

THE IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION: AN INTEGRATED RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

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Abstract:	This paper aims to contribute to the academic research on tourism and poverty alleviation, by providing an integrated research framework on the impacts of tourism on poverty. Firstly, a conceptual discussion is presented in order to understand the potential of tourism to reduce poverty, as well as different approaches to promoting a direct link between tourism and poverty alleviation. Secondly, empirical studies published between 1999 and July 2014 were critically analysed in order to generate an empirical research framework that embraces the following issues: geographical scope, level of analysis, tourism context, study methods and poverty measure. Moreover, an integrative discussion of the empirical evidence regarding the contribution of tourism to poverty reduction is included. The proposed framework, which is intended to be useful for guiding future empirical research in this field, suggests associations between tourism initiatives, the poverty rate and the economic, socio-cultural and environmental conditions of the poor.

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5 FRAMEWORK
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8 poverty alleviation, by providing an integrated research framework on the impacts
9 of tourism on poverty. Firstly, a conceptual discussion is presented in order to
10 understand the potential of tourism to reduce poverty, as well as different
11 approaches to promoting a direct link between tourism and poverty alleviation.
12 Secondly, empirical studies published between 1999 and July 2014 were critically
13 analysed in order to generate an empirical research framework that embraces the
14 following issues: geographical scope, level of analysis, tourism context, study
15 methods and poverty measure. Moreover, an integrative discussion of the empirical
16 evidence regarding the contribution of tourism to poverty reduction is included.
17 The proposed framework, which is intended to be useful for guiding future
18 empirical research in this field, suggests associations between tourism initiatives,
19 the poverty rate and the economic, socio-cultural and environmental conditions of
20 the poor.
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41 **Key words:** Poverty, poverty alleviation, pro-poor tourism, sustainable tourism,
42 community-based tourism, responsible tourism.
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INTRODUCTION

Tourism has been recently but widely regarded by researchers, practitioners and international agencies, such as the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), as a catalyst for economic growth and an effective means of relieving poverty (Blake, Arbache, Sinclair & Teles, 2008; Croes & Vanegas, 2008; Novelli & Hellwig, 2011; Scheyvens, 2007; Spenceley & Goodwin, 2007). There is a general belief that tourism, as one of the largest economic sectors worldwide, should and also could play a more active role in reducing poverty and achieving the United Nations Millenium Development Goal (UNMDG) I -i.e., to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger- (Scheyvens, 2007; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). Tourism's potential to reduce poverty is supported by its importance for developing and less developed countries, as it is a significant or growing economic sector in most countries with high levels of poverty (Scheyvens, 2007). Implicit in this approach is the fact that economic growth reduces poverty and that because tourism generates growth, tourism can also alleviate poverty (Croes & Vanegas, 2008).

Nevertheless, there is a growing debate amongst researchers, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) and development agencies over the effectiveness of the use of tourism for poverty reduction (Holden, Sonne & Novelli, 2011). Firstly, tourism statistics on some of the poorest countries suggest that economic growth in terms of tourism development does not necessarily reduce poverty (Blake et al., 2008; Scheyvens, 2007). For instance, Blake (2008) highlights that the extent to which the poor benefit from tourism development depends on their economic involvement in tourism and their incomes from other export activities, since

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3 international tourism receipts could lead to real exchange rate appreciation and
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5 consequent declines in other export industries.
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10 Secondly, since poverty is a multidimensional concept that addresses not only
11 economic indicators (e.g., income, consumption) but also non-economic measures
12 (e.g., living standard, social exclusion, access to education and health services,
13 personal dignity, empowerment, vulnerability) (Sen, 1999; Spenceley & Goodwin,
14 2007; Sultana, 2002; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007), expectations should not be
15 unrealistically raised regarding the fact that economic growth in terms of tourism
16 development necessarily alleviates poverty (Croes & Vanegas, 2008; Spenceley &
17 Goodwin, 2007). This study argues that due to the complexity of the concept of
18 poverty, understanding the impacts of tourism on poverty is a challenge. In that
19 respect, although the most straightforward approach to measuring poverty could
20 be the 'US dollar (US\$) a day' economic measure of extreme poverty, recently
21 amended to US\$1.25 by the World Bank (Mitchell, 2012), there is no consensus on
22 poverty dimensions (i.e., economic and non-economic indicators) to be measured
23 or the suitable values to be achieved.
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43 Thirdly, the empirical evidence relating to tourism's impacts on poverty reduction
44 is scarce (Croes & Vanegas, 2008; Goodwin, 2008; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). This
45 study also argues that the academic literature on tourism and poverty alleviation is
46 rather fragmented and dispersed, reporting results on how different tourism
47 activities (e.g., tourism development in general, nature-based tourism,
48 ecotourism, tourism enterprises, community-based tourism (CBT) initiatives, pro-
49 poor tourism (PPT) projects) affect poverty in a wide range of geographical areas
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3 (e.g., countries, regions, local communities). According to Spenceley and Meyer
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5 (2012), a large number of peer-reviewed papers on tourism and poverty alleviation
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7 are case studies, particularly of local communities and CBT experiences, rather
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9 than of regions and nations. Consequently, the research results are only
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11 comparable when referring to a similar tourism activity and a similar geographical
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13 scope.
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18 Besides, there is no agreed method for measuring the impacts of tourism on
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20 poverty alleviation (Mitchell, 2012; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010). This study specifically
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22 argues that there is no consensus on the sources of information (e.g., statistics
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24 reported by national agencies, interviews with local inhabitants) and the analytical
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26 techniques (e.g., input-output analysis, case study) to be used. In that respect,
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28 Spenceley and Meyer (2012) suggest the need to combine quantitative and
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30 qualitative data when measuring poverty and the impacts of tourism, as well as to
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32 generate additional knowledge on analytical techniques.
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39 Taking all the above into account, the purpose of this research is twofold. Firstly,
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41 it aims to critically analyse tourism as an effective means of relieving poverty, as
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43 well as different approaches that have been adopted to maximise tourism's
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45 impacts on poverty alleviation. Secondly, it undertakes a review of the research on
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47 tourism and poverty alleviation from the year 1999, with the purpose of presenting
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49 an integrated research framework that could be a guide for future empirical
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51 research on the impacts of tourism on poverty. The review of the empirical
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53 research will consider five issues: 1) the geographical scope and levels of analysis
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55 adopted by previous research, 2) the tourism context (i.e., tourism products and
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3 markets) in which the research was conducted, 3) study methods (i.e., sources of
4 information and analytical techniques), 4) the measuring of poverty, 5) major
5 results regarding tourism's impacts on poverty alleviation. From this review, an
6 integrated research framework will be developed with the purpose of suggesting
7 associations between tourism initiatives at different levels of analysis, the poverty
8 level and the economic, socio-cultural and environmental conditions of the poor.
9 The framework will also embrace considerations regarding methodology that could
10 be considered by future empirical research on this emerging field of study.
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23 THE IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON POVERTY ALLEVIATION

