

# A Sustainable Development Approach to Assessing the Engagement of Tourism Enterprises in Poverty Alleviation

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## ABSTRACT

Tourism is a significant or growing economic sector in most countries with high levels of poverty on a global scale. Consequently, previous studies have suggested that tourism enterprises could and should play an active role in reducing poverty. This paper analyses the engagement of tourism enterprises in poverty alleviation. First, different sustainable development approaches are considered as regards increasing the contribution of this stakeholder to poverty alleviation, including corporate social responsibility. Second, empirical studies on the impacts of tourism organizations on poverty published since the year 1999 are critically analysed in order to generate an empirical research framework embracing the following issues: geographical scope, tourism scope and study methods. Third, there is an integrative discussion of empirical evidence from the literature regarding the contribution of private tourism enterprises and other tourism organizations to poverty reduction. Findings suggest that their contribution to poverty alleviation is linked to voluntary social responsibility initiatives and the organization size. Additional findings are shown regarding economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts. Recommendations for future research and public policy implications are also provided, which could be of interest to other industries. Copyright © 2016 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd and ERP Environment

*Received 11 February 2015; revised 18 November 2015; accepted 26 November 2015*

**Keywords:** poverty; corporate social responsibility; pro-poor tourism; sustainable development; sustainable tourism; stakeholder engagement

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## Introduction

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**T**RADITIONALLY, IT HAS BEEN ASSUMED THAT ECONOMIC GROWTH REDUCES THE POVERTY RATE AND THAT, BECAUSE tourism generates growth, tourism can also alleviate poverty (Croes and Vanegas, 2008). Consequently, considerable attention has been paid to the expansion of the tourism sector as a means of economic development and growth, but much less to establishing the extent to which tourism development contributes to poverty alleviation (Zhao and Ritchie, 2007). Nevertheless, there is a growing debate over the effectiveness of economic growth and tourism development for poverty reduction, particularly in less developed countries, in the sense

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that economic growth has not been inclusive and the absolute number of poor has increased (Springett, 2013; United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), 2014).

A sustainable development approach has been adopted by development agencies and governments, with the purpose of promoting a more sensitive kind of economic growth and tourism development (Springett, 2013; United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), 2002). The Brundtland Report defined 'sustainable development' as growth that meets the economic, environmental and social needs of the present, in particular the essential needs of the poor, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, p.43). Since then, the sustainable development discourse and practice have focused on environmental conservation and have paid little attention to poverty alleviation and other social issues (Barkemeyer *et al.*, 2014). Against this background, the UNCTAD (2014) has recently emphasized that economic growth is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for poverty alleviation, and that fostering inclusive sustainable growth would require the adoption of social inclusion policies that give vulnerable groups an opportunity to participate in and benefit from economic growth. Moreover, the UNWTO (2002) is promoting sustainable tourism development and pro-poor tourism (PPT) as a means to reduce poverty.

Since enterprises play a significant role in any development strategy, sustainable development cannot be achieved without their support (Vargas, 2000; Barkemeyer *et al.*, 2014). However, the social issue of poverty alleviation has not been adequately covered by enterprises' sustainable management practices and corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives (Kirchgeorg and Winn, 2006; Barkemeyer *et al.*, 2014). Nonetheless, assistance to the poor is emerging as a strategic priority for large corporations (Prahalad and Hart, 2002; Kirchgeorg and Winn, 2006). In that respect, pro-poor CSR initiatives can positively influence financial profits (e.g. in terms of firm reputation, consumer satisfaction, attractiveness as an employer, employees' organizational commitment) (Eweje, 2007; Inoue and Lee, 2011; Garay and Font, 2013). The poor are even perceived as a significant market opportunity for multinational corporations (Prahalad and Hart, 2002; Kirchgeorg and Winn, 2006). Consequently, this paper argues that tourism enterprises could adopt pro-poor CSR initiatives as a means both of increasing their contribution to poverty alleviation and of developing a competitive advantage for their business (i.e., tourism enterprises could also increase their financial profits).

Due to the complexity of describing poverty, understanding the impacts of tourism enterprises on poverty is a challenge. In this respect, poverty is a multidimensional concept that can be quantified by using not only economic indicators (e.g. income, consumption) but also noneconomic measures (e.g. living standard, social exclusion, access to education and health services, personal dignity, empowerment, vulnerability) which are often implications of the economic conditions (Spenceley and Goodwin, 2007; Zhao and Ritchie, 2007). Although the most straightforward approach to measuring poverty could be the World Bank's 'dollar a day' economic measure of extreme poverty, recently amended to \$1.25 (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010), there is no consensus amongst academics and development agencies on the dimensions to be measured in assessing poverty on a global scale or the suitable standards for different circumstances (e.g. developing and developed countries).

It is further argued that empirical evidence for the impacts of tourism enterprises on poverty is scarce (Goodwin, 2008; Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). Moreover, the academic literature is rather fragmented and dispersed, reporting results on how different tourism organizations (e.g. private tourism enterprises, CBT enterprises, tourism projects, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), governmental agencies) affect poverty in a wide range of geographical and tourism contexts (e.g. different countries, tourism products, markets). Consequently, although there is a great deal of material, the research results are not easily comparable. Besides, there is no agreed method for measuring the impacts of tourism enterprises on poverty (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). The current literature has no consensus on the sources of information and the analytical techniques to be used. In this respect, Spenceley and Meyer (2012) suggest the need to combine quantitative and qualitative data, as well as to generate knowledge on analytical techniques specifically related to the impacts of tourism on poverty alleviation.

Taking all the above into account, the purpose of this research is threefold. First, it aims to critically analyse different approaches that can be adopted to maximize the contribution of tourism enterprises to poverty alleviation, including pro-poor CSR initiatives and alternative types of tourism (i.e. PPT, sustainable tourism, ecotourism, responsible tourism, fair tourism, CBT). Second, it undertakes a review of the empirical research on tourism organizations (i.e. private enterprises, CBT enterprises, tourism projects, NGOs, governmental agencies) and poverty alleviation, with the purpose of analysing and comparing major results regarding their impacts on poverty.

