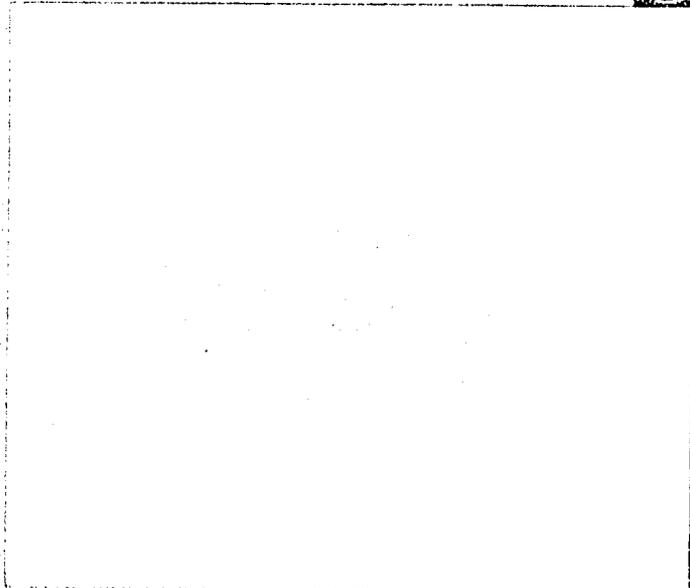


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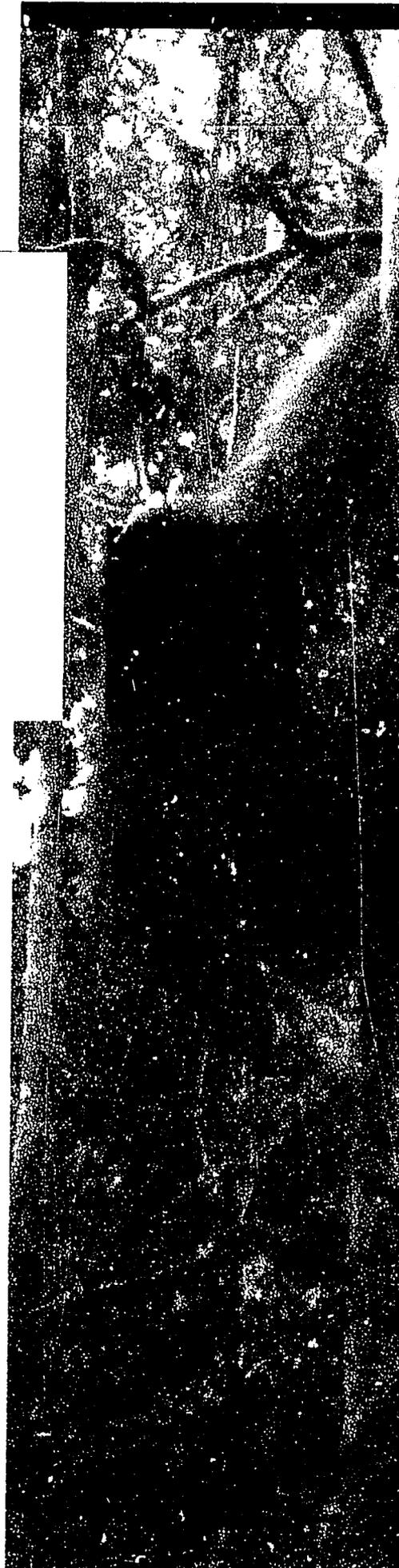
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**THE CENTER
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CONSERVATION**



**DUKE
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**ECOTOURISM,
HANDICRAFTS AND THE
MANAGEMENT OF
PROTECTED AREAS IN
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**

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INTRODUCTION

In an effort to preserve the world's stock of biological resources, maintain the functioning of valuable ecosystems, and protect scenic and cultural resources, thousands of parks, nature reserves and other protected areas have been created in developing countries. The World Conservation Monitoring Centre has identified 7,152 nationally protected areas, of which 3,246 are in low and middle income countries. Protected areas have in recent years been among the fastest growing categories of land use worldwide, growing from 1.6% of the world's land area in 1972 to 4.9% in 1990 (World Bank, 1992).

Even as more protected areas are being established, new and existing areas have come under increasing pressure from the growth of human population and economic activities. In parks and reserves throughout the world, large numbers of rural people live around or even inside park boundaries. A key consideration in reserve management, therefore, is how to give local residents an economic incentive to help maintain the resources that the parks protect. Often, the creation of parks and reserves initially hurts local people by cutting them off from opportunities to hunt, gather forest products, or clear new agricultural land. A recent study observes: "An emerging view among conservationists is that the successful management of protected areas (PAs) must include the cooperation and support of local people. Excluding people who live adjacent to PAs from use of these resources, without providing them with alternatives, is increasingly viewed as politically infeasible and ethically unjustifiable" (Brandon and Wells, 1992).

Many parks and reserves are experiencing substantial increases in tourism, much of which

comes from high-income countries or from affluent domestic urban populations. Often, this sort of tourism is called "ecotourism," a word that describes both the motivation of tourists (to visit natural ecosystems) and the conservation benefits that are expected. Yet there is growing concern that little of the revenue from ecotourism reaches local people. The report from the World Parks Congress, a major international meeting of environmentalists and park managers held in Caracas in 1992, noted that "In order to compensate local people for the loss of use of nearby resources, and to obtain their collaboration in protecting parks, a larger proportion of tourism revenues should be recycled locally" (Munasinghe, draft, 1992).

In practice, the options for local capture of tourist revenue are relatively few: entrance fees or tourist taxes can be distributed to local governments or community organizations; local people can operate or work in establishments providing lodging, food, or services to the tourists; or local people can sell the tourists souvenirs, crafts, or other merchandise. To date, none of these revenue-capture options has been adequately documented.¹

The least-explored option is revenue-capture through sale of what might be termed "tourist merchandise," that is, tangible products sold directly to tourists. This study is an investigation of the possibilities for using sales of tourist merchandise to support local economic development, particularly in areas adjoining parks and nature reserves in developing countries.

There is no extant literature on the specific subject of tourist merchandise and nature reserves. Therefore, the present paper begins by reviewing what is known about the buying habits of tourists visiting developing countries — what

sorts of tourist merchandise do they buy and why do they buy it? Because many (but by no means all) types of tourist merchandise are handicraft items, the paper then surveys the literature on handicraft production and lessons learned from experiences of private voluntary organizations that have tried to promote craft commercialization. Income, employment, and marketing issues are considered, as well as product development, cultural authenticity, and appropriate institutions. Particular attention is paid to the issue of the sustainability of supply of raw materials used in various kinds of tourist merchandise.

The paper concludes with policy recommendations. There are strong arguments for considering sale of tourist merchandise as an adjunct to park management in cases where local residents need a sustainable livelihood and where tourist visitation is expected to be high. Production and sale of tourist merchandise can provide local residents a tangible incentive to protect the resources on which tourism depends. They also offer possibilities for improving the lot of even the very poor, promise new markets for sustainably produced raw materials, and can aid environmental education efforts. The paper concludes that the long record of handicraft development by various societies in response to tourist demand indicates there is surprising scope for *developing new products*, in ways that will increase income opportunities without demeaning local cultures and without making unsustainable use of inputs. Tourist merchandise need not be limited to tourist versions of commodities that a community has historically made for its own use, nor must tourist merchandise be limited to "arts and crafts". Improved *product marketing* is essential to successful production and sale of tourist merchandise, and specific recommendations are made with regard to marketing. Indeed, it seems that product

development and product marketing are mutually supportive and should be more closely linked. The paper also makes recommendations regarding *institutional development*, pointing to the need for cooperation between national and local authorities and between park managers and non-governmental organizations.

The research addresses three audiences: 1) park and reserve managers and non-governmental organizations who seek to increase the positive impact of tourism in particular areas; 2) tourism policymakers and park planners at the national level; 3) tourism researchers, particularly those interested in the growing international phenomenon of ecotourism.