24 As suggested earlier, there is a growing interest on the part of poor countries in
25 developing the tourism sector (e.g., accommodation, food and beverage, leisure,
26 transport, travel organisation) and related industries (e.g., agriculture,
27 manufacturing, other service sectors) as a source of important economic benefits in
28 terms of income, employment and gross domestic product (GDP). To be specific,
29 three categories of economic impacts are linked to tourism development (Mitchell,
30 2012; Mitchell & Ashley, 2010): 1) direct impacts of tourists' expenditure in terms
31 of tourism income, employment and GDP; 2) secondary impacts -i.e., indirect
32 impacts of the purchase of inputs from related industries to supply tourism
33 enterprises and tourists, and induced impacts of the spending of tourism wages and
34 business profits-; 3) dynamic impacts of the investment in infrastructure, human
35 capital formation and the development of other economic activities. It is also
36 suggested that tourism is an important export sector and a major source of foreign
37 exchange and government revenues (Blake et al., 2008; Croes & Vanegas, 2008;
38 Mitchell, 2012; Muganda, Sahli & Smith, 2010; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012).
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5 However, most of the academic research has focused on the direct and indirect
6 impacts of tourism (Blake, 2008; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). Moreover, there is a
7 general tendency for studies to be narrowly focused on economic impacts, rather
8 than also taking into account socio-cultural and environmental impacts (Ashley &
9 Roe, 2002; Scheyvens, 2007; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). In that respect, Mitchell
10 and Ashley (2010) consider that the measure of tourism's impacts on poverty should
11 cover a plethora of fields, including local economic development, PPT,
12 anthropology, sociology, conservation, sustainable livelihoods and corporate social
13 responsibility. More specifically, Ashley and Roe (2002) argue that tourism should
14 unlock opportunities for the poor within tourism, rather than increase economic
15 impacts by expanding the overall size of the sector.
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32 Certain characteristics of tourism have been mentioned to suggest that tourism, in
33 comparison with other service sectors or manufacturing, is more conducive to
34 reducing poverty in developing and less developed countries (Ashley & Roe, 2002;
35 Scheyvens, 2007; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012): 1) it is suitable for poor rural and
36 coastal areas with few other growth options; 2) it is labour intensive; 3) it
37 generally employs a large number of women, young people and unskilled or less-
38 skilled individuals, who represent a high percentage of the very poor section of
39 society; 4) tourists visit the destination, thus providing business opportunities for
40 related industries at the destination. Nevertheless, it is also assumed that tourism,
41 like any other type of development, could bring disadvantages for the poor, by
42 causing, for instance, inflation, displacement, social disruption, inequality and
43 threats for natural and cultural resources (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Bowden, 2005). The
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3 challenge is therefore harnessing tourism for pro-poor growth by capitalising on the
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5 advantages, while reducing negative impacts on the poor (Ashley & Roe, 2002).
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10 Traditionally, economic growth has been predominantly set as the premier goal of
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12 tourism development, while poverty alleviation has been considered a sub-goal or a
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14 natural outcome of economic growth (Ashley, Boyd & Goodwin, 2000; Zhao &
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16 Ritchie, 2007). Consequently, considerable attention has been paid to the
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18 expansion of the tourism sector, but much less to what extent tourism
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20 development contributes to poverty alleviation (Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). In contrast,
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22 contemporary approaches, such as PPT and Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating
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24 Poverty (ST-EP) initiatives, aim to establish a direct link between tourism and
25
26 poverty alleviation (Ashley et al., 2000; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). The impacts of
27
28 these initiatives will mean little overall if the stakeholders in the mainstream
29
30 tourism industry, dominated by transnational companies, fail to adopt pro-poor
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32 strategies (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Spenceley & Goodwin, 2007). In that regard, mass
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34 tourism is sometimes viewed by communities as more profitable, less risky and
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36 more beneficial than small-scale tourism development based on alternative tourism
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38 -e.g., ecotourism, CBT- (Burns, 2004; Butler, 1990).
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46 In 1999, the United Kingdom Department for International Development introduced
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48 the term 'PPT' to name an approach to tourism development and management that
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50 seeks to generate net benefits for the poor and ensure that tourism growth
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52 contributes to poverty reduction (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Ashley, Roe & Goodwin,
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54 2001; Goodwin, 2008; Zeng & Ryan, 2012). While PPT overlaps with other
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56 contemporary approaches, including sustainable tourism, ecotourism, CBT or
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3 responsible tourism, the key distinctive feature is that PPT places poor people and
4 poverty at the top of the agenda at all levels of intervention (Ashley & Roe, 2002).
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6 These authors also point out that many sustainable, ecotourism, community-based
7 and responsible tourism initiatives are good examples of PPT strategies.
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14 According to Ashley and Roe (2002) and Ashley et al. (2001), the current
15 sustainable tourism debate starts with mainstream destinations as a priority, which
16 may include some poor areas. It is also argued that the debate is heavily biased
17 towards environmental considerations (Meyer, 2007). However, in 2002, the
18 UNWTO launched the ST-EP programme with the purpose of promoting sustainable
19 tourism as an approach to reducing poverty. Ecotourism is another approach to
20 alleviating poverty that seeks to broadly distribute local benefits as an incentive
21 for environmental conservation (Butcher, 2011). As regards CBT, local people's
22 involvement in tourism development is considered a vehicle to providing
23 widespread benefits for local communities (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Lapeyre, 2010;
24 Zapata, Hall, Lindo & Vanderschaeghe, 2011). Finally, responsible tourism
25 initiatives are adopted by tourism organisations to increase the flow of benefits for
26 local people, including the poor, while also addressing environmental impacts
27 (Novelli & Hellwig, 2011; Spenceley & Goodwin, 2007).
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47 EMPIRICAL RESEARCH AND EVIDENCE ON THE IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON POVERTY

48 *Selection of published manuscripts*

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50 Documents on tourism and poverty alleviation were searched using the electronic
51 databases Elsevier's Scopus and Thomson Reuters's Web of Science, which are
52 considered the world's largest abstract and citation databases of peer-reviewed
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3 literature and quality web sources, with more than 21,900 titles from 5,000
4 publishers worldwide. Four basic search criteria were established: 1) all types of
5 documents were considered (i.e., articles, reviews, articles and reviews in the
6 press, books, book chapters, conference and proceeding papers, notes); 2) the
7 words used in the meta-search were ‘tourism’ and ‘poverty alleviation’ or ‘PPT’ or
8 ‘poverty’, and they were required to be in the title, abstract or keywords; 3) the
9 area of research selected was social science or human science; and 4) the year of
10 publication had to be between 1999, when the term ‘PPT’ was introduced, and 31
11 July, 2014, inclusive. The initial search generated a total of 198 publications, from
12 which 172 were finally chosen for the analysis, having ruled out studies that were
13 not related to the selected topic, and those written in languages other than
14 English, French or Spanish. Most of these publications were articles (142), followed
15 by reviews (11), conference and proceeding papers (11), book chapters (3), notes
16 (3) and books (2).

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36 An analysis of the number of publications per year reveals the existence of a
37 growth trend in the literature on tourism and poverty alleviation, especially since
38 the year 2005 (see figure 1). The year that displayed the most manuscripts was
39 2012, with a total of 28, followed by 2011 and 2013, with 23 and 22 respectively.

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52 From the list of 172 publications on tourism and poverty alleviation, a total of 43
53 were considered for further analysis (39 articles, two reviews, one conference
54 paper, one note), since they reported empirical evidence on the impacts of tourism

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3 on poverty reduction (i.e., 25% of the selected publications). Books, book chapters
4 and reports with empirical evidence were also searched from the web pages of
5 Amazon.com and major international organisations (e.g., PPT Partnership, United
6 Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), United Nations
7 Development Programme (UNDP), UNWTO). As a result, Luvanga's (2005) book on
8 the role of tourism in poverty alleviation in Tanzania was selected. Consequently, a
9 total number of 44 documents were finally considered for further analysis.
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20 Most of these empirical studies (39) were published in the period 2007-2014, the
21 years 2011 and 2012 showing the highest number of publications (eight) (see figure
22 1). Each manuscript was first analysed with a view to critically describing and
23 comparing the research methodology adopted in the study of the impact of tourism
24 on poverty reduction. Four issues were considered: 1) geographical scope and level
25 of analysis, 2) tourism context (i.e., tourism products and markets), 3) study
26 methods (i.e., sources of information and analytical techniques), 4) the
27 measurement of poverty. Secondly, each manuscript was examined with the aim of
28 understanding and comparing major findings on the impact of tourism on poverty
29 alleviation.
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45 *Geographical scope and level of analysis*

46 *Geographical scope.* Africa is the leading continent in the empirical research on the
47 impact of tourism on poverty alleviation. As shown in table 1, 25 of the 44 studies
48 (i.e., 56.82%) made reference to African countries: Bostwana, Ghana, Kenya,
49 Madagascar, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zimbabwe.
50 American countries (Brazil, Costa Rica, Nicaragua, United States of America (USA))
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3 and Asian countries (Cambodia, China, Lao PDR, Vietnam) were dealt with in six
4 studies each (i.e., 13.64%). Two studies focused on Fiji and one on Scotland. The
5 remaining four studies examined: 1) Lao PDR and Mali; 2) small island developing
6 states in Asia-Pacific, the Caribbean sea and Africa; 3) several African and
7 American countries; 4) international NGOs.
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21 *Level of analysis.* As regards the geographical scope of the research, five different
22 levels of analysis were adopted by the selected empirical studies: 1) international
23 level (i.e., the analysis of the impacts of international tourism on poverty
24 alleviation), 2) supranational level (i.e., the impacts in several countries), 3)
25 national level (i.e., in one particular country), 4) regional level (i.e., in specific
26 regions within a country), 5) local level (i.e., in local communities). Based on the
27 tourism scope of the research, three different levels of analysis were also
28 considered: 1) tourism development (i.e., the analysis of the impacts of tourism
29 development in general), 2) tourism organisations (i.e., the impacts of private
30 sector enterprises, CBT enterprises, governmental services, NGOs), 3) tourism
31 projects (i.e., the impacts of PPT and CBT projects). By bringing together the
32 categorisations of levels of analysis based on the geographical scope and the
33 tourism scope, a total of 15 possible categories of levels of analysis are identified.
34 As shown in table 2, most of these categories (12) were adopted by the selected
35 studies, the following being the most frequently used: regional-tourism
36 development, local-tourism development, national-tourism development,
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3 supranational-tourism development, national-tourism organisations, local-tourism
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14 *Tourism context: tourism products and markets*
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16 Table 1 shows that most empirical research dealt with tourism in general, without
17 paying special attention to one particular tourism product (23 of the 44 selected
18 manuscripts; i.e., 52.27%). Ecotourism is the product that received the most
19 attention (six studies). The remaining products are: nature-based tourism and
20 tourism in rural areas (four studies each), followed by safari tourism (three
21 studies), cultural tourism (two studies) and mountain tourism (one study). Finally,
22 Ashley and Roe (2002) and Zapata et al. (2011) assessed a variety of tourism
23 products, including adventure, coastal, cultural, mountain, nature-based, safari,
24 spa and wildlife tourism.
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39 It is also relevant to emphasise the limited presence of research that examined the
40 impacts of different tourism markets on poverty alleviation, based, for example, on
41 geographical origin, socio-demographic profile (e.g., gender, age, marital status,
42 education, occupation, economic status), tourist and travel behaviour (e.g., travel
43 and leisure preferences, tourist expenditure, environmental behaviour) and
44 lifestyle. As shown in table 1, only eight of the 44 documents made reference to
45 specific tourism markets. While six of them distinguished between international
46 and domestic markets, Dwyer and Thomas (2012) assessed 12 international origin
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3 markets. Finally, Ashley and Roe (2002) considered the following markets: luxury,
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5 mid-luxury and lower-budget independent travellers.
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8 9 *Study methods*

