many domestic tourists using marijuana within the site and a potential first sign of widespread illicit drug consumption becoming popular. According to police reports, some isolated cases of prostitution and drug use have been reported in this site; however, according to a police officer at this area this is not a serious social issue here:

> Villagers of the Kudawa GND have a clean criminal history regarding illegal drug consumption/trafficking or prostitution, even if that has become a common issue in some other developed tourist sites in Sri Lanka. However, cases where tourists have brought illegal drugs into the site have been reported. Therefore, we have to foresee the possibilities of future occurrences prior to launching any CBET projects (SSI59B, 2012.11.21).

A villager pointed out how sex can be used to promote certain other services,

> A few married women at the village who host tourists at homestay accommodations were revealed to have sexual relationships with the drivers of tourist vehicles while in return these drivers have guided many tourists to

stay at the particular homestay accommodations. It goes on just like a business deal (SSI46G, 2012.11. 03).

He stated this fact highlighting the double entendre and implied that something unethical was happening behind this business. In my point of view, women engaging in extramarital sexual affairs, which are based on exchanging sex for money or other favours, can lead to prostitution at a later stage. As well, forsaking family bonds or violating the marriage institution can initiate other socio cultural issues in the long term.

When ecotourism ventures are further developed within a society in which social values are changed through capitalism being super imposed on that society, (see section 5.2) adultery or any other sexual relationships which are obnoxious on moral, social, religious or legal grounds would take place simply to earn extra income. Thus, this situation can directly or/and indirectly cause future socio-cultural issues within the community. Moreover, the Kudawa-Sinharaja site is still free from sex tourism and child sex tourism, thus, no cases have been reported of HIV/AIDS or other venereal diseases around the area. This is a social advantage and a positive situation; however, considering the prevalent trend of sex tourism spreading in other tourism sites in Sri Lanka, this site can only become vulnerable to future sex tourism and its related social issues with the development of CBET. Therefore, project planners may need to pay special attention to mechanisms to protect the site from such influences, so CBET can continue to provide positive outcomes.

7.6 Conclusion

Data analysis revealed that capitalism, though it has been superimposed, has brought some positive changes in the economic and political structure of villages, but has failed to make constructive changes in the socio-cultural context in order to implement alternative development approaches like CBET successfully. It has also revealed three main socio-cultural problem areas that can challenge the implementation of the CBET project in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. First, the traditional socio-cultural setting in the site challenges achieving realistic CBET goals. This is mostly an internal problem where caste and gender issues have become major setbacks since they hinder sustainable bottom up development and

would in any other site with these particular social and cultural characteristics. One of my main argument is that people's shifting from traditional economic activities based on caste to ecotourism related new occupations (which are not caste determined) results in increased economic well-being as well as upward social mobility where they gain both economic and social power. Martin Wijesignhe, who overcame his marginalized status by choosing to be involved in ecotourism ventures over caste-based traditional occupations, is a good example.

Yet, the dilemma is that new values emerged in society after capitalism was superimposed on the research site and associated phenomena such as individualism, increased economic competition, socio-economic jealousy etc., do not support achieving common goals in a development project such as CBET. According to my findings, the few villagers who have become economically successful by being involved in ecotourism related occupations like Mr. Martin, block the means of development available for other members in their own community.

Thus, generating non-caste based income opportunities for marginalized villagers is ineffective in diminishing caste discrimination, since caste issues are linked with unequal socio-political power distribution in a superimposed capitalism system. As I proposed,   giving political or administrative power to the relevant communities within bottom up development is essential to address such issues. Political empowerment of low caste and marginalized communities can happen through opportunities to participate in the decision-making process (see section 6.5).

According to the research findings, lack of attention to socio-cultural marginalization of women in the Kudawa GND is one of the main project failures. The traditional social system has prevented women's access to income generating ecotourism ventures. Most importantly, when the local social structure shifted from the Sinhala traditional system to a superimposed capitalistic socio-economic structure gender discrimination continued to prevail. Thus, women's socio-economic life has become harder and their workload has doubled.

My main argument is that programmes should not just be limited to providing economic opportunities to women, but should also increase their social mobility and self-confidence to obtain economic and political power within their household, as well as outside the local society even if achieving this target would not be simple. My suggestion is that the traditional socio-cultural structure must strategically be changed without harming the smooth functioning of the system although women's empowerment is an essential and timely aspect in this project. The CBET project should be linked with cooperative, micro level community based project activities that focus on economic empowerment of women (more in section 6.7).

My second argument is that negative tourist behaviour can bring socio-cultural challenges in the project. Ecotourism and its principles are ideologies that were constructed by western thinkers. Yet in practical situations tourists, especially visitors from poor southern peripheral countries, have failed to absorb these ideologies, owing to a knowledge gap. Hence, they are still not mentally prepared to adopt ecotourism ideology. As a result, their forms of recreation in the ecotourism site do not match with ecotourism ideologies and instead affect negatively both the environment and local villagers' socio-cultural context. On the other hand, even if most western tourists are familiar with ecotourism ideologies, they are not aware of local socio-cultural settings and thus tend to make worse cultural mistakes. New plans in the current CBET programme need to control negative tourist behaviour through the use of the 'theory of planned behaviour', and 'theory of reasoned action'. A well-defined monitored, and effective legal framework for behaviour control is also important in extreme situations.

Third, I have identified that development of CBET in a superimposed capitalist social structure where most of the positive traditional cultural values have been distorted under the influence capitalism can lead to socio-cultural issues such as drug and sex tourism and related phenomena. Careful planning is needed to minimize their occurrence in this site.

According to my findings, even if I have categorized and discussed prevalent issues of CBET under three themes, such as, socio-economic, geo-political and

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socio-cultural, all these issues are interrelated. Thus, solving the ones described in this chapter does not guarantee the success of the current CBET project in the area, since lack of success of this ecotourism project does not depend on one or two reasons, but on the intertwining of a variety of factors, some of which are more evident than others, as apparently minor ones can have quite negative consequences especially when mixed with others. For example, caste and gender issues examined under socio-cultural challenges in this chapter are associated with issues of superimposed capitalism and geo-political marginalization. This kind of interrelatedness of issues can potentially lead to another problem, which has not yet been identified as a major issue.

Solutions presented one by one for these identified challenges are not useful if there is not a mechanism to gather each theoretical and practical answer under a collective single system. Most importantly, development of such a collective system to answer challenges of CBET in the site should depend on examination of main challenges based on superimposed capitalism, individualism, gender, caste, and geo-political marginalization from a bottom-up point of view. In this research, I have proposed the development of community based socio-cultural organization with links to micro credit and a village banking system as the baseline to face contemporary challenges of CBET. The other theoretical and practical answers proposed in analysing chapters must be included in the agendas of this organization. From my point of view, CBET is still a rational and practical concept here, if such a mechanism can be a reality enabling all of the marginalized local people to improve their economic, political and social well-being while protecting the local rain forest ecosystem.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Introduction

I developed an interest in CBET as an alternative development approach, which had been applied in rural Sri Lanka, when I studied the concept of development even though I observed a large gap between ideological targets and realistic outcomes of most CBET projects implemented in southern peripheral contexts. It seemed such a gap was common in the CBET project implemented at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. While looking for reasons for such a discrepancy, I understood that if I could find theoretical and practical answers to fill this gap, it would be productive academic work and knowledge construction which could be used practically in management of the environment and empowerment of marginalized local communities of Sri Lanka.

I wanted to discover the reasons for this discrepancy between expected goals and realistic achievements. Hence, I wanted to examine and analyse possible challenges in view of relevant theories and discourses. Following a literature review and basic field survey, I identified four main dimensions of possible challenges of CBET such as socio-economic, geo-political, socio-cultural and environmental. Consequently, I developed the research questions based on these dimensions. I tried to discover whether these challenges crop up because of theoretical issues in western bottom up and sustainable development approaches adopted in this project or whether there were other practical issues in southern peripheral contexts or whether they were the result of both.

Contemporary alternative development agendas are constructed by western development thinkers by taking negative effects of previous unlimited development into consideration. To my knowledge, sustainable and bottom up development ideologies are constructed to improve the conditions of human existence and the environment. Philosophically viewed, these ideologies could be used to improve the present situation of Sri Lanka, even though I identified them to be a western ideological construction which theoretically keeps changing along with geo-political and time-space factors. The West has not changed paradigms

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when it 'discovered' that it was not practising sustainable forms of economic growth. Imposition on less developed countries could be justified if it did bring improvements to the well-being of those people. My conclusions and solutions may be too optimistic in a world that is still run on the basis of global capitalist free markets.

The Kudawa-Sinharaja site provides numerous ecotourism attractions owing to its geo-spatial characteristics. Thus, to develop CBET in this site the forest department has used these advantages and this fact was discussed in chapter 4. Since the evaluation reports of the forest department revealed that the project failed to achieve its goals (Forest Department, 2013a), I examined why implementing CBET has not been successful with special focus on specific objectives (chapter 5, 6 and 7). My research contributes to construct theoretical and practical knowledge regarding challenges to CBET. I paid attention to present strategies to rearrange the current CBET project where it could address its theoretical and practical challenges. These strategies will be of use to Sri Lankan government and policy planners to implement better sustainable and bottom up development practices in the research site or in other similar situations. Knowledge constructed in this research will result in increasing, moderating and updating theoretical knowledge about sustainable and bottom up development discourse and CBET.

8.1   Alternative development and CBET in Kudawa-Sinharaja

Sri Lanka is a periphery country in a global core periphery model. I have observed that the periphery is mostly dependent on the core in the development process and this dependency on the core for knowledge and development means it has heavily influenced Sri Lankan development and environmental management activities. It also determined any former alterations to the projects. The Kudawa-Sinharaja CBET site appeared the ideal place to examine research questions of this study since it has been an isolated peripheral rural area of the country where western alternative development approaches have been applied to empower the local marginalized communities as well as to provide sustainable environmental management.