Given the difficulties of measuring the impacts of tourism organizations on poverty, this study will cover results from a variety of poverty measures and types of impact. Third, the following research design issues will be analysed in order to make recommendations for future empirical research: (1) the geographical and tourism scope of the research (i.e. geographical areas, types of tourism organization, products and markets), (2) study methods (i.e. the measurement of poverty, sources of information, analytical techniques).

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## The Contribution of Tourism Enterprises to Poverty Alleviation

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### The Potential of Tourism Enterprises for Poverty Alleviation

Certain characteristics of tourism enterprises are suggested to make a positive contribution towards poverty alleviation in developing countries (Ashley and Roe, 2002; Scheyvens, 2007; Spenceley and Meyer, 2012): (1) tourism is suitable for poor rural areas with few other growth options; (2) tourism enterprises are labour intensive; (3) they generally employ a large number of women, young people and unskilled or less-skilled individuals, who represent a high percentage of the poor; (4) tourists visiting the destination provide business opportunities for related industries and the informal sector at the destination. Nevertheless, it is also assumed that tourism enterprises, like any other type of enterprise, could bring possible disadvantages for the poor, by causing, for instance, an increase in consumer prices as a result of the tourism demand for goods and services, the immigration of better qualified people who compete with the local poor for tourism jobs (i.e., some tourism jobs do not actually go to the local poor), an increase in social inequalities and threats to natural and cultural resources (Ashley and Roe, 2002; Eligh *et al.*, 2002).

The challenge is, therefore, to harness the growth of tourism businesses by promoting positive contributions to the poor, while reducing negative impacts (Ashley and Roe, 2002). To be specific, three categories of economic impacts are linked to tourism enterprises (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010; Sugiyarto *et al.*, 2003): primary or direct impacts, secondary impacts and dynamic impacts. Primary effects represent changes in the economic activity (e.g. in terms of employment, income and value added) resulting from the first round of visitor spending through tourism enterprises. In this respect, tourism enterprises (e.g. accommodation establishments, restaurants, local travel agencies, tour guide organizations) directly offer tourism jobs and receive tourism income from the sale of their goods and services to tourists.

Secondary impacts refer to the indirect and induced effects of tourism enterprises. The demand of tourism enterprises and tourists for goods and services from the supply chain industries (e.g. agriculture, farming, fishing, food and beverage industries, craft, and construction) leads these industries to increase their size in terms of employees and sales. This association is known as the indirect effect of tourism enterprises. Induced impacts relate to the positive effects that the spending of tourism wages and business profits have on the local economy. While households with members working for tourism enterprises spend tourism wages for their own different needs (e.g. housing, food and beverages, transport, education, health), tourism enterprises could invest their profits in the local economy (e.g. in the opening of new establishments, supporting local schools, protecting the environment).

Besides primary and secondary impacts, tourism development generates dynamic impacts. These impacts are a consequence of the investment in infrastructure (e.g. roads, parks, hospitals, information and communication technologies), human capital formation (i.e. education and training) and basic services (e.g. health, cleaning, safety and security, environmental conservation) that are needed to attract and satisfy visitors. This investment also contributes to improving the standard of living of residents, as well as to encouraging long term economic growth. It is further suggested that tourism represents a major source of government revenues and foreign currencies (Blake *et al.*, 2008; Spenceley and Meyer, 2012).

Nevertheless, the potential environmental and socio-cultural impacts of tourism enterprises are significant and should also be considered (Welford *et al.*, 1999; Ashley and Roe, 2002; Scheyvens, 2007; Timur and Getz, 2009; Spenceley and Meyer, 2012). In that respect, international organizations, such as the UNWTO and the European Commission, often encourage private enterprises to integrate the principles of sustainable development and CSR into their business strategies and operations (Manente *et al.*, 2012; Coles *et al.*, 2013).

In this context, as a reaction to the negative impacts of mass tourism and multinational enterprises on a destination's environmental and socio-cultural conditions, alternative types of tourism have emerged, including sustainable tourism, ecotourism, responsible tourism, fair tourism, community-based tourism (CBT) and PPT. Table 1 shows a summary of these types of tourism as sustainable development approaches to increasing the contribution of tourism enterprises to poverty alleviation. Likewise, new forms of tourism enterprises have evolved, which, rather than only increase their economic impacts by expanding their business, aim to be more respectful of a destination's environmental and socio-cultural conditions, promote the economic involvement of local communities and/or unlock opportunities for the poor.

Forms of tourism	Description	Authors
Pro-poor tourism	In 1999, the United Kingdom Department for International Development introduced the term 'pro-poor tourism' (PPT) to name an approach to tourism development and management that seeks to generate net benefits for the poor and ensure that tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction. This approach aims to unlock opportunities for the poor within tourism. A range of underlying principles and strategies have been suggested to promote PPT, including the following: (1) expanding employment and business opportunities for the poor, (2) providing education and training so that they can take up these opportunities, (3) promoting participation of the poor in tourism planning processes and (4) distributing benefits locally.	Ashley and Roe (2002), Butler <i>et al.</i> (2013)
Sustainable tourism	It meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. It is heavily biased towards environmental considerations, but in 2002 the UNWTO launched the Sustainable Tourism–Eliminating Poverty programme with the purpose of promoting poverty alleviation through the provision of assistance to sustainable development projects.	Ashley and Roe (2002), Welford <i>et al.</i> (1999), World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) <i>et al.</i> (1995)
Ecotourism	It focuses on environmental preservation and seeks to broadly distribute local benefits as an incentive for environmental conservation. There is evidence suggesting that ecotourism contributes to reducing poverty and increasing communities' awareness of conservation.	Butcher (2011), Gurung and Seeland (2011), Manente <i>et al.</i> (2012), Snyman (2012)
Responsible tourism	It seeks to preserve natural, cultural and social resources, as well as to contribute positively and fairly to the welfare of residents, employees and visitors at a destination. It is about making better places for people, including the poor, to live and visit.	International Centre for Responsible Tourism (2015), Manente <i>et al.</i> (2012)
Fair tourism	It shares the principles of sustainable and responsible tourism, but it focuses on distributing the benefits from tourism in a more equitable way between the tourism industry and the host community, including the poor.	Manente <i>et al.</i> (2012), Tourism Concern (2015)
Community-based tourism	It promotes local people's involvement in tourism development as a vehicle to providing widespread benefits for local communities. It is characterized by the following: (1) communities capture and distribute most of the revenue generated on the site, (2) tourism generates significant linkages for the local economy and (3) community members are involved in the ownership and management of enterprises.	Manyara and Jones (2007), Lapeyre (2010), Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011), Steinicke and Neuberger (2012)

