

COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM AS THE INTERFACE OF
INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS WORLDS

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ABSTRACT

Community-based tourism is often presented in the literature as a sustainable livelihood for indigenous communities residing in environmentally rich and vulnerable areas. It aims to conserve the natural environment and local cultures and hopes to involve the indigenous in these ambitions while also creating financial benefits for them. Indigenous knowledge (IK) forms a central part of the local community-based ecotourism enterprises of indigenous peoples; it is both a resource and touristic attraction. This knowledge and the cultures are usually met and need to collaborate with people from differing, often western, ideologies and worldviews in the tourism process. These encounters can have various impacts on the communities, their knowledge and cultural traditions.

This study focuses on community-based tourism in Madidi National Park, Bolivia. The study examines 1) the potential benefits of IK for conservation through tourism 2) how IK is transmitted to tourists and 3) what the impacts of community-based tourism are on the communities and the use of IK within them. The data of the study is comprised of six semi-structured interviews with eight indigenous community members working in community-based tourism. The data is analysed using theory-guided content analysis. Social and cultural interface theory and from them the ideas related to encounters between knowledge systems, power relations, representation and trust are used to fathom out the processes occurring when indigenous and western worlds meet through tourism.

The indigenous do feel that their knowledge is beneficial to conservation and they have managed to argue to other stakeholders that their historically sustainable lifestyle proves they are capable of managing tourism sustainably and through it help in other conservation activities. They have a vested interest in conservation that strengthens their commitment to it. IK is also seen as an advantage in guiding tourists. Transmission of IK to tourists is usually limited to oral or visual expressions and explaining the worldview is found challenging. The impacts of ecotourism on the communities have been positive and negative. The centrality of IK in tourism has raised awareness and appreciation for it within the communities. Success in tourism has brought feelings of empowerment and opportunities for personal and community development. Individualism and the changed nature of reciprocity and relations between communities were seen as negative impacts.

Meaningful cooperation among different actors and indigenous and western knowledge systems is crucial at the tourism interface. Ways to better merge the benefits of both systems need to be researched. Also responsibilities and expectations of different actors in tourism need to be voiced and agreed upon more clearly. Communication within communities is important for creating a sustainable and acceptable tourism product. Future research needs to acknowledge the heterogeneity of indigenous peoples and consider the sustainability of their current lifestyles and worldviews.

KEY WORDS: community-based tourism, indigenous knowledge, knowledge transmission, Madidi National Park, Bolivia, social interface, cultural interface

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TIIVISTELMÄ

Yhteisöperustainen ekoturismi esitetään kirjallisuudessa usein vaihtoehtoisena ja kestäväenä elinkeinona alkuperäiskansojen yhteisöille, jotka elävät monipuolisissa ja haavoittuvissa ympäristöissä. Sen tarkoituksena on suojella luonnonympäristöä sekä paikallisia kulttuureita osallistaen paikallisia aktiivisesti näiden tavoitteiden saavuttamiseen ja samalla luoda taloudellisia hyötyjä heille. Alkuperäiskansojen tieto (AT) on keskeisessä osassa yhteisöperustaisissa matkailuhankkeissa; se on sekä resurssi että nähtävyys. AT ja kulttuurit kohtaavat ja tekevät yhteistyötä turismissa erilaisia, usein länsimaalaisia, maailmankuvia edustavien ihmisten kanssa. Näillä kohtaamisilla voi olla moninaisia vaikutuksia yhteisöihin, AT:on ja kulttuurisiin traditioihin.

Tämä tutkimus käsittelee yhteisöperustaista turismia Madidin kansallispuistossa Boliviassa. Tutkimuskysymyksinä ovat: 1) Mitä mahdollisia hyötyjä AT:lla on suojelulle, 2) miten AT:a välitetään turisteille ja 3) mitä vaikutuksia yhteisöperustaisella turismilla on yhteisöihin ja AT:n käyttöön niissä? Aineisto koostuu kahdeksan yhteisöperustaisessa turismissa työskentelevän ihmisen teemahaastattelusta. Analyysi on tehty teoriaohjaavan sisällönanalyysin menetelmin. Sosiaalisen ja kulttuurisen rajapinnan teorioita ja niistä eri tietojärjestelmien kohtaamisiin, valtasuhteisiin, representaatioon ja luottamukseen liittyviä ajatuksia on käytetty hahmottamaan prosesseja, jotka esiintyvät alkuperäiskansojen ja länsimaalaisten visioiden kohdatessa turismissa.

Alkuperäiskansat kokevat, että heidän tietonsa on hyödyllistä alueen suojelulle. He ovat onnistuneet argumentoimaan muille toimijoille, että heidän historiallisesti kestävä elämäntyylinsä todistaa heidän olevan kykeneväisiä hallinnoimaan turismia kestävästi ja sen kautta myös auttaa muissa suojelutoimissa. Yhteisöjen oma hyötyminen suojelusta vahvistaa heidän sitoutumistaan siihen. AT nähdään myös etuna opastuksessa Madidissa. AT:n siirto rajoittuu yleensä visuaalisiin ja suullisiin ilmaisuihin, sillä maailmankuvan välittäminen koetaan hankalaksi. Turismin vaikutukset yhteisöihin ovat olleet sekä positiivisia että negatiivisia. AT:n keskeisyys turismissa on lisännyt tietoisuutta ja arvostusta sitä kohtaan yhteisöissä. Menestys turismissa on tuonut voimaantumisen kokemuksia ja mahdollisuuksia henkilökohtaiseen ja yhteisön kehittymiseen. Individualismi ja vastavuoroisuuden sekä yhteisöjen välisten suhteiden luonteen muuttuminen nähdään negatiivisina vaikutuksina.

Merkityksellinen yhteistyö eri toimijoiden sekä AT:n ja länsimaisen tietojärjestelmän välillä on olennaista turismi-rajapinnalla. Parempia tapoja yhdistää molempien järjestelmien hyötyjä vaatii lisätutkimusta. Myös eri toimijoiden vastuuta ja odotuksia on ilmaistava ja sovittava selkeämmin. Kommunikaatio yhteisöjen sisällä on tärkeää kestävä ja hyväksyttävän turismituotteen luonnissa. Jatkotutkimuksissa on kiinnitettävä yhä enemmän huomiota alkuperäiskansojen heterogeenisyyteen ja pohdittava heidän nykyisten elämäntapojensa ja maailmankuviensa kestävyyttä.

ASIASANAT: yhteisöperustainen turismi, alkuperäiskansojen tieto, tiedonvälitys, Madidi kansallispuisto, Bolivia, sosiaalinen rajapinta, kulttuurinen rajapinta

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 The indigenous in community-based ecotourism	2
1.2 Indigenous knowledge	6
1.3 Transmission of indigenous knowledge.....	8
2 THE CONTEXT AND RESEARCH PROBLEMS OF THIS STUDY	12
2.1 Bolivia as a place for community-based tourism.....	12
2.2 Madidi National Park.....	15
2.3 Research problem.....	17
3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: INTERFACES AS MEETING POINTS	20
3.1 The social and cultural interfaces	20
3.2 Encounters of knowledge systems and power	23
3.3 Representing a group at the interface.....	26
3.4 Trust and mistrust at the heart of negotiation	28
4 DATA AND METHODS.....	31
4.1 My personal background for this study	31
4.2 Semi-structured interviews as a method for data collection	32
4.3 Theory-guided content analysis	34
5 INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND ITS TRANSMISSION IN MADIDI	36
5.1 Conservation by whom for whom?.....	36
5.2 Paths of collaboration for conservation via tourism	39
5.3 Justifications for community-based tourism.....	41
5.3.1 Our lands.....	42
5.3.2 Supporting the sustainability.....	44
5.4 Transmission of indigenous knowledge through tourism.....	45
5.4.1 Transmitting tangible, visual and oral cultural heritage.....	45
5.4.2 What is left out.....	47
5.4.3 Sharing values and the reciprocity of knowledge	48
6 IMPACTS OF ECOTOURISM ON THE COMMUNITIES	52
6.1 Appreciation and pride – empowering the locals	52
6.2 Conflicts and changes between and within companies and communities	55
6.3 Widening of the worldview – threat or possibility?.....	61