THE DEMAND FOR HANDICRAFTS AND OTHER "TOURIST MERCHANDISE"

Tourist interest in on-site purchases of goods can easily be dismissed as "souvenir hunting." In one view, tourist purchases are associated with mass produced, low-quality articles that borrow (and sometimes even mock) cultural themes; they are purchased by the tourist with the intent of providing a personal memento of the visit and an object that can be later shown to friends as proof that a given journey has been made. The products are sometimes called "airport art" in derisive reference to the site where collections of such items are almost invariably found.

Closer examination of tourist purchases reveals a much more complex picture, both in types of goods purchased and in the tourist's motivation for buying them.

Looking first at types of goods, the broadest conception would be "tourist merchandise," defined as "any tangible item purchased by

tourists at a destination and intended to be transported subsequently off-site." This would exclude on-site food and lodging, as well as intangible services, such as guide and transportation services. Tourist merchandise could include:

- Natural products, including nuts, shells, rocks, and unprocessed foodstuffs (fruit, raw coconuts);
- Handicrafts, defined as goods that are hand-made or made with the use of simple tools or equipment and that incorporate a substantial element of craft skill;
- Other hand-made items, including artisanal processed foodstuffs (coffee beans, honey, sugar cane juice, vanilla, jellies, baked goods);
- Local manufactures, such as beer, furniture and other factory-made items;
- Non-local goods retailed at tourist sites, including such non-locally manufactured items as film, guidebooks, T-shirts, and sporting equipment. In some cases (T-shirts, picture postcards), the product may have a limited amount of local value added.

In addition to on-site sales to tourists, merchandise produced at tourist destinations may have substantial sales potential elsewhere. For example, handicrafts produced in rural areas are often sold in urban markets, at capital city hotels frequented by tourists, at cruise ship docks and as (literal) airport art. As will be discussed later, these items may also be exported, and export sales may or may not be related to on-site sales to tourists.

Looking at motivation for purchases, it is obvious that some tourist merchandise is bought as a souvenir (from the French to remember). However, remembrance is only one of several possible functions of goods purchased by tourists. Littrell (1990) offers a useful typology of tourist motivation to buy craft items, based on interviews with residents of the U.S. and other developed countries who have brought textile items from abroad. Respondents were asked "from all of your travels, what handcrafted textile or clothing item(s) have you purchased that is most special or meaningful to you." Favorite tourist textile crafts were found to be wall hangings (35%), items of clothing (31%), table coverings or other household textiles (23%) and rugs (10%).

Probing for motivations for purchases and the meaning that purchasers attached to the items, Littrell found five clusters of motivations. Some purchasers' motivations were associated with only a single cluster; others were multidimensional. The clusters included: shopping oriented tourists, who "thrived on such shopping experiences as locating a shop or craftsman, using a foreign language, and bargaining"; authenticity seeking tourists, whose attachment to the object was "based on the item's foreign or authentic character"; special trip tourists, for whom crafts evoked memories of travel experiences; textiles for enjoyment tourists (the largest category) who valued the "intrinsic beauty" of the craft item; and apparel oriented tourists, who "enjoyed acquiring cloth and ready-to-wear apparel items in order to create a personal statement in clothing."

Research by Keown (1989) on purchases by Japanese tourists in Hawaii, found another motivation for tourist purchases — their cost relative to the cost of similar merchandise available in the tourist's home country.

Although tourist merchandise offered in rural areas of developing countries may be quite different in materials and appearance from goods available to the tourist at home, there may be many parallels in terms of function (for example, articles of clothing, tableware, decorative items). The lower cost and/or higher quality of the developing country item may induce a sale even where souvenir or authenticity value is minimal.²

May (1977) writing about the artifact market in Papua New Guinea, distinguished purchasers as either "collectors" (for example, of Sepik art) or "casual buyers." The latter, he said, "tend to fall into two groups: those who want something (a 'genuine' something) which captures the spirit of the primitive and exotic (pivalocrypts and arrows are popular) and those who demand something, preferably but not necessarily distinctively Papua New Guinean, which is decorative, useful or "amusing" (wooden bowls and basketry — much of which is non traditional — are popular). In both cases, the dominant preference seems to be for objects which are small and inexpensive" (May 1977:128).

Tourist buying preferences are likely to vary with such characteristics of the individual tourist as income, age, education, sex, past travel experience and nationality, as well as with the reason for visiting the destination area (for example, cultural tourism vs. outdoor recreation). Littrell, Anderson and Brown (1993, forthcoming) found evidence suggesting that tourists interested in active outdoor recreation were more likely than other tourists to attribute authenticity to crafts that were usable items not available in their home communities. Other groups of tourists were more likely to attribute authenticity to items exhibiting traditional colors and natural materials. They also found, "while younger tourists associate authenticity with

unique and original items, these qualities declined in importance among tourists over age 60." Older tourists were more likely to associate authenticity with "the cultural or historic integrity and the genuineness of a craft".

Even though the value of individual transactions is small, total sales of tourist merchandise are sometimes quite significant, even at the national level. Waters (1991) reported, "since 1979, China's government has pursued an active program to encourage the production of goods that have a special appeal to foreign visitors." These are sold in, among other outlets, 3,000 medium size tourist souvenir shops and 1,788 hotel souvenir shops. Between 1979 and 1988, Waters observed, sales of tourist commodities brought China \$4 billion, making up 35% of the country's tourist income. In Guatemala, a survey taken by the National Tourism Institute (INGUAT) indicated that the average tourist arriving by air purchased \$82 in handicrafts (Rose, 1988).

In Jamaica, where stay-over tourists spent an average of \$76 per day in 1988, a survey indicated that 10.8% was spent on "shopping." Cruise ship passengers stopping in Jamaica spent an average of \$50 each, of which 3.9% was spent on straw products, 5.3% on wooden articles, 11.4% on clothing, 17.9% on duty free items, and 5.1% on other shopping (Jamaica, 1988).

There are a few tours organized specifically for the appreciation and purchase of Third World crafts. For example, Craft World Tours, Byron, New York, offers craft tours to Eastern Europe, China, India, Indonesia, Morocco, Nepal and Thailand. Although the focus of the tours is predominantly cultural, the India and Nepal offerings include visits to national parks for wildlife viewing.

Some interesting evidence on the tastes and motivations of tourists is provided by consumer research surveys conducted in several countries which are major sources of international travelers (U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration, 1988-90).³ Persons having the means and inclination to travel internationally were surveyed in Australia, Brazil, France, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom and West Germany, with the object of determining preferred activities and motivations for traveling. "Shopping" was among the tourist activities most frequently engaged in by long-distance, international tourists, being reported by more than 85% of travelers in the countries surveyed. An interest in "local crafts" and in "unique cultural groups" was reported with some frequency, although it was by no means top-ranked.

Sophisticated analytic techniques were used in these market research studies to group tourists according to desired "product segments." Among them were "culture and nature travelers," who accounted for between 16% (France) and 23% (Japan) of potential tourists. In addition, for some countries, there were substantial numbers of travelers in related groups, such as "comfort and culture" (19% of Japanese tourists), "outdoors" (16% of French tourists) and "outdoors and native cultures" (9% of UK travelers). The identified product segments differed among countries, but there was frequently a mixture of interest in natural features and cultural features, and both were frequently associated with an interest in local crafts and unique cultural groups.

For example, in identifying the "culture and nature" market segment among travelers from the United Kingdom, the report described them as having "an interest in such culture related features as historical sites and buildings, historic

old cities, and museums and art galleries. They are also interested in such nature related features as mountainous areas, national parks and forests, wildlife and birds, wilderness and undisturbed nature, and lakes and rivers. Accordingly their cultural interests extend to such 'non-urban' features as interesting small towns and villages, local crafts and handiwork, local festivals, and unique native cultural groups" (U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration, 1989: 10). Special tabulations of the data sets would be necessary to isolate the relationship between nature tourism and an interest in indigenous handicrafts, but there is a strong suggestion from the published tables that ecotourists are potential handicraft consumers, and that people interested in cultural heritage (and presumably in cultural artifacts) are potential visitors to natural areas.