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11 *Sources of information.* As shown in table 3, a wide range of sources of information
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13 was used by the selected empirical studies. In general, these studies adopted
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15 either primary or secondary sources of information, while only 8 of the 44
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17 publications used both types of sources. They combined personal interviews with
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19 available statistics (seven studies) and previous research (one study). Participant
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21 observation and focus groups were also adopted by some of these studies (three
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23 and two, respectively).
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29 The most used secondary sources are statistics and documents reported by
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31 governmental agencies, NGOs and enterprises. In addition, the national social
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33 accounting matrixes of Botswana, Brazil, Kenya, Namibia, South Africa, Tanzania
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35 and Uganda were analysed (Blake, 2008; Blake et al., 2008; Muchapondwa & Stage,
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37 2013; Saayman, Rossouw & Krugell, 2012). Previous research on tourism and
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39 poverty in rural China and the protected areas in Costa Rica and Madagascar was
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41 also used (Bowden, 2005; Ferraro & Hanauer, 2014; Sarrasin, 2013).
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52 Primary sources of information were adopted by 68.18% of the manuscripts (i.e., 30
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54 studies, 18 of them using two or three primary sources). The research method
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56 chosen by these studies was the survey and the type of questionnaire most used
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3 was semi-structured interviews, followed by structured and unstructured
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5 interviews (see table 3). The remaining primary sources were: participant
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7 observation and personal visits to local communities, households, tourism projects
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9 and enterprises, as well as focus groups and semi-structured group interviews with
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11 stakeholders, key informants and employees.
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16 As regards personal interviews, a wide variety of individuals were interviewed: 1)
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18 stakeholders and key informants (government officials; representatives of CBT
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20 enterprises and projects; academics; tourism consultants; policy advisors;
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22 administrators of NGOs; tourism and supplier industries representatives); 2) local
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24 inhabitants; 3) employees of a nature conservation service, PPT projects, CBT
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26 enterprises, tourism and supplier industries enterprises; 4) tourists; 5)
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28 representatives of tourism enterprises (tour operators, lodges, private trophy
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30 hunting farms, CBT enterprises). The largest sample sizes were selected by: 1)
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32 Dwyer and Thomas (2012) -1,979 tourists, 996 representatives of tourism
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34 enterprises and 374 employees-, 2) Thomas (2014) -1,955 employees and
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36 stakeholders-, 3) Spenceley and Goodwin (2007) -1,058 local inhabitants-, 4)
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38 Snyman (2012) -618 local inhabitants and 194 employees-, 5) Luvanga (2005) -281
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40 local inhabitants and 100 stakeholders-, and 6) Snyman (2013) -251 local
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42 inhabitants and 61 employees-.
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50 Nevertheless, the sample size in the majority of the studies was limited. A total of
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52 163 safari employees and some representatives of government and CBT
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54 organisations were selected by Mbaiwa (2005). A similar sample size was
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56 considered by Muganda et al. (2010): 139 representatives of households and 13 key
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3 informants. A smaller number of local residents and household representatives
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5 were interviewed by Anderson (2014), Mbaiwa (2011) and Picard (2003): 85, 90 and
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7 90, respectively. The perceptions of 27 households and 48 employees were
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9 analysed by Steinicke and Neuburger (2012), who also contacted stakeholders and
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11 key informants. The remaining 18 studies were based on interviews with between
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13 nine (Phommavong & Sörensson, 2014) and 65 (Jänis, 2012) individuals.
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18 *Types of analysis.* Content, descriptive and frequency analyses were the types most
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20 used (see table 3). However, a possible statistical association between tourism and
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22 poverty was assessed by only six studies. While Jiang et al. (2011) conducted a
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24 correlation analysis, five studies carried out multiple regression analyses: ordinary
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26 least squares regression, probit model, geographically weighted regression analysis,
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28 augmented Dickey-Fuller test, Phillips-Perron test, cointegrating regression and
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30 equation modelling. Six studies also applied multiplier effects analyses: value-
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32 added analysis, employment and income multipliers analysis, input-output analysis,
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34 tourism satellite account and computable general equilibrium model. Finally,
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36 Spenceley and Goodwin (2007) developed the sustainable nature-based tourism
37
38 assessment toolkit (SUNTAT) to assess the socioeconomic impacts of tourism.
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45 *The measurement of poverty*

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47 Four different approaches to measuring poverty were identified from the analysis
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49 of the selected studies (see table 4). The first approach was the number of
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51 residents, employees or households with earnings below a certain amount of
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53 money. While Croes (2014), Croes and Vanegas (2008) and Spenceley and Goodwin
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55 (2007) adopted the international extreme poverty line of US\$1 a day, Bowden
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3 (2005), Mbaiwa (2005) and Snyman (2014) considered the national poverty line
4 (US\$0.66 per day in China, US\$159 per month in Botswana and US\$110.10 per year
5 in Malawi, respectively). A more comprehensive approach was adopted by Thomas
6 (2014), who considered three poverty lines: US\$2 a day, US\$1.25 a day and the
7 national poverty lines in Lao PDR and Mali. Other studies established the average
8 income in rural areas as the poverty line (Ashley & Roe, 2002), the salary of farm
9 workers (Lapeyre, 2010) or basic needs (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Duygan & Bump,
10 2007). Finally, Job and Paesler (2013) took all the residents in a poor area into
11 consideration.
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25 A second economic approach referred to the establishment of different categories
26 of poor households and residents in terms of income, labour type, professional
27 occupation, vulnerability or race. Blake et al. (2008) defined poor households as
28 those with the lowest income. Similarly, Blake (2008) identified poor households in
29 Kenya (those in the bottom income decile), Tanzania (those below the basic needs
30 poverty line and the food poverty line) and Uganda (those with low literacy).
31 Households with no income from tourism were selected by Yang, Hens, Ou and De
32 Wulf (2009). Three categories of vulnerable households were analysed by Steinicke
33 and Neuburger (2012): 1) those with a high level of vulnerability (one household
34 member working for a CBT enterprise), 2) those with a moderate level, and c)
35 those with a low level (several household members working for a CBT enterprise).
36 Finally, black households were considered by Saayman et al. (2012).
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54 As regards poor residents, Dwyer and Thomas (2012) focused on three categories of
55 professional occupation: 1) employees, 2) direct suppliers of services to tourists, 3)
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3 direct sellers of goods and services to the tourism industry. Three segments were
4
5 also considered by Holden et al. (2011): 1) employees working in the informal
6
7 tourism sector and in unsecured low-level employment in the formal tourism
8
9 sector, 2) employees in other industries that are vulnerable to seasonality, 3)
10
11 unemployed. Snyman (2012) identified employees in an ecotourism operation and
12
13 residents living adjacent to a conservation area. Finally, residents working in the
14
15 primary sector were selected by Muchapondwa and Stage (2013), and the poverty
16
17 rate in rural areas was measured by Deller (2010).
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23 A third approach was the use of human development indicators and poverty
24
25 evaluations by the United Nations (UN), NGOs, previous research or the authors.
26
27 This approach was recently adopted by Jiang et al. (2011), who chose three human
28
29 development indicators: GDP per capita in purchasing power parity, the UN's
30
31 Development Program's human development index and under five mortality rate
32
33 per 1,000 live births. Guoqing and Yang (2012) measured human development
34
35 indicators on life quality, technology, health, media and basic lifestyle. An asset-
36
37 based poverty index elaborated by previous research was used by Ferraro and
38
39 Hanauer (2014). A more general approach was taken by Butcher (2011), who
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41 considered poverty evaluations made by international NGOs. Finally, Butler, Curran
42
43 and O'Gorman (2013) evaluated PPT principles.
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50 The final approach focused on the perceptions of a wide range of individuals: 1)
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52 inhabitants (e.g., Anderson, 2014; Luvanga, 2005), 2) employees (e.g., Anderson,
53
54 2014; Lapeyre, 2011), 3) tourists (Truong, Hall & Garry, 2014), 4) representatives
55
56 of tourism enterprises (e.g., Jänis, 2012; Mutana, Chipfuva & Muchenje, 2013), 5)
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3 representatives of CBT projects (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Zapata et al., 2011), 6)
4 stakeholders (e.g., Luvanga, 2005; Manwa & Manwa, 2014), 7) key informants (e.g.,
5 Jänis, 2012; Lapeyre, 2011). Since poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon, it is
6 suggested that the perception-based approach should be combined with economic
7 approaches and human development indicators.
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13 14 15 16 *Evidence for the contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation*