7	TOURISM AS THE INTERFACE OF THE INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS	65
7.1	Who's the expert?	65
7.2	Opportunities for meaningful sharing.....	69
7.3	Mirroring at the interface	72
8	CONCLUSIONS.....	76
	AFTERWORD	78
	REFERENCES.....	79
	ANNEX 1: INTERVIEW OUTLINE.....	85
	ANNEX 2: MAP OF PN ANMI MADIDI	87

1 INTRODUCTION

Preserving local tradition and the conservation of biodiversity can be seen as two of the more central objectives of the steadily growing ecotourism industry (Denman 2001, 2; Honey 2008, 4; Scheyvens 1999, 246; TIES webpage 2016). Ecotourism projects involving local communities are often offered as opportunities to gain economic benefits while protecting the natural environment and cultural heritage of vulnerable areas (Cobbinah 2015, 180). They are promoted as solutions to increase participation and more strongly integrate local people in development goals. When evaluating the obstacles, threats, failures and successes of these projects the attention is generally drawn to what the economic impact has been for the community and local people (Denman 16, 2001). However the economics is only one side of the story. As noble as the goals of ecotourism and especially community-based ecotourism may be and despite its great potential as a sustainable and profitable business for the locals, the other possible profits and losses that it causes need to be critically evaluated as well.

The impacts of introducing a new industry to a developing area with rich natural environments and cultural history but possibly little experience in adapting to new influences from the outside can be various. Local communities are confronted with new worldviews and ideas about livelihood and interacting with their surroundings at the tourism-indigenous intersection. The communities often hold a vast storage of local and indigenous knowledge that is being dipped into by outsiders seeking to amplify their own experience and understanding of these cultures (Zeppel 2006, 2). And it is not only the tourist that brings in new influences to local communities. The other stakeholders such as national and local government, other businesses, other indigenous communities and different institutions and organizations involved in conservation and preservation contribute to mixing the new with the traditional and autochthonous in protected areas promoting ecotourism. The traces left behind by this interplay in tourism are not only monetary but also cultural and may challenge the very basis of what and how the indigenous people know about the world.

Conserving natural surroundings tends to be thought of as inherent to a traditional indigenous way of life (Heyd 2005, 180). This is usually due to the fact that in order to protect indigenous culture and knowledge you need to protect the location where it was born; without the land there is no culture. Therefore participation of indigenous communities in projects such as ecotourism, which aim to protect these cultures, is valuable and nowadays often also desired by the other parties involved (Cox 2009, 33, 64). Yet community-based ecotourism cannot be seen as a “one-size-fits-all” model. The particular context of each project and the willingness of the communities to open up their lifestyles need to be taken into consideration to ensure the integrity of the projects (Denman

2001, 14). Many of the community-based ecotourism projects take place in remote, ecologically diverse and therefore highly vulnerable areas of the world (Zeppel 2006, 1). They are often protected areas and the last places where a community's intangible cultural heritage is nurtured and passed on. How ecotourism can be truly sustainably introduced to an area like this and what the role of the indigenous peoples should be needs careful examination.

The Bolivian Amazon is one of these diverse and vulnerable environments in which ecotourism often takes place in close proximity of local indigenous peoples. It is a prime destination for tourists to seek unique experiences in an exciting and versatile natural and cultural surrounding. It is also the focus area of this study. This study discusses some of the impacts of tourism on the local indigenous communities and their knowledge use, and the benefits of their involvement in the industry for cultural and environmental conservation. Indigenous knowledge and its transmission are used as the more concrete background concepts to depict the elements of the indigenous cultures that traverse community-based tourism. Since cross-cultural interactions are often the heart of travel and tourism (Sharma 2010, 207) the social and cultural interface theories are used to illustrate the larger framework of multiple actors from various backgrounds central to tourism. Community-based tourism is conditioned by many variables and its impacts can be interpreted very differently depending on the perspective. This study aims to bring out the voices of the indigenous practicing community-based ecotourism in Madidi National Park in Bolivia.

The study advances in the following manner: in this first chapter the concepts of community-based ecotourism and indigenous knowledge are introduced on a more general level. The second chapter will present the more specific contexts of this study and the research problem. Chapter three will examine the theoretical framework and its central elements for this study. Chapter four presents the data and methods used in conducting the research. In chapters five and six the central findings of the analysis are explained. In chapter seven the results of the analysis will be reflected against the theoretical framework in a discussion that brings out the central conclusions of this study. Lastly chapter eight briefly sums up the findings of this study bringing them to a more universal level.

1.1 The indigenous in community-based ecotourism

The literature and studies on involving local indigenous communities and incorporating their knowledge in ecotourism practices is vast (see for example Butler & Menzies 2007; Moscardo 2008; Rai 2012; Stronza & Gordillo 2006; Zeppel 2006). With the expansion of the tourism industry in the developing world new responsible forms of tourism have emerged that better fit into particular contexts and answer the challenges of creating a more sustainable industry. Ecotourism

developed in the late 1970s from the idea that tourism should bring benefits to the local communities instead of causing a burden to them and their surroundings. (Honey & Gilpin 2009, 2–3.) There are various definitions and synonyms to ecotourism, all with small differences on the emphasis of its elements. A fairly broad and uncontested definition is given by The International Ecotourism Society, which characterizes ecotourism as “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people” (TIES webpage 2016). The extent to which the local indigenous people are invited or willing to participate in ecotourism ranges from hopes of total isolation to aiming for a central role in the local tourism industry. Possibilities and ways to be involved and collaborate in ecotourism can be various. The local communities can participate in activities such as monitoring flora and fauna, maintenance of the trails and sites, natural resource management, environmental education and supporting local conservation NGOs involved in tourism. (Rai 2012, 93–94.) The relations between communities and other operators can also be versatile. Communities can be involved by working for private companies, selling their local products to them, or they may be the landowners of areas where private enterprises operate and so collect revenue from the enterprise. The indigenous can also be the ones primarily in charge of their own ecotourism projects. An enterprise that is owned and managed by the community in communal lands is the most community inclusive form of community-based ecotourism. (Denman 2001, 11.)

In this study the focus is particularly on the type of community-based enterprises that are born from community initiatives, generally with great help from outsiders, and primarily managed by indigenous community members, creating monetary or other benefits to the community. These projects aim to display the local cultures and their knowledge in the lands often owned and inhabited solely by the indigenous people. They search to conserve the environment in order to ensure continuity of local cultures. The benefits of the tourism activities are generally returned into the communities in forms of improvements to infrastructure, education and other services. (Zeppel 2006, 11, 279.) Community-based ecotourism further highlights the involvement of local communities and their knowledge systems in all stages of tourism from start to finish and it generally impacts the whole community either directly or indirectly (Cox 2009, 205). Bolivia, and Latin America in general, is seen as one of the places in which community-based indigenous tourism projects are developing rapidly into beneficial businesses for the communities (Calle 2014).

The importance of involving the communities and their local knowledge in the planning and management of community-based ecotourism and conservation attempts related to it has also been highlighted in order to achieve locally adequate, democratic and sustainable solutions. Using the local’s traditional ecological knowledge in planning and developing tourism is a political act that acknowledges the authority of the indigenous in making decisions in an industry that affects them

greatly. (Butler & Menzies 2007, 14–18; Cox 2009, 20.) Social, political and environmental outcomes can be alternatives to economic benefits in measuring the impacts of ecotourism projects. Strengthening for example land rights and increasing political participation of the indigenous can be positive outcomes that encourage further indigenous presence in ecotourism (Zeppel 2006, 285; Scheyvens 1999, 247.) Also integration to the larger networks and institutions related to tourism and building professional relationships with authorities can often give the communities the feeling of truly being able to influence the larger policies being designed and implemented at the local or even national level (Stronza & Gordillo 2008, 458). The general consensus of the literature regarding indigenous involvement seems to be that participation should be allowed and encouraged always when the indigenous peoples themselves desire it.