**Table 1.** Alternative forms of tourism and poverty alleviation

## Pro-poor Corporate Social Responsibility

CSR can be broadly defined as a multi-faceted concept embracing four categories of expectations that a society holds regarding enterprises (Carroll, 1979): (1) economic expectations (i.e., enterprises should be profitable), (2) legal expectations (i.e., enterprises should behave within the confines of the law), (3) ethical expectations (i.e., business operations should meet certain ethical standards that are not required by law) and (4) philanthropic or discretionary expectations (i.e., enterprises should voluntarily contribute to addressing social needs, including poverty alleviation). A tourism enterprise's voluntary CSR activities are thus a consequence of the enterprise recognizing its ethical or philanthropic responsibilities (Inoue and Lee, 2011). While CSR can generate benefits for the poor (see, e.g., McLachlan and Binns, 2014), the term 'pro-poor CSR' is proposed in this study to name the voluntary CSR initiatives that place poor people and poverty as a top priority. The social contract theory suggests that businesses should voluntarily and proactively respond to changing societal expectations before they are turned into legal mandates (Eweje, 2007). Since this rarely happens, governments could use formal regulation to make sure that all enterprises meet certain legal standards regarding pro-poor CSR (Sjöström and Welford, 2009).

CSR can be assessed by considering the voluntary social actions that enterprises put into practice to meet the diverse needs of primary stakeholders (Clarkson, 1995). Besides shareholders/owners, typical primary stakeholders include employees, suppliers, customers, community and the natural environment. By taking this stakeholder approach, tourism enterprises can contribute to poverty alleviation by adopting CSR initiatives to meet the needs of local communities. As reported by Inoue and Lee (2011), these initiatives could positively affect the short-term profitability and the market evaluations of future profitability for the hotel and restaurant industries. Pro-poor CSR should also embrace initiatives for the remaining primary stakeholders with the purposes, for example, of (1) reducing poverty amongst employees and their households, (2) developing and strengthening linkages with local suppliers and the informal sector, (3) promoting sustainable and responsible tourism practices amongst tourists and (4) preserving the natural environment of the poor. Enterprises could also collaborate with secondary stakeholders such as NGOs, governmental agencies and international organizations (Sjöström and Welford, 2009; Smith and Ong, 2014).

The so-called 'triple bottom line' approach to CSR refers to sustainable and responsible development for enterprises. This approach emphasizes that enterprises should voluntarily integrate economic, socio-cultural and environmental concerns into their business strategies and operations (O'Rourke, 2003; Manente *et al.*, 2012; Coles *et al.*, 2013). Beyond maximizing profits (i.e. the financial bottom line), enterprises should also be aware of their economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts. While the stakeholder approach suggests that enterprises should adopt voluntary social actions to meet the needs of primary stakeholders, including local communities and the poor, the 'triple bottom line' approach focuses on the types of voluntary social initiative that enterprises could adopt: economic, socio-cultural and environmental initiatives. According to this approach, for CSR initiatives to be pro-poor, tourism enterprises should address not only the economic conditions of the poor (e.g. income, employment) but also their socio-cultural and environmental conditions (e.g. access to education, health services, clean water, land for traditional uses).

In order to be successful in poverty alleviation, tourism enterprises in general, and in particular multinational tourism companies, should get involved in pro-poor CSR. Since the choice of CSR initiatives is influenced by stakeholders, CSR priorities are context dependent and, as a consequence, they vary across sectors and even across enterprises (Ketola, 2006; Welford *et al.*, 2007). In this respect, tourism enterprises in developing countries with high poverty rates, as compared with those in developed countries, are likely to place a greater emphasis on social issues, including poverty alleviation (Coles *et al.*, 2013). While most of the large international tourism companies adopt voluntary CSR initiatives, small businesses, which are more likely to be local enterprises, often do not have the appropriate knowledge, skills, time or budget to invest in active CSR initiatives (Manente *et al.*, 2012; Garay and Font, 2013). Nevertheless, small businesses can participate in meaningful reactive initiatives (i.e. by requests for donations or support from certain stakeholders) and proactive activities (i.e. by seeking opportunities to engage in local projects) (McLachlan and Binns, 2014).

As regards large international tourism companies (e.g. hotel chains, tour operators), the most common CSR initiatives fall into the following scope categories (Garay and Font, 2013; Holcomb *et al.*, 2007): community (e.g. charitable donations, community welfare, education), environment (e.g. cultural heritage, energy management, pollution control, waste management, water conservation), marketplace (e.g. relationship with suppliers, guests and

shareholders) and workforce (e.g. fair and equitable benefits, career planning, daycare and family accommodation, diversity). Holcomb *et al.* (2007) found that most of the top ten hotel companies worldwide, as listed in *Hotels* magazine, concentrate their CSR efforts on the community. While pro-poor CSR initiatives were not specifically considered by Holcomb *et al.* (2007), they also concluded that eight of these hotel chains reported socially responsible activities relating to some form of charitable donation.