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Before the 1980s, the communities in the research area had been isolated and marginalized socio-culturally on the basis of their caste. Women are the most marginalized social group in these situations since they are marginalized on their gender within a marginalized community. However, socio-economic and geopolitical changes and influences from outside (global and local) have brought changes in the traditional village social structure including increasing human population, forest degradation, popularization of cash crop plantation and ecotourism, which are inter-related. Though CBET was implemented in such contexts with the aim of social and economic empowerment of marginalized communities and forest protection, project goals were hardly achieved.

Development is a social constructed concept introduced by thinkers who have focused on creating a better new stage for human beings by changing the contemporary situation (Dellinger, 1995). 'A better new stage' is also a comparative ideology which depends on the time-space and geo-political context values. This is the main reason why development ideologies change from time to time. One of the most interesting questions here is who develops development ideologies? According to the data analysis, western scholars have brought about development theories and discourses viewing the world's contemporary situation from their perspective. For example, the concept of alternative development was devised considering negative effects of unlimited development such as environmental degradation and the rising world poverty rate. Unlimited development is generally associated with capitalism. My argument is that although western thinkers have developed new alternative development ideologies such as sustainable and bottom up development to meet the present day development crisis, they have failed to pay enough attention to the socio-economic behaviour of capitalism. Therefore alternative development ideologies are a form of make believe and implementation of CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja is a fine example for it.

Since the issue of unlimited development is based on capitalism and domination of globe politics, any modification made to development ideologies for better results becomes ineffective if the capitalist system continues further without control. Alternative development suffers from the lack of a mechanism to block

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western capitalism values mixing into sustainable and bottom up development ones. Even if sustainable and bottom up development approaches have been introduced to limit the unhealthy development of capitalism, their application can bring fundamentals of capitalism into the particular context, which can create problems for its sustainable development. My field data analysis confirms that the implementation of CBET in the research site as a sustainable and bottom up development approach has resulted in capitalism super imposed upon the site. This process has changed the socio-economic structure of the research field to be unsuitable to implement community based development approaches which promote cooperative and collective activities rather than individual work.

In general, Kudawa-Sinharaja CBET project planners have maintained western alternative ideologies as the base line of the CBET project which were directly applied locally ignoring the reality of the grassroots level of the site. The reasons behind such behaviour are various. First, most southern peripheral countries are ideologically dependent on western knowledge, as is the case in Sri Lanka. Whenever changes have occurred in these western development ideologies, Sri Lanka has changed its development ideologies accordingly with minimum consideration for the conditions in the locality. Second, development projects of southern peripheral countries, for example the CBET project in the Kudawa-Sinharaja in Sri Lanka, are launched with foreign aid from developed western countries, hence, local level project planners freely use development ideologies and concepts of the western world in their project proposals to receive more and more funds from these countries. Nevertheless, they lack a plan or mechanism to suitably implement alternative development ideas in practical situations in southern peripheral contexts as revealed in the Kudawa- Sinharaja project.

8.2 Why CBET in Kudawa-Sinharaja is considered an unsuccessful project?

The primary purpose of this study is to examine why implementing CBET as a bottom up and sustainable development approach in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site has not been successful hitherto. My research identifies several reasons for the

ineffectiveness of CBET project here and among them four reasons are major. First, the forest department has ideologically changed forest management from 'top down' to 'bottom up' but not in practice. Consequently, the local community have no say in the decision-making process of the project though it is supposed to be a community based development project (Forest Department, 2013a).

Second, lack of funds to continue the project is identified a main failure of this project. Importantly, even if the forest department could gain a considerable income by tourism activities (park entrance fees and accommodation service) it lacked the opportunity to spend the generated income for further development of the site since this money must be sent to the central government per government rules and regulations. On the other hand, the central government never allocates sufficient annual funds to maintain or to develop of the project. As a result, even twenty years after the start of the project there are still only four trails in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site, limiting the potentials of the area.

Those four trails are not maintained properly. For example, even if this area is identified to be suitable to develop as a formal bird watching site, enough huts or tracks for birding which could be helpful to observe and study birds and mixed species bird flocks, have not been built along the main trails. The project, though, has continued in spite of lack of funding after the first five years, since trails were available and some people had been trained as guides. The project, though could not expand even though the number of job seekers keeps growing and there are no other sources of income locally.

Third, lack of consideration about socio-cultural issues such as caste and gender is another reason for project failure. For example, the idea of creating a Kitul tapping village as part of the CBET project failed since the project planners ignored the caste issues in the area. As well, women in the area have been less empowered and their livelihood has not been improved. Further, the influence of superimposed capitalism connected with individualism has been identified a main project failure, as well as a cause of it. Field data analysis reveals that when capitalism arrived upon isolated, traditional social structures such as that of the Kudawa-Sinharaja site as superimposed capitalism, a few in that society promptly

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adapted, and became successful business people while the majority could not achieve its benefits at a sufficient level.

When a few villagers individually grabbed ecotourism opportunities in the particular area, others who could not obtain benefits got involved in unethical and illegal activities to earn money to attain their capitalist dreams. This background has not helped to implement the CBET project which is supposed to be based on cooperative and collective accomplishments.

8.3 Fulfilling research objectives

One of the main specific objectives of this research was 'to identify, examine and analyse challenges to CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site of Sri Lanka'. In order to discover these challenges, I turned to a specific methodology based on my research objectives and questions. It qualifies as a mixed methodological approach. According to my research plan, I needed to obtain 'real, rich and deep' primary data on human beings and their interactions. Hence, I recognized qualitative methodology to be the most suitable approach to gather such data; however I did not forget to pay attention to numeric primary data to validate my qualitative findings. Both qualitative and quantitative data collecting methods were concurrently used in this research. I spent almost six months in the research field between 10.09.2012 to 09.04.2013 and met relevant people from outside the field to collect primary data. I collected primary data on different research aspects using multiple research methods; qualitative methods included semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and focus group discussion; the quantitative instrument was a questionnaire survey.

At the beginning of the data collection process, I encountered many socio-cultural issues while working with people from the host community and relevant government organizations. Being a male researcher, I also faced difficulties in extracting genuine perspectives of women villagers for the research questions and even male villagers were unready to provide me with information since they thought my research purposes were unclear. In order to access villagers and develop a close rapport with them, I decided to stay at village homestay accommodation for about three weeks which gave me the opportunity to share

their everyday life experiences. Another problem was that most of the government officers I happened to interact with during the data collection process provided information on the conditions that they would be anonymous during the whole process and neither consent forms would be signed nor the interviews audio recorded. I thus had to alter my research plan according to these practicalities, but it did not prevent me from achieving my research goals.

In the planning phases of my research and while I conducted field work, I paid special attention to potential ethical issues and how to manage them. Knowledge is a human construction and when a human being does research on other human beings or on their social interactions including an in-depth analysis of surrounding geo-political and sociological phenomena, research biases based on positionality are unavoidable. In particular, when I analysed different ideologies presented by different respondents regarding the same incident, I felt how my own positionality and ideologies came forward spontaneously to create dominant arguments.

 In such situations, I reflected on my positionality and I bore my position in mind throughout every phase of the research. This helped me to minimize research biases. For instance, the common answer given by most wo/men villagers to my research question: why women participation in CBET related occupations is very low in this site, was that ecotourism related ventures are male occupations which are difficult to be undertaken by women. At the beginning, I refused to accept this as a proper answer and I was reluctant to write it down since this answer seemed irrational. Afterwards, I became aware how my viewpoint would interfere with the process of realistic data collection under the influence of my positionality. Thus, I got used to ignore my positionality and collected data as stated by respondents.

In the process of analysing the gathered data, critical discourse analysis (CDA) enabled me to examine both primary qualitative data and secondary data. This data analysing method was useful to achieve my research objectives since they allowed me to identify socio-cultural, economic and geopolitical interrelationships of challenges to CBET in this site. I developed my arguments in the analysing chapters (chapter 5, 6 and 7) depending on information provided by participants. Then, I related those findings with relevant theories and discourses. At times, I

needed to analyse complex viewpoints when different stakeholders provided multifaceted and varying outlooks on the same phenomena. The CDA method was further useful in those occasions.

According to the evaluation reports of the forest department (Forest Department, 2013a) the Kudawa-Sinharaja CBET project failed to achieve its goals (I could confirm this fact during my field study). I thus wanted to examine why implementing CBET has not been successful, which became my main research objective. I created other specific objectives in relation to the main research objective. Two main specific objectives were focused on to identify, examine and analyse challenges to CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site of Sri Lanka. My last specific research objective focused on recommending theoretical and practical solutions to rearrange CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. When recommending solutions to the challenges of CBET, I considered grassroots level realities which had already been influenced by superimposed capitalism. Thus, I proposed a number of theories.

One of the main arguments is that while proposing solutions we have to focus on theories which were developed in southern peripheral contexts. As my research reveals most of the western development theories which have been applied in practical situations in southern peripheral contexts have failed to achieve their goals since they have not paid attention to grassroots situations. I thus successfully identified the causes for the failure of the project, which I summarize in section 8.4. It also enabled me to offer solutions (section 8.5). I thus fulfilled my research objectives.

8.4 Main challenges to CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site of Sri Lanka.

- *Influences of superimposed capitalism*

As seen in the research, superimposed capitalism has encouraged economic disparity, individualism, hyper-competitiveness and consumerism. Thus, I recognized four main challenges linked with superimposed capitalism, namely, (1) generating an individualistic society (2) hyper- economic competition and 'economic jealousy', (3) issues of biopiracy, loss of forest genetic resources and

wildlife smuggling, (4) unethical eco-tourism practices, which can challenge the viability of an effective CBET project with focus on its political, economic and societal effects.