SUPPLY OF TOURIST MERCHANDISE

Who Makes Tourist Merchandise?

It is very difficult to generalize about the origins of merchandise sold to tourists.⁴ Handicrafts, for example, may be made under conditions ranging from individual producers working in their own homes, to cooperative village workshops, to large urban factories such as are found in parts of India's hand-knotted rug industry. Some products, particularly those requiring high degrees of skill or those best made in large batches, are produced only by specialists. Others, such as simple jewelry and woven bracelets, can be made by almost anyone, even small children. Some products are made almost casually, in spare moments between other activities or while sitting in the marketplace awaiting a customer. Although craft production and food processing are most often done by women, there are many tourist items where

production is exclusively a male occupation (much African wood carving, for example).

It is generally true that inexpensive items requiring large amounts of hand labor are necessarily made by the poor. Because entry into the business is usually easy and products are standardized, severe price competition tends to hold returns down to the lowest possible level (see Wagner, 1982 for an excellent case study of market competition). But a few producers of tourist merchandise — recognized artists, for example, or those who have particularly good marketing outlets — make quite a good living from it, at least by local standards. One can also point to entire communities, such as Taxco, Mexico; Monimbo, Nicaragua; Sarchi, Costa Rica; and Otavalo, Ecuador, whose overall prosperity clearly rests on the sale of tourist merchandise.

Perhaps the best generalization is that there is enormous potential variation in tourist merchandise production, depending on the nature of the product and, in some cases, on local custom and tradition. But unlike many types of livelihood, there is ample opportunity for participation by the poor, the rural, the landless, and those lacking formal education. The challenge is to find products, production systems, and marketing strategies that allow producers operating in or near a national park or nature reserve to make an income that is both adequate and sustainable.

Home- and Village-Based Production Systems

Home- and village-based production of handicrafts and other tourist merchandise offers several potential advantages to the producer. First, the worker can obtain cash income while remaining in the rural setting. This is an

important consideration, given that many alternative cash-producing occupations (for example, hiring out for field harvest) require that the worker temporarily move or commute to another area. It also may help lessen pressure for permanent migration to overcrowded urban areas, a nearly worldwide phenomenon.

Second, many handicrafts lend themselves to episodic work — the producer can work on the item during slack periods between other tasks. This may involve work episodes during the day (for example, work at the loom whenever time is available) or work episodes during seasonal slack times. For example, producers can devote a day or two to preparing pottery or roughing out carved pieces when agricultural labor is not required or when it is too wet to work outside. The ability to work episodically helps explain why craft producers find it worthwhile to produce even when returns seem too low to justify the effort. In the Peruvian town of Taquile, for example, it is reported that "Despite rates of return that are normally much less than a dollar a day, weaving output in Taquile and nearby communities has mushroomed in recent years. One reason is that weaving, despite its low rate of return, can be done during spare hours when there are no other cash-making alternatives" (Healy and Zorn, 1983:7).

A third advantage of handicraft production is that it can provide a cash return to work by women, children, the handicapped and the elderly.⁵ These sometimes work as part of a production system that involves the entire family. For example, a study of 375 (male) handloom weavers in India found that they had 722 dependents assisting them with their work (Rao, 1990). In many places, moreover, handicrafts offer an independent source of income for persons who would otherwise find it difficult to find work for cash.

Among Panama's Cuna Indians, for example, women dominate the production of embroidered molas, an important source of family income. In Costa Rica, high school students, working in their spare time, make handpainted greeting cards that are sold to visitors to the Monteverde Cloud Forest Reserve. Although their earnings are quite small, the money is useful in paying their school fees in a location where alternative places of employment are few (Healy, 1988). A similar situation occurs in the Peliatan area of Bali, where many young people produce paintings and wood carvings for the tourist trade. Sutton (1989:14) reports that "The young artists appear to spend their earnings on education. A survey of 54 households with school-age children in three neighborhoods of Peliatan showed that 43 of them had high-school-age children paying their own school fees from work in carving or painting."

Handicrafts also provide income for the elderly. Annis (1987) has analyzed the economics of producing petates, a type of mat produced in Guatemala by weaving marsh reeds. He found that 22 of 74 families studied obtained income from petate production, but none subsisted solely on this enterprise. Mean annual production was only \$47. "Is \$47 a significant contribution to household income," Annis asked, "even by standards of relative poverty?" He concluded that it was, at least for some people, since it would provide the equivalent of 500 person-days of tortillas. "An elderly couple," said Annis, with both husband and wife working regularly at petates and planting a small but intensive garden could survive, if just barely, or an elderly parent living with adult children could 'pay her own way'."

It is difficult to generalize across diverse societies, but there are frequently gender distinctions in handicraft production. In many

cases, these distinctions reserve the higher-paying jobs for males. In Bangladesh, for example, rural women make pottery, while men market it; in leather craft, the mechanical work is done by men while the manual labor is performed by women (Hossain, 1987).

Handicrafts, however, can raise the economic status of women within the family by affording them the opportunity for independent cash-income production. In Coqueiral, a small fishing village in Brazil that has become a summer destination for Brazilian tourists, tourism has stimulated a local handicraft industry. "Women and teenaged girls plait straw into hand bags, wallets, hats, shopping baskets, and carry-cots for babies and the revenues, however small, are important during bad fishing seasons...These new work opportunities have modified male-female relationships. Thanks to handicrafts and tourism, women can be financially independent. Several widows and divorced women said that they would never remarry because they were better off than before" (Robben, 1982).

How Tourist Merchandise is Sold

Merchandise is sold to tourists in several ways. Perhaps the most common is the official or unofficial marketplace, where multiple sellers gather to place their wares before the tourist. These are often located near the entrance to attractions, in the nearest village, along roads, or at transportation foci such as bus stations or cruise ship docks. In many cases, these concentrations are encouraged by local authorities to avoid the obvious alternative: strolling vendors who buttonhole each passing tourist, often to the latter's annoyance. Tourist merchandise is also sold in shops, including general merchandise stores, cooperatives, hotel gift shops and privately owned shops selling a

full line of tourist goods or specializing in selected items (for example, jewelry or art objects). Tourist merchandise is sometimes sold at the workshop where it is manufactured, as in the case of the pottery operations of Tlaquepaque, Mexico, or the metalworkers' bazaars of the Middle East. A final outlet is stores connected with a tourist attraction, such as museum shops or souvenir stores within park visitor centers.

Marketing may consume as much time and effort as does the actual manufacture of the tourist merchandise. Indeed, Wagner's (1982) study of dyed-cloth sellers in The Gambia found that selling a piece of cloth required on average fifteen times as many hours as did its preparation. Wagner documented the intense (but generally polite) competition that took place when dozens of female vendors, each with almost identical merchandise, tried to "catch the tourist" — inducing them to inspect their merchandise with the prospect of making a sale.

The method by which tourist merchandise is marketed helps determine both how much employment is generated and how the revenues are distributed within the community. A situation in which there are many sellers, each with an equal chance to "catch" a tourist, means a large number of jobs and a relatively low return to each seller. Domination by a few shops means fewer jobs and higher returns, enjoyed mainly by a small number of shopowners and, perhaps, their employees. Domination of sales by park management or concessionaires offers the possibility of higher net revenues (by extracting monopoly profits from the tourists) and direction of those revenues to purposes chosen by the park. Those purposes may range from more land protection to more comfortable housing and vehicles for the park staff.

Intra-Community Relations

Not all members of a given community have the skill or inclination to make handicrafts or other tourist merchandise; some community members may already have more lucrative opportunities within the tourism industry (guiding, local transport, provision of food and shelter) or outside of it. As a result, creation of a new tourist-based industry can change economic relationships. For example, persons with unusual skills may earn disproportionately high returns. Persons with the necessary management skills (and language ability) may become traders and middlemen, selling crafts made by others. Where cooperatives or craft promotion projects are created, one or more salaried managers may be employed.