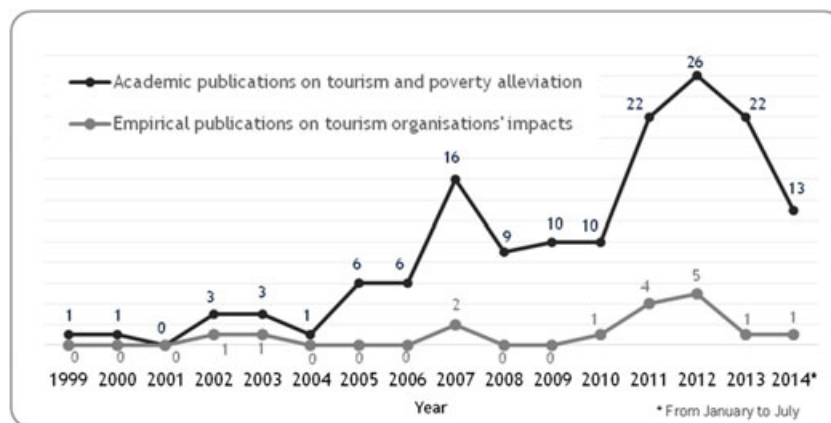
## Literature Review on the Impact of Tourism Organizations on Poverty

### Selection of Published Manuscripts

Academic papers on tourism and poverty alleviation were searched for using the electronic databases Scopus (Elsevier) and Web of Science (Thomson Reuters), which are considered the world's largest abstract and citation databases of peer-reviewed literature and quality web sources, with more than 21 900 titles from 5000 publishers worldwide. Four basic search criteria were established: (1) the manuscript had to be a research article or review in an academic journal, as a criterion of research quality, (2) the words used in the meta-search were 'tourism' and 'poverty alleviation' or 'PPT' or 'poverty', and they were required to be in the title, abstract or keywords, (3) the area of research selected was social science or human science and (4) the year of publication had to be between 1999, when the term 'PPT' was introduced, and 31 July 2014, inclusive.

The initial search generated a total of 167 publications, from which 149 were chosen for the analysis of the growth trend in the research on tourism and poverty, having ruled out studies that were not related to the selected topic, and those written in languages other than English, French or Spanish. An analysis of the number of publications per year reveals the existence of a growth trend in the academic literature on tourism and poverty alleviation, especially since the year 2005 (see Figure 1). Out of the 149 publications on tourism and poverty, a total of 16 will be considered for further analysis, since they reported empirical evidence on the impacts of tourism organizations on poverty (i.e. 10.74% of the selected publications). Most of these empirical studies (14) were published in the period 2007–2014, the years 2011 and 2012 showing the highest number of publications (four and five, respectively) (see Figure 1).

Each manuscript was first analysed with a view to critically describing and comparing the research methodology adopted in the study of the impact of tourism organizations on poverty. Two issues were considered: (1) the geographical and tourism scope of the research and (2) study methods (i.e. sources of information, analytical techniques and the measurement of poverty). Second, each manuscript was examined with the aim of understanding and comparing major findings on the impact of tourism organizations on poverty. The results of the analyses will follow.



**Figure 1.** Academic publications on tourism and poverty alleviation, as well as empirical publications on the impacts of tourism organizations on poverty, per year, 1999–July 2014

## Geographical and Tourism Scope of the Research

Table 2 displays the geographical area, the categories of tourism organizations and the tourism context (i.e. types of tourism product and markets) that were considered by the selected studies. Africa is the leading continent in empirical research on the contribution of tourism organizations to poverty alleviation. As shown in Table 2, 10 of

Authors	Geographical scope	Tourism organizations	Tourism products and markets
Ashley and Roe (2002)	South Africa, Namibia, Uganda, Nepal, Ecuador, St. Lucia	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
Butcher (2011)	international	nongovernmental organizations (World Wide Fund for Nature, Netherlands Development Organisation, United Nations International Year of Ecotourism)	ecotourism
Jänis (2012)	Namibia	CBT enterprises and private tourism enterprises (lodges, trophy hunting farms, tour operators)	tourism
Lapeyre (2010)	Tsiseb area, Namibia	CBT enterprise (the Daureb Mountain Guides)	tourism in rural areas
Lapeyre (2011)	Grootberg Lodge Partnership, Namibia	PPT project	tourism
Manyara and Jones (2007)	Kenya	CBT enterprises (accommodation and nature trial and boutique)	nature-based tourism
Mutana <i>et al.</i> (2013)	rural areas in Zimbabwe	private 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	governmental agency (Kwa Zulu-Natal Nature Conservation Service)	nature-based tourism
Scheyvens and Russell (2012a)	Fiji	private tourism enterprises (small indigenous Fijian-owned resorts and large foreign-owned resorts)	tourism
Scheyvens and Russell (2012b)	Fiji	governmental agency (Native Lands Trust Board)	tourism
Snyman (2012)	Botswana, Malawi, Namibia	private tourism enterprise (Wilderness Safaris)	ecotourism
Spenceley and Goodwin (2007)	Kruger National Park, South Africa	private 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
Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011)	Nicaragua	CBT projects	spa, cultural and natural tourism: international and domestic markets

**Table 2.** Geographical and tourism scope of the empirical research on tourism organizations' impacts on poverty

the 16 studies (i.e. 62.50%) made reference to tourism organizations in African countries: Botswana, Kenya, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Two studies focused on Fiji, one on Lao PDR and one on Nicaragua. The remaining two studies examined international NGOs and PPT projects in several African, American and Asian countries.

As regards tourism scope, the impacts of four categories of tourism organizations were analysed (see Table 2): (1) private tourism enterprises (five studies), (2) CBT enterprises (three studies), (3) NGOs and governmental agencies (three studies) and (4) tourism projects (four studies). Both private tourism enterprises and CBT enterprises were also considered by Snyman (2012). Table 2 reveals that most empirical research did not pay special

Study methods	Author/s
Secondary sources of information	
Statistics and documents reported by governmental agencies, nongovernmental organizations and enterprises	Ashley and Roe (2002); Butcher (2011); Lapeyre (2011); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012)
Primary sources of information	
Structured interviews with inhabitants, employees and representatives of tourism enterprises	Novelli and Hellwig (2011); Snyman (2012); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007)
Semi-structured interviews with inhabitants, employees, representatives of tourism enterprises, stakeholders and key informants	Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mutana <i>et al.</i> (2013); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Picard (2003); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, 2012b); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011)
Unstructured and semi-structured interviews with employees, representatives of tourism enterprises and key informants	Jänis (2012)
Focus groups or semi-structured group interviews with key informants and employees	Lapeyre (2010); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011)
Participant observation and personal visits to local communities, households and enterprises	Jänis (2012); Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011)
Analysis	
Sustainable Nature-Based Tourism Assessment Toolkit (SUNTAT)	Spenceley and Goodwin (2007)
Descriptive analysis	Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Snyman (2012)
Frequency analysis	Mutana <i>et al.</i> (2013); Novelli and Hellwig (2011); Snyman (2012)
Content analysis	Jänis (2012); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mutana <i>et al.</i> (2013); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Picard (2003); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, 2012b); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011)
Case study	Ashley and Roe (2002); Butcher (2011); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, 2012b)

**Table 3.** Study methods adopted by the empirical research on tourism organizations' impacts on poverty



attention to one particular tourism product (six studies). Ecotourism and nature-based tourism are the products that received the most attention (three studies each), followed by tourism in rural areas, photographic safari tourism and mountain tourism (one study each). It is also relevant to emphasize that only two documents distinguished between international and domestic markets, and Ashley and Roe (2002) considered three markets: luxury, mid-luxury and lower-budget independent travellers.