Upon introducing the idea of ecotourism to areas with local indigenous communities it is important to discuss with the locals the central concepts and goals of the industry in order for everyone to better comprehend how tourism is or should be practiced at the community level (Cobbinah 2015, 179). Though western literature and academic research might be full of definitions of what ecological means and how conservation is best achieved through tourism, the ideas and definitions need to be delivered to the locals too. Ecotourism as a term can be strange to the local communities and the definition of it is usually handed to them by conservation NGOs or other authorities (ibid., 179). Environmental and cultural conservation together with empowerment and participation of locals and the creation of employment and economic benefits are among the principals of ecotourism, but how the different actors involved in tourism prioritize or support these objectives is not a simple issue. The different expectations from ecotourism and the basic concepts related to it need to be defined together in the protected areas in order to achieve also the needs of the locals. (Ibid., 182–188.)

Due to the noble objectives and promises of improving the quality of life of locals and environmental conservation of eco- and community-based tourism many projects and their impacts are not evaluated and monitored sufficiently and critically enough (Goodwin & Santilli 2009, 4). Stronza & Gordillo (2008) in their study of ecotourism projects in the Amazon argue that despite positive effects such as increased opportunities for personal and community development and improved cultural self-esteem, ecotourism does have the potential to be disruptive to local communities, their traditions and subsistence livelihoods. For example the distribution of economic benefits and changes in the social organization of the communities have often been noted as issues causing conflicts among the locals that have become involved in tourism (Mansperger 1995, 92–3; Stronza & Gordillo 2008, 461–3). Working in tourism is also time-consuming and might happen far from the actual community, thus decreasing the time spent with the family and community and

working in traditional activities such as hunting and preparing local foods (Stronza & Gordillo 2008, 459). The perception of the socio-cultural impacts also varies depending on who in the community is asked to evaluate them. Some might see for example awareness and knowledge of outsider cultures and lifestyles as a positive impact whereas other might consider them threats (Pearce 2008, 30).

Another problematic issue in many of the community-based ecotourism projects seems to be that they are initiated and funded in the first stages by outsiders, such as different NGOs or development banks trying to encourage community involvement in sustainable practices in protected areas (Denman 2001, 10–24; IDB webpage 2010). Mitchell and Muckosy (2008) have argued that promoting community-based projects isn't the path to take in Latin America and the Caribbean since they rarely manage to reduce poverty and the vulnerability of the locals and thus merely provide a fragile non-sustainable livelihood for the indigenous. Community-based projects often seem to collapse after the initial funding provided runs out due to bad governance and lack of access to the large-scale tourism markets. For this reason rather than stimulating alternative particular community-based models it would be more favorable to integrate and link the indigenous into the mainstream tourism business where they could profit from the larger-scale industry and markets thus capture greater benefits for the communities. (Mitchell & Muckosy 2008, 102–3.)

Ecotourism requires education and awareness of the vulnerabilities of the protected areas. Environmental education and information on local cultures is generally considered one feature of ecotourism (Denman 2001, 3). The combination of local community participation and educating the tourists stresses the idea of a collective responsibility for sustainability. Upon carrying out the touristic activities tourists, private and indigenous tour operators, conservation NGOs and other stakeholders all need to be thoroughly informed on the appropriate behavior in the specific environmental context in which they operate (Rai 2012, 71). In the Colombian Amazon the failure of tourists to show respect towards local customs and people has even lead to the closing off of some central places of tourism inhabited by the indigenous. The locals have also become concerned that exposure to western cultures and the Colombian mainstream culture will lead to the erosion of the indigenous customs and knowledge, evidence of which is already seen in the younger generations. (Muse 2011.) On the other hand in the Ecuadorian Amazon community-based tourism is seen precisely as a good way to raise awareness and consciousness about the environment's vulnerability as it is threatened by other outsider industries such as mining and oil (Beahm 2011, 74). Weighing out the positive and negative impacts on the indigenous produced by ecotourism is an almost impossible task since the contexts and different options are altered over time. Nonetheless the outcomes of tourism need to be measured more diversely taking into consideration socio-

cultural and environmental issues alongside the monetary benefits. Measuring unquantifiable effects can be challenging, yet it is necessary for sustainability. (Stronza & Gordillo 2008, 450.)

1.2 Indigenous knowledge

In order to further understand some of the possible problems and advantages of integrating the indigenous into a western industry and to evaluate the nature of the potential cultural clashes happening in community-based tourism I will explain the concept of indigenous knowledge and the particularities of its transmission. The concept of indigenous knowledge implies a knowledge system inherent to a certain people, the indigenous. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), indigenous people are loosely characterized as peoples, who have distinguished social, cultural and political conditions, lead a traditional lifestyle different from the general national population and have historical roots to a certain area. Self-identification is the key factor when denoting a person or community as indigenous. (ILO C169, 1989, Art.1.) In this study local communities will be used interchangeably with indigenous communities since the local communities studied are formed by indigenous members. Knowledge on the other hand “simply” put is “facts, information and skills acquired by a person through experience or education; the theoretical or practical understanding of a subject” (“knowledge” 2016).

Indigenous knowledge (hereafter IK) is a broad concept and I have chosen specifically this aspect of cultural heritage because I feel that it is a concept that captures both the tangible and intangible elements of culture, the essence of what the culture is. Kurin (2004, 67) describes as intangible cultural heritage the oral traditions, including stories, tales, performing arts, etc., and knowledge and practices regarding the surrounding world, including for example folk medicine, craftsmanship and places where culturally important events take place. Oral tradition and knowledge cannot be seen as completely separate categories, since many of the stories and other expressions are born locally from what is known about the surroundings. Many of the central actions of the indigenous people are guided by the knowledge (facts, skills and information) they have accumulated throughout time. The tangible elements of culture, for example handicrafts, are born from the intangible elements such as knowledge; they are its embodiments (Hunn 1993, 14).

The complexity of the concept of IK is evident from the many interpretations and names given to it. The terms indigenous, traditional, local and autochthonous are often used interchangeably when speaking of this sort of knowledge (Butler & Menzies 2007, 16; FAO webpage 2004; Grenier 1998, 1; Heyd 2005, 179–180). These terms are closely related and carry the essence of what IK is, but there are slight differences. Following Warburton and Martin (1999; after FAO webpage 2004)

local knowledge can be thought of as an umbrella term for indigenous and traditional knowledge. Local knowledge isn't limited to a certain group; it is the beliefs, perceptions and concepts that all people accumulate from their cultural and natural environment, and like this environment it is dynamic. It is generally based on experience gained throughout time and is embedded in community rituals and practices. Traditional knowledge is described as something static, belonging to isolated rural communities. Indigenous knowledge is attributed to a limited group identifying themselves as indigenous. (FAO webpage 2004.)

Adding to the complexity are the differences between the multitudes of indigenous groups and their somewhat differing knowledges, thus instead of speaking of knowledge we should perhaps speak of it in the plural, indigenous knowledges, when talking of it on a more universal level. Nonetheless some generally agreed upon characteristics can be found in the literature on IK systems. The dynamic nature of IK, knowledge as something living, improved by trial and error, changing and adapting, is often stressed and seen as crucial to its survival (Gómez-Baggethun & Reyes-García 2013; Grenier 1998; Whap 2001, 22). IK is seen as specific to a certain geographical location, born from respect towards nature and passed on from one generation to the next. All community members possess IK, but the quantity and quality of it varies according to different factors such as position, age, sex, etcetera. (Grenier 1998, 2.) IK is used and expressed in agriculture, hunting and fishing, medicinal purposes, predictions of natural phenomena, local laws and language among other things (ibid., 2; Nakashima 2000, 11). The political, social and cultural context of knowledge cannot be ignored and knowledge should be perceived as a way of life that is founded on the experience and cosmology of its beholders (Butler & Menzies 2007, 17).