Nevertheless, my research field is still unprepared for implementation of CBET owing to its socio-economic structure. Capitalism was super imposed on these villages and thereby traditional socio-economic values merged with capitalism values and created a new social structure different from both western capitalist and Sinhalese traditional social structures. I identified this newly immerged socio-economic structure as 'superimposed capitalist socio-economic structure'. As discussed in the chapter 5, this superimposed capitalist socio-economic structure is the main core factor challenging theoretical and practical achievement of bottom up and sustainable development CBET goals in several ways.

First, 'individualism' has become an integral part of the current superimposed capitalist socio-economic structure whereas collectivism which was practiced in the traditional socio-economic structure has been neglected. In my opinion, bottom up and sustainable development approaches must associate with the concepts of collectivism and collaborative work, if they are to achieve their goals. In practice, Kudawa villagers act as isolated individual units motivated by selfish aspirations in CBET practices and this situation challenges achieving project goals.

Second, this superimposed capitalist social structure has created 'economic competition' among the villagers in this site, which has negatively influenced achieving ideological targets of the CBET project. Further, competition leads to 'economic jealousy' among the community members and between other stakeholders. My conclusion is that 'when capitalism merges with traditional local values' in the southern peripheral context, a new socio-economic structure is created in which implementation of alternative development approaches becomes less effective.

Third, when ecotourism practices are developed within such a superimposed capitalist socio-economic structure, a few villagers emerge as successful business people by adapting to capitalism, for instance, homestay accommodation

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providers and hotel owners. This situation has challenged the implementation of CBET as a means of benefiting the majority of marginalized local people.

Fourth, environmental protection is one of the major objectives of CBET. Yet, issues of biopiracy, loss of forest genetic resources and wildlife smuggling have become new challenges which negatively influence CBET implementation. Local community members' involvement in these illegal activities for financial benefits cannot be ignored. Villagers are aware of the environmental threats associated with these activities yet within their capitalist dreams they focus more on money than anything else.

Finally, albeit considering that ethics of CBET are important to reach its goals, people in a superimposed capitalist socio-economic structure fail to follow them. Many of the stakeholders of the project, including Kudawa villagers themselves are involved in unethical practices that occur because of ecotourism to gain financial benefits. This situation contributes to disregard of CBET principles with a variety of consequences such as environmental degradation.

 One of the main findings in this research is that most core CBET challenges such as issues of gender and caste, political corruption, stakeholder involvement and coordination which were discussed in chapters 6 and 7 under the title of geo-political and socio-cultural challenges are associated with effects of superimposed capitalism. Therefore, superimposed capitalism on the CBET project can be considered one of the core issues leading to many other minor issues which are not discussed in this study. The influence of superimposed capitalism must be considered as one of the main factors which can bring challenges to an alternative development project such as CBET.

- *Influences of geo-politics on CBET*

Geo-political challenges are identified as (1) gradually decreasing % of formal European eco-tourist and bird watchers arrivals (2) security and safety issues, (3) bad media image of the country (European countries have listed Sri Lanka as an unsafe tourist destination based on external geo-political factors), (4) socio-political hierarchy and domination of local elites and (5) gender and caste issues associated with political marginalization.

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According to my research analysis, geo-political relationships can be used as a rational baseline to analyse the effectiveness of sustainable bottom up development projects carried out in rural areas of developing countries. Even small scale community based development projects are affected by global and regional political hegemonic power relationships. Any change in hegemonic power relationships can in/directly have an impact on the effectiveness of these projects. As discussed in chapter 6, geo-political influences on CBET in this site can be categorised into three main groups as, global geo-political power relations, geo-political interests and activities of Sri Lanka and geo-political power distribution within the particular micro context.

My main argument is that core-periphery dependency in political hegemonic power relationships is a global geo-political reality. Therefore, analysing the nature of geo-political links of developing countries with politically powerful nations are more important to identify the validity of challenges to sustainable and bottom up development projects like CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site.

I also identified that the internal geo-political situation is an important factor in building a strong overall image of the country as an international tourist destination, especially if the local situation can ensure tourist security and safety. In the last few decades, internal political conflicts within Sri Lanka resulted in security issues. These issues have negatively affected the country's image and tourism. Thus, security and safety issues of the country challenge CBET development at the Kudawa-Sinharaja site; however, this situation seems common in many other developing countries. When peace was established after 30 years of civil war, the Sri Lankan government had an opportunity to rearrange its internal geo-political situation effectively to positively contribute to create an attractive image of the country; however, this has been unattended for years.

The image of the country as a tourist destination is a constructed ideology promoted by mass media since it is based on geo-political power relationships of the particular country with the rest of the world. Thus, depending on Sri Lanka's strong geo-political relationships with former socialist countries (mainly China and Russia), these countries have encouraged their civilians to visit Sri Lanka

while most of the European countries have listed Sri Lanka as an unsafe tourist destination, limiting tourist visitation from there.

Moreover, I identified the importance of geo-political power distribution within the particular micro context as the key factor of CBET. One of the main issues in the political empowerment of local community members using western alternative development ideologies is that the superimposed capitalist economic structure in the site does not support community based decision-making practice. Most of the stakeholders behave as individualist economic beings who find it hard to support collective development. Another issue is that the socio-cultural structure of the site is still immature to implement such a democratic concept, and as explained in chapter 7, issues of gender and caste hierarchy do not positively contribute to democracy in decision-making practice. Finally, most of the relevant administrative bodies with some political power, particularly the Forest Department, are still unprepared to de-centralize their administrative power, even if they theoretically apply the concept of 'bottom up development' while planning development work.

- *CBET and socio-cultural settings of the site*

The 'socio-cultural setting of the site' which includes (1) gender and (2) caste issues is linked with the first core factor -superimposed capitalism and the second core factor - geopolitical challenges. Other socio-cultural challenges identified here are (3) lack of knowledge of the community about CBET, (4) socio-cultural impact of tourism (5) trends in sex and drug tourism. Local communities living in rural areas of developing countries like Sri Lanka have been marginalized socio-culturally depending on their own traditional socio-cultural beliefs, attitudes and traditions. This kind of socio-cultural marginalization is linked with their political and economic marginalization. One of the findings is that capitalism, though it was super imposed, has brought some positive changes in the economic and political structure of the villages but has failed to make positive changes in the socio-cultural situation of the community.

Most of the time gender issues are associated with women's political and economic inequality. For example, Kudawa villagers experience political

marginalization since they lack opportunity to be involved in geo-political power relations. Among these marginalized villagers, women are further marginalized politically within their households, since they are less powerful in decision making in their families. Further, most of the women face economic marginalization due to lack of opportunities to be involved in income generating activities. Women are thus the most vulnerable social group, but implementation of CBET with the aim of empowering local people has failed to address this issue and only men in this site are involved in most income generating CBET ventures.

One of my other arguments is that women face more pressure in the superimposed capitalist society than they used to in traditional society. In traditional society, women are confined to households and are expected to fulfil the obligations of housewifery and motherhood. But in this superimposed capitalist society they have to earn extra income for the family while playing their traditional roles in households, owing to socio-economic competition. Their work load is thus doubled in this new social structure. Nonetheless, I observed that gender issues are more of a hidden entity in the society where women have become voiceless in order to maintain marital and communal harmony.

For centuries, this patriarchal society has been institutionalized through a precise socialization process in which each member of the community knows what obligations, errands and roles are anticipated from them. Further, males are still unready to make changes in this traditional patriarchal hegemonic power structure. On the other hand, most women in the site still disagree that this gender inequality is a social issue in their own society as their socialization process has been so powerful that women have internalized traditionally defined gender roles, accepting them without any arguments.

The second main socio-cultural challenge of CBET is based on caste. As revealed in the research, caste hierarchy and its effects can be used as one of the baselines to analyse socio-cultural challenges of alternative development projects in the rural villages of Sri Lanka. Many rural communities are still being marginalized economically and politically based on the caste of their residents. However, it is

not identified as a serious issue, since caste prevails as a hidden social phenomenon in Sri Lanka.

When analysing socio-cultural challenges of CBET, I questioned whether tourists are prepared socio-culturally to accept CBET as an alternative development philosophy. Field research reveals that ordinary tourists are less aware of the philosophical importance of CBET; they visit natural places 'to experience and enjoy nature'. The degree of experiencing and enjoying nature depends on visitors' socio-cultural background, knowledge, attitudes and feelings but it does not always match with CBET ideologies. I have identified three main tourist behaviour patterns which contradict CBET ideologies. First, most of the overseas tourists from European countries have identified ecotourism activities like bird watching as expected in the CBET project, because they are familiar with concepts of western alternative development ideologies; however, they tend to make cultural mistakes owing to their ignorance of socio-cultural realities and social systems of southern peripheral rural contexts. They then create socio-cultural issues through their inability to behave appropriately in local situations, to adapt and respect local socio-cultural traditions even though they are environmentally responsible travellers.

Second, most domestic tourists visit the site only for recreation and are oblivious of ecotourism values. They disturb the local environment by polluting and through their noisy and showy behaviour rather than contributing to conserve the natural environment. Heavy drinking and alcohol abuse which is one of the major features of domestic tourist recreation, can negatively influence host community culture and challenge the accomplishment of CBET targets. Third, all the tourists are not interested in scientific and humanistic matters related to ecotourism, and some of them look for other means of recreation such as sex and drug tourism. Even if sex and drug tourism has not been popular at this site currently, there is a possibility that it spread at this site owing to local villagers desires to make more money under the influence of superimposed capitalism.

8.5 Theoretical and practical solutions to rearrange CBET in Kudawa-Sinharaja

The last specific objective of this research is to 'propose theoretical and practical solutions to rearrange CBET ventures appropriately to the particular contexts, in order to overcome the challenges'. This section discusses theoretical and practical solutions to rearrange CBET in relation to the three core challenges that it faces, as stated in the section 8.3.