Although this inequality can have negative effects, there are also positive aspects. Even in traditional, non-tourist areas, there frequently is a history of inequality of income, assets and opportunities (see Hill, 1986). Revenue from producing tourist merchandise, along with other tourist-based income, can reinforce the traditional local hierarchy, but it also can greatly modify it. In one Brazilian community, for example, growth of tourism overturned the dominance of local palm grove planters, and "the children of traditional powerholders are migrating to cities" (Robben, 1982). Because capital requirements in making handicrafts are generally low, there are likely to be relatively more opportunities for entry by the poor than for more capital-intensive tourist sectors such as lodging and transport.

Development of tourist merchandise enterprises can contribute to changes in social position for the craftsman, even aside from income changes. Frankowski-Braganza (1983) reports that in two west Mexican towns, potters had a

poor self image, had low status in the community, and were ignored or criticized by local youth. As foreign tourists came to purchase their wares, they "receive a welcome change in self image from the tourists, who regard them as 'primitive' artists and not as manual laborers."

ISSUES IN PRODUCTION OF TOURIST MERCHANDISE

Innovation and "Authenticity"

"Belief in their authenticity," writes Ichaporia (1980:47) "lends tremendous weight and value to objects." Knowledge that an object is handmade is an important ingredient in establishing its authenticity — "things made by hand are 'genuine'; mass-produced commodities are in the realm of the 'plastic,' a word connoting flimsiness, superficiality, flashiness, artificiality, whether in concept or material" (Ichaporia, 1980:45).

Given the propensity of all cultures to change and evolve, however, the concept of authenticity is a slippery one. Graburn (1976) offers an extremely useful typology relevant to handicraft arts. He arrays the products along two axes: the first is the source of the aesthetic ideas incorporated in the object (derived from the producer's own society, novel or synthetic, or derived from the dominant [external] society); the second divides objects as being produced for use by the producer's own society or for "external civilizations."⁶ Drawing examples from a number of cultures worldwide, Graburn documents the amazing variety of ways in which rural minority cultures have adjusted their traditional products to meet external demands and how they have incorporated outside ideas, tools, materials and techniques into products that

have become important parts of their own material culture. Among the most telling examples of cultural incorporation and innovation is the case of Navajo blankets and silver jewelry, which borrowed heavily from Kiowa and Spanish craft traditions, became deeply incorporated into Navajo society and, more recently, have experienced an economic and creative revival based on the tourist trade.

Cohen (1988) observes that cultural products, such as handicrafts, which are at first considered contrived or unauthentic, may over time become recognized as authentic. He refers to this process as "emergent authenticity," and notes that such products may eventually be accepted as authentic even by experts. Among the products cited by Cohen are Eskimo soapstone carvings, Haida argillite carvings, and figurative embroideries made by Hmong refugees from Laos. In the last case, he observes, the new cultural product even afforded the Hmong a new medium to communicate their culture to the world and draw attention to their recent sufferings. Jules-Rosette (1984:163) makes a similar point in quoting a Zairian painter who "believed tourist art to be the 'original' and 'authentic' form of African art because it is made by African artists to reveal their societies to outsiders."

Popelka and Littrell (1991) writing about handicraft change in a community in Oaxaca, Mexico, emphasize the role of the market in inducing product change. They argue that the community's crafts went through three successive stages: the Product Transition Period, when the targeted market shifted from indigenous persons to tourists; the Product Expansion Period, when production increased for both the tourist and the export market; and the Target Market Segmentation Period, when products were developed for specific markets,

including the European and Asian tourist market, the commercial export market, and the fine arts market. Applying this reasoning to the evolution of park-related merchandise, one might look to the nature of the potential market as a potent force for change. For example, the environs of a park visited predominantly by birders would be likely to produce more bird-related merchandise than would a park where general hiking was the attraction. An isolated park visited mainly by frugal backpackers would be less likely to evolve fine art products than one visited on day trips by wealthy cruise ship passengers.

In general, product innovation can take three forms. First, products indigenous to a society can be adapted to better suit tourist needs. For example, the Cuna Indians of Panama originally made appliqued molas as decorative panels for women's blouses. As tourist interest rose, they began to be made specifically for non-clothing use, for example as pillows or wall hangings.⁷

A second form of innovation is for a community to adopt (and adapt) products made elsewhere. A good example is the lacquerware industry of Channarayana, Bangalore, India (Institute of Social Studies Trust, 1987). The region is now well known for producing colorful lacquered wood products, including napkin rings, dolls, toys, and jewelry. Although a casual visitor might think that the craft is indigenous, it was actually introduced in the late 1920s by the director of the local industrial training school. The idea was imported from the Punjab, and the craft was later influenced by the introduction of power lathes, the work of a talented individual designer, and by two years of technical assistance by Japanese craftspersons and designers.

The third type of innovation is the creation of entirely new products. The distinctive animal figures carved from ironwood by the Seri Indians of northern Mexico and sold in large quantities to tourists were originated by a single local artist, Jose Astorga, in 1961 (Ryerson, 1976). In Honduras, technical assistance by U.S.-based Aid-to-Artisans has recently created a successful new product: wreaths made from previously wasted corn husks. In the United States, a thriving tourist market has developed for "Nantucket baskets," rattan-basket handbags produced only on the resort island off the Massachusetts coast.⁸ Although the baskets themselves have a long history in the community, their use as covered handbags dates back only to the 1940s and new designs continue to be created (Graham, 1991)

Marketing Tourist Merchandise

The marketing function includes identification of what potential customers might want, product development, pricing, promotion and distribution. Marketing specialists assert that marketing works best when it is regarded not merely as the selling of a product but as the integration of all of these elements, driven by an understanding of how products satisfy consumers' wants. In many cases, traditional handicrafts are not ideal for the tourist market. For example, textile designs from a given area may be attractive to tourists, but the colors may be too bright (or too subtle). Sizes of products may be inappropriate for the use to which tourists put them. Products may be difficult for tourists to transport unless appropriate packaging is devised. There also may be significant differences in merchandise demand among tourists of differing nationalities. In particular, the needs and tastes of Japanese tourists, whose numbers have grown very rapidly in recent years, may be important in some markets.⁹

The typical way in which makers and sellers of tourists goods determine what tourists want is through the market — some goods sell and others don't. Some rudimentary market research, however, might make this trial-and-error process much more effective. For example, simple survey instruments and checklists could be devised through which makers and promoters of tourist merchandise can obtain information from tourists about their preferences. Additionally, artisans and merchants could be encouraged to seek comments from tourists and to share insights with others.

Although it is important to determine what tourists might like to buy, it is equally important to educate the tourist about local products and design traditions. Educational materials should be developed to encourage more discriminating buying by tourists. Aid to Artisans and PATA Foundation are exploring the possibility of Pacific Asia craft guides that "will be written by expert craft buyers and will offer the insight of the authors as regards the craft itself and the people who create it, what to buy, and where to buy." The guides will also offer suggestions on how to look for quality and how to use the craft product back home (PATA Foundation, 1992).

Marketing can also help tourists understand the various uses to which particular items of tourist merchandise can be put. For example, baskets make excellent plant holders, while woven items can be framed as wall hangings. DeKadt (1979) points out that tourists can be shown some of the utilitarian values of crafts when hoteliers use them as "unusual and decorative furnishings for tourist rooms." Park visitor centers can also be good places where crafts can be used as furnishings or decorative accents, even when the main focus is the natural features of the park itself. Park visitor centers are also excellent

sites for displays showing how crafts incorporate natural materials in sustainable (or unsustainable) ways.

Where appropriate, marketing efforts should educate tourists about the relationship that particular crafts have to park protection and sustainable development. "Alternative Trading Organizations" such as SERRV, Pueblo to People, and the Mennonite Central Committee have found that retail customers in the U.S. are attracted by the fact that their Third World imports are produced under circumstances that benefit the producer. A staff member at SERRV, which markets Third World crafts through churches, observes "[our customers] buy because of why we buy and who we buy from. They know that the profits go back to the producer" (Fogle, 1992).