IK is often contrasted with western knowledge and science for its different underlying worldview and epistemological basis, the understanding of which are essential in considering the transmission of knowledge discussed in the following subchapter. Heyd (2005, 181–2) argues that IK carries with it a set of values that promote the protection of the natural environment, answering the current necessity of sustainable worldviews that create a harmonious relationship between people and nature. The belief systems of the indigenous of the Bolivian Amazon are based on the idea that man is only part and thus dependent of the bigger picture of the whole natural environment (Cox 2009, 88). White (2007, 85) has also implied that occidental knowledge systems derived from a Christian root may not be able to answer our ecological crises and therefore new systems closer to nature are to be sought. It has even been argued that dominating and controlling nature in order to achieve some profoundly non-ecological goals of humans is rather characteristic of modern science (Capra 1992, 28). Heyd (2005, 180) sees this biocentric approach that gives nature inherent value integral to IK systems, opposed to the anthropocentric, nature dominating worldview on which western

science systems are based on. In this study part of my interest is to see whether the indigenous have or promote more biocentric values in tourism and see their knowledge system as benefitting or adding value to conservation ambitions of the area.

The supposed biocentric aspect of IK can be seen as further exemplified in another closely related concept, traditional ecological knowledge (TEK), which may be used as a hyponym of IK and is especially valued in conservation and preservation efforts (Butler & Menzies 2007, 15; Hunn 1993, 14; Grenier 1998). Opposed to what was said previously about traditional knowledge, TEK is not of static nature but changes as traditions evolve and change (Grenier 1998, 2). It is practical, qualitative, spiritual, intuitive and cumulative local knowledge related to the natural environment and how it should be managed and is therefore helpful for instance in land-use planning and through this in ecotourism (Butler & Menzies 2007, 17; Mazzocchi 2006, 464). In IK and TEK the intuitive element implies a certain spatial ability or knowledge that the indigenous have developed diachronically. Tuan (1977, 67–78) notes that much like animals, humans can develop this sort of ability or skill that may for some be crucial to livelihood, especially among hunter-gatherers who move in their local surroundings with astounding agility but may be like fish on dry land in other locations.

The above description of IK can be viewed as a definition produced from a western point of view and therefore seen as problematic for serving the indigenous interest (see 1.3 & 3.2). However it is the conceptualization of IK for this study, produced by me, a researcher with a western scientific background, fully acknowledging and recognizing the possible limitations posed by my position. All in all the concept of IK is very versatile, but for the purpose of this study connectedness with nature and locale, contrast with occidental knowledge even on a cosmological level and dynamism are the factors that best portray what the place of IK is and could be in community-based ecotourism for conservation of environment and culture. In the following subchapter I will take a look at how these elements make IK transmission possibly different from other knowledge transmission and what challenges this poses for its viability and use in ecotourism.

1.3 Transmission of indigenous knowledge

In the UNESCO Experts Meeting on Safeguarding the Transmission of Local & Indigenous Knowledge of Nature (UNESCO 2004, 8) four central aspects of transmission were mentioned; (1) knowledge holders/receivers, (2) content, (3) context and (4) process. Using these interrelated elements the question of transmission can be summarized in the following way: Who transmits what to whom where and how? As noted in the previous subchapter IK is inherent to the indigenous and

it is preserved in the minds and actions of the people. Therefore especially elders and ancestors as seed banks of knowledge have an important role in the transmission of it to the surrounding community (EcoWALKthetalk 2011). The “what”, as noted above (1.2), is dependent on factors such as age, position and sex; different people transmit different knowledge and access to certain types of knowledge will also depend on the aforementioned factors. Here I will concentrate on the how and where.

Indigenous knowledge is transmitted and communicated in particular intergenerational manners and preserved within the local community in many ways (Cox 2009, 88). Somewhat opposed to physical written documentation and literate and academic transmission common in western practices, linguistic form or oral tradition is one of the most common ways that IK is communicated between generations within communities (Hunn 1993, 14; Gorjestani 2000, 6; Mazzocchi 2006, 464). The knowledge is expressed and revealed for example in stories and legends told by older generations to younger ones. Oral transmission makes IK sensitive to changes such as the displacement of people from the communities or shifts in values or lifestyles and the time spent in the communities by younger generations. (Grenier 1998, 2, 5.) Since it is within the community that the knowledge is preserved it can be argued that the vitality of the community is important for the vitality of IK. Community’s loss of local language can also be seen as a threat to the survival of the knowledge preserved in oral traditions, since translations of linguistic expressions risk misinterpretations and misunderstandings (Hunn 1993, 14). Therefore the conservation of language is also part of cultural conservation.

Songs, stories, epics and even different practices can all be transmitted orally, but the transmission also requires the locale, the “where” is crucial to indigenous knowledge as noted earlier (1.2). In western science the objects of study can be taken out of their context into controllable environments for experimentations by the scientist, who thus also alienates himself from nature, “the object of their studies” (Mazzocchi 2006, 463). In IK systems distancing oneself from the place or object of knowledge is usually undesired. Hunn (1993, 14) points out that personal knowledge of the elements found in the local environment, such as plants and animals, creates the appreciation for the orally expressed stories and indigenous knowledge. The local environment is the arena of transmission of a culture’s traditions (ibid., 13) and especially in transmitting knowledge regarding practices that help conserve the environment the local context is central. Grenier (1998, 2) also points out that IK is transmitted through culture, this can be seen to support Butler’s and Menzies’ (2007, 18) idea that IK is transferred (1) socially when people derive knowledge from the communally collected database, (2) directly from person to person or (3) cumulatively expanded by

personal resource use practices. “Local culture” can thus also serve as an answer to where IK is transmitted.

Observation and following by example are generally considered the non-linguistic forms in which IK is acquired (Grenier 1998, 2; Ohmagar & Berkes 1997, 206). This can mean obtaining knowledge through observing the surrounding environment, but also observing the daily practices of one’s parents, such as for instance fishing, harvesting, using medicinal plants, etcetera. The sole act of observation in itself might not be considered transmission, since it doesn’t assure that the observed skill is actually internalized and acquired. To research the success of transmission through observation one can attempt to evaluate if the observer is capable of putting the knowledge in practice, capable of mastering the skill. Absorbing knowledge can be seen to happen when for instance children are encouraged to imitate in forms of play the important tasks performed by their elders (Ohmagar & Berkes 1997, 199, 206.) The act of observation is also compromised with displacement of community members or entire communities from their lands and changes in the dynamics of communities.

Not all aspects of indigenous or traditional knowledge can necessarily be transmitted orally or through simple observation. Some of the skills and knowledge rely strongly on intuition, for example skills related to navigating and finding one’s way in a complex environment or making evaluations on when and how to carry out certain activities (Connell 2001, 43; Ellen & Harris 2000, 28.) This is a certain spatial ability, the capability to memorize and understand spatial relations between objects, which generally develops rather slowly, diachronically, in humans in comparison to animals but can evolve into very “complex spatial schemata” (Tuan 1977, 67). Humans are also not born with an innate sense of direction, but are able to develop one through practice (ibid., 75). These slowly developing skills are important for the survival of the cultures living for example in the Amazon area but difficult to transmit and internalize rapidly. Intuition can also be thought of knowing something without knowing how you know it and in the indigenous context this can be related strongly to the spiritual aspects of their knowledge. Coming to know something through a ritual, dream or vision can be unexplainable and thus impossible to transmit to others. (Barrett & Wuetherick 2012, 4.)

Transmission can be seen as a bi- or multilateral process, in which knowledge is shared not only among community members, but also between different knowledge systems such as western and indigenous systems. This mingling between systems might however be risky. The dominance of the western knowledge system and the refusal of some people to acknowledge the validity or entirely closing their eyes and ears to IK can be seen as a threat to the existence of IK. Shiva (1993, 9)

attributes some of the loss of IK to the mixing and interaction with western knowledge, which has become the global dominant knowledge system undermining other knowledge systems. This undermining happens even though the local knowledge held by indigenous communities is also referred to as “a holistic traditional *scientific* knowledge” [emphasis added] of the surrounding natural environment and its resources in the Agenda 21 of the United Nations (United Nations 1992, Ch. 26.1). There is a need for a more collaborative and inclusive approach for broadening the definitions of what is valid and scientific knowledge. Juxtaposing knowledge methods and defining parts of currently used knowledge useless risks the loss of entire systems.