- *Solutions for challenges of superimposed capitalism*

According to some scholars a capitalism structure associated with individualism is not appropriate to achieve realistic goals of an alternative development application which depends on collectivism and cooperative activities to a great extent since both are contrary to each other's ideals (Dellinger, 1995; Gunawardene et al., 2007; Myers, 2012) On the other hand, writers, especially anti-capitalists suggest that this era marks the end of capitalism (Gunasinghe, 1990; Latour, 1996, 2011; Zizek, 2011), however, in my opinion, capitalism has become the most dominant and convincing economic structure of the current world even if it faces many challenges. Hence, we cannot eliminate it, whether we like it or not.

Considering the ground reality in the Kudawa- Sinharaja CBET site, capitalism has been superimposed on this area and currently a 'superimposed capitalistic social structure' can be seen here. Therefore, when we recommend solutions to the challenges of 'superimposed capitalism' we cannot ignore that contemporary grassroots have already been influenced by superimposed capitalist accomplishments. Thus, I have recommended a number of solutions which are applicable in the contemporary socio-economic structure in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site.

My suggestion here is that before implementing sustainable bottom up development in rural South Asian contexts such as my research field, complex and sensitive social issues like caste and gender must be carefully studied so that CBET provides desired benefits. Bottom up and sustainable development approaches have failed where capitalism has negatively influenced them. On the

other hand, behaviour of capitalism in an alternative development process can be used as a criterion to analyse the effectiveness of such a community based development project implemented in rural areas of developing countries. In this research I propose ideological and practical solutions to overcome that situation. First, CBET practices must be rearranged to be compatible with bottom-up and sustainable development project activities designed according to the 'bottom up' planning process within the particular site.

Controlling and minimizing the influence of capitalism and individualism on project activities must be a key aspect of the project. As I argued, theories of **community empowerment** and **collective leadership** can be used to support CBET ventures based on values of the specific spatial context considering geopolitical and socio-cultural ground realities of the site. It should be noted here that my solutions are theoretically linked with post-colonialism arguments. According to post-colonialists, western structures of 'knowledge and power' are unsuitable for development processes in southern peripheral contexts (more in chapter 2, section 2.2.3), then bottom up and sustainable development activities there must be based on their own socio-economic situation.

My second proposal is to increase community based income generating opportunities within the particular site focusing on marginalized people. The strategy here is to minimize the possibilities of local members' involvement in biopiracy and violation of CBET ethics by increasing their income levels through CBET ventures. For example, economically valuable plant species in this site can be grown in home gardens as a cooperative project with properly established marketing opportunities.

- *Solutions for geo-political challenges*

The nature of geo-political relationships and strategies maintained by the contemporary Sri Lankan government with the global political hegemonic core is a challenge for CBET development in the country. Changing the international politics of the country is not an easy or simple task; however, as a simple and practical answer the Forest Department can modify CBET ventures to be suitable to the interests of non-European tourists. Traditionally, Sri Lanka has encouraged

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non-aligned foreign policy and if practically used, this is one of the efficient ways of developing effective geopolitical relationships in the long run which is more useful to implement formal ecotourism practices within the country.

Since ground political realities can negatively affect alternative development projects, global agendas of sustainable development discourses should include mechanisms to develop good governance and internal conflict resolution locally in the poor southern peripheral countries. Besides creating a stable and safe internal political environment, the government must strengthen its geo-political relationships with the rest of the world to develop CBET successfully.

I suggest that project planners must have knowledge of theoretical approaches to face challenges due to on practical ground realities within the site. I identified **collective leadership theory** and **stakeholders' theory** which are directly linked with bottom up development phenomena to be the most apposite theoretical applications to address challenges encountered in creating a community based decision making system for CBET in the Kudawa-Sinharaja site. This will be useful in many other CBET projects launched in Sri Lanka as well as in other poor southern peripheral countries. Further, giving opportunities to the local communities to develop their own sustainable economic power to invest money in CBET practice is a more effective 'political empowerment' process of marginalized people. Lack of such an approach could be identified as a main weakness of this project.

Any sustainable bottom up development approach implemented in southern peripheral countries must be compatible with their own contextual realities and principles, rather than western structures. **Microcredit theory and village banking system** are two such approaches which are familiar and applicable in the Sri Lankan context as well as in many other South Asian countries. Most importantly, village banking methods promotes collectivism which is a major factor in sustainable bottom up development and this approach is positively viewed in the post colonialism argument for alternative development. Principles introduced through a village banking system can overcome negative influences of a superimposed capitalist social structure and thus such a system is useful to minimize socio-political as well as economic challenges to this project. The

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agenda of this organization must include other theoretical and practical solutions presented in the analysis chapters.

Collecting community members as well as other stakeholders under one umbrella and promoting teamwork among them is essential to run a village banking system effectively and this process helps to implement CBET more successfully in the site. Yet, this aspect of the current CBET project is feeble as a super imposed capitalist structure does not support collaboration of different autonomous stakeholders under one umbrella. I have identified **actor-network theory** as the most suitable theoretical approach in the Kudawa-Sinharaja context to obtain that stakeholders collaborate and be successfully involved in CBET along with microcredit theory and a village banking system.

- *Solutions for socio-cultural challenges*

Since traditional socio-cultural structures can vary from one place to another, project planners must specially attend to identify traditional socio-cultural phenomena behind the marginalization of particular communities in any sustainable bottom up development module. These issues can then be addressed through project activities. Marginalization of women within CBET project is identified as the foremost and serious socio-cultural challenge. I suggest that CBET programmes should not just be limited to providing economic opportunities to women, but actually should support women's upward social mobility and self-confidence building by addressing negative issues in local socio-political and superimposed capitalist systems. On the other hand, these programmes should include men in the community and educate them on negative repercussions of internalized traditional gender stereotypes.

Regarding the caste issue, my suggestion here is that when implementing sustainable bottom up development projects in rural South Asian contexts such as my research field, complex and sensitive social issues like caste must carefully be studied to understand their role in discrimination and marginalization. Thus, project activities must be planned focusing on economic, political as well as socio-cultural enhancement of such local communities.

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Tourist behaviour has become one of the main socio-cultural changes to CBET in this site. My argument is since 'interest in ecotourism' is a constructed ideology, there should be a plan to educate tourists at all levels on ecotourism which will later help them to adopt environmentally responsible behaviour. In chapter 7, I have proposed the **theory of planned behaviour**, and **theory of reasoned action** to answer the issues stated above since any changes made in tourist attitudes and subjective norms can result in positive tourist behavioural intentions. In practice, project planners can conduct programmes aimed at responsible tourist behaviour before tourists enter the site. A well-defined, monitored, and effective legal framework for behaviour control is also important in extreme situations.

8.6 Recommendations for future research

This research examined challenges of CBET and issues of sustainable bottom up development approaches in a rural Sri Lankan context. I identified that achieving western alternative development targets in the southern peripheral context is rather difficult with all the economic, geo-politics and socio-cultural issues prevalent there. Yet, my argument is that sustainable and bottom up development ideologies still are theoretically valuable concepts for the empowerment of marginalized rural communities in the southern peripheral context, if theoretical and practical solutions can be derived to face challenges. My research thus focused on examining theoretical and practical solutions for challenges of CBET, taking the ground situation of this site into consideration. Yet, I identified a knowledge gap in this regard, which must be bridged to obtain realistic targets of an alternative development project.

First, any application of western alternative development ideologies and modules in rural areas of developing countries must be based on the socio-cultural context of particular places. I have discussed the theoretical use of microcredit and village banking system for economic and political empowerment of local communities through a development project, including women. Yet, there is a need for a field based research on the effectiveness of a village banking system as a strategy for women's/ marginalized communities' empowerment, which also can question the applicability and practicalities of this approach in the rural Sri Lankan context. Such a study could also examine whether it would effectively lead to ways of

collaboration by marginalized local communities, and whether this approach would reduce the negative effects of a superimposed capitalist social structure. Examination of these questions through field research is useful to implement more effective CBET practices in the research site as well as in other ecotourism sites of the country.

Second, I identified that global geo-political relationships and internal politics can heavily influence sustainable bottom up development approaches in the southern peripheral context. At the beginning of 2015, a supporter of the United National Party (UNP) was elected as the new president of Sri Lanka and subsequently, a new prime minister and cabinet were appointed. He replaces the President who had been elected in 2005 and who supported the United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA) party and thus ties to socialist countries. In my point of view, this marks a turning point in Sri Lankan geo-politics, because the UNP has often maintained a very close relationship with India and western countries rather than with former socialist countries, as their political strategy and policy. It is important to examine how the nature of geo-political relationships of the new government with other countries will change and how it can influence micro level sustainable bottom up development projects in rural Sri Lanka. This can further be studied through a careful observation of political strategies used by the new government in and out of the country.

Third, the research findings reveal that most tourists (both domestic and international) prefer adventure tourism and water rafting in this site. Some outside tourist companies and private hotel owners have planned to introduce these activities into the site using water bodies and forest patches located very close to Sinharaja. These forest patches share ecological characteristics with the virgin forest. The possibilities and practicalities of developing water rafting and adventure tourism as CBET/CBT practices and extended opportunities of bird watching in these forest patches as an ecotourism activity make excellent subjects of further research.