Categories of impacts	Author/s
Net impact on poverty	Lapeyre (2011); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mutana <i>et al.</i> (2013); Novelli and Hellwig (2011); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012)
Economic impacts	
Generation of employment and revenue	Butcher (2011); Jänis (2012); Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mutana <i>et al.</i> (2013); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Picard (2003); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, 2012b); Snyman (2012); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011)
Generation of linkages and indirect effects	Ashley and Roe (2002); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mutana <i>et al.</i> (2013); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a); Snyman (2012); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007)
Dependence on foreign companies and international tourists	Scheyvens and Russell (2012a); Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011)
Livelihood and socio-cultural impacts	
Vulnerability reduction	Ashley and Roe (2002); Jänis (2012); Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Manyara and Jones (2007); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a); Snyman (2012); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012); Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011)
Quality and way of life	Butcher (2011); Lapeyre (2011); Manyara and Jones (2007); Picard (2003); Snyman (2012)
Urbanization and infrastructure development	Ashley and Roe (2002); Lapeyre (2011); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mutana <i>et al.</i> (2013); Snyman (2012); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007)
Health and educational services	Ashley and Roe (2002); Lapeyre (2011); Manyara and Jones (2007); Mutana <i>et al.</i> (2013); Spenceley and Goodwin (2007)
Empowerment and involvement in decision-making	Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Mutana <i>et al.</i> (2013); Scheyvens and Russell (2012a, 2012b); Snyman (2012)
Human capital and capacity building	Lapeyre (2010, 2011); Snyman (2012); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012)
Inequality reduction	Ashley and Roe (2002); Jänis (2012); Lapeyre (2011); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Steinicke and Neuburger (2012)
Impacts on minorities and segments of the society	Jänis (2012); Lapeyre (2011); Phommavong and Sörensson (2014); Snyman (2012); Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011)
Environmental impacts	
Environmental degradation and conservation	Ashley and Roe (2002); Jänis (2012); Lapeyre (2011); Snyman (2012)
Residents' environmental concern and behaviour	Butcher (2011); Picard (2003); Snyman (2012); Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011)
Water, waste and energy management	Manyara and Jones (2007); Mutana <i>et al.</i> (2013); Zapata <i>et al.</i> (2011)

**Table 4.** Categories of tourism organizations' impacts on poverty

## Study Methods

### The Measurement of Poverty

Four different approaches to measuring poverty were identified. The first approach was the number of residents, employees or households with earnings below a certain amount of money. While Spenceley and Goodwin (2007) adopted the international extreme poverty line of \$1 a day, Ashley and Roe (2002) and Lapeyre (2010) established the average income in rural areas as the poverty line. These authors also considered the basic needs and the salary of farm workers, respectively. A second economic approach referred to the establishment of different categories of poor residents, employees and households in terms of income, labour type, professional occupation or vulnerability (Snyman, 2012; Steinicke and Neuburger, 2012). A third approach was adopted by Butcher (2011), who considered the poverty evaluations made by international NGOs. The remaining 10 studies adopted a final approach based on the perceptions of a variety of individuals: inhabitants, employees, representatives of tourism organizations, stakeholders and key informants. Since poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon, it is suggested that the perception-based approach should be combined with economic approaches and human development indicators.

### Sources of Information

The secondary and primary sources of information used by the selected empirical studies, as well as the types of analysis that they conducted, are displayed in Table 3. As shown in the table, a wide range of sources was adopted. The most used secondary sources were statistics (e.g. statistics on financial earnings of local residents) and documents reported by governmental agencies, NGOs and enterprises. Primary sources of information were adopted by 14 studies, six of them using two or three primary sources. The research method chosen by these studies was the survey and the type of questionnaire most used was semi-structured interviews, followed by structured and unstructured interviews. The remaining primary sources were participant observation and personal visits to local communities, households and enterprises, as well as focus groups and semi-structured group interviews with key informants and employees.

A wide variety of individuals was interviewed: (1) stakeholders and key informants (government officials, administrators of NGOs, academics, representatives of tourism organizations and supplier industries enterprises), (2) local inhabitants, (3) employees of tourism organizations and suppliers and (4) representatives of tourism enterprises (tour operators, lodges, private trophy hunting farms, CBT enterprises). The largest sample sizes were selected by Spenceley and Goodwin (2007) (1058 residents) and Snyman (2012) (618 residents and 194 employees). Nevertheless, the sample size in the majority of the studies was limited. A total of 90 local residents and employees were interviewed by Picard (2003). The perceptions of 27 households and 48 employees were analysed by Steinicke and Neuburger (2012), who also contacted stakeholders and key informants. The remaining 10 studies were based on interviews with between nine and 65 individuals.

### Types of Analysis

Content, descriptive and frequency analyses, as well as case studies, were the types of analysis used by the selected empirical studies (see Table 3). Spenceley and Goodwin (2007) also developed the Sustainable Nature-Based Tourism Assessment Toolkit (SUNTAT) to assess the socio-economic impacts of tourism. The implication of using these types of analysis is that a possible statistical association between characteristics of tourism organizations and poverty cannot be assessed.

## Evidence for the Contribution of Tourism Organizations to Poverty Alleviation

An analysis of the findings reported by the selected studies, which could be representative of the empirical research on the impacts of tourism organizations on poverty since the year 1999, suggests the existence of a wide range of impacts that could be grouped into the following general categories: (1) net impact on poverty, (2) economic impacts, (3) livelihood and socio-cultural impacts and (4) environmental impacts. Table 4 shows these general categories of impacts, as well as specific categories of economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts that were analysed by the selected studies. There follows a discussion of the findings concerning these impacts.