How are the indigenous able to defend their way of knowing and generating knowledge in the face of western dominance and especially in western industries such as ecotourism? How are they able to argue to their own community members the validity of their inherited knowledge when more generally acceptable knowledge systems are presented? Agility, generation and regeneration, affective transmission and the ability to develop and apply IK to answer current and future needs are some of the characteristics important for the resilience of socio-ecological systems (Gómez-Baggethun & Reyes-García 2008, 646) in which the indigenous cultures also operate. Transmitting and applying the IK relevant to the here and now is what makes it living.

2 THE CONTEXT AND RESEARCH PROBLEMS OF THIS STUDY

The various studies on indigenous participation in ecotourism and community-based tourism show that it is challenging to find a comprehensive model of operation that would work in the distinctive indigenous environments of the Amazon. Community projects generally have some common features and goals but despite this the outcomes of them can be very different due to the unpredictable variables of each unique context. This study aims to inspire the local communities to deliberate and reflect their culture's and knowledge system's position in the growing community-based tourism industry in Madidi National Park. By giving space to the indigenous interpretations I hope to give new understandings to how and where IK works in community-based tourism. I wish to give room for the indigenous to also contemplate their position in tourism in relation to the other actors present, and consider places for collaboration and cooperation with the multiple stakeholders involved in order to develop a sustainable industry that respects the indigenous culture and knowledge. This study hopes to bring the discussion evolving community-based tourism in Bolivia back closer to its starting points so that in possible future studies the acceptability of the impacts could be further evaluated to see whether community-based tourism satisfyingly fulfills the promises it makes on environmental and cultural conservation from the indigenous perspective.

2.1 Bolivia as a place for community-based tourism

To fully understand why Bolivia in particular is considered a rather ideal place for the development of community-based ecotourism it is essential to take a closer look at the national context. Bolivia is not only home to diverse nature and landscapes but also a vast ethnic diversity. This is even reflected in the name of the country, which was changed in the 2009 Constitution of Bolivia (Constitución 2009) from The Republic of Bolivia to the Plurinational State of Bolivia. According to the national census of 2012 41% of the population of 10 498 000 identifies themselves as being of indigenous origin. The government of Bolivia recognizes 36 different groups of indigenous peoples. (IWGIA webpage 2016.) With such a strong indigenous presence their involvement in various sectors of society isn't new. However there has been a significant drop in the self-identification as indigenous since the 2001 census in which 62% of the population claimed indigenous origin (World Bank webpage 2016).

In 2006 Bolivia became the first nation in Latin America to have a president of indigenous origin. Evo Morales won the election with 54% of the vote and has since been re-elected for presidency twice, first in 2009 (64% of the vote) and again in 2014 (61% of the vote) (Singham 2014). Bettering the quality of life of the indigenous people, ensuring their economic independence and

strengthening the collective titling of the indigenous territories are some of the main themes of Morales's politics (Yañez 2012). Even though the numbers show the strong support received by President Morales, balancing between the needs of different groups has proved to be challenging. Hosting such a large indigenous population gives indigenous conflicts in Bolivia a special nature. Disputes and conflicts don't happen only between the indigenous and non-indigenous people, but due to the diversity and different interests of the several indigenous groups for instance many land-use and right conflicts also arise among the different indigenous communities and groups. (Hindrey & Hecht 2013, 172–3.)

In Bolivia several legislative initiatives exist that underpin the significance of indigenous participation and mention the central position of indigenous people in all areas of society. The Constitution of 2009 stresses the indigenous rights and notes documents such as the ILO Convention No. 169 on Indigenous and Tribal People and The United Nation's Declaration of Indigenous Human Rights as the basis for these rights (Constitución 2009, presentación). The Law of the Rights of Mother Earth (Ley N°071, 2010) promotes the protection of all natural resources that form part of Mother Earth. The indigenous lifestyle, "Living Well" (Vivir Bien), is commonly seen to be in harmony with this goal (DeAngelis 2013, 1). The Environmental Law (Ley N°1337, 1992) states that government should create mechanisms that guarantee the participation of indigenous people in the processes of sustainable development and use of natural resources, taking into consideration the communities' specific economic, social and cultural needs. Also indigenous knowledge should be valued in the management of the resources. (Ibid., title V.)

The indigenous question is obviously openly on the table in Bolivia. Strong identification of the people however doesn't automatically mean decisions and resolutions in their favor. Bolivia is one of the fastest growing economies in the area mainly due to its richness in natural resources. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) predicted an increase of 4.3% in the GDP of Bolivia for 2015 and for 2016, the biggest numbers in South America (IMF 2015, 175). The pressure to uphold this growth and find a balance between protection of natural resources and economic needs of the country has and may further lead to difficult conflicts in Bolivia. Paradoxically even though the Constitution of Evo Morales's government highlights indigenous involvement and environmental consciousness his government has been behind many extractive projects in the country (Hindrey & Hecht 2013, 165). During his ten years in power Morales has managed to significantly reduce poverty in his country, but other problems such as corruption have grown (Aliaga & Cantó 2016; Wickberg 2012, 2). How government, headed by Morales, manages to meet diverse needs and address the current problems of the nation will play a key role in its future popularity. For the time being however the indigenous groups are in a good position to voice their concerns and participate

in the conservation and development of their cultural heritage through different projects, such as community-based ecotourism.

The General Law on Tourism in Bolivia states among the objectives of the national tourism strategy respect and conservation of the environment and the appreciation for the natural and cultural heritage of the indigenous, intercultural and afrobolivian communities (Ley N° 292, 2012, art. 4.1). This is the basis for all tourism in Bolivia. It is important to note that in Bolivia there are differences in the law as to what communal tourism and community-based tourism mean and imply. Communal tourism (*turismo comunitario*) is the term that is more generally used, but in practice it seems to be the less common model of enterprise in Madidi National Park. Communal tourism means *direct* interaction of the enterprise and the community with the tourists, based on the consensus of the community, assuring the appropriate management of natural resources, valuing the cultural and territorial heritage of the people. The distribution of the generated benefits of tourism for the purpose of Living Well must be equitable. (Ley N°292, 2012, art. 6.)

Communal tourism can be thought as a subsection for the broader term of community-based tourism (*turismo de base comunitaria*) that is defined as tourism in which the indigenous communities take part in the planning, organizing and or management of the tourism provided by the enterprise. This model underpins the principals of reciprocity, redistribution, complementarity and others that guide community life in the framework of Living Well. The investments by the community into the enterprise are aimed at reaching harmony in and development of the community. (Ley N°292, 2012, art. 6, art. 14, I.) Communal tourism can be seen as a more holistic term whereas community-based tourism is more open in that not all the requirements have to be strictly met, the community or some members of it just need to be somehow involved. The enterprises can currently choose which term they prefer to use, since no strict certification system is in place in Bolivia when it comes to differentiating between tourisms involving communities. In the research of this study evaluations or distinctions aren't made on whether the enterprise functions as communal or community-based. However the term "community-based" is mainly used since it is the more generally applied term in the English literature and studies of the subject. Note also that the law doesn't use the term community-based *ecotourism*, but in this study community-based tourism in Bolivia is interpreted as ecological as well, since the above descriptions of it match the general descriptions of ecotourism as valuing and conserving vulnerable natural environments (see chapter 1) and additionally also many of the companies in the area promote their businesses as communal ecotourism enterprises.