Albeit the planners of the CBET project in this site have principally identified ecotourism to be an environmental friendly responsible form of tourism, in

practice, it is negatively influencing the available bio-systems and the damage done cannot be totally recovered even if project planners positively address the environmental issues caused by practices that are far from the principles of ecotourism. As I observed, when the number of tourist arrivals at this site increases, the natural environment becomes more vulnerable, even if all the tourists strictly follow the rules of CBET. The damage caused to the Sinharaja forest can be minimized, if project planners can focus on developing ecotourism in alternative sites to the original one such as building new eco trails in forest patches of the Kudawa areas close to the main park. This would also provide increased opportunities for local community members to be involved in CBET ventures. Possibilities of developing CBET in forest patches available in Kudawa should thus be examined further.

Fourth, biopiracy, loss of forest genetic resources and wildlife smuggling are main environmental challenges to CBET in my research field. From my point of view, local villagers are involved in these illegal activities under the influence of superimposed capitalist socio-economic values. I thus discussed the need for a project to start cultivating economically valuable plant species in villagers' home gardens where they can earn extra money by selling the product. It will open new income opportunities to villagers as well as to the country's economy. Nonetheless, I have not paid attention to the practicalities of such a project under a community based development project. Hence, there are still doubts about the possible ways of carrying out such a project, people going to be involved in it, the legal situation of the country for such a project. These doubts can be cleared only through a field based research project.

Finally, by analysing practical ground level situations, I identified that capitalism, and superimposed capitalism values associated with alternative development activities can negatively influence sustainable bottom up development approaches. It is still doubtful how these issues can theoretically be answered to prevent the failure of future development approaches. My argument is that a theoretical research project should be carried out to rearrange alternative development discourses related to these issues.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethical approval for the research

Chaminda Kumara
Dr Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
School of Social Sciences
16.08.2012

Dear Chaminda

Re: **FS2012-33 Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka**

Thank you for submitting your revised application to me. You have satisfactorily addressed all the points raised by the Committee and I am happy to provide you with formal ethical approval.

I wish you well with your research

Kind regards,

Ruth Walker

Chair

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 2: Introductory Letter

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand
Phone +64 21 1399665
Email: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz

Introductory Letter

(Translated into local community language – Sinhala also)

Hamilton   May 2012

Dear Community of Kudawa Grama Niladari Divisions (GND)

I am a PhD student at the Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, the University of Waikato, New Zealand and a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Geography, the University of Ruhuna, Sri Lanka. I am engaging in a research for my doctoral thesis entitled: ***Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka.*** Under this study, I am planning to do my fieldwork inside the Sinharaja rain forest and Kudawa Grama Niladari Division (GN) in the north western slope of Sinharaja. The main purpose of my research is 'to recommend strategic policies and plans for implementing ecotourism as a Community Forest Management approach (CFM) for the Sinharaja Rain Forest'.

In order to carry out this research, I need to collect data regarding you, your family and your ideas, economic issues, socio-cultural information, forest utilization methods etc. Consequently, your participation in the interviews and questionnaire surveys is extremely significant to my study.

Therefore, I would like to invite you to participate in my research through your contribution to questionnaire surveys, case studies based on in-depth unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, and focused group interviews.

My research focuses on forest management and rural development. The findings of this research will assist the enhancement of economic development of your community as well as conservation and management of the Sinharaja rain forest. Hence, your participation in this research will ensure the successes of my research as well as future benefits to your community. If you would like to participate in this research, you may contact me at the following address:

HIGC Kumara
Email: chamindakumara03@yahoo.com
Department of Geography
University of Ruhuna, Matara, Sri Lanka
Tel. 0094 714469539

Or
HIGC Kumara
Email: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Tourism Studies
The University of Waikato

Appendix 3: Information Sheet

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Private Bag, 3105

Hamilton, New Zealand

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Plannir

Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua

Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences

Te Kura Kete Aronui

The University of Waikato

Private Bag 3105

Hamilton, New Zealand

Information sheet for semi-structured interviews

(Translated into local community language – Sinhala also)

Researcher	: HIGC Kumara	Supervisor	: Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact	:	Contact:	(07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email	: ckh10@students.waikato.ac.nz	Email:	adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

**Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management
Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka**
)

The research and participants' involvement

Thank you very much for your collaboration and valuable time spent with this research. I am working as a senior lecturer at the department of Geography, University of Ruhuan and presently I am a doctoral student in the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Waikato in New Zealand. My thesis supervisors are Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre and Dr. Lars Brabyn. I am undertaking PhD research on *Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka.* The purpose of my research is 'to recommend strategic policies and plans for implementing Eco-Tourism as a Community Forest Management approach (CFM) for the Sinharaja Rain Forest area'. In this research, semi-structured interviewing method will be used for qualitative data collecting.

I would like to invite you to participate in the semi-structured interviews of this research and it will mark the success of this research. Each interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour; yet, it will be flexible and depend on your needs and willingness.

Your rights as a participant

If you are willing to participate in the semi-structured interviews of this study, I can make an appointment to visit your residence at time most convenient for you. I would like to audio record the interview and take photographs during the interview. However, only notes will be taken down if you dissent audio recording and taking photographs. As a participant in this interview, you have the right to leave any questions unanswered and you can ask further information about this research during the interview. On the other hand, you have the right to change, add to or withdraw any information you have provided within three weeks period from the interview.

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Confidentiality

I will responsibly ensure that all information of the interview remains confidential and I will use 'pseudonym' method to ensure your confidentiality. If you disagree with the 'pseudonym' method, I may use another method of your approval to maintain your confidentiality.

All the collected information of this research will be stored safely at all times in a locked file of a locked drawer in my office room at the University of Waikato. Computerized data will be password protected and the password will repeatedly be changed. I will access raw data only and all the information will safely be kept for five-year time from the thesis submitted. After five years, data will be properly destroyed. Collected information will not be published without your permission or the University of Waikato.

During the fieldwork in Sri Lanka, I will keep all the collected information safely in a locked cabinet at my home. If a need occurs to publish photographs or any information that reveal your personal information, I am accountable of taking your written permission.

Findings of this research based on the collected data will be presented to the academic panel as a part of the PhD degree and also three copies will be submitted as hard copies and the other will be published as an online soft copy. In addition, the research findings will be used in academic works, such as in journal articles, conference presentations, and research papers.

How to participate in case studies?

If you would like to participate in the semi-structured interviews of this study, I can make an appointment to visit your residence. Please contact me on the following details if you wish to participate in the semi-structured interviews.

HIGC Kumara
Email: chamindakumara03@yaoo.com or ckh10@waikato.ac.nz
Department of Geography, University of Ruhuna, Matara
Tel. 0094 714469639

Appendix 4 (a): Interview Questions

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Semi-Structured Interview Questions
(Translated into local community language – Sinhala also)

Researcher	: HIGC Kumara	Supervisor	: Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact	: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮	Contact:	: (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email	: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz	Email	: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

a. Questions for local community
\

1. At present, what kind of benefits do you achieve from the Sinharaja rain forest? *('Benefits of forest have comprehensive meaning. Some people may use the forest area for timber and nun timber collecting. Some are active as tourist guides, small restaurant owners or food suppliers to visitors etc. Thus, the participants will briefly be explained on the 'meaning of forest benefits)*

2. What difficulties do you encounter when obtaining benefits from Sinharaja?

3. Are the present forest policies and practices of the Sinharaja rain forest management successful? If not, why?

4. What are your views on the existing ecotourism and forest management applications to the Sinharaja rain forest? (*A brief explanation on ecotourism will be given for participants to get a clear idea about it)*

5. If ecotourism has been implemented in Sinharaja, have you been involved or obtained benefits from it?

6. Have you experienced a 'community forest management' project? *(The meaning of a community forest management project will briefly be explained for participants to get a clear idea about it)*

7. What do you think about 'ecotourism' as a community forest management (CFM) approach?

8. In your point of view, what are the possible biological opportunities/challenges that occur while implementing ecotourism in the Sinharaja rain forest?

9. What are the potentials/challenges of landscape and land availability in the Sinharaja rain forest and its surrounding areas to implement ecotourism as a CFM approach?

10. How does infrastructure of your area influence the implementation of ecotourism as a CFM approach?

11. In your point of view, what type of cultural and social possibilities/challenges (including gender, caste, religion, norms, beliefs etc ...) will be encountered when implementing ecotourism in Sinharaja as a CFM approach?

12. What are your current economic activities and how do they affect the implementation of ecotourism as a CFM approach?

13. Do you have any other ideas, information or suggestions regarding ecotourism as a CFM approach?

Appendix 4 (b): Interview Questions

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Semi-Structured Interview Questions
(Translated into local community language – Sinhala also)

Researcher	: HIGC Kumara	Supervisor	: Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact	: ▮▮▮▮▮	Contact:	: (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email	: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz	Email	: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

b. **Questions for government officials (forest officers/ policy planners/village officers etc)**

1. What kind of policies / plans / projects are presently been practiced for the conservation and management of the Sinharaja rain forest?

2. What kind of relationship do you observe between Sinharaja and its peripheral community?

3. In your point of view, are the peripheral communities involved in forest management activities presently?

4. What are the main challenges available regarding forest management?

5. What do you think about current ecotourism and forest management applications to the Sinharaja rain forest? (*A brief explanation on ecotourism will be given for participants to get a clear idea about it*)

6. Have you experienced a 'community forest management' project? (*The meaning of a community forest management project will briefly be explained for participants to get a clear idea about it*)

7. What do you and your institute think about and what sort of plans or policy are available regarding ecotourism and community forest management (CFM) approach? Have you practiced it?

8. In your point of view, what kind of biological opportunities/challenges will there be when implementing ecotourism in the Sinharaja rain forest?

9. What kind of potentials/challenges of landscape and land availability in the Sinharaja rain forest and its surrounding areas will be encountered when implementing ecotourism as a CFM approach?

10. In your point of view, what sort of cultural and social possibilities/challenges (including gender, caste, religion, norms, beliefs etc ...) will occur when implementing ecotourism as a CFM approach?

11. What are the current economic activities of the local community and how do they influence the implementation of ecotourism as a CFM approach?