17
18 An analysis of the findings reported by the selected studies, which could be
19 representative of the empirical research on tourism's impacts on poverty
20 alleviation since the year 1999, suggests the existence of a wide variety of impacts
21 that could be grouped into the following categories (see table 5): 1) net impact on
22 poverty, 2) economic impacts, 3) livelihood and sociocultural impacts, 4)
23 environmental impacts. A discussion of major findings in these categories will
24 follow.
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37 INSERT TABLE 5
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41 *Net impact on poverty.* Thomas (2014) found that the impact of tourism varies
42 based on the chosen poverty threshold, the 'US\$2 a day' poverty line showing the
43 highest impact. However, at least 60% of tourism workers in Lao PDR and Mali earn
44 an average salary below US\$2 per day and, consequently, they are poor. According
45 to Croes (2014) and Croes and Vanegas (2008), tourism development provides
46 benefits to the poor in countries with low levels of economic development and a
47 large presence of poverty. In that respect, tourism expansion reduces the poverty
48 rate in Nicaragua but it increases poverty in Costa Rica, which enjoys a higher level
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3 of economic development. It is also suggested that the quality of tourism resources
4
5 seem to exclude the poor from the benefits of tourism (Croes, 2014; Guoqing &
6
7 Yang, 2012). Although causal effects were not evaluated, Jiang et al. (2011)
8
9 reported a significant negative correlation between tourism intensity and poverty
10
11 rate on small island developing states. Similarly, tourism benefits the lowest-
12
13 income sections of the Brazilian population (Blake et al., 2008).
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19 As compared with other industries, tourism does not seem to generate greater
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21 benefits for the poor in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa (Muchapondwa &
22
23 Stage, 2013). In that respect, the share of tourism income received by the rural
24
25 population in these countries is less than its share of overall national income. On
26
27 the contrary, in the case of Tanzania, households involved in export-oriented
28
29 sectors, including tourism, are less likely to be poor, as compared with those who
30
31 depend on sales of food crops or livestock (Duygan & Bump, 2007; Slocum &
32
33 Backman, 2011).
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39 At the regional level, there is evidence regarding a positive impact of tourism on
40
41 poverty alleviation in rural China (Bowden, 2005), rural Tanzania (Anderson, 2014),
42
43 rural Zimbabwe (Mutana et al., 2013), rural Kilimanjaro (Anderson, 2014) and
44
45 protected areas in Costa Rica (Ferraro & Hanauer, 2014). However, Holden et al.
46
47 (2011) concluded that tourism is presently making a very limited contribution to
48
49 poverty reduction in Elmina, Ghana. As regards rural areas in the USA, Deller (2010)
50
51 found that higher concentrations of golf, tennis and swimming facilities tend to
52
53 reduce poverty rates, but other forms of recreation have no influence on poverty.
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3 Moreover, skiing and commercial recreation put downward pressure on poverty in
4
5 some areas but upward pressure in other areas.
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10 Contradictory evidence is also available at the local level. In the case of the
11
12 Okavango Delta, Botswana, Mbaiwa (2005, 2011) concluded that: 1) enclave
13
14 tourism is unable to promote rural economic development and reduce poverty, 2)
15
16 community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) does not necessarily
17
18 generate significant benefits for the majority of the residents. More specifically,
19
20 Truong et al. (2014) found that the local tourism sector in Sapa, Vietnam, primarily
21
22 benefited the non-poor and members of the private sector (e.g., hotels, tour
23
24 operators). However, almost two-thirds of participants considered that tourism is a
25
26 contributor to poverty alleviation, but that alternative livelihoods other than
27
28 tourism are also needed. Similarly, most of the inhabitants in Barabarani village,
29
30 Tanzania, and Wasini Island, Kenya, felt that tourism is contributing positively to
31
32 several poverty dimensions, including local household incomes (Muganda et al.,
33
34 2010; Jacob & Praesler, 2013).
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41 The remaining studies reported that tourism organisations and CBT projects have a
42
43 positive influence on poverty alleviation. According to Novelli and Hellwig (2011),
44
45 Namibian and German tour operators' greatest contribution to the fulfilment of the
46
47 UNMDGs refers to the UNMDG I. Scheyvens and Russell (2012a) concluded that
48
49 tourism resorts in Fiji contribute to the determinants of poverty alleviation
50
51 outlined by Zhao and Ritchie (2007): opportunity, empowerment, security. More
52
53 specifically, Spenceley and Goodwin (2007) found that tourism enterprises reduce
54
55 the poverty rate in the Kruger National Park, South Africa. As regards CBT
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3 organisations, their positive impact on poverty alleviation is still insignificant in
4
5 Kenya (Manyara & Jones, 2007; Steinicke & Neuburger, 2012). The Grootberg lodge
6
7 partnership, which is a CBT project in Namibia, also contributes to the
8
9 achievement of the UNMDG I (Lapeyre, 2011). Finally, PPT principles are being
10
11 applied in the regeneration of Glasgow Govan (Butler et al., 2013).
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16 *Economic impacts.* The selected empirical studies reported findings on the
17
18 following categories of economic impacts (see table 5): 1) contribution to economic
19
20 growth, 2) generation of revenue and employment, 3) linkages and indirect effects,
21
22 4) dependence on foreign companies and international tourists. As regards
23
24 contribution to economic growth, Croes and Vanegas (2008) analysed the case of
25
26 Nicaragua and found a significant contribution (Beta coefficient = +0.76). In Wasini
27
28 Island, Kenya, total income from tourism represents 77.5% of the total monthly
29
30 value-added income (Job & Paesler, 2013). Similarly, tourism worked well in
31
32 increasing GDP and encouraging international investment in Tanzania and South
33
34 Africa (Slocum & Backman, 2011; Saayman et al., 2012). Most of the remaining
35
36 studies emphasised the generation of revenue and employment as a contribution of
37
38 tourism development, tourism and CBT enterprises, governmental services and CBT
39
40 projects (see table 5). This finding is at supranational, national, regional and local
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42 levels of analysis.
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50 As regards revenue, tourism generates foreign exchange earnings, public revenues
51
52 and labour income. However, since tourism increases consumer prices, there is a
53
54 contraction of non-tourism exports and a switch in domestic spending towards
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56 imports (Saayman et al., 2012). While tourism is sometimes perceived by
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3 inhabitants to generate a low level of direct income (Lapeyre, 2011; Muganda et
4 al., 2010) and of income for the poor (Dwyer & Thomas, 2012), labour income is
5 more important for poverty reduction than collective income or voluntary
6 donations from tourism enterprises and tourists (Jänis, 2012; Mutana et al., 2013).
7
8 In addition, tourism employment -e.g., tourist guides, porters, cleaners...-
9 represents one of the few sources of income in some sites -e.g., Botswana Forest
10 Reserves, Liwonde National Park, Mt Kenya National Park, rural Kilimanjaro-
11 (Anderson, 2014; Manwa & Manwa, 2014; Snyman, 2013; Steinicke & Neuburger,
12 2012).
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25 In general, tourism provides valuable job opportunities for the poor (Anderson,
26 2014; Dwyer & Thomas, 2012; Luvanga, 2005), but they are mainly at the lower
27 cadres with low educational requirements and low pay (Dwyer & Thomas, 2012;
28 Luvanga, 2005; Mbaiwa, 20015; Mutana et al., 2013). Moreover, the in-migration of
29 better qualified people represents a major barrier to local inhabitants gaining
30 access to tourism jobs (Anderson, 2014; Job & Paesler, 2013; Manwa & Manwa,
31 2014; Sarrasin, 2013). While Croes (2014) reported that pay in tourism jobs is lower
32 than the average pay in Costa Rica, Sarrasin (2013) and Zapata et al. (2011) found
33 that it is high as compared with that of public servants and traditional work.
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48 Another category of economic impacts refers to the indirect effects of tourism
49 development, CBT enterprises and other tourism enterprises (see table 5). Findings
50 are available within any geographical scope. A first group of studies cited that
51 tourism represents an impetus for small businesses and other related industries -
52 e.g., the production and sale of agricultural products, crafts and souvenirs-
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3 (Bowden, 2005; Luvanga, 2005; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Mutana et al., 2013;
4
5 Sarrasin, 2013). More specifically, Blake (2008) found that hotels and restaurants
6
7 have strong backward linkages with the rest of the economy, but transport has
8
9 weak linkages. The positive effect of the spending of staff earnings has also been
10
11 emphasised (Manwa & Manwa, 2014; Snyman, 2012, 2013). However, a second
12
13 group concluded that tourism does not improve local people's main life-supporting
14
15 activity -agriculture- (Muganda et al., 2010), and that there is little local
16
17 procurement by tourism enterprises and tourists (Manwa & Manwa, 2014; Mbaiwa,
18
19 2005; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a; Spenceley & Goodwin, 2007). In that respect,
20
21 while in South Africa there are pronounced linkages with rest of the economy, in
22
23 Namibia and Botswana much of the tourist spending is on imports (Muchapondwa &
24
25 Stage, 2013).
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32 A final category of economic impacts is the dependence on foreign companies and
33
34 international tourists, in the attempt to develop tourism (Bowden, 2005; Holden et
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36 al., 2011; Mbaiwa, 2005), tourism enterprises (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a) and CBT
37
38 projects (Zapata et al., 2011) within any geographical scope. Firstly, a high
39
40 dependence on foreign companies marginalises the poor from the benefits
41
42 generated by tourism and weakens linkages with the domestic economy (Holden et
43
44 al., 2011; Mbaiwa, 2005; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a). Secondly, there is no
45
46 consensus on the attractiveness of domestic markets. Although Bowden (2005)
47
48 reported that domestic tourists, compared to international tourists, have lower
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50 spending capacity, Zapata et al. (2011) emphasised the potential of domestic
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52 markets.
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3 *Livelihood and sociocultural impacts.* The following categories of sociocultural
4 impacts were identified from the analysis of the research findings (see table 5): 1)
5 cost, quality and way of life; 2) urbanisation and infrastructure development; 3)
6 health and educational services; 4) empowerment and involvement in decision-
7 making; 5) human capital and capacity building; 6) inequality reduction; 7)
8 vulnerability reduction; 8) impacts on minorities and segments of the society; 9)
9 impacts on traditional culture.
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21 As regards cost, quality and way of life, Bowden (2005) and Butcher (2011)
22 concluded that tourism development brings extensive social and cultural changes to
23 the poor, including a more open mentality. In that respect, the majority of
24 residents associate nature-based tourism, ecotourism, cultural tourism, sustainable
25 tourism projects and CBT enterprises with increased purchasing power, improved
26 lifestyles and positive sociocultural values (Anderson, 2014; Butcher, 2011; Job &
27 Paesler, 2013; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Picard, 2003; Snyman, 2012, 2013).
28 Nevertheless, Muganda et al. (2010) observed that tourism raised prices and
29 consequently the cost of living.
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43 The rapid urbanisation of poverty-stricken rural regions and the development of
44 transport, communication and accommodation infrastructure were also identified
45 as positive effects of tourism development and enterprises (e.g., Anderson, 2014;
46 Bowden, 2005; Manwa & Manwa, 2014). As regards local people's access to
47 educational and health services, evidence supports that tourism development and
48 organisations make a positive contribution (Anderson, 2014; Butler et al., 2013;
49 Manwa & Manwa, 2014; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Mutana et al., 2013; Snyman,
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3 2013). However, tourism could foster the spread of HIV and AIDS (Muganda et al.,
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5 2010).
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10 CBT, governmental organisations and tourism enterprises can also contribute to
11
12 local residents' involvement in decision-making and the empowerment of
13
14 communities, by increasing and strengthening their contacts within institutions,
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16 productive networks and markets. Moreover, PPT and CBT represent efficient
17
18 strategies to build assets in general (financial, physical and human capital assets)
19
20 and, in particular, a variety of human capacities, including basic education, social
21
22 skills, work skills and tourism management. However, studies on tourism
23
24 development and enterprises reported a limited presence of: 1) local ownership, 2)
25
26 governmental support for local enterprise development, 3) local people's
27
28 involvement in tourism management and benefits sharing, 4) tourism operators'
29
30 involvement with local communities (Anderson, 2014; Mbaiwa, 2005, 2011; Slocum
31
32 & Backman, 2011; Sarrasin, 2013; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a, 2012b; Spenceley &
33
34 Goodwin, 2007).
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41 As regards inequality, the following was reported: 1) tourism income is unevenly
42
43 distributed among households (Jänis, 2012; Yang et al., 2009), 2) the lowest-
44
45 income households do not benefit most from tourism development (Blake et al.,
46
47 2008; Saayman et al., 2012), 3) tourism can widen the geographical disparity
48
49 between poor areas (Bowden, 2005; Muganda et al., 2010; Snyman, 2013), 4) CBT
50
51 enterprises with a democratic organisational structure contribute to evenly
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53 distributing benefits (Lapeyre, 2011; Steinicke & Neuburger, 2012). Although
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55 tourism can be seasonal, PPT, CBT and tourism resorts also reduce households'
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3 economic uncertainty and vulnerability (Anderson, 2014; Lapeyre, 2010, 2011;
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5 Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a; Snyman, 2012, 2013; Steinicke & Neuburger, 2012;
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7 Zapata et al., 2011).