2.2 Madidi National Park

This study focuses on community-based ecotourism along the Beni and Tuichi- Rivers in the Bolivian Amazon, in Madidi National Park. Madidi is one of the most visited national parks of Bolivia by foreign tourists and mentioned in almost every touristic guide or handbook about the country (see for example Mutic & Armstrong 2010; Read 2002). On September 21st 1995 an area of 1 895 750 ha was converted into a protected area, of which 1 271 500 ha is categorized as the National Park (PN for its Spanish acronym) of Madidi and 624 250 ha as the Natural Area of Integrated Management (ANMI for its Spanish acronym) of Madidi (see ANNEX 2: Map of PN ANMI Madidi). In this study the term Madidi National Park will be used to talk of the whole PN ANMI area, the focus of the study being on where tourism occurs. The park is situated in the northwestern part of the Department of La Paz, reaching the boarder of the Peruvian Amazon to the west and the Beni Department of Bolivia to the east. The climate of the area varies from a cold mountain climate to a warmer climate with an annual rainfall of approximately 1800 mm or occasionally even 5000 mm in the lower parts. (SERNAP 1995.)

The area has a very rich biodiversity, with over 5000 species of plants and trees and 733 species of fauna. Several indigenous communities unevenly inhabit the park area. (Ibid.) Communities from the indigenous groups Tacana and Tacana-Quechua are the main inhabitants of the area focused on in this study. By communities in this study I mean small village-like settlements in Madidi comprised of people from the same indigenous ethnic background (“=comunidad”). There can however be several communities with people from the same ethnic background, e.g. San Miguel de Bala and Villa Alcira are two different communities of Tacana people. The communities focused on in this study are located in the lowlands near the Rivers Beni and Tuichi. In total there are approximately 33 communities comprising of approximately 3500 inhabitants in the lowlands of PN ANMI Madidi. The closest bigger urban centers from which tourists generally access the park are Rurrenabaque, ca. 5000 inhabitants, located in the Beni Department and San Buenaventura, ca. 1700 inhabitants located in the La Paz Department. (Ibid.)

The park was created by Supreme Decree N°24123 of September 21st 1995 in order to protect the biodiversity, different and fragile ecosystems, landscapes, geomorphological formations, genetic resources and natural heritage of the area. The Decree also mentions the long historic existence of the Tacana and Quechua people in the area and the fact that they have expressed their wish to participate in the development of the area and the development of modes of conservation that incorporate their ancestral rights. (Decreto Supremo N°24123 1995.) Among the objectives of PN ANMI Madidi are promoting the sustainable use of the natural resources by the people who have

traditionally resided in the park so as to better their quality of life and access to the benefits produced by the conservation, and protecting traditional technologies and ways of using natural resources. Other goals include providing opportunities for recreational activities in nature, ecotourism, environmental education and scientific investigation and monitoring of the ecological processes of the park. Article 7 prohibits all activities that aren't in line with the conservation of the area, such as commercial hunting and fishing and exploitation of wood of the rainforest. (Ibid. art. 4, art.7.)

In Madidi there is a partial overlap in the borders of the Communal Lands of Origin (TCO for its Spanish acronym) and the protected areas. Many of the lands where tourism is practiced belong to the indigenous peoples and for this reason their participation in tourism and the conservation of the areas is perceived as crucial for the success of the activities and their objectives. (Cox 2009, 64–5.) The government and different organizations help and encourage indigenous communities to participate also in the land-titling processes and development of indigenous territorial plans. Currently communities in cooperation with other organizations take part in several activities inside the park and TCOs, such as controlling illegal hunting and forest clearance, agriculture, handicrafts, palm-management initiatives and community-based ecotourism. Positive outcomes from indigenous participation in conservation and preservation initiatives have strengthened their position and inclusion in the general management of the area. One of the challenges facing the indigenous communities in the Madidi area is preventing extractive use of natural resources in the vulnerable areas by for example increasing appreciation for ecosystem services (Painter et. al 2011, 1085.) such as ecotourism.

The potential of tourism in this area has been long known and strategies for its growth and development have been called upon by the national government (“Presidente pide a” 2012). The National Service of Protected Areas (SERNAP) published in May 2012 a strategy for the development of tourism in the Madidi region, which highlights the importance of a tourism industry that generates economic income and improves the quality of life of the local communities. The strategy was developed with the collaboration of the local indigenous communities, rural inhabitants of the area and intercultural communities. (SERNAP 2012, presentación.) Since the late 1990s community-based tourism supported by the government and conservation NGOs has been the most desired model of tourism by the locals in Madidi and promoting this image has steadily increased the number of tourists flowing into the area. However there are also private companies operating in the area. Around 7060 people entered Madidi in 2010. The local communities run their agencies from the city of Rurrenabaque offering tours of usually 2-5 days to Madidi National Park and also to the wetlands (pampas) in the Beni Department. (Allgoewer 2011, 52–64.) The extent to

which the communal agencies receive financial, technical or management aid varies; some agencies are currently run purely by the indigenous, whereas others may depend heavily on outside help. Nevertheless, the importance of the indigenous presence in PN ANMI is recognized in the development strategy of the area.

2.3 Research problem

In July-August 2014 I spent two weeks in the Bolivian Amazon, in Madidi National Park, in an ecolodge along the Tuichi River. During my stay I, alongside with the other tourists, was intrigued and fascinated by the amount of cultural and local customs and traditions that formed the central part of the tourism experience. From the gastronomy to the building of the lodges and the legends of the area told by the guides everything seemed to have a strong indigenous element that had roots in the past. However, there was always also something familiar, something modern, in all the activities; motors on traditionally built riverboats, light bulbs powered by solar power in lodges with straw thatched roofs, powdered milk with local herbal tea. Community-based ecotourism placed us at the intersection of indigenous and western worlds.

How is one of the key elements, cultural tradition, of this kind of tourism maintained in the face of influences from the outside? One of the central ideas in the areas evolving ecotourism has been to utilize the knowledge and traditions of the local communities and to show and pass some of this knowledge onwards to the visitors of the area (Denman 2001, 2). Most of the guides working in the rainforest of Madidi are born and raised in the communities (Cox 2009, 310) and this strong local connection and the knowledge and skills that came with the upbringing were central to their work. However, knowledge transmission hadn't obviously been a one-way road and the local people had often adopted things from the outside. Also changes in the physical environment brought on by natural disasters and climate change had created the need for new ways of managing the environment in cooperation with new actors. What is the role and feasibility of local indigenous knowledge in these new scenarios and for the conservation of the area and cultures now?

As tourism brings together people from different cultures and backgrounds, indigenous and western, developed and developing worlds, the long-term impacts of the industry on the receiving peoples can be unpredictable and both positive and negative (Sharma 2010, 207). Can learning through ecotourism help grow and develop the knowledge base of the indigenous to better respond to some of the issues affecting them in this globalized world or will it rather bring out the out-datedness of IK? How will the context and perceptions of indigenous knowledge be influenced by new cultures visiting and sharing their possibly differing worldviews? I assume that the clash of cultures has the

potential to open up a new world for the indigenous and it will be interesting to see what reactions this causes in the communities. Over time something will inevitably happen to indigenous knowledge, because of its dynamic nature; it will increase and adapt or decrease and in the worst case eventually disappear. However, knowledge should not be seen and analyzed as a whole, but as parts of a bigger system, some parts being more resilient as others. In community-based ecotourism some elements of IK have a more central role for the viability of the industry and in some situations western knowledge, knowing and understanding is crucial. Will the stakeholders of tourism find positive ways to balance the different knowledge systems and cultures in ecotourism in Madidi?

How deliberately are the different elements of culture displayed in tourism? It is interesting to consider to what extent the people working in community-based tourism transmit IK consciously. The showing of certain manual skills, such as handicrafts and sugarcane juice production, are intentionally planned to demonstrate traditions of the local communities. The history, symbolism and underlying reasons for carrying out these activities in a certain manner may be less consciously (if at all) present in the tourist-indigenous process, and even within the communities and its different generations nowadays. The indigenous communities of Bolivia have had a nature-centered worldview (Cox 2009, 60), which is often more in harmony with the environment in comparison to modern western lifestyles that the tourists come from. The knowledge systems of the indigenous behold a wide understanding of their surrounding environment and ways of sustainably using natural resources (Senanayake 2006, 89). The nature-centered ideology can be seen as a fundamental factor in community-based tourism that guides the actions of the operators, making the practices environmentally sustainable (Cox 2009, 88). But to what extent can “outsiders” come to understand these locally born underlying values? For the conservation of the area and cultural heritage to be sustainable not only concrete traditional skills need to be passed on but also the underlying values. Tourism as a meeting ground of many different actors could be a fruitful place for this sharing of local knowledge and values for the benefits of conservation.