12. How does infrastructure of the study area influence the implementation of ecotourism as a CFM approach?

13. How do practical politics (in the study area, region, and country as well as world) influence the implementation of ecotourism as a CFM approach?

14. Are there suitable 'stakeholders' in sufficient numbers in that area to implement ecotourism as a CFM project?

15. Is there a possibility to introduce ecotourism as a CFM approach to create environmental, social and economic sustainability in the study area?

16. Do you have any other ideas, information or suggestions regarding ecotourism as a CFM approach?

Appendix 4 (c): Interview Questions

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Semi-Structured Interview Questions
(Translated into local community language – Sinhala)

Researcher   : HIGC Kumara   Supervisor   : Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact   :   Contact: : (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email   : ckh10@waikato.ac.nz   Email   : adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

c.   Questions for other relevant people (NGOs/ environmentalists/academics etc)

1.   What is the current situation of Sinharaja rain forest management and conservation?

2.   How does the local community get involved in forest utilization and management?

3.   What policies / plans / projects have been practiced in the Sinharaja rain forest for its conservation and management?

4.   What main challenges are encountered in Sinharaja rain forest management?

5.   What do you think about the application of ecotourism to the management of the Sinharaja rain forest? (*A brief explanation on ecotourism will be given for participants to get a clear idea about it)*

6.   In your point of view, what possible biological opportunities/challenges will occur when implementing ecotourism in the Sinharaja rain forest?

7.   What potentials/challenges of landscape and land availability in the Sinharaja rain forest and its surrounding areas will be encountered when implementing ecotourism as a CFM approach? *(The meaning of a community forest management project will briefly be explained for participants to get a clear idea about it)*

8.   In your point of view, what cultural and social possibilities/challenges (including gender, caste, religion, norms, beliefs etc ...) will occur when implementing ecotourism as a CFM approach?

9.   What are the current economic activities of the local community and how do they influence implementation of ecotourism as a CFM approach?

10. How does infrastructure of the study area affect implementation of ecotourism as a CFM approach?

11. How do practical politics (in the study area, region, country as well as world) influence the implementation of ecotourism as a CFM approach?

12. Are there suitable 'stakeholders' in sufficient numbers in that area to implement ecotourism as a CFM project?

13. Is there a possibility to introduce ecotourism as a CFM approach to create environmental, social and economic sustainability in the study area?

14. Do you have any other ideas, information or suggestions regarding ecotourism as a CFM approach?

Appendix 5: Consent Form - Interviews

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Consent form for semi-structured interview
(Translated into local community language – Sinhala as well)

Researcher	: HIGC Kumara	Supervisor	: **Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre**
Contact	:	Contact:	: (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email	: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz	Email	: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka

The main purpose of this research is to recommend strategic policies and plans for implementing appropriate Eco -Tourism as a Community Forest Management approach (CFM) for the Sinharaja Rain Forest area in Sri Lanka. As a qualitative data collecting method, semi-structured interviews will be used in this research to assess detailed information of community members' activities, beliefs and behaviours as well as possibilities and challenges encountered in implementing ecotourism as CFM approach. Your participation in a semi-structured interview will essentially contribute to the success of this research.

Collected data by this method will be used in my PhD thesis as well as in journal articles, conference presentations and seminars. As a participant, you can avoid answering any question on which you are unwilling to reveal information. The socio-culturally and emotionally sensitive questions such as issues on gender, caste, class and income level are optional and if you are willing to provide such information this will be highly confidential and will only be used for academic purposes. In addition, as a participant, you have the right to withdraw any information that you have provided within three weeks from the interviews.

All the collected information of this research will safely be stored in a locked file case inside a locked drawer at all times. Computerized data will be stored in a password-protected file and the password will repeatedly be changed over time. I will access raw data only and all the information will safely be kept for five-year after the thesis is submitted. After five years, data will be properly destroyed. Collected information will not be published without your permission.

If you have any complaints or queries regarding the ethical conduct of the research you can contact the Secretary of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Ethics Committee by email: fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, or by postal address: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240, New Zealand.

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [√] the appropriate box for each point

	YES	NO
I have received a copy of the information sheet describing the research project		
I agree to participate in this interview		
I understand that I may withdraw my consent within three weeks after the interview		
I wish to view the transcript of the interview		
I understand that I can decline to answer any particular questions		
I understand that I can stop the interview at any time		
I give consent for this interview to be audio-recorded and photographs		
I understand that I can ask to have the recorder turned off at any time		
I would like my identity to remain confidential and anonymous in any published work that uses this information		
Any questions I have relating the research have been answered to my satisfaction		
I understand that I can ask any further questions about the research that occur to me during my participation		
I agree that the information I provide can be used for the purposes of the research as outline in the information sheet		
I understand that I retain ownership of my interview and it is being used in this research with my consent		
I wish to receive a summary of the findings		

"I (your name) _____ acknowledge receipt of the consent form and the information sheet. I consent to be a participant in this research on the above conditions".

Participant's signature _____   Date ____/____/____

"I (the researcher) _____ agree to abide by the conditions set out in the information sheet and consent form".

Researcher's signature _____   Date ____/____/____

Appendix 6: Information Sheet

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Information sheet for focus group interviews
(Translated into local community language – Sinhala as well)

Researcher	: HIGC Kumara	Supervisor	: Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact	:	Contact:	: (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email	: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz	Email	: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka

The research and participants involvement

Thank you very much for your collaboration and valuable time spent with this research. I am working as a senior lecturer at the department of Geography, University of Ruhuan and presently I am a doctoral student in the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Waikato in New Zealand. My thesis supervisors are Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre and Dr. Lars Brabyn. I am undertaking PhD research on *Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka.* The purpose of my research is 'to recommend strategic policies and plans for implementing Eco-Tourism as a Community Forest Management approach (CFM) for the Sinharaja Rain Forest area'. In this research, focused group interviewing will be used as a qualitative data collecting method.

I would like to invite you to participate in the focused group interviews of this research as it will help the success of this research. Each interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour; yet, it will be flexible and depend on your needs and willingness.

Your rights as participant

If you are willing to participate in the focused group interviews of this study, I can arrange a commonplace and time most convenient to you all to gather for the interviews. I like to audio record and photograph during the focused group interviews. However, only notes will be taken down if you refuse audio recording and photographing. As a participant in this interview, you have the right to leave any questions unanswered and you can ask further information about this research during the interview. On the other hand, you have the right to change, add to or withdraw any information you have provided within three weeks from the interview.

Confidentiality

I will responsibly ensure that all information of the interview remains confidential and I will use 'pseudonym' method to ensure your confidentiality. If you disagree with the 'pseudonym' method, I may use another method of your approval to maintain your confidentiality.

All the collected information of this research will be stored safely at all times in a locked file of a locked drawer in my office room at the University of Waikato. Computerized data will be password protected and the password will repeatedly be changed. I will access raw data only and all the information will safely be kept for five-years from the time the thesis is submitted. After five years, data will be properly destroyed. Collected information will not be published without your permission.

During the fieldwork in Sri Lanka, I will keep all the collected information safely in a locked cabinet at my home. If a need occurs to publish photographs or any information that reveal your personal information, I am accountable for taking your written permission.

Findings of this research based on the collected data will be presented to the academic panel as a part of the PhD degree and also three copies will be submitted as hard copies; there will be one online copy too. In addition, the research findings will be used in academic works, such as in journal articles, conference presentations, and research papers.

How to participate in case studies?

If you would like to participate in the focus group interviews of this study, I can contact you, arrange a commonplace, and time most convenient to you all to gather and schedule the focused group interview. Please contact me on the following details if you wish to participate in the semi-structured interviews.

HIGC Kumara
Email: chamindakumara03@yaoo.com or ckh10@waikato.ac.nz
Department of Geography, University of Ruhuna, Matara
Tel. 0094 714469639

This research project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. Any questions about the ethical conduct of this research may be sent to the secretary of the Committee, email fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz or the postal address: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240, New Zealand.

Appendix 7: Consent form – Focus Groups

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Consent form for focus group interviews
(Translated into local community language – Sinhala as well)

Researcher	: HIGC Kumara	Supervisor	: Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact	: ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮	Contact:	: (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email	: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz	Email	: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka

The main purpose of this research is to recommend strategic policies and plans for implementing appropriate Eco-Tourism as a Community Forest Management approach (CFM) for the Sinharaja Rain Forest area in Sri Lanka. As a qualitative data collecting method, focused group interviews will be used in this research and it will be used to assess detailed information of community members' activities, beliefs and behaviours as well as possibilities and challenges encountered in implementing ecotourism as CFM approach. Your participation in focused group interviews will essentially contribute to the successes of this research.

Collected data by this method will be used in my PhD thesis as well as in journal articles, conference presentations and seminars. As a participant, you can avoid answering any questions on which you are unwilling to reveal information. The socio-culturally and emotionally sensitive questions such as issues on gender, caste, class and income level are optional and if you are willing to provide such information this will be highly confidential and will only be used for academic purposes. In addition, as a participant, you have the right to withdraw any information that you have provided within three weeks time from the interviews.

All the collected information of this research will safely be stored in a locked file case inside a locked drawer at all times. Computerized data will be stored in a password-protected file and the password will repeatedly be changed over time. I will access raw data only and all the information will safely be kept for five-year time period of thesis submitted. After five years, data will be properly destroyed. Collected information will not be published without the permission of you or the University of Waikato.

If you have any complaints or queries regarding the ethical conduct of the research you can contact the Secretary of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Ethics Committee by email: fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz, or by postal address: Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Te Kura Kete Aronui, University of Waikato, Te Whare Wananga o Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240, New Zealand.