### Net Impact on Poverty

Findings suggest that private tourism enterprises contribute to poverty alleviation at the local, regional and national levels of analysis: (1) they increase the proportion of local people lifted out of poverty in the Kruger National Park, South Africa (Spenceley and Goodwin, 2007), (2) they bring the most benefits of tourism to the poor in rural Zimbabwe (Mutana *et al.*, 2013), (3) Namibian and German tour operators' greatest contribution to the fulfilment of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (UNMDGs) refers to UNMDG I (i.e. to eradicate extreme poverty and hunger) (Novelli and Hellwig, 2011) and (4) both small- and large-scale tourism resorts in Fiji positively influence determinants of poverty alleviation (opportunity, empowerment, security) (Scheyvens and Russell, 2012a).

Nevertheless, it is reported that the contribution of tour operators in Namibia is linked to voluntary CSR initiatives (Novelli and Hellwig, 2011), thereby weakening the potential contribution the sector can provide. As regards CBT as an alternative form of tourism, the Grootberg Lodge Partnership, which is a CBT project in Namibia, contributes to reducing poverty (Lapeyre, 2011). Similarly, CBT enterprises have a positive, but still insignificant, impact on poverty alleviation in Kenya (Manyara and Jones, 2007) and Mt Kenya National Park (Steinicke and Neuburger, 2012).

### Economic Impacts

As suggested by Novelli and Hellwig (2011), the contribution of tourism enterprises to poverty alleviation is mainly of an economic nature. To be specific, the following categories of economic impacts were reported by the selected studies (see Table 4): (1) generation of employment and revenue, (2) linkages and indirect effects and (3) dependence on foreign companies and international tourists.

Findings on the generation of employment and revenue by tourism organizations are available at international, supranational (i.e. several countries), national, regional and local levels of analysis. Although tourism can be seasonal, tourism organizations provide valuable job opportunities for the poor, but they are mainly at the lower cadres with low educational requirements and low pay (Spenceley and Goodwin, 2007; Jänis, 2012; Snyman, 2012; Mutana *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, the availability of information regarding recruitment processes and the immigration of better qualified people represent major barriers to local inhabitants gaining access to tourism jobs (Spenceley and Goodwin, 2007). In Fiji, Scheyvens and Russell (2012a) also found poor employment conditions in some small resorts, and inadequate job security for most employees in large enterprises. Nevertheless, Lapeyre (2010) and Zapata *et al.* (2011) concluded that pay in tourism jobs is high when compared with that of public servants and traditional work (e.g. the salary of farm workers).

As regards revenue, tourism organizations generate a wide range of important revenues for developing countries and local communities: foreign exchange earnings, public revenues, labour income, lease monies and voluntary donations. However, since local inhabitants are rarely involved in the ownership of tourism enterprises, their income from business profits is often limited (Spenceley and Goodwin, 2007; Scheyvens and Russell, 2012a). It is also suggested that indigenous businesses do not receive sustained governmental support to make them successful in the long term (Scheyvens and Russell, 2012a). Although tourism organizations are sometimes perceived by inhabitants to provide a low level of direct income for the poor (Lapeyre, 2011; Zapata *et al.*, 2011), labour income is more important for poverty reduction than collective income or voluntary donations from tourism enterprises and tourists (Jänis, 2012; Mutana *et al.*, 2013). In addition, tourism employment (e.g. tourist guides, porters, cleaners) often represents one of the few sources of income (Lapeyre, 2011; Steinicke and Neuburger, 2012).

While small, medium and large tourism organizations all make a positive contribution to job creation and revenue generation, it is emphasized that this contribution is limited by the size of the operation (Snyman, 2012). It is further suggested that CBT enterprises and projects, compared with private tourism enterprises, make a high contribution to the following: (1) the income retained by local communities and the poor (Manyara and Jones, 2007; Lapeyre, 2010; Phommavong and Sörensson, 2014), (2) the growth of local small and medium tourism enterprises (Manyara and Jones, 2007) and (3) the diversification of local livelihoods (Zapata *et al.*, 2011; Steinicke and Neuburger, 2012). There is also evidence regarding the important role of governmental agencies and NGOs in supporting the interests of landowners (Scheyvens and Russell, 2012b) and promoting ecotourism as a means of both reducing poverty and preserving the environment (Picard, 2003; Butcher, 2011).

Another category of economic impacts refers to the indirect effects of tourism organizations. A first group of studies stated that both private tourism enterprises and CBT enterprises and projects represent an impetus for casual work, informal sector activity and small business (e.g. the production and sale of agricultural products, crafts and souvenirs) (Ashley and Roe, 2002; Manyara and Jones, 2007; Mutana *et al.*, 2013). More specifically, Blake (2008) found that hotels and restaurants have strong backward linkages with the rest of the economy, but transport has weak linkages. The positive effect of the spending of staff earnings (e.g. the use of local builders to construct homes) has also been emphasized (Snyman, 2012). However, a second group concluded that private tourism enterprises do not improve local people's main life-supporting activity (agriculture) and that there is little local procurement, particularly by large and foreign tourism enterprises (Spenceley and Goodwin, 2007; Scheyvens and Russell, 2012a).

A final category of economic impacts is the dependence on foreign companies and international tourists. First, a high dependence on foreign companies marginalizes the poor from the benefits generated by tourism and weakens linkages with the domestic economy (Scheyvens and Russell, 2012a). Second, although domestic tourists, compared with international tourists, have lower spending capacity, Zapata *et al.* (2011) emphasized that they contribute to poverty alleviation by increasing the linkages with the domestic economy.

### Livelihood and Socio-cultural Impacts

The following categories of socio-cultural impacts were identified (see Table 4): (1) vulnerability reduction, (2) quality and way of life, (3) urbanization and infrastructure development, (4) health and educational services, (5) empowerment and involvement in decision-making, (6) human capital and capacity building, (7) inequality reduction and (8) impacts on minorities and segments of the society. Evidence suggests that private tourism enterprises, CBT enterprises and CBT projects reduce vulnerability by providing financial security (i.e. revenue and employment) and diversifying poor households' income (Ashley and Roe, 2002; Manyara and Jones, 2007; Lapeyre, 2010, 2011; Zapata *et al.*, 2011; Scheyvens and Russell, 2012a; Snyman, 2012; Steinicke and Neuburger, 2012). Nevertheless, when tourism is seasonal some of the jobs are only available during the high season (Jänis, 2012).