From the basis of this interplay and fusion of different cultural elements I have formed the following research questions:

- What potential benefits does indigenous knowledge have for conservation in Madidi National Park?
 - By what means do community-based ecotourism workers seek to transmit indigenous knowledge to tourists?
- What are the impacts of community-based ecotourism on the communities and the use of indigenous knowledge within them?

Since the arena of tourism is a protected area I decided to focus on what the indigenous see as important and beneficial in their culture and knowledge for the conservation of the National Park. In this study the fairly general and broad definition of conservation is used, characterizing it as the careful protection of flora and fauna and the planned management of natural resources to prevent their exploitation or destruction. Conservation allows room for development, whereas preservation can be described as the attempt to maintain something in its original state. Looking at conservation rather than preservation fits the purpose of this study since the original state of the area's natural resources and cultures has already been modified and changed throughout time, Madidi is not an untouched pristine environment and neither are the cultures living in the park isolated from the outside world. The results of this study can be used to evaluate how the communities and workers of community-based tourism realize the benefits of the indigenous participation in tourism. I am also curious to see if in integrating indigenous knowledge and skills into tourism they see an opportunity to strengthen the vitality and appreciation of the local cultures.

My assumption is that most parties involved in community-based tourism recognize the necessity of preserving the local cultural traditions and indigenous knowledge since they alongside with the natural environment of Madidi are the tourist attraction. But how will community-based tourism manage to answer both the needs of conservation and making a monetary profit? Also since tourism is mainly designed for western travelers it needs to find a balance between giving a unique and authentic feeling experience and providing a level of comfort that pleases the tourist (Denman 2001, 18). Whose and what needs will receive priority as community-based tourism grows in the area? I hope the results of this study will help see in what parts of planning, implementing and running a sustainable tourism industry indigenous knowledge and its transmission has viability and in which parts western know-how is vital and how these two work together in community-based tourism.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: INTERFACES AS MEETING POINTS

In this chapter I will introduce the theoretical framework that will be used to help structure the discussion between theory and data later on. As indicated earlier there are many actors from different cultural and social backgrounds involved in community-based ecotourism and interaction between them is necessary. The interface theories can help understand the relations and processes that occur as these actors encounter through and in tourism. Various factors and elements present at the interface guide the actions taken in order to reach the desired outcomes of the different stakeholders. In this study tourism is thought of as the versatile social, cultural and knowledge interface for the indigenous and non-indigenous where interests at times vary and at times are in harmony. This study focuses on what happens at the interface from the perspective of the indigenous people running tourism enterprises. To get an idea of the occurring processes I will firstly present the theories of social and cultural interfaces as broader concepts to understanding the meeting places of differing worldviews. The possibility of a social and cultural interface functioning also as a meeting point for different knowledge systems is a traversal idea that is carried along upon exploring the interface theory.

3.1 The social and cultural interfaces

Sociologist Norman Long initially introduced the concept of the social interface in order to help understand and organize some of the issues related to rural development, especially problems in the processes of public agency interventions to the rural sector. According to Long the interface is to be seen as a place, a critical point, where two or more, often conflicting, social systems, rationalities or lifeworlds encounter (Long 2001, 65). In this study the lifeworlds of the indigenous and non-indigenous take center stage when they necessarily come into contact with one another through the governments creation of Madidi National Park, forcing the actors to find common ideas and solutions about how to develop the area, for example through tourism. At the interface conflicts can arise from differences in normative values and social interests of the groups involved in the social situation or problem solving. The issues get several new meanings and are transformed as the social groups denote their perceptions on the matter and the interactions become focused on the problems of accommodating, contesting and linking the social or cognitive standpoints of these different groups concerned. These attempts to find a balance can be further complicated and diversified by the possibility that there are also differences in the resources available to the social groups and often an asymmetry in power is present in the interactions. (Long 1989, 1–3; Long 2001, 65.) This type of imbalance is also true in Madidi, where public government holds legal authority concerning the park but the indigenous hold land rights and also a certain kind of historical right.

The interface is a dynamic place and studying the interactions at the intersection of the different social systems may also show how the ambitions, interest, worldviews, perceptions and relationships of the individuals or groups involved are transformed and reshaped at the interface. Actors and institutions beyond the encounters and conflicts might also influence and be influenced by the processes happening at the interface. Therefore interface analysis can be used as a tool to look at linkage processes and structures within larger frameworks rather than solely smaller social interactions. Long exemplifies this by stating that for instance in rural development models the relationships between policy, implementation and outcome shouldn't be perceived as linear step-by-step processes but rather as complex places for constant transformation and reinterpretation by the different actors involved in development process. The development interface is the place where concepts like policy receive the social meanings given at the local level, which may transform the original intentions stated at a higher level. It is also the place of negotiation between conflicting perspectives. (Long 1989, 2–3; 2001, 69.) Similarly in tourism laws and regulations can be perceived as policies given by public agencies as to how things should work, but only in the implementation at the tourism interface do we perceive the possibly differentiating meanings given to the statements by the actors, such as the community enterprises and other social groups involved, resulting in perhaps unexpected outcomes. The analysis of the interface situations that develop between the diverse actors also helps understand the different reactions of local groups to planned interventions led by others. Even though the attention in studying social interfaces is actor-oriented and focuses on the interaction processes at a certain encounter, it again should and can also be used to reveal the larger structural processes and connections to the bigger picture of things and the knowledge/power domains. (Long 1989, 4–5; Long 2001, 66.)

The cultural interface as presented by Professor M. Nakata of Australian aboriginal origin serves as a particularly fruitful tool for this study since it aims to look at the encounters between the indigenous and non-indigenous people. The focus of Nakata's work is especially on the differences and relations of knowledge systems, western and indigenous, at their intersection, which he calls the cultural interface. (Nakata 1997b; 2002; 2007a; 2007b.) Hence it serves as a complementary extension to the idea expressed above that in the analysis of social interfaces the larger structures and knowledge domains should also be revealed. Nakata also sees the interface as a place with impacts and influence from and to beyond isolated and single encounters. Social practices, politics, histories and economics among other things are present at the interface conditioning the way people perceive the world, come to comprehend the dynamism of reality in the everyday and in choosing what knowledge is operationalized. The majority of the things we carry with us at the interface is tacit knowledge, the elements that help us organize and make sense of the daily world. (Nakata

2007a, 9.) The concrete and practical meeting point is on the ground, where the indigenous meets the western and where one attempts to transmit and translate his different outlook of reality to others (Verran, 2005). This is a crucial element in community-based tourism where the indigenous upon confronting the different cultures through their work needs to find the best ways to share his and interact with different worldviews.

So for Nakata the cultural interface is the place where the indigenous and western realms meet and where the indigenous live when they interact with the western world through work and school for example (Nakata 2002, 285). The limit between the two domains or sides is by no means clear and the cultural background constantly affects the way one interacts at the intersection. In both Long and Nakata the interface is presented as a place that is born from an encounter and to which people or groups are subjected to either willingly or unwillingly, consciously or subconsciously. Continual interactions between individuals or groups encourage building boundaries, agreeing on rules and shared intentions that mold the way the interactions are carried out, over time forming an organized interface of interlacing relations and motives (Long 2001, 69). In community-based tourism in a national park the indigenous for example need to cooperate smoothly with park rangers and other authorities to ensure the continuity of their industry and also the safety of everyone. This organized form of interaction and some common interests among actors however doesn't mean elimination of tensions. Similarly to the social interface the cultural interface is also a place for struggle, mainly between the indigenous and the non-indigenous. Accommodation, resistance, participation and other responses happen at the cultural interface when the actors negotiate among the tensions present in it. (Nakata 2002, 285.)