Please complete the following checklist. Tick [√] the appropriate box for each point

	YES	NO
I have received a copy of the information sheet describing the research project		
I agree to participate in this interview		
I understand that I may withdraw my consent until three week after the interview		
I wish to view the transcript of the interview		
I understand that I can decline to answer any particular questions		
I understand that I can stop the interview at any time		
I give consent for this interview to be audio-recorded and photographs		
I understand that I can ask to have the recorder turned off at any time		
I would like my identity to remain confidential and anonymous in any published work that uses this information		
Any questions I have relating the research have been answered to my satisfaction		
I understand that I can ask any further questions about the research that occur to me during my participation		
I agree that the information I provide can be used for the purposes of the research as outline in the information sheet		
I understand that I retain ownership of my interview and it is being used in this research with my consent		
I wish to receive a summary of the findings		

"I (your name) _____ acknowledge receipt of the consent form and the information sheet. I consent to be a participant in this research on the above conditions".

Participant's signature _____   Date ____/____/____

"I (the researcher) _____ agree to abide by the conditions set out in the information sheet and consent form".

Researcher's signature _____   Date ____/____/____

Appendix 8: Focus Groups Questions

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Focus group interview questions
(Translated into local community language – Sinhala as well)

Researcher	: HIGC Kumara	Supervisor	: Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact	:	Contact:	: (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email	: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz	Email	: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

1. What is your relationship with the Sinharaja rain forest/ what benefits do you obtain from Sinharaja?

2. What difficulties and challenges do you encounter while obtaining benefits from the Sinharaja rain forest?

3. What do you think about contemporary management policies/ plans/ strategies of the Sinharaja rain forest?

4. What do you think about 'ecotourism' and forest management? (*A brief explanation on ecotourism will be given for participants to get a clear idea about it*)

5. Have you experienced ' community forest management' *(The meaning of a community forest management project will briefly be explained for participants to get a clear idea about it)*

6. If an ecotourism project is implemented as a community forest management approach, what benefits do you achieve from it?

7. In your point of view, what type of cultural and social possibilities/challenges (including gender, caste, religion, norms, beliefs etc ...) will be encountered when implementing ecotourism in Sinharaja as a CFM approach?

8. How does infrastructure of your area influence the implementation of ecotourism as a CFM approach?

9. How do your current economic activities affect the implementation of ecotourism as a CFM approach?

10. Are there suitable 'stakeholders' in sufficient numbers in that area to implement ecotourism as a CFM project?

11. Do you believe that implementation of ecotourism as a CFM approach can create environmental, social and economic sustainability in your area?

12. Do you have any other ideas, information or suggestions regarding ecotourism as a CFM approach?

Appendix 9: Information Sheet

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Information sheet for questionnaire survey of local community
(Translated into local community language – Sinhala as well)

Researcher	: HIGC Kumara	Supervisor	: Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact	:	Contact:	: (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email	: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz	Email	: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka

The research and participants' involvement

Thank you very much for your collaboration and valuable time spent with this research. I am working as a senior lecturer at the department of Geography, University of Ruhuan and presently I am a doctoral student in the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Waikato in New Zealand. My thesis supervisors are Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre and Dr. Lars Brabyn. I am undertaking PhD research on *Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka.* The purpose of my research is 'to recommend strategic policies and plans for implementing Eco-Tourism as a Community Forest Management approach (CFM) for the Sinharaja Rain Forest area'. In this research, questionnaire survey method will be used for quantitative data collecting.

I would like to invite you to participate in the questionnaire survey of this research and it will mark the success of this research. Each interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour; yet, it will be flexible and depend on your needs and willingness.

Your rights as a participant

If you are willing to participate in the questionnaire survey of this study, I can make an appointment to visit your residence at time most convenient for you. I would like to audio record the interview and take photographs during the interview. However, only notes will be taken down if you dissent audio recording and taking photographs. As a participant in this interview, you have the right to leave any questions unanswered and you can ask further information about this research during the interview. On the other hand, you have the right to change, add to or withdraw any information you have provided within three weeks period from the questionnaire survey.

Confidentiality

I will responsibly ensure that all information of the survey remains confidential and your name or address should not be written anywhere in the questionnaire.

All the collected information of this research (including filled questionnaires) will be stored safely at all times in a locked file of a locked drawer in my office room at the University of Waikato. Computerized data will be password protected and the password will repeatedly be changed. I will access raw data only and all the information will safely be kept for five-year time from the thesis submitted. After five years, data will be properly destroyed. Collected information will not be published without your permission or the University of Waikato.

During the fieldwork in Sri Lanka, I will keep all the collected information safely in a locked cabinet at my home. If a need occurs to publish photographs or any information that reveal your personal information, I am accountable of taking your written permission.

Findings of this research based on the collected data will be presented to the academic panel as a part of the PhD degree and also three copies will be submitted as hard copies and the other will be published as an online soft copy. In addition, the research findings will be used in academic works, such as in journal articles, conference presentations, and research papers.

For further information or queries about the questioner survey or my research, you can contact me any time,on the following details.

HIGC Kumara
Email: chamindakumara03@yaoo.com or ckh10@waikato.ac.nz
Department of Geography, University of Ruhuna, Matara
Tel. 0094 714469639

Appendix 10: Introductory Letter

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Introductory letter of questionnaire survey for tourists
(Translated into local community language – Sinhala as well)

Researcher	: HIGC Kumara	Supervisor	: Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact	: 006421 1399665	Contact:	: (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email	: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz	Email	: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

Dear tourists/visitors of the Sinharaja rain forest

I am a PhD student at the Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, the University of Waikato, New Zealand and a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Geography, the University of Ruhuna, Sri Lanka. I am engaging in a research for my doctoral thesis entitled: ***Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka.*** Under this study, I am planning to do my fieldwork inside the Sinharaja rain forest and Kudawa Grama Niladari Division(GND) in the northwestern slope of Sinharaja. The main purpose of my research is 'to recommend strategic policies and plans for implementing ecotourism as a Community Forest Management approach (CFM) for the Sinharaja Rain Forest'.

In order to carry out this research, I need to collect data about you and your ideas. Consequently, your participation in the interviews and questionnaire surveys is extremely significant to my study. Therefore, I would like to invite you to participate in my research through your contribution to this questionnaire survey.

My research focuses on forest management and rural development. The findings of this research will assist the enhancement of economic development of your community as well as conservation and management of the Sinharaja rain forest. Hence, your participation in this research will ensure the successes of my research as well as future benefits to the Sinharaja rain forest and its peripheral community.

Thanking you

HIGC Kumara
Email: chamindakumara03@yahoo.com
Department of Geography
University of Ruhuna, Matara, Sri Lanka
Tel. 0094 714469539

HIGC Kumara
Email: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Tourism Studies
The University of Waikato
Private Bag, 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

Appendix 11: Information Sheet

Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning
Te Wāhanga Aro Whenua
Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences
Te Kura Kete Aronui
The University of Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Hamilton, New Zealand

THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Information sheet for questionnaire survey of tourists
(Translated into local community language – Sinhala as well)

Researcher	: HIGC Kumara	Supervisor	: Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact	: 006421 1399665	Contact:	: (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email	: ckh10@waikato.ac.nz	Email	: adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka

The research and participants' involvement

Thank you very much for your collaboration and valuable time spent with this research. I am working as a senior lecturer at the department of Geography, University of Ruhuan and presently I am a doctoral student in the Department of Geography, Tourism and Environmental Planning, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, University of Waikato in New Zealand. My thesis supervisors are Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre and Dr. Lars Brabyn. I am undertaking PhD research on ***Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka.*** The purpose of my research is 'to recommend strategic policies and plans for implementing Eco-Tourism as a Community Forest Management approach (CFM) for the Sinharaja Rain Forest area'. In this research, questionnaire survey method will be used for quantitative data collecting.

I would like to invite you to participate in the questionnaire survey of this research and it will mark the success of this research.

Your rights as a participant

If you are willing to participate in the questionnaire survey of this study, you have the right to leave any questions unanswered and you can ask further information about this research during the interview. I would like to audio record the interview and photograph during the interview. However, only notes will be taken down if you dissent audio recording and taking photographs. On the other hand, you have the right to change, add to or withdraw any information you have provided within three weeks period from the interview.

Confidentiality

I will responsibly ensure that all information of the survey remains confidential and your name or address should not be written anywhere in the questionnaire.

All the collected information of this research (including filled questionnaires) will be stored safely at all times in a locked file of a locked drawer in my office room at the University of Waikato. Computerized data will be password protected and the password will repeatedly be changed. I will access raw data only and all the information will safely be kept for five-year time from the thesis submitted. After five years, data will be properly destroyed. Collected information will not be published without your permission or the University of Waikato.

During the fieldwork in Sri Lanka, I will keep all the collected information safely in a locked cabinet at my home. If a need occurs to publish photographs or any information that reveal your personal information, I am accountable of taking your written permission.

Findings of this research based on the collected data will be presented to the academic panel as a part of the PhD degree and also three copies will be submitted as hard copies and the other will be published as an online soft copy. In addition, the research findings will be used in academic works, such as in journal articles, conference presentations, and research papers.

For further information or queries about the questioner survey or my research, you can contact me any time,on the following details.

HIGC Kumara
Email: chamindakumara03@yaoo.com or ckh10@waikato.ac.nz
Department of Geography, University of Ruhuna, Matara
Tel. 0094 714469639

Appendix 12: Questionnaire for Local Community

(Translated into local community language – Sinhala as well)

Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka

Researcher   : HIGC Kumara   Supervisor   : Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact   :   Contact: (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email   : ckh10@waikato.ac.nz   Email   : adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

I would appreciate your cooperation in providing information. All information will remain confidential to the researcher.

Village/ Grama Niladari Division [   ]   HH[1]No. [   ]

Interviewer [   ]   Date [   ]

Please tick [√] the appropriate box for each point.