The Houston-based mail order organization Pueblo to People has emphasized in its literature not only that its products benefit producers, but that they are produced under conditions that benefit the environment (for example, organic cashews from Honduras). "If a product is grown or made in a way that restores and protects the environment," asks the 1990 Pueblo to People catalog, "isn't it really more valuable?" Although tourists are unlikely to buy a product that does not attract them in other ways, the knowledge that a given craft or souvenir benefits a park or a local community may make them more likely to buy from a park-approved outlet or to pay somewhat more than the prevailing price.

Consumer education is also needed at some sites to reduce consumer demand for souvenirs made from endangered species. TRAFFIC (USA) an affiliate of World Wildlife Fund, produces attractive educational brochures giving general guidance to tourists regarding such merchandise.

Where wildlife souvenirs are a problem, park visitor centers should provide targeted displays and consumer literature. Ideally, tourists should be shown that there are alternatives to environmentally destructive purchases (for example, substitution of other tropical hardwoods for those in short supply). Tour operators should also be encouraged to distribute pamphlets and educate travelers. A newly published book (Graham, 1991) on "responsible tourism" not only warns about endangered species souvenirs but gives some useful advice on how tourists can orient their purchases to maximize the positive local impacts.

A final aspect of marketing might be termed "non-tourist/post-tourist" sales. Although the emphasis in this paper has been on development and marketing of merchandise that is sold on site to tourists, many such items also have possibilities in the national tourist market (for example, sales in urban public markets and hotel gift stores) and as export products. Promoters of tourist merchandise should be alert to possibilities for placing merchandise in alternative outlets and, where demand warrants it, letting tourists know where they can buy items after their visit. The Cuna, for example, not only sell molas on their island territories, but operate a store in Panama City. Direct international marketing by mail order is likely to be a logistical nightmare for local producers, but there may be merit in making arrangements with an alternative trading organization to resell items via catalog. This would give tourists an opportunity to buy more of items they had previously purchased on site, and could give the tourist destination invaluable advertising exposure.

Non-craft Tourist Merchandise

Although handicrafts are undoubtedly the most obvious type of merchandise purchased by tourists, they are by no means the only potential products. Food items also offer possibilities. In Costa Rica, tourists visiting the Monteverde Cloud Forest Reserve buy significant quantities of cheese from the local cooperatively owned factory. At the same site, a farm family supplements its income by selling "trail mix" to tourists. The product combines nuts and raisins purchased in San Jose with bananas produced and dried in Monteverde (Healy, 1988). A proposed project at the Crooked Tree bird reserve in Belize would create a locally-owned enterprise to purchase and process cashew nuts, which would be sold to tourists visiting the reserve (Grasse, c. 1991). Another project in Belize proposes manufacture of "natural" chewing gum from chicle, a sap collected from tropical forest trees (Alcorn, 1991). Honey is produced in many rural areas, requires minimal processing and can be attractively packaged for sale to tourists.

Food items can be sold to tourists for on-site consumption, as well as serving as low-cost souvenirs. They can also be distributed in tourist-originating countries as promotional materials by tour operators and NGOs. In some cases, commercial export markets can be created, with the sale to tourists serving both to bolster sales and to create future export customers.¹⁰ Customer loyalty may be particularly strong where the product is understood by the tourist-consumer to be part of a sustainable development project.

Another potential product is educational materials concerning the site. These include books, pamphlets, maps, videos, recordings, bird lists, posters, and wildlife photographs.

These articles are generally produced off-site, so there is little profit for local people except for the retail margin. In a few cases, production of such items offers a source of income to one or two highly skilled persons — for example a biologist may write a guide to the site's fauna or a photographer may sell high quality prints. Sale of these products is clearly worthwhile from an educational and promotional standpoint, and they often contribute greatly to the tourist's enjoyment of the experience. Books, trail maps and bird lists may also have the advantage of inducing tourists to remain longer at a given site, by increasing their awareness of things to see and do.¹¹

Nature tourists are also likely to be interested in educational materials that deal with the culture of the areas they visit. Elder (1983) offers a long list of tourism products that might be developed from the rich folklore of the Caribbean. They include "anthologies of folk poetry, cassettes of recorded speech, broad-sheets of folk tales, photographs and slides of tale-tellers, video-tapes of tale-telling sessions, costumes and 'tools' of folk dramatists, painting(s) of folklore...figures." He also finds possibilities for product development in folk medicine and folk music.

T-Shirts—A Special Case

Among the most ubiquitous of souvenir items are T-shirts. Many parks and reserves have logo-adorned T-shirts; so do nearly all organized environmental groups. In a few cases, a more generic type of T-shirt has come to characterize a given tourist area, featuring a variety of plant or animal species (for example, the "Galapagos" designs sold all over Ecuador).

T-shirts and related decorated clothing items have several purposes. They create a sense of

organizational identification for employees and volunteers.¹² They can create links with off-site donors, and may be used to reward donations of a given amount. Because they are almost standard garb for tourists, they can serve as a very effective advertising medium. It is very common to see members of a tour group wearing clothing items embossed with designs or logos of previously visited destinations, or with those of research stations, environmental groups, or tour operators. A member of a birding tour to New Guinea may be in effect advertising a destination in Costa Rica to his fellow birders, simply by wearing a T-shirt.

Inexpensive and easily packed, T-shirts make excellent items for tourists to purchase. The head of a souvenir industry trade group says that T-shirts are "by far the Number 1 tourist souvenir item" (Borowsky, 1992). From the seller's standpoint, however, T-shirts are less than ideal merchandise. The major problem is their relatively low local labor content. T-shirts are typically made in mass quantities in automated knitting mills. When purchased in bulk, a good quality unadorned shirt has a wholesale cost of US\$3-4.

Printing of logos and designs on garments is done through a silk screen process. There are several choices of technology, ranging from low-output equipment costing as little as \$500, through more sophisticated systems costing several thousands of dollars, to automated factories that can print thousands of garments per hour. In general, it does not make economic sense to produce multiple-copy printed garments at a rural park or reserve site for export to a developed country. The importer, whether an advertising entity or a donor agency, can generally obtain quality factory-made merchandise at least as cheaply, and much more reliably. (For hand-painted or one-of-a-kind

items, the economics of importing may be more favorable.)

For sales on-site, the choice of production source is less clear. T-shirts can be printed locally, but the cost of even simple equipment may be high in comparison with possible returns. Electricity is needed in the drying process, and quality may not be as good as with machine-printed shirts. Moreover, the unprinted shirt must be imported, whether from a domestic urban area or from abroad. Unless the anticipated quantity to be sold is quite high (more than several hundred yearly) it may be best to contract for high quality printed shirts, preferably from a domestic supplier. In some countries, it may be desirable to encourage a centrally located print shop, which can service all of a country's reserves and environmental NGOs.

When reserve managers or NGOs sell T-shirts brought in from off-site, it may be desirable to set their prices relatively high, perhaps incorporating an explicit "donation for support of the reserve".¹³ From an advertising standpoint, it seems worthwhile to encourage tourists to purchase a shirt or two for their own use. However, low-priced shirts compete with locally produced craft items when the tourist considers purchases of gifts for others. High-priced, high-quality garments are probably the best compromise in this case.

Sustainability

Because tourist goods are generally made, in whole or in part, from locally obtained materials¹⁴, it is necessary to ask "Are material supplies sustainable?" Sustainability might be considered along a spectrum, ranging from least to most sustainable.

At the least sustainable extreme are products whose manufacture involves use of endangered species of fauna or flora (see Mathieson and Wall, 1982). These include turtle products, skins and pelts, stuffed animals, feathers, and ivory. They also include fossils and antiquities (for example, Maya artifacts in Central America) and endangered animals sold as pets (for example, psittacine birds). Although local laws may prohibit trade in endangered species, and the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species prohibits or regulates their importation into other countries, they are in many places still offered for sale to tourists. In Mexico, for example, it is reported that available tourist goods include tortoise shell jewelry, jaguar and ocelot skin products, stuffed caimans, iguanas, birds, and turtles, and live parrots — all illegal for U.S. tourists to import (TRAFFIC, 1989).