As regards quality and way of life, Snyman (2012) found that households with members working for Wilderness Safaris, a private tourism enterprise in Botswana, Malawi and Namibia, have a better general standard of living than the average community household (e.g. education, mobile phone, transport). This enterprise also adopts voluntary CSR initiatives for employees: staff accommodation and food, flexible work schedule and part-time employment. Similarly, CBT enterprises in Kenya (Manyara and Jones, 2007), the Grootberg Lodge Partnership in Namibia (Lapeyre, 2011) and the governmental agency that operates the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park in South Africa (Picard, 2003) contribute to improving the lifestyles of employees and communities. Moreover, the type of tourism promoted by international NGOs brings extensive social and cultural changes to the poor, including a more open mentality (Butcher, 2011).

The rapid urbanization of poverty-stricken rural regions, the development of infrastructure (i.e. transport, communication, clean water) and local people's access to educational and health services were also identified as positive effects of private tourism enterprises, CBT enterprises and CBT projects. To be specific, Spenceley and Goodwin (2007) found that private tourism enterprises in Kruger National Park, South Africa, invest in infrastructure and environmental education. Tour operators and lodges in rural Zimbabwe adopt CSR initiatives on primary education (school fees, books, bicycles, electricity, availability of teachers) (Mutana *et al.*, 2013). In addition, households with employees working for Wilderness Safaris experienced an improvement in communication and transport (Snyman, 2012). Finally, evidence suggests that CBT enterprises and projects, compared with private tourism enterprises, have a wider range of social contributions (Ashley and Roe, 2002; Manyara and Jones, 2007; Lapeyre, 2011), namely improved educational and health services, access to clean water and development of transport and communication infrastructure.

Local inhabitants are rarely involved in tourism planning and development (Scheyvens and Russell, 2012a; Mutana *et al.*, 2013). However, employment in small and large private tourism enterprises can contribute to the empowerment and the capacity building of residents (Scheyvens and Russell, 2012a). While permanent employment contributes to building assets (financial, physical and human capital assets), local inhabitants should also participate in the ownership of local private enterprises (Mutana *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, CBT enterprises, CBT projects and governmental agencies are considered efficient strategies to empower local inhabitants and build assets

in general and, in particular, a variety of human capacities, including basic education, social skills, work skills and tourism management (Lapeyre, 2010, 2011; Scheyvens and Russell, 2012b; Steinicke and Neuburger, 2012; Mutana *et al.*, 2013).

As regards inequality, tourism income is unevenly distributed amongst private tourism enterprises' stakeholders (e.g. shareholders/owners, employees, community) as well as amongst local households (Jänis, 2012). It is also suggested that the lowest-income households do not benefit most from tourism development (Blake *et al.*, 2008). While CBT enterprises and projects, compared with private tourism enterprises, may make a higher contribution to the generation of equitable welfare for households, CBT enterprises should adopt a democratic organizational structure (Lapeyre, 2011; Steinicke and Neuburger, 2012) and tourism projects should specifically target the poor (Ashley and Roe, 2002; Phommavong and Sörensson, 2014).

There is evidence for the positive effects of CBT enterprises and projects on young (Lapeyre, 2011; Zapata *et al.*, 2011), low-qualified rural residents (Lapeyre, 2011) and women (Lapeyre, 2011; Zapata *et al.*, 2011; Jänis, 2012; Phommavong and Sörensson, 2014). However, Zapata *et al.* (2011) and Phommavong and Sörensson (2014) concluded that gender inequality is reproduced, since women work with their domestic skills while men occupy management, marketing or tour guide positions. Local culture traditions and their promotion as a tourist attraction are also preventing women from reaching equal tourism positions and income (Snyman, 2012; Phommavong and Sörensson, 2014).

### Environmental Impacts

Research results refer to the following (see Table 4): (1) environmental degradation and conservation, (2) residents' environmental concern and behaviour and (3) water, waste and energy management. While private tourism enterprises and CBT enterprises can reduce the access of residents to natural resources (e.g. land for traditional uses) and cause a human-wildlife conflict (Jänis, 2012; Snyman, 2012), the economic contribution of ecotourism and nature-based tourism organizations (e.g. in terms of employment, revenue) raises residents' awareness of nature conservation and promotes biodiversity conservation (Picard, 2003; Butcher, 2011; Zapata *et al.*, 2011; Snyman, 2012). It is also stated that the impact of PPT projects on natural resources is practically unreported (Ashley and Roe, 2002) or positive (Lapeyre, 2011). Moreover, CBT enterprises and projects contribute to the quality of water, the production of alternative energies and waste management (Manyara and Jones, 2007; Zapata *et al.*, 2011). As regards private tourism enterprises, Mutana *et al.* (2013) concluded that lodges and tour operators should adopt CSR initiatives to improve the quality of water in rural Zimbabwe.

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## Discussion

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This paper contributes to the academic writing on the relationship between tourism and poverty. First of all, there was a summary of different sustainable development approaches to increasing the contribution of tourism enterprises to poverty alleviation, including CSR and alternative forms of tourism. There is a plethora of terms referring to alternative forms of tourism (e.g. sustainable tourism, ecotourism, responsible tourism, fair tourism, CBT), each of them focusing on specific principles of sustainable development. In particular, PPT is a type of sustainable tourism that seeks to reduce poverty.

A major novelty is the introduction of the term 'pro-poor CSR' to name the voluntary CSR initiatives that an enterprise adopts to address the economic, socio-cultural and environmental conditions of the poor. Placing poor people and poverty at the top of a company's priorities, pro-poor CSR refers to PPT development for tourism enterprises. It also embraces the three dimensions of sustainable and responsible development for tourism enterprises: beyond maximizing profits, enterprises that voluntarily adopt pro-poor CSR initiatives should be aware of their economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts. By taking a stakeholder approach, pro-poor CSR places emphasis on the social needs of communities. Consequently, pro-poor CSR is also related to CBT, fair tourism and ecotourism.