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11 Moreover, CBT has positive effects on young (Job & Paesler, 2013; Lapeyre, 2011;
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13 Zapata et al., 2011), low-qualified rural residents (Lapeyre, 2011) and women
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15 (Jänis, 2012; Lapeyre, 2011; Luvanga, 2005; Phommavong & Sörensson, 2014;
16
17 Snyman, 2013; Truong et al., 2014; Zapata et al., 2011). However, it is suggested
18
19 that gender inequality is reproduced, since women either stay at home or work
20
21 with their domestic skills and men occupy management, marketing or tour guide
22
23 positions (Phommavong & Sörensson, 2014; Snyman, 2012, 2013; Zapata et al.,
24
25 2011). The promotion of traditions as a tourist attraction is also preventing women
26
27 from reaching equal tourism positions and income (Phommavong & Sörensson,
28
29 2014). Distortion of traditional culture has been cited as another negative impact
30
31 of cultural tourism (Luvanga, 2005). On the contrary, PPT contributes to preserving
32
33 Scottish heritage in Glasgow Govan (Butler et al., 2013).

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41 *Environmental impacts.* Research results also refer to the following categories of
42
43 environmental impacts (see table 5): 1) environmental degradation and
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45 conservation; 2) water, waste and energy management; 3) residents'
46
47 environmental concern and behaviour. Firstly, it was found that tourism is causing
48
49 environmental degradation in general (Bowden, 2005; Luvanga, 2005; Sarrasin,
50
51 2013; Truong et al., 2014) and, in particular, a loss of access to natural resources -
52
53 e.g., land for traditional uses, wood- and a human-wildlife conflict (Jänis, 2012;
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55 Luvanga, 2005). Furthermore, Mbaiwa (2005) concluded that high-cost low-volume
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3 tourism does not necessarily promote environmental conservation. On the contrary,
4
5 there is evidence at the levels of governmental services, tourism enterprises and
6
7 CBT projects to suggest a positive contribution to nature conservation (Lapeyre,
8
9 2011; Picard, 2003; Snyman, 2012).
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14 Secondly, it was reported that CBT has a positive effect on the quality of water,
15
16 the production of alternative energies and waste management (Manyara & Jones,
17
18 2007; Zapata et al., 2011). Nevertheless, Mutana et al. (2013) suggested that
19
20 tourism enterprises should make a higher financial contribution to the development
21
22 of water infrastructure. Finally, it was shown that tourism raises awareness
23
24 regarding nature conservation and organic farming (Snyman, 2012; Yang et al.,
25
26 2009), as well as tourism products that are respectful of wild fauna -e.g.,
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28 ecotourism, photographic instead of safari hunting tourism- (Mbaiwa, 2011;
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30 Snyman, 2012).
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36 DISCUSSION

37
38 This paper contributes to the academic writing on the relationship between tourism
39
40 and poverty alleviation, which still remains 'terra incognita' among tourism
41
42 academics (Zeng & Ryan, 2012; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007), by providing an integrated
43
44 research framework on the impacts of tourism on poverty. Figure 2 is an illustration
45
46 of the proposed framework, which is intended to be useful for the maturing of
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48 empirical research on this field of study. The structure and content of the
49
50 framework emerged from the review of the empirical research published since 1999
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52 on the impacts of tourism on poverty.
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INSERT FIGURE 2

The upper part of the figure addresses two components of the empirical research framework: the choice of the level of analysis and the design of the study method. A total of 15 levels of analysis based on both the geographical scope of the research (international, supranational, national, regional, local) and the tourism scope (tourism development, tourism organisations, tourism projects) were identified (see table 2). In fact, the selected empirical studies covered 12 different levels of analysis, which makes any attempt to provide an overview of their findings complex. Consequently, academics should consider the wide range of levels of analysis when designing future empirical studies regarding the impacts of tourism on poverty. In general, there is a need to increase the empirical evidence on each level of analysis. Since the impacts of tourism significantly vary across different geographical and tourism scopes, the adoption of several levels of analysis could make research findings particularly relevant. For instance, the assessment of the impacts of different tourism projects and organisations on the poverty rate at one particular destination would be interesting.