1.   Your age group in:
☐   15>   ☐ 31– 45   ☐ 61– 75
☐   15– 30   ☐ 46 – 60   ☐ 75<

2.   Gender
☐   Male
☐   Female

3.   Ethnicity
☐   Sinhala   ☐ Other
☐   Tamil   (please specify_____)
☐   Muslim

4.   Religion
☐   Buddhist   ☐ Other
☐   Hindu   (please specify_____)
☐   Muslim

5.   Marital status
☐   Married
☐   Unmarried

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[1] House Hold

6. Educational qualification
   - ☐ Primary education ☐ Secondary education
   - ☐ Diploma ☐ Bachelor Degree
   - ☐ Masters Degree ☐ PhD
   - ☐ Other (please specify_____

7. Occupation status
   - ☐ Farmer ☐ Government services
   - ☐ Labourer ☐ Private institute
   - ☐ Not Working ☐ Student
   - ☐ Retired ☐ Other (please specify_____)

8. Your monthly income range (SLR)
   - ☐ 15000> ☐ 45000-55000
   - ☐ 15000 - 25000 ☐ 55000-65000
   - ☐ 25000- 35000 ☐ 65000-75000
   - ☐ 35000-45000 ☐ 75000<

9. Do you utilize forest resources of Sinharaja?

   - ☐ Yes
   - ☐ No

10. If yes, how often?

    - ☐ Occasionally
    - ☐ Often
11. Do you have legal right to the forest utilization?

    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No

12. Are you involved in any job related to ecotourism in the Sinharaja rain forest?
    - ☐ Yes
    - ☐ No

13. If yes, please specify.
    - ☐ Hotel/inn (Accommodation) ☐ Tourist guide
    - ☐ Vehicle supply ☐ Tours and Travel
    - ☐ Forest Department ☐ Other (Please specify _____)

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please tick the appropriate box for each point.

14. Current forest management policies, plans and strategies are playing a considerable role in the management of Sinharaja rain forest.
    - ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Strongly disagree
    - ☐ Agree ☐ No idea
    - ☐ Disagree ☐ Other (Please specify _____)

15. At present, local community members have the opportunity to involve in the Sinharaja forest management process.

    ☐ Strongly agree   ☐ Strongly disagree
    ☐ Agree   ☐ No idea
    ☐ Disagree   ☐ Other (Please specify _____)

16. At present, ecotourism is well developed and popular in the Sinharaja rain forest area

    ☐ Strongly agree   ☐ Strongly disagree
    ☐ Agree   ☐ No idea
    ☐ Disagree   ☐ Other (Please specify _____)

17. At present, local community involve in ecotourism in the Sinharaja rain forest in a satisfactory level.

    ☐ Strongly agree   ☐ Strongly disagree
    ☐ Agree   ☐ No idea
    ☐ Disagree   ☐ Other (Please specify _____)

18. 'Ecotourism as a community forest management approach' is an effective forest management tool for the Sinharaja rain forest.

    ☐ Strongly agree   ☐ Strongly disagree
    ☐ Agree   ☐ No idea
    ☐ Disagree   ☐ Other (Please specify_____)

19. Sinharaja rain forest is rich in enough biological and other environmental conditions to apply ecotourism as a community forest management approach to it.

    ☐ Strongly agree   ☐ Strongly disagree
    ☐ Agree   ☐ No idea
    ☐ Disagree   ☐ Other (Please specify _____)

20. Socio-cultural background of the local community supports the application of ecotourism as a community forest management approach to the Sinharaja rain forest.

    ☐ Strongly agree   ☐ Strongly disagree
    ☐ Agree   ☐ No idea
    ☐ Disagree   ☐ Other (Please specify _____)

21. Ecotourism as a community forest management approach can be applied to the Sinharaja forest, not only for forest management, but also for poverty reduction programme of local community.

    ☐ Strongly agree   ☐ Strongly disagree
    ☐ Agree   ☐ No idea
    ☐ Disagree   ☐ Other (Please specify _____)

22. At present, there are enough infrastructure facilities to implement ecotourism as a community forest management approach to the Sinharaja rain forest.

    ☐ Strongly agree   ☐ Strongly disagree
    ☐ Agree   ☐ No idea
    ☐ Disagree   ☐ Other (Please specify _____)

23. There are suitable stakeholders in sufficient numbers in the peripheral areas of the Sinharaja rain forest to implement ecotourism as a community forest management approach.

    ☐ Strongly agree   ☐ Strongly disagree

    ☐ Agree   ☐ No idea

    ☐ Disagree   ☐ Other (Please specify _____)

24. Implementing ecotourism as a community forest management approach to the Sinharaja rain forest will result in environmental, social and economic sustainability.

    ☐ Strongly agree   ☐ Strongly disagree

    ☐ Agree   ☐ No idea

    ☐ Disagree   ☐ Other (Please specify _____)

25. If you have any further ideas, suggestions or comments regarding implementation of ecotourism as a community forest management approach in the Sinharaja rain forest, please state them briefly below.

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Thank you!

Appendix 13: Questionnaire for Tourists

Implementing Appropriate Forms of 'Eco-Tourism' as a Community Forest Management Approach for the Sinharaja Rain Forest in Sri Lanka

Researcher   : HIGC Kumara   Supervisor   : Dr. Anne-Marie d'Hauteserre
Contact   :   Contact   : (07) 838 4466 Ext. 8270
Email   : ckh10@waikato.ac.nz   Email   : adhautes@waikato.ac.nz

I would appreciate your cooperation in providing information. All information will remain confidential to the researcher.

Country of the participant (if s/he is a foreign traveller) [   ]

District and village of the participant (if s/he is a Sri Lankan traveller) [   ]

Interviewer [   ]   Date [   ]

Please tick [√] the appropriate box for each point.

1. Your age group

   ☐ 15>   ☐ 31– 45   ☐ 61– 75
   ☐ 15– 30   ☐ 46 – 60   ☐ 75<

2. Gender
   ☐ Male
   ☐ Female

3. Have you visited Sinharaja before?
   ☐ Yes
   ☐ No

4. Your educational qualifications

   ☐ Primary education   ☐ Secondary education
   ☐ Diploma   ☐ Bachelor Degree
   ☐ Masters Degree   ☐ PhD
   ☐ Other (please specify………………………)

5. Your occupation status

   ☐ Government services   ☐ Famer
   ☐ Private institute   ☐ Labourer
   ☐ Not Working   ☐ Student
   ☐ Retired   ☐ Other (please specify…………..)

6.   How did you receive information about the Sinharaja rain forest?

   ☐ Internet   ☐ Travel agency
- ☐ Internet ☐ Travel agency
- ☐ Guide book of Sri Lankan tourists board ☐ Forest Department

- ☐ By friends/ other visitors ☐ Tour guide
- ☐ News paper/ publicataion/leaflet ☐ Other (please specipy…………..)
- ☐ TV/ Radio programme

7.   Why are you visiting the Sinharaja rain forest?

- ☐ Research/ field study ☐ For leopard and other rare animal watching
- ☐ Bird watching ☐ Camping
- ☐ Painting/ photographing ☐ Just to enjoy and relaxation
- ☐ Mountain climbing ☐ Other (please specify …………..)

8.   How many days do you plan to stay in the Sinharaja forest area? ………………………….

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? Please tick the boxes at each point.

9.   At present, there are enough infrastructure facilities to access the Sinharaja rain forest.

- ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Agree ☐ No idea
- ☐ Disagree ☐ Other (Please specify …………….)

10.   There are enough accommodation facilities close to the Sinharaja rain forest

- ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Agree ☐ No idea
- ☐ Disagree ☐ Other (Please specify…………….)

11.   Services in the accommodation sector (foods supplying/courtesy/sanitary/assertiveness) are satisfactory.

- ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Agree ☐ No idea
- ☐ Disagree ☐ Other (Please specify…………….)

12.   Tour guides can easily be contacted from the peripheral villages of Sinharaja for an eco tour.

- ☐ Strongly agree ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Agree ☐ No idea
- ☐ Disagree ☐ Other (Please specify…………….)

13. Tour guides have sufficient knowledge about the forest, its ecology and ecotourism

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ No idea
- ☐ Other (Please specify…………….)

14. Tour guides have received a proper training on the subject to explain and describe about the forest and importance of forest as an ecological/ecotourism site

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ No idea
- ☐ Other (Please specify………….)

15. The Sinharaja rain forest is important and apt as a ecotourism site

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ No idea
- ☐ Other (Please specify………….)

16. Forest management policies, plans and strategies practically support the implementation of ecotourism in the Sinharaja rain forest as a management tool.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ No idea
- ☐ Other (Please specify …………….)

17. At present, local community is involved satisfactorily in management of the Sinharaja forest and ecotourism activities.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ No idea
- ☐ Other (Please specify……………)

18. 'Ecotourism as a community forest management approach' is an effective and apt forest management tool for the Sinharaja rain forest

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ No idea
- ☐ Other (Please specify ……………)

19. Socio-cultural background of the local community supports the application of ecotourism as a community forest management approach to the Sinharaja rain forest.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ No idea
- ☐ Other (Please specify …………….)

20. Ecotourism as a community forest management approach can be applied to the Sinharaja forest, not only for forest management, but also for poverty reduction programme of local community.

- ☐ Strongly agree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Disagree
- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ No idea
- ☐ Other (Please specify …………….)

21. Implementing ecotourism as a community forest management approach to the Sinharaja rain forest will result in environmental, social and economic sustainability.

☐ Strongly agree   ☐ Strongly disagree

☐ Agree   ☐ No idea

☐ Disagree   ☐ Other (Please specify …………..)

26. If you have any further ideas, suggestions or comments regarding implementation of ecotourism as a community forest management approach in the Sinharaja rain forest, please state them briefly below.

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…………………………Thank you!