This article also discussed the academic empirical research published since 1999 on the impacts of tourism organizations (i.e. private tourism enterprises, CBT enterprises, tourism projects, NGOs, governmental agencies)

on poverty. The discussion embraced the following: (1) the geographical and tourism scope of the research, (2) study methods (i.e. sources of information, types of analysis, the measurement of poverty) and (3) the impacts of tourism organizations on poverty (i.e. economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts, as well as net impact on poverty). Since the year 1999 there has been a growth in the literature on tourism and poverty alleviation, and most of the empirical research on the impacts of tourism organizations on poverty has been published since the year 2007. Moreover, empirical evidence is particularly available for African countries.

The first contribution is the importance of clearly specifying the tourism scope of the research (i.e. types of tourism organization, products and markets). Since impacts vary based on the type of organization under consideration (e.g. small or large private tourism enterprises, CBT enterprises, tourism projects, NGOs or governmental agencies), the variety of tourism organizations should be considered when discussing the role of tourism in poverty alleviation. A more general recommendation is to increase the empirical evidence on each type of organization. Findings from previous studies further suggest that some tourism products (e.g. ecotourism, nature-based tourism) as well as domestic tourists have a high impact on poverty alleviation. Consequently, additional studies on how specific tourism products and markets contribute to reducing poverty at a particular destination are also recommended.

A second contribution is the identification of four different approaches to measuring poverty: (1) the number of residents, employees or households with earnings below a certain amount of money, (2) different categories of poor residents, employees and households in terms of income, labour type, professional occupation or vulnerability, (3) poverty evaluations made by international NGOs and (4) the perceptions of a variety of individuals (inhabitants, employees, representatives of tourism organizations, stakeholders, key informants). As poverty is a multidimensional concept, it is suggested that the perception-based approach should be combined with economic approaches and human development indicators. The development of a general method for measuring poverty is also recommended in order to make comparisons between findings easier.

A third contribution comprises an in-depth description of the methodologies used for assessing the impacts of tourism organizations on poverty. It is concluded that the use of secondary sources of information becomes necessary but is not sufficient. In fact, 14 of the 16 selected empirical studies considered primary sources of information, the type of questionnaire most used being semi-structured interviews. Another conclusion refers to the complexity of the design of the field work. In this respect, a wide variety of individuals was interviewed: government officials, administrators of NGOs, academics, representatives of tourism organizations and suppliers, local inhabitants, employees of tourism organizations and suppliers. As regards the types of analysis, the evaluation of possible associations between characteristics of tourism organizations (e.g. size, ownership, tourism offer, business strategy, CSR initiatives) and poverty (e.g. poverty level, economic and noneconomic measures of poverty) is recommended. In so doing, the adoption of bivariate and multivariate analyses could be considered.

A final contribution is an integrative discussion on the impacts of tourism organizations on poverty alleviation. There is a general consensus that private tourism enterprises contribute to poverty alleviation at the local, regional and national levels of analysis, but it is suggested that their contribution is linked to voluntary CSR initiatives. CBT enterprises and projects also generate a positive net impact on poverty reduction, but it is often insignificant due to the small size of the operations. Besides the net impact of tourism organizations on poverty, economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts were also discussed (see Table 4). In this respect, it is recommended to carry out empirical studies that use the same methodology and poverty measurement with the purpose of estimating the impacts of different types of organization and identifying possible determinants.

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## Conclusions

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The study of the engagement of tourism enterprises in poverty alleviation represents an emerging research topic in the literature on tourism and poverty alleviation. By reviewing different sustainable development approaches to increasing the contribution of tourism enterprises to poverty alleviation, this study emphasizes the need to promote PPT in general, and pro-poor CSR in particular. These approaches could also be applied to economic growth and other industries. For example, the term 'pro-poor agriculture' could be adopted to name a sustainable approach to

agricultural development that seeks to generate net benefits for the poor. Moreover, the term 'pro-poor CSR' could be applied to enterprises operating in economic industries other than tourism.

As regards public policy implications, since local inhabitants are rarely involved in the ownership of private tourism enterprises and most of the poor work in the informal sector, a general suggestion for public policy is that governments and international agencies should support the development of local private tourism and tourism-related businesses. CBT enterprises and PPT projects should also be encouraged as a means of (1) maximizing the tourism income that is retained by local communities, (2) evenly distributing the tourism income amongst stakeholders and households and (3) generating positive tourism impacts on the socio-cultural and environmental conditions of the poor. To be specific, governments and international agencies could provide sustained technical support and design tax reductions and financial incentives (e.g. access to favourable loans, micro-credits, crowd-sourcing for funding) for the poor and minorities. Moreover, local governments and CBT enterprises could adopt joint marketing actions with the purpose of capturing tourists interested in local culture and nature, green tourists or members of NGOs.

Another suggestion for public policy is the implementation of consciousness-raising programmes to promote pro-poor and inclusive tourism amongst tourism enterprises and tourists at the destination. In this respect, local procurement by tourism enterprises and tourists should be promoted to strengthen the linkages between tourism and the remaining local sectors, including agriculture and the informal sector. Pro-poor CSR initiatives and PPT partnerships could also be encouraged amongst large multinational enterprises (e.g. tour operators, hotel chains, airlines), small businesses, NGOs, governmental agencies and international agencies.

A more specific suggestion for public policy is the implementation of education and training programmes to build human capital assets amongst the poor and minorities, including basic and social skills education, as well as training in tourism-industry operations (e.g. accommodation, food and beverage, transport, guided tours), management and entrepreneurship. These programmes could contribute to maximizing economic benefits for the poor in terms of employment, revenue and limited dependence on foreign companies. Education and training could also promote local communities' empowerment, involvement in decision-making and ownership of physical assets and enterprises. A further suggestion for public policy is that government revenues from tourism and pro-poor CSR initiatives should contribute to providing pro-poor basic services (e.g. education, health, transport, clean water). A final suggestion is the promotion of a sustainable tourist infrastructure development in order to avoid biodiversity loss, environmental degradation and culture distortion in poverty-stricken areas.

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## Acknowledgements

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This work was supported by the Canarian Agency for Research, Innovation and Information Society, as well as the European Social Fund.

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