As regards the design of the study method, the proposed framework emphasises the need to use appropriate sources of information concerning poverty, tourism initiatives and the impacts of tourism, as well as the need to adopt rigorous analyses of the collected data. As shown in table 3, a wide range of sources of information and types of analysis were used by the selected empirical studies. While the choice of the study method depends on the level of analysis, a general recommendation is the adoption of primary sources of information, including

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2
3 interviews with inhabitants, employees, representatives of tourism organisations
4
5 and key informants. Since 40.91% of the selected studies carried out interviews
6
7 with a limited number of individuals, namely between 9 and 65, it is also
8
9 recommended to define larger sample sizes in future empirical research. A further
10
11 recommendation is the adoption of bivariate and multivariate analyses in order to
12
13 evaluate possible associations between characteristics of tourism initiatives (e.g.,
14
15 tourism intensity, types of tourism activities, enterprises, projects, products,
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17 markets) and poverty (e.g., poverty level, economic and non-economic measures of
18
19 poverty).
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25 Another component of the proposed framework refers to how to measure poverty
26
27 and track the progress towards poverty alleviation. Four different approaches to
28
29 measuring poverty, the dependent variable in the proposed framework, are shown
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31 at the bottom of the figure (see also table 4). In general, the use of specific
32
33 poverty measures, including national poverty lines, makes comparisons between
34
35 research findings difficult. Moreover, since poverty is a multidimensional concept
36
37 (Sen, 1999; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012; Sultana, 2002), a combination of economic
38
39 and non-economic approaches is suggested, as well as a greater use of the
40
41 perception-based approach.
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48 The central part of the figure is basically concerned with the need to measure the
49
50 characteristics of tourism initiatives and their possible impacts on poverty. It
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52 consists of three components of the proposed framework: 1) a tourism scope
53
54 measurement model, 2) tourism context, 3) possible impacts of tourism on poverty.
55
56 The framework suggests some measures that could be used as independent
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3 variables in any attempt to assess tourism development (e.g., investment, size of
4
5 the tourism industry, tourism intensity), tourism organisations (e.g., type of
6
7 organisation, investment, size) and tourism projects (e.g., type of project,
8
9 investment, size). While the choice of measures depends on the tourism scope of
10
11 the research, it is recommended to generate empirical evidence on how different
12
13 types of tourism development, organisation and project contribute to reducing the
14
15 poverty rate at one particular destination.
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20 The proposed framework also embraces the characteristics of the tourism context
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22 (i.e., tourism products and markets) as control variables that are reported to
23
24 significantly affect the influence of tourism initiatives (i.e., tourism development,
25
26 organisations and projects) on poverty. In that regard, it is suggested that some
27
28 tourism products (e.g., ecotourism, cultural tourism, sustainable tourism) and
29
30 markets (e.g., domestic tourists, green tourists, independent travellers) have a
31
32 positive influence on the impacts of tourism on poverty alleviation. Since the
33
34 empirical research on specific tourism products and markets is scarce (see table 1),
35
36 additional studies on how they contribute to reducing poverty at one particular
37
38 destination are recommended.
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45 The final component of the proposed framework refers to the possible impacts of
46
47 tourism on poverty. Besides net impact on poverty, a list of economic,
48
49 sociocultural and environmental impacts was identified (see figure 2 and table 5).
50
51 These impacts are possible items that could be used by future empirical research
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53 to measure tourism's impacts on poverty. As regards evidence for the contribution
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55 of tourism to poverty alleviation, there is a general consensus that tourism
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3 development at the national and supranational levels reduces poverty rates in
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5 developing countries with a large presence of poverty. However, economic growth
6
7 and tourism expansion in developing countries have not been inclusive, particularly
8
9 in LDCs, in the sense that both the inequality and the absolute number of poor
10
11 people have increased (UNCTAD, 2014). In that regard, there is evidence that the
12
13 share of tourism income received by the poor is less than its share of overall
14
15 national income (Muchapondwa & Stage, 2013). At the regional and local levels
16
17 evidence is contradictory. The adoption of different poverty measures, tourism
18
19 measures and methodologies could partly explain this contradiction (Thomas,
20
21 2014), which is why the integrated research framework presented here could form
22
23 the basis for further empirical research on the impacts of tourism on poverty.
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30 CONCLUSION

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32 The study of the impacts of tourism on poverty represents a major research topic
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34 in the emerging literature on tourism and poverty alleviation. By discussing the
35
36 empirical evidence regarding the tourism's impacts on poverty, this paper makes
37
38 several contributions. Since tourism development has not been inclusive, social
39
40 inclusion programmes should be a priority in tourism development plans and
41
42 projects supported by governments and international agencies, as well as in the
43
44 corporate social responsibility strategy of tourism enterprises in poor regions.
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50 While there is a general tendency for studies to be narrowly focused on the
51
52 economic impacts of tourism, this study also takes into account the socio-cultural
53
54 and environmental conditions of the poor. As regards the environmental impacts of
55
56 tourism, there is evidence suggesting that tourism is causing environmental
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3 degradation in general and, in particular, a loss of access to natural resources and
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5 a human-wildlife conflict. Consequently, governments and tourism providers should
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7 be respectful of traditions and of the environment. Moreover, a sustainable
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9 infrastructure development should be promoted in order to avoid biodiversity loss,
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11 environmental degradation and culture distortion in poverty-stricken areas.
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16 This paper also emphasises the relevance of education and training in any attempt
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18 to increase the contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation. There should be
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20 education and training programmes to build human capital assets amongst the poor
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22 and minorities, including basic education and training in social skills and in tourism-
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24 industry operations (e.g., accommodation, food and beverage, transport, guided
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26 tours), management and entrepreneurship. These programmes could contribute to
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28 maximising economic benefits for the poor in terms of employment, revenue and
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30 limited dependence on foreign companies. Education and training could also
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32 promote local communities' empowerment, involvement in decision making and
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34 ownership of physical assets and enterprises. In that respect, local governments
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36 could design tax reductions and financial incentives (e.g., access to favourable
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38 loans, micro-credits, crowd-sourcing for funding) for the poor and minorities.
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40 Moreover, government revenues from tourism should be invested in local
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42 communities in order to provide pro-poor basic services (e.g., education, health,
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44 transport, social assistance).
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52 Another contribution of this study is the discussion of the tourism context (i.e.,
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54 tourism products and markets) as a major factor influencing the impacts of tourism
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56 on poverty. To be specific, it would be advisable to promote sustainable and
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3 inclusive tourism products (e.g., CBT, ecotourism, cultural tourism, volunteer
4 tourism) and markets (e.g., green tourists, tourists interested in knowing local
5 culture, members of NGOs), as well as responsible tourism enterprises and CBT
6 initiatives. These tourism products, markets and organisations are also expected to
7 increase local procurement by tourism enterprises and tourists, thereby
8 strengthening the linkages between tourism and the remaining local sectors.
9 Moreover, consciousness-raising programmes could be designed and implemented
10 to promote sustainable, responsible and inclusive tourism amongst tourism
11 enterprises and tourists at the destination.
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25 This paper presents an integrated research framework that may guide future
26 empirical research in this field. Besides considering the tourism context as a factor
27 explaining the impacts of tourism on poverty, the framework embraces
28 measurement models that could be applied in any attempt to measure poverty and
29 tourism initiatives. Moreover, the list of possible impacts of tourism could be
30 considered as an exploratory scale to measure the economic, socio-cultural and
31 environmental impacts. The framework also suggests associations between tourism
32 initiatives at different levels of analysis, the poverty rate and a wide variety of
33 economic, socio-cultural and environmental conditions of the poor. An adequate
34 understanding of the associations is subject to further empirical research.
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For Peer Review

Table 1. Geographical scope, tourism scope and tourism context of the empirical research on tourism's impacts on poverty

Author/s	Geographical scope	Tourism scope	Tourism products and markets
Anderson (2014)	Rural Kilimanjaro, Tanzania	Tourism development	Cultural tourism
Ashley and Roe (2002)	South Africa, Namibia, Uganda, Nepal, Ecuador, St. Lucia	Pro-poor tourism -PPT- projects on accommodation, community tourism associations, capacity building, linkages and heritage	Wildlife, coastal, mountain, adventure and safari tourism: luxury, mid-luxury and lower-budget independent travellers
Blake (2008)	East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda	Tourism development	Tourism
Blake, Arbache, Sinclair and Teles (2008)	Brazil	Tourism development	Tourism: international and domestic markets
Bowden (2005)	Rural China	Tourism development	Tourism in rural areas: international and domestic markets
Butcher (2011)	International scope	Nongovernmental organisations (World Wide Fund for Nature, Netherland Development Organisation, United Nations International Year of Ecotourism)	Ecotourism
Butler, Curran and O'Gorman (2013)	Glasgow Govan, Scotland	Tourism development	Tourism
Croes (2014)	Costa Rica, Nicaragua	Tourism development	Tourism
Croes and Vanegas (2008)	Nicaragua	Tourism development	Tourism
Deller (2010)	Rural areas in the United States of America	Tourism development	Tourism in rural areas
Duygan and Bump (2007)	Tanzania and regions	Tourism development	Tourism
Dwyer and Thomas (2012)	Cambodia	Tourism development	Tourism: top 12 origin markets (Australia, China, France, Germany, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Taiwan, Thailand, United Kingdom, United States of America, Vietnam)
Ferraro and Hanauer (2014)	Protected areas in Costa Rica	Tourism development	Tourism
Guoqing and Yang (2012)	The Three Gorge of Chongqing, China	Tourism development	Tourism
Holden, Sonne and Novelli (2011)	Elmina, Ghana	Tourism development	Cultural tourism
Jänis (2012)	Namibia	CBT enterprises and private sector tourism enterprises (lodges, trophy hunting farms, tour operators)	Tourism
Jiang, De Lacy, Mkiramweni and Harrison (2011)	29 small island developing states in Asia-Pacific, Caribbean and Africa	Tourism development	Tourism
Job and Paesler (2013)	Wasini Island, Kenya	Tourism development	Nature-based tourism
Lapeyre (2010)	Tsiseb area, Namibia	Community-based tourism -CBT- enterprise (the Daureb Mountain Guides)	Tourism in rural areas
Lapeyre (2011)	Grootberg lodge partnership, Namibia	PPT project	Tourism
Luvanga (2005)	Rural Tanzania, Tanzania	Tourism development	Tourism
Manwa and Manwa (2014)	Botswana Forest Reserves, Botswana	Tourism development	Ecotourism
Manyara and Jones (2007)	Kenya	CBT enterprises (accommodation and nature trial and boutique)	Nature-based tourism
Mbaiwa (2005)	Okavango Delta, Botswana	Tourism development	Photographic and safari hunting tourism: international and