A popular raw material for tourist goods sold in coastal areas in the tropics is hard coral, including both semi-precious (black and whip) corals and precious (red or pink) corals used in jewelry (Wood and Wells, 1988). Removal of these materials can cause ecosystem damage because corals are living organisms that are responsible for the formation of reefs. Currently, 17 genera of hard corals and all black corals are listed in Appendix II of the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species, a status that denotes species not now threatened but which could become so if unregulated trade continues. But coral products are still widely available to the tourists.

Other products might be termed "potentially unsustainable" — products whose inputs are now relatively abundant but which cannot sustain significant expansion. Many tropical wood products are in this category, at least under current forest management practices. For

example, mahogany and (non-plantation grown) teak are becoming less available to craft makers. In some cases the shortage of a particular raw material can be directly traced to increased production of a specific tourist product. For example, in the Mexican state of Guerrero, local people began around 1959 to paint designs formerly used on pottery onto paper made from the bark of the amate (wild fig) tree (Stromberg, 1976). The product became wildly successful and soon threatened extermination of the trees from which the bark was stripped. In 1966-68, the Mexican government reacted to the overharvesting of amate bark by prohibiting the further use of bark paper. "This legislation," said Stromberg, "had drastic consequences; the artists were compelled to use cartulina (a heavy grade of off-white paper), a medium that had little appeal to the customers" (Stromberg, 1976:156).¹⁵

Producers can be innovative in finding substitute materials when supplies of traditional ones begin to dry up. In Thailand, where teak and other desirable tropical woods have become difficult to procure, makers of jewelry boxes and picture farmers have started to use black lacquer to disguise their use of cheaper woods (Fogle, 1992). In similar fashion, scarcity of rattan in the Philippines and Thailand has increased use of bamboo for some craft items.

A third category of products are those utilizing abundant materials which can sustain significant expansion, for example gourds, bamboo, and cotton cloth. Pottery products are a staple of Third World tourist crafts and are almost always based on abundant local clays (although sometimes the wood or charcoal used for firing them has become scarce). Salable products can also be made from waste materials, such as corn stalks and coconut husks. In Feni, Bangladesh, for example, a project begun by the Mennonite

Central Committee employs over 60 persons in making writing and wrapping paper from jute residues. In impoverished Northeastern Brazil, an income generation project employs teenage boys in production of brooches, earrings, hair clasps and key chains from coconut shells left as waste products from copra production. The jewelry is sold in a beachside restaurant that caters to tourists.

Seeds and thorns are also frequently used in jewelry, frequently strung on nylon filament as necklaces or bracelets or used in making earrings. A recent article on "botanical jewelry" notes the "with the exception of amber and coconut pearls, most botanical jewelry is made from relatively inexpensive materials...[but] in terms of aesthetic beauty and intrinsic value, plant jewelry may rank as high as any gemstone. Exotic seed necklaces from indigenous cultures throughout the world often come with fabulous tales about their origins and legendary uses." (Armstrong, 1993). Jewelry-making often requires less skill than other crafts, once commercially desirable designs have been determined.

At the most positive end of the sustainability spectrum are products that might be termed "actively sustainable"—products that use materials produced as part of independent sustainable use projects. For example, the previously mentioned Honduran cashew project and the proposed Belize chicle-based chewing gum project would not only result in income for processors and retailers but would also create a profitable enterprise for farmers who supply the raw materials. These products would also have the ecologically beneficial side-effect of keeping tree cover on the land. Teak is increasingly grown in plantations, using well-understood management methods. This should replace the

now-depleted stocks of "wild" teak and offer an economic incentive for reforestation.

Another "actively sustainable" project is found in the community of Tres Garantias, Quintana Roo, Mexico. With help from the German government, villagers have set up a system for sustainable management of their tropical hardwood forests. They have built a sawmill and become prosperous through sales of mahogany. Other woods, however, have been much less profitable. With advice from Aid-to-Artisans, villagers learned to make toy wooden blocks, each from a different tropical wood. These toys, accompanied by a text that describes the rainforest and the management project, serve as both a source of revenue and a promotional item for the forest management society (Aid to Artisans, 1991).

Another important issue of sustainability is the geographic source of the material. Park managers must decide whether certain materials should be harvested within the entire park or only in designated areas or buffer zones. In some cases, materials for tourist merchandise can be cultivated under monocultural plantation conditions or through agroforestry or polyculture. In this case, production might best take place in village areas, whether inside or outside formal park boundaries. However, it may be difficult to identify materials that are thus cultivated from similar "wild" materials extracted illegally from the park proper.

Production Activities as a Tourist Attraction

The production of tourist merchandise can itself be of great interest to tourists. Many tourists like the idea of being permitted to look "backstage" in the society they visit, seeing how people live their daily lives and perform their

economic activities. This intimate glimpse of another culture may be authentic or may be carefully controlled — a sort of false backstage carefully designed for the tourist's benefit (see MacCannell, 1973). In either case, the pleasure gained by the tourist in seeing an object produced can add significantly to its perceived value and hence to the price the tourist is willing to pay.

It is not uncommon for crafts producers to make their goods in view of potential customers. Where the product can be made in a marketplace (weaving, basketry) sellers often try to utilize productively the time spent waiting for the next customer. Because tourists are often fascinated by how unfamiliar things are made, public production can also be a marketing tool. What tourist could resist watching a handloom weaver making a shawl in Chiapas, Mexico, or a costumed Hungarian woman painting eggs in Budapest, or the metal casters in the marketplace in Accra, Ghana? In North America and Europe, public demonstration of craft production is formally incorporated into open air museums, living historical farms, and "ecomuseums," many of which sell craft products in addition to charging admission fees. This type of facility is much less common in developing countries, although a large-scale analogue may be found in the Polynesian Cultural Center in Hawaii, which the Mormon Church operates as an open air museum demonstrating crafts and construction techniques from several South Pacific cultures (Stanton, 1977).

An example of how "craft as performance" can be integrated into management of a nature reserve is found in the Tatras National Park in the mountains of southern Poland. Much of the land in the park is owned by farmers, who use it for grazing. They manufacture a distinctive type of hard cheese, made by dipping a stick

into curdled milk and smoking the ever-growing ball of cheese over a fire. Tourists can enter small huts on the periphery of the park, watch the cheese being made, and purchase the product directly from the maker.

The process of food production is often of great interest to tourists. The growing of rice, for example, is a novelty for many tourists, who would be eager to learn more about both how the plants are cultivated and how the harvest is processed. Such tropical crops as coffee and cacao lend themselves well to tourist observation and the product is well suited for sale to tourists as a reminder of what they have seen.

In the tropics, there appear to be significant possibilities for combining tourism with the management of "extractive reserves." These are areas where fruits, nuts, seeds, resins, skins, and other non-timber forest products are harvested on a sustainable basis, often as part of a park buffer zone. Many of the activities engaged in by "extractivists" would be of interest to tourists — for example, tapping and processing of rubber in Brazil and of chicle in Central America. Access to these activities could be offered as part of guided tours of the area and products could be devised as appropriate souvenirs (for example, natural chewing gum, rubber balls).

One form of extractive activity that is likely to have particular appeal to visitors to tropical forests is the harvesting of medicinal plants. Nature walks that emphasize local uses of plants are frequently offered at jungle lodges in many tropical parks. In western Belize, the "Panti Trail" is a privately operated tourist destination, where visitors can take a guided forest walk on a trail laid out with advice from an 86 year old Mayan "bush doctor".¹⁶ In addition to charging for admission and guided tours, the

enterprise sells one-ounce packages of Belizean elixirs made from local plants, ranging from "Bellyache Tea" to "Party Punch" (Mahler, 1992).

Another type of extractivism that can result in tourist merchandise is the harvest of butterflies. These can either be captured in natural forests, or can be farmed in specific managed areas. A butterfly farming project has recently been initiated by World Wildlife Fund in a park area on Irian Jaya, Indonesia (Stone, 1992), and a privately owned farm operates in Costa Rica. As with medicinal plants, revenue can be obtained from tourists both by selling products and by charging for viewing the production operations. Where wild butterflies are used, it is important that stocks are sustainably managed and that rare species are not harvested at all.

Although many tourists are content to be spectators, there are some who crave more active participation in local cultures and the chance to learn new skills. This presents an interesting opportunity for local artisans to earn money by providing instruction.¹⁷ For example, tourists could be offered a demonstration of weaving or pottery decoration, then given the chance to make, or at least to complete, a simple product that they could take home. Or tourists could participate in the final stages of making a simple musical instrument, learn to play it, then take the product home. This type of enterprise could simultaneously educate the tourist, provide the craftsman with a significant profit opportunity, and radically change the interaction between tourist and local resident from a seller-customer relationship to a teacher-student relationship.

Institutions

An important issue in handicraft policy is whether to encourage individual producers or cooperative enterprises. There are mixed opinions on the desirability of each alternative. The person in charge of handicraft procurement for a major non-profit importer observes that: "We like cooperatives because people can share equally in the work and the profits. Otherwise only the best producers get all the orders. In a cooperative, the less talented artisans can do the prep work and the best artisans can do the finishing. [With cooperatives] money can be put into a special fund for medical emergencies or community projects" (Fogle 1992). Stephen (1991) cites the multi-village mola cooperative of Panama's San Blas Indians as a major influence in increasing the Kunas' bargaining power with middlemen and in reinforcing their ethnic identity and political power.

But cooperatives do not necessarily imply equality of benefit. Ichaporia (1980) quotes an informant in India as observing "the moment you set up a [handicraft] co-op, you have an institution that needs to be run and those who run it will reap the benefits." Hossain (1987:172) cautions that where cooperatives have a multi-class composition, "this also introduces a division of labor between the better-off, more experienced [members] performing the functions of an intermediary and others who provide their manual labor." Cooperatives are also susceptible to embezzlement by unscrupulous organizers or employees (for an example, see Hartfiel, 1982). Among other problems of cooperatives are personal rivalry, lack of effective leadership, competition from large-scale producers, inability to meet product delivery expectations, inadequate accounting systems, absenteeism, and lack of working

capital and raw materials (Allal and Chuta, 1981:47).

A staffer from a foundation with extensive experience with handicraft promotion in Latin America makes a distinction between "collectives" and "associations". "We have done better," he asserts, "with [producer] coops that are not collectives, where the coop is the purchasing and sales organization [for independent producers]" (Wright 1992).

One type of organization that provides for cooperation, but is not a true collective, is the "loan circle," a group of small producers who guarantee each other's repayment of small loans for materials or equipment. These have been extensively used in India and Bangladesh (the Grameen Banks), among women's groups in Africa, and elsewhere. Very high rates of repayment can be maintained when participants encourage one another and offer direct help in case of illness. For example, a rural credit project in Haiti begun by an American NGO (Enterprise Development International, Arlington, Virginia) has used loan circles based on church-related community groups. Loans have been made for a variety of agricultural and small business purposes to 1260 families, with no loan lost to default.

Another type of cooperation is evidenced in informal ties between producers and suppliers, such as arrangements where manufacture of a particular craft item is shared among a small number of people (for example, tree fellers, wood carvers, painters, etc.) each of whom contributes specialized labor.

Project Development and Technical Assistance

The final issue in tourist merchandise production is how outside agencies can help communities, park authorities and local non-governmental organizations develop successful projects. Past experience with rural development projects indicates that this is possible, but far from easy (see Annis and Hakin, 1988). For example, the Inter-American Foundation has undertaken a number of rural projects involving agricultural products (for example, rubber and brazilnuts in Acre, Brazil; cacao in Alto Beni, Bolivia; babacu palm nuts in Maranhao, Brazil) and handicrafts (lacquerware in Pasto, Colombia; weaving in Taquile, Peru). Many of these projects have achieved their aims, but costs have been high. The need for outside supervision has been great, and there are often difficulties in expanding even successful projects to serve larger populations.

Allal and Chuta's (1981:101-10) evaluation of eight ILO/UNDP handicraft development projects suggests one possible lesson for project promoters. For the projects studied, they found generally low benefit/cost ratios (several were negative). Failure was most probable "where a whole range of integrated activities has to be undertaken for the project's objectives to be reached — tapping an untried market, utilizing a new source of raw materials, training from scratch, and developing a new organisation." The more successful projects were those "supplying a missing component that will bring idle capacity into play [rather] than in building new capacity from the ground up."

This suggests that tourism merchandise projects might be most cost-effective if they emphasize facilitation, rather than a product-oriented approach that determines in advance who will

produce what. (Allal and Chuta, 1981:51, distinguish between "promotion" and "production" approaches.) For example, rather than trying to identify beforehand the ideal tourist product(s) for a given area, early emphasis might be given to creating a convenient market area where vendors can interact with tourists. As individual producers test their wares in the market, they might be encouraged to get feedback from buyers and to make small changes in what they produce. Materials, capital and production equipment could be supplied on a very small scale, and full-scale production systems started only when a given product is attractive to the tourists.

The large number of issues of product design, marketing, and institutional development suggests a considerable role for technical assistance. One problem with providing such assistance is that it can be very costly in comparison with the relatively modest incomes that local producers might earn by producing tourist merchandise. How can useful advice be given at low cost?

Robertson Collins, of Tourism Development/Heritage Conservation Pte. Ltd., Singapore, (personal communication, 1993) points to the important potential role for "the outside eye" in helping local craft producers understand the potential for new products. "There is an opportunity for the poor [in producing tourist merchandise]," he writes, "but without guidance, they will probably produce poor products. They won't have faith in their own goods and judgement about the market and won't know how to add the artistry or energy that will make their products marketable...there is an important need for that sensitive guiding hand [that] does not create a product but rearranges the existing skills and materials into something special." He cites the development of

Eskimo soapstone carvings after World War II and the craft development experience of the Peace Corps as examples of how "the outside eye" has helped create and improve local products.

With regard to product design and marketing, there seem to be several alternatives, which can be arrayed in rough order of increasing cost:

- 1) Circulating drawings, photos and sample products among producer sites and between producer sites and sources of advice and comment;
- 2) Encouraging exchange of information among craftsmen from different locations within the country. In this case, it is important to emphasize exchange of information on tourist preferences and shared experience in building on local traditions, rather than encouraging homogenization of production throughout the country;
- 3) Inducing practicing craftsmen and marketing specialists from developed countries to visit sites on a no-cost basis;
- 4) Formal training courses, such as undertaken by the All India Handicrafts Board or the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute;
- 5) Bringing professional design or marketing experts to the site.

In general, it seems best to try the cheapest alternatives first and to subject the products to the judgment of the market, rather than to spend large sums initially on elaborate projects for producing specific products. If this is done, not only is the cost of failure quite low, but it is also

possible to make many alternative trials, increasing the possibility of finding new products with market appeal. Thought should be given quite early, however, to sustainability issues: it makes little sense to develop products that will quickly run into material supply constraints.

Educational materials will almost certainly require outside assistance, at least initially. Early attention should be paid to producing bird lists, posters, and trail maps. In many cases, non-local environmental groups or outside volunteers (for example, U.S. Peace Corps) can provide the expertise needed to prepare such materials.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

General Evaluation

There are strong arguments for considering opportunities for sale of tourist merchandise in planning Third World parks and reserves in areas where local residents need a sustainable livelihood and where tourist visitation is expected to be fairly high. The first argument is sheer necessity — experience around the world has shown that where there are large numbers of people living in and near a park, there is often great danger to the protected resources unless local people feel that they derive economic benefits. Making money from tourist visitation is among a short list of potential economic enterprises that can coexist with resource protection. There appears to be a substantial market, actual and potential, for tourist merchandise. Given that the tourists will continue to come only if park resources remain intact, and that tourist merchandise can be sold only if the tourists continue to come, a clear link

might be forged between local economic prosperity and resource protection.

The second argument is that production and sale of tourist merchandise offer an opportunity to even the poorest participant in the local economy. Other forms of participation in the tourist industry, such as entrepreneurship in lodging, transportation and guide service, frequently require capital, command of foreign languages and other prerequisites not easily available to the poor.