Author/s	Geographical scope	Tourism scope	Tourism products and markets
Mbaiwa (2011)	Okavango Delta, Botswana	Tourism development	domestic markets Photographic and safari hunting tourism
Muchapondwa and Stage (2013)	Botswana, Namibia, South Africa	Tourism development	Tourism
Muganda, Sahli and Smith (2010)	Barabarani village, Mto wa Mbu-Arusha, Tanzania	Tourism development	Tourism
Mutana, Chipfuva and Muchenje (2013)	Rural areas in Zimbabwe	Private sector tourism enterprises (lodges, tour operators)	Tourism
Novelli and Hellwig (2011)	Namibia	Tour operators	Tourism: Namibian and German markets
Phommavong and Sörensson (2014)	Luangnamtha province, Lao PDR	CBT projects	Ecotourism
Picard (2003)	Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park, South Africa	Communities and governmental service (the Kwa Zulu-Natal Nature Conservation Service)	Nature-based tourism
Saayman, Rossouw and Krugell (2012)	South Africa	Tourism development	Tourism: international and domestic markets
Sarrasin (2013)	Ranomafana National Park, Madagascar	Tourism development	Ecotourism
Scheyvens and Russell (2012a)	Fiji	Private sector tourism enterprises (small-scale indigenous Fijian-owned resorts and large-scale foreign-owned tourism resorts)	Tourism
Scheyvens and Russell (2012b)	Fiji	Government agency (Native Lands Trust Board)	Tourism
Slocum and Backman (2011)	Tanzania	Tourism development	Tourism
Snyman (2012)	Botswana, Malawi, Namibia	Private sector tourism enterprise (Wilderness Safaris)	Ecotourism
Snyman (2013)	Liwonde National Park, Malawi	Tourism development	Ecotourism
Spenceley and Goodwin (2007)	Kruger National Park, South Africa	Private sector and parastatal-owned nature-based tourism enterprises	Nature-based tourism, photographic safari tourism
Steinicke and Neuburger (2012)	Mt Kenya National Park, Kenya	CBT enterprise (Mt Kenya Guides and Porters Safari Club)	Mountain tourism
Thomas (2014)	Lao PDR, Mali	Tourism development	Tourism
Truong, Hall and Garry (2014)	Sapa, Vietnam	Tourism development	Tourism
Yang, Hens, Ou and De Wulf (2009)	Liming Valley, Northwest Yunnan, China	Tourism development	Tourism in rural areas
Zapata, Hall, Lindo and Vanderschaeghe (2011)	Nicaragua	CBT projects	Spa, cultural and natural tourism: international and domestic markets

Table 2. Levels of analysis adopted by the empirical research on tourism's impacts on poverty

Geographical scope	Tourism scope		
	Tourism development	Tourism organisations	Tourism projects
International	—	Butcher (2011)	—
Supranational	Blake (2008); Croes (2014); Jiang, De Lacy, Mkiramweni and Harrison (2011); Muchapondwa and Stage (2013); Thomas (2014)	Snyman (2012)	Ashley and Roe (2002)
National	Blake, Arbache, Sinclair and Teles (2008); Croes and Vanegas (2008); Duygan and Bump (2007); Dwyer and Thomas (2012); Saayman, Rossouw and Krugell (2012); Slocum and Backman (2011)	Jänis (2012); Manyara and Jones (2007); Novelli and Hellwig (2011); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, 2012b)	Lapeyre (2011); Zapata, Hall, Lindo and Vanderschaeghe (2011)
Regional	Bowden (2005); Deller (2010); Duygan and Bump (2007); Ferraro and Hanauer (2014); Guoqing and Yang (2012); Holden, Sonne and Novelli (2011); Job and Paesler (2013); Luvanga (2005); Manwa and Manwa (2014)	Mutana, Chipfuva and Muchenje (2013)	Phommavong and Sörensson (2014)
Local	Anderson (2014); Butler, Curran and O'Gorman (2013); Mbaiwa (2005, 2011); Muganda, Sahli and Smith (2010); Sarrasin (2013); Snyman (2013); Truong, Hall and Garry (2014); Yang, Hens, Ou and De Wulf (2009)	Lapeyre (2010); Picard (2003); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012)	—

Table 3. Study methods adopted by the empirical research on tourism's impacts on poverty: sources of information and types of analysis

Study methods	Author/s
Secondary sources of information	
National social accounting matrix	Blake (2008); Blake, Arbache, Sinclair and Teles (2008); Muchapondwa and Stage (2013); Saayman, Rossouw and Krugell (2012)
Statistics and documents reported by governmental agencies, nongovernmental organisations and enterprises	Ashley and Roe (2002); Blake et al. (2008); Bowden (2005); Butcher (2011); Butler, Curran and O'Gorman (2013); Croes (2014); Croes and Vanegas (2008); Deller (2010); Duygan and Bump (2007); Guoqing and Yang (2012); Jiang, De Lacy, Mkiramweni and Harrison (2011); Lapeyre (2011); Luvanga (2005); Manwa and Manwa (2014); Mbaiwa (2005); Muganda, Sahli and Smith (2010); Saayman et al. (2012); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012)
Previous research	Bowden (2005); Ferraro and Hanauer (2014); Sarrasin (2013)
Primary sources of informaton	
Structured interviews with inhabitants, employees, tourism enterprises, and stakeholders (tour operators and inhabitants)	Dwyer and Thomas (2012); Luvanga (2005); Novelli and Hellwig (2011); Snyman (2012, 2013); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007); Yang, Hens, Ou and De Wulf (2009)
Semi-structured interviews with inhabitants, employees, tourists, stakeholders and key informants	Job and Paesler (2013); Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Manwa and Manwa (2014); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mbaiwa (2011); Muganda et al. (2010); Mutana, Chipfua and Muchenje (2013); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Picard (2003); Sarrasin (2013); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, 2012b); Slocum and Backman (2011); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Thomas (2014); Zapata, Hall, Lindo and Vanderschaeghe (2011)
Structured and semi-structured interviews with safari managers and workers	Mbaiwa (2005)
Unstructured interviews with inhabitants, employees, stakeholders and key informants	Anderson (2014); Butler et al. (2013); Mbaiwa (2005, 2011); Thomas (2014)
Unstructured and semi-structured interviews with inhabitants, employees, tourists, tourism enterprises, stakeholders and key informants	Holden, Sonne and Novelli (2011); Jänis (2012); Truong, Hall and Garry (2014)
Focus groups or semi-structured group interviews with stakeholders, key informants and employees	Holden et al. (2011); Lapeyre (2010); Manwa and Manwa (2014); Mbaiwa (2011); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Yang et al. (2009); Zapata et al. (2011)
Participant observation and personal visits to local communities, households, tourism projects and enterprises	Butler et al. (2013); Holden et al. (2011); Jänis (2012); Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Luvanga (2005); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Truong et al. (2014); Yang et al. (2009); Zapata et al. (2011)
Analysis	
Computable general equilibrium model	Blake et al. (2008); Saayman et al. (2012)
Sustainable nature-based tourism assessment toolkit -SUNTAT-	Spenceley and Goodwin (2007)
Tourism satellite account	Muchapondwa and Stage (2013)
Value-added analysis (income multiplier)	Job and Paesler (2013)
Employment and income multipliers	Luvanga (2005)
Input-output analysis	Blake (2008)
Multiple regression analysis	Croes (2014); Croes and Vanegas (2008); Deller (2010); Duygan and Bump (2007); Ferraro and Hanauer (2014)
Correlation analysis	Jiang et al. (2011)
Poverty level-quality of tourism resource matrix	Guoqing and Yang (2012)
Descriptive analysis	Dwyer and Thomas (2012); Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Luvanga (2005); Mbaiwa (2005, 2011); Muganda et al. (2010); Snyman (2012, 2013); Yang et al. (2009)
Frequency analysis	Anderson (2014); Bowden (2005); Dwyer and Thomas (2012); Mutana et al. (2013); Novelli and Hellwig (2011); Snyman (2012, 2013); Thomas (2014); Truong et al. (2014)
Content analysis	Anderson (2014); Holden et al. (2011); Jänis (2012); Manwa and Manwa (2014); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mutana et al. (2013); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Picard (2003); Sarrasin (2013); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, 2012b); Slocum and Backman (2011); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Truong et al. (2014); Zapata et al. (2011)
Case study	Ashley and Roe (2002); Butcher (2011); Butler et al. (2013); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, 2012b)

**Table 4. Approaches to measuring poverty adopted by previous empirical research
on tourism's impacts on poverty**

Poverty measures	Author/s
Number of residents, employees or households with earnings below a certain amount of money	Ashley and Roe (2002); Bowden (2005); Croes (2014); Croes and Vanegas (2008); Duygan and Bump (2007); Job and Paesler (2013); Lapeyre (2010); Mbaiwa (2005); Snyman (2013); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007); Thomas (2014)
Different categories of poor residents and households in terms of income, labour type, professional occupation, vulnerability or race	Blake (2008); Blake, Arbache, Sinclair and Teles (2008); Deller (2010); Dwyer and Thomas (2012); Holden, Sonne and Novelli (2011); Muchapondwa and Stage (2013); Saayman, Rossouw and Krugell (2012); Snyman (2012); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Yang, Hens, Ou and De Wulf (2009)
Human development indicators and poverty evaluations made by the United Nations, nongovernmental organizations, previous research or the authors	Butcher (2011); Butler, Curran and O'Gorman (2013); Ferraro and Hanauer (2014); Guoqing and Yang (2012); Jiang, De Lacy, Mkiramweni and Harrison (2011)
Perceptions of residents, employees, tourists, representatives of tourism enterprises and community-based tourism projects, stakeholders and/or key informants	Anderson (2014); Jänis (2012); Lapeyre (2011); Luvanga (2005); Manwa and Manwa (2014); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mbaiwa (2011); Muganda, Sahli and Smith (2010); Mutana, Chipfuva and Muchenje (2013); Novelli and Hellwig (2011); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Picard (2003); Sarrasin (2013); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, 2012b); Slocum and Backman (2011); Truong, Hall and Garry (2014); Zapata, Hall, Lindo and Vanderschaeghe (2011)

Table 5. Categories of tourism's impacts on poverty

Categories of impacts	Author/s
Net impact on poverty	Anderson (2014); Blake, Arbache, Sinclair and Teles (2008); Bowden (2005); Butler, Curran and O'Gorman (2013); Croes (2014); Croes and Vanegas (2008); Deller (2010); Duygan and Bump (2007); Ferraro and Hanauer (2014); Guoqing and Yang (2012); Holden, Sonne and Novelli (2011); Jiang, De Lacy, Mkiramweni and Harrison (2011); Job and Paesler (2013); Lapeyre (2011); Luvanga (2005); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mbaiwa (2005, 2011); Muchapondwa and Stage (2013); Muganda, Sahli and Smith (2010); Mutana, Chipfuva and Muchenje (2013); Novelli and Hellwig (2011); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a); Slocum and Backman (2011); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Thomas (2014); Truong, Hall and Garry (2014)
Economic impacts	
Contribution to economic growth	Croes and Vanegas (2008); Job and Paesler (2013); Saayman, Rossouw and Krugell (2012); Slocum and Backman (2011)
Generation of revenue and employment by tourism development	Anderson (2014); Blake et al. (2008); Butler et al. (2013); Croes (2014); Dwyer and Thomas (2012); Job and Paesler (2013); Lapeyre (2011); Luvanga (2005); Manwa and Manwa (2014); Mbaiwa (2005); Muchapondwa and Stage (2013); Muganda et al. (2010); Saayman et al. (2012); Sarrasin (2013); Scheyvens and Russell (2012b); Snyman (2013); Thomas (2014); Truong et al. (2014); Yang et al. (2009); Zapata et al. (2011)
Generation of revenue and employment by tourism and CBT enterprises	Jänis (2012); Lapeyre (2010); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mutana et al. (2013); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a); Snyman (2012); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012)
Generational of revenue and employment by governmental services and CBT projects	Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Picard (2003)
Generation of linkages and indirect effects	Blake (2008); Bowden (2005); Job and Paesler (2013); Luvanga (2005); Manwa and Manwa (2014); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mbaiwa (2005); Muchapondwa and Stage (2013); Muganda et al. (2010); Mutana et al. (2013); Sarrasin (2013); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a); Snyman (2013); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007)
Dependence on foreign companies and international tourists	Bowden (2005); Holden et al. (2011); Mbaiwa (2005); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a); Zapata et al. (2011)
Livelihood and sociocultural impacts	
Cost, quality and way of life	Anderson (2014); Bowden (2005); Butcher (2011); Job and Paesler (2013); Luvanga (2005); Manyara and Jones (2007); Muganda et al. (2010); Picard (2003); Snyman (2012, 2013)
Urbanisation and infrastructure development	Anderson (2014); Ashley and Roe (2002); Bowden (2005); Butler et al. (2013); Manwa and Manwa (2014); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mbaiwa (2005); Muganda et al. (2010); Snyman (2012); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007)
Health and educational services	Anderson (2014); Ashley and Roe (2002); Butler et al. (2013); Manwa and Manwa (2014); Manyara and Jones (2007); Muganda et al. (2010); Mutana et al. (2013); Snyman (2013)
Empowerment and involvement in decision-making	Anderson (2014); Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Mbaiwa (2005, 2011); Mutana et al. (2013); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, 2012b); Slocum and Backman (2011); Snyman (2012); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007); Zapata et al. (2011)
Human capital and capacity building	Anderson (2014); Butler et al. (2013); Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Luvanga (2005); Sarrasin (2013); Snyman (2013); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Zapata et al. (2011)
Inequality reduction	Ashley and Roe (2002); Blake et al. (2008); Bowden (2005); Jänis (2012); Muganda et al. (2010); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Saayman et al. (2012); Snyman (2013); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Yang et al. (2009)
Vulnerability reduction	Anderson (2014); Ashley and Roe (2002); Croes (2014); Jänis (2012); Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a); Snyman (2012, 2013); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Zapata et al. (2011)
Impacts on minorities and segments of the society	Jänis (2012); Job and Paesler (2013); Lapeyre (2011); Luvanga (2005); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Snyman (2012, 2013); Truong et al. (2014); Zapata et al. (2011)
Impacts on traditional culture	Butler et al. (2013); Luvanga (2005); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014)
Environmental impacts	
Environmental degradation and conservation	Ashley and Roe (2002); Bowden (2005); Butcher (2011); Jänis (2012); Lapeyre (2011); Luvanga (2005); Mbaiwa (2005, 2011); Picard (2003); Sarrasin (2013); Snyman (2012); Truong et al. (2014)
Water, waste and energy management	Manyara and Jones (2007); Mutana et al. (2013); Zapata et al. (2011)
Residents' environmental concern and behaviour	Mbaiwa (2011); Snyman (2012); Yang et al. (2009)

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Figure 1. Publications on tourism and poverty alleviation, as well as empirical publications on tourism's impacts on poverty, per year, 1999-July 2014

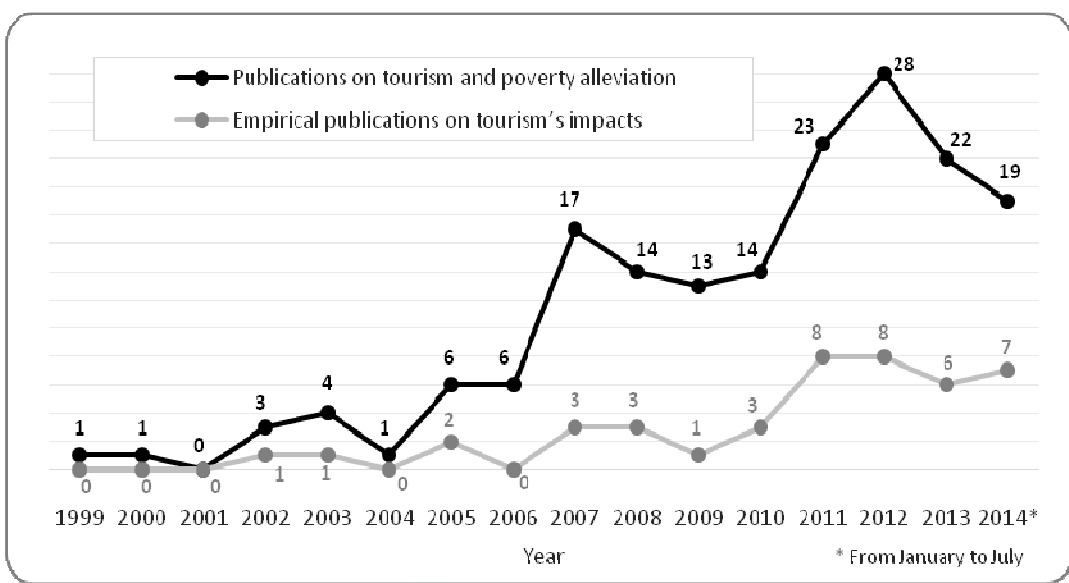


Figure 2. An integrative framework for empirical research on the impacts of tourism on poverty