Third, there is enormous scope for product development. Although the stereotype of tourist merchandise is the tawdry mass-produced souvenir, rural societies have been successful in selling traditional products, modified products, and entirely new products. Many of these products have actually revitalized local craft traditions and even, in some cases, created new ones that have reinforced local identity.

Fourth, tourist merchandise offers the possibility of using local materials sustainably and even of providing a new market for the output of local agriculture and forestry enterprises specifically targeted toward resource protection. Creating a local market for these materials can substantially increase revenues to producers and can create markets for entirely new materials and for byproducts formerly discarded.

Finally, tourist merchandise can be a useful tool for publicizing the park and for educating tourists about the relation between the park and local people. Non-governmental organizations involved in park protection can use sale of tourist merchandise as part of campaigns to generate donations and continuing support from past park visitors.

Recommendations on Product Development

- 1) A full range of products should be considered. Tourist merchandise need not be limited to tourist versions of commodities that the community has traditionally produced for local use. The historical record of handicraft development indicates that rural producer communities and individual craftspersons are capable of product innovation and materials substitution. Producer communities are also able to assimilate and further develop craft traditions borrowed from other societies. Moreover, tourist merchandise need not be limited to "arts and crafts". Goods sold to tourists can include educational materials, foodstuffs, and T-shirts.
- 2) Products should be produced sustainably, so that increases in output will neither burden the environment nor cause large increases in the price of inputs. Ideally, products should be "actively sustainable," that is, they should create demand for the output of agricultural or forestry projects in park buffer zones.
- 3) Products should have educational and promotional value. They should contribute to the quality of the tourist's experience and enhance his or her knowledge of both natural and cultural features of the area visited.

Recommendations on Marketing

- 1) Marketing is essential to the successful production and sale of tourist merchandise. Close attention should be paid to such attributes of products as intended functions, sizes, colors and the tourist's ability to

transport it home. Simple "market research" can be performed both by asking tourists what they like and dislike and by experimentation with alternative products. Artisans and merchants themselves can do this kind of information gathering and should be encouraged to seek comments from tourists and to share insights with others.

- 2) In addition to providing a livelihood for local people, tourist merchandise can perform valuable educational functions. Education can be an integral part of marketing. Increasing the tourist's understanding of the origins of the product, the identity of the producer, the nature of the production process, and the relation of the product to the park or reserve can actually increase the desirability of the product.

Recommendations on Institutions and Project Development

- 1) Tourist merchandise can be produced and marketed by individual producers or by a collective (for example, cooperative enterprises). It often makes sense to provide scope for individual entrepreneurship even within the scope of collective institutions. For example, individuals may produce merchandise for their own account but may sell to tourists through publicly sponsored marketplaces or through museum shops at the park visitor center.
- 2) Government agencies and non-governmental groups can often provide valuable technical assistance, capital, and help with marketing. In general, it seems best to look on outside

help in terms of facilitation and gap-filling, rather than comprehensive projects.

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1. Lindberg (1990) and Western (1982) have undertaken some analysis of fee-sharing systems. There is a large literature on tourism and employment creation, but very few studies involving Third World rural areas impacted by nature tourism. Among the exceptions are Place (1991), Healy (1988) and Boo (1990). Wells and Brandon (1992) offer a number of case studies of park-related communities, but little data on how they have benefitted economically (or failed to benefit) from tourism.
2. For example, Wagner (1982) found that retail sellers' asking price for handprinted cotton textiles in The Gambia were only one-fourth the price of *factory* printed cotton cloth sold by the yard in Scandinavia.
3. The surveys were commissioned by national travel authorities of the U.S. and Canada, but concerned motivations for foreign travel in general, as well as specific questions regarding perceptions of the U.S. and Canada.
4. Among the most detailed examinations of characteristics of persons gaining income from handicrafts is Connelly-Kirch's (1982) data on 26 persons selling handicrafts to cruise ship passengers on Tonga. Estimated daily earnings ranged from T\$3 to T\$300. Some 54 % of sellers derived more than two-thirds of their monthly income from handicraft sales, but others had significant income from agriculture, wage labor and remittances. The study is limited by the fact that it does not distinguish income from self-made handicrafts from income from sales of crafts made by others. Wagner (1982) who studied 30 women who made and sold hand-dyed cloth articles in Gambia, found that nearly all worked full time during the six month tourist season and engaged in other forms of petty trading during the rest of the year. She found a wide dispersion in estimated profits among the vendors, which she attributed mainly to experience and foreign-language skills. Returns for most, however, compared quite favorably with wages of laborers and maids and employees in the large hotels.
5. One must of course look closely at any production opportunity that involves child labor. For poor families, it seems likely that the potential for exploitation or for school absence or drop-out because of handicraft work will be more than offset by the improvement in child nutrition and health afforded by handicraft income and the greater potential for paying cash expenses (tuition, uniforms) associated with school attendance.
6. In Graburn's typology, products made using indigenous ideas and sold predominantly to indigenous customers are termed "functional traditional" arts, while those using indigenous ideas but mainly sold externally are "commercial fine arts." Products incorporating some novel or synthetic ideas are "reintegrated arts" if sold within the producing society, and "souvenir novelty arts" if sold outside. Graburn offers Cuna (Panama) molas and Pueblo (U.S. Indian) kachinas as examples of reintegrated arts, while Seri (Mexico) and Makonde (Africa) wood carvings exemplify souvenir novelty arts. Graburn adds two additional categories to describe products that borrow most heavily from the external society. He terms as "assimilated fine arts" those where minority artists have taken up established art forms from the majority society" and sell the results externally. Examples are paintings in European style by American Indian and Australian aborigine artists. Graburn describes as "popular arts" those products in which European or other external traditions are incorporated in minority society for its own uses and markets (e.g. Navajo blankets and silverwork).
7. The blouse molas are themselves the result of external influence. Developed only in the last 100 years, they incorporate designs that the Cuna formerly painted directly on their bodies and "[presumably] came into [their] present form after the introduction of manufactured cloth, metal sewing needles, and scissors" (Salvador, 1976)
8. In 1991, there were 60 full and part-time basket weavers on Nantucket, with annual sales of \$1.5 million (Graham, 1991).

9. Evidence from tourist shops in locations such as Honolulu and Vancouver suggests that Japanese visitors to developed countries have specific product preferences, particular for luxury food products. The Japanese custom of giving departing travelers gift money (*osenbetsu*) can oblige the tourist to return with appropriate souvenirs.
10. Use of on-site sales and tours of manufacturing facilities to promote products has long been practiced by wineries in Europe and California and by many commercial food processing firms (e.g. McIlhenny [Tabasco] Company, New Iberia, Louisiana; pineapple and macademia nut processors in Hawaii).
11. An excellent example is Smithe and Trimm's *The Birds of Tikal* (Garden City, N.Y.: Natural History Press, 1966). This comprehensive guide provides an additional justification for visiting Tikal (Guatemala), reknowned as a Mayan archeological site.
12. An NGO official working in Madagascar noted that park-logo T-shirts made excellent good-will gifts for local officials—and that they were frequently purchased by local villagers.
13. Limited available evidence indicates that T-shirts are only an incidental source of revenue for environmental NGOs. In 1987, the Monteverde Cloud Forest, in Costa Rica, netted \$3400 from T-shirt sales, about 10% of its operating budget (more than half of total revenues came from entrance fees). The Organization for Tropical Studies sells about \$10,000 yearly in logo-imprinted T-shirts, but does not keep records of net revenues.
14. There are, of course, exceptions. For example the now-traditional "wini" necklaces of Panama's Cuna are made from imported Czechoslovakian trade beads! (Salvador, 1976)
15. Later, the government permitted use of bark paper, provided that 10 trees would be planted for each one chopped down (Stromberg, 1976:156).
16. The area is also used for scientific research on medicinal plants.
17. Clare Smith, President of Aid to Artisans, notes that many visitors to Japan enjoy taking classes in brush painting and flower arranging. She also points to the Instituto Allende, in San Miguel Allende, Mexico, where tourists are offered classes in silversmithing, pottery, papier mache, and even fireworks making (Smith, 1992).