For the indigenous the cultural background, their way of knowing, acting and being, might often be intertwined with the western ways, making a blend of two models that guide their actions. At the intersection it becomes confusing and complex to separate the roots of one's thinking, and taking stances, interacting and making decisions at the interface can even lead to re-making cultures. The responses, interpretations and use of a certain knowledge system might even come to differ among the individuals and communities representing the same culture. (Ibid., 285–6.) The communities in Madidi have already before tourism had long-term interaction with the outside world, thus possibly already creating culturally blended responses to outside influences. In the cultural interface the response of the individual indigenous facing "the other", western domain, is stressed whereas in the social interface the interactions between social groups, naturally formed of individuals, is more central. Therefore, as Long (2001, 70) points out, upon negotiating on behalf of a group at the interface reflecting the ambitions and worldviews of the group is important yet at times challenging.

Also discovering what exactly is the culture at the interface or behind knowledge systems can be confusing at times. The indigenous as a culture beholding a certain knowledge system might be easier to comprehend and tie to a locality, whereas recognizing the roots of the perhaps more universal and general sounding western knowledge might seem problematic. However, Agrawal (1995b, 3) contends that both indigenous and western knowledge systems are socially and culturally embedded and born of a certain place and time. This doesn't exclude the fact that knowledge is dynamic, since so are cultures and societies. The interface as the place for conflict and controversy between cultures and social groups is a good starting point for inspecting what are some of the more concrete elements commonly clashing at the intersection.

3.2 Encounters of knowledge systems and power

Social and cultural conflicts may arise without differences in knowledge systems, but conflicts between knowledge systems imply differences in cultural and social structures since they are essential to the fabrication and emergence of knowledge. However understanding a culture or a group sharing the same "epistemic community" doesn't entail that an individual is bound to a mode of operation or that his social behavior is predictable or static, it is defined and redefined through interactions. The encounters, communication and experiences that people have at an interface may shape the knowledge and beliefs a group or individual possesses and even their definitions of knowledge. Nevertheless encounters can also reinforce and reaffirm personal perceptions as they are reflected against the other. (Arce 1992, 211–3.) If community-based tourism is thought of as an educational tourism it should be only natural that learning and adding to one's knowledge base happens as the tourists and the indigenous interact, but also confirmation for one's own lifestyle may occur upon these encounters when the other's perceptions and views are rejected and questioned. Importance and attention should be given to the many kinds of knowledge, such as ideas of oneself, others, the context and social institutions, present at the social interface and all social situations in general. (Long 2001, 71.) All knowledge systems and even worldviews are submitted to the possibility of transformation and development at the interface interactions.

Knowledge plays a significant role as a demonstration of power in development intervention situations where often two kinds of knowledge, local "lay" and "expert" scientific forms clash. Knowledge can be seen as one important resource available to the different groups negotiating at the interface and therefore it is necessary to note the implications of different knowledge systems. (Long 2001, 71; Van der Ploeg 1989, 145.) What the indigenous know about tourism may differ wildly from the knowledge of e.g. NGOs supporting sustainable tourism development projects in Madidi. This most likely causes need for negotiation and sharing to reach common goals, bridge

gaps between interests and include different knowledge systems. However the rules and guidelines of the negotiations taking place at the interface seem seldom to be clearly born there, but are rather governed by the surrounding institutional and social levels. These social institutions may denote to the marginalization of one form of knowledge as it is confronted by perhaps a more universally and socially accepted knowledge system. The overruling of local ways of doing things and replacing them with different ones is a threat to the local knowledge system, since often its roots are in the communally carried out actions, the doing of the knowledge. Enforcing a different model of action might also exclude local actors completely if they aren't seen as essential or able in the new model and it might also lead to creating a new dependency of the local people to the outsiders in the changed circumstances. (Van de Ploeg 1989, 145–6, 157–8.) In the context of tourism, a western industry to start with, implanting the universal model to meet the expectations of western tourists might mean the loss of certain local traditions in e.g. cooking and housing. What happens if the tourists don't like local foods or are uncomfortable in lodges with thatched roofs? A chain of dependency might be created for example in that a need for western education in hospitality services arises and also a steady income from tourists becomes crucial to the locals if they give up their traditional livelihoods. Can everyone's interests be served if only one knowledge system is given power at the interface? Are there possibilities for interdependency instead of creating unilateral dependency?

Power, control and authority are visible also in the cultural interface theory. Nakata notes that in encounters between western and indigenous knowledge systems IK is generally detached from culture and harnessed for the benefits of western set notions and targets of development. Even though the importance of IK for example for conservation and solving local problems is recognized, in many cases its use tends to become reflective of western interests. (Nakata 2002, 282.) The likelihood of this occurring in Madidi is present when well-meaning NGOs for example aim to include everyone, but fail to comprehend the implications of IK and its cultural attachment. Thus though the acknowledgement of IK at first might seem a victory the new meanings and uses given to it can be seen as undermining IK and the indigenous interests. At the interface of the knowledge systems power is often assumed and given to the western system hereby empowering also the users of it. The dominance of western knowledge becomes even more apparent when IK is subjected to processes of western validation in order for it to become scientific serious knowledge. This undermining is a new form of occidental colonization of indigenous property, in which IK is treated as a commodity adding value to the scientific field. (Nakata 2002, 282–3.) Giving IK value only as a part of a western system can be seen to leave it powerless on its own. Fortunately in some development literature the value and understanding of both knowledge systems as complementary

to each other in creating new knowledge and practices has been accepted, even though the integration of IK still is concerned with finding practical solutions to problems, which is typical to western developmentalists (Nakata 2002, 285).

Nakata sees the clashing of two knowledge systems as creating a “contested knowledge space”. The differences of the western and indigenous systems are rooted in differences at ontological, epistemological and cosmological levels making the reconciliation or accommodation of these systems a major challenge. Nonetheless the attempt to find common ground and bridge the gap between the systems is the cultural interface where innovation is born and therefore can be a desirable place to aim for. (2007a, 8–9; 2002, 286.) Tourism in a principally indigenous context should give the tools for properly using IK since it isn’t necessarily mediated or circumscribed to the western organization or worldview. The challenge is to uphold the knowledge systems once it is exposed to the interface. The overpowering of one knowledge system runs the risk of losing beyond recovery valid modes of action that could become useful again in the future.

Knowledge interfaces and conflicts don’t necessarily insinuate ontological distinctions. The differences in individual experiences, social constructions of reality and knowledge by themselves give enough material for confrontation at a multifaceted encounter. In addition the strategies of action that we develop are molded by the dynamic context, the arena of the interface, which dictates the “possibilities for maneuver and discourse”. (Arce 1992, 214–216.) Giving room for maneuver and showing disposition for discussion can also be seen as a demonstration of power from one party to another. Analyzing an imbalanced interface can help us understand how and why certain discourses and modes of action become dominant and how this dominance could be challenged and the discourse possibly transformed. (Long 2001, 71.) An interface situation between two very uneven knowledge systems can thus be studied also as a David and Goliath type battle in which the underdog aims to reject the dominating discourse of knowledge or incorporate and blend his system into the discourse thereby changing the ideas of for example what is valid knowledge and who can possess it. In community-based tourism this could mean accepting the knowledge indigenous guides have of the environment as equally relevant as scientifically collected information. This would empower the local knowledge, a key resource of the indigenous at the interface, and hence empower their position at the interface in relation to the others.

In addition to a resource power can also be seen as the outcome of an interface struggle (ibid., 2001, 71). The idea of conflict entails the idea of winners and losers at an interface even if the target is compromise and accommodation of differing ambitions. This mentality can lead to people identifying themselves as passive subjects of intervention or active actors in development. However

the roles can be quickly reversed if initially perhaps disadvantaged groups in time learn the gimmicks of a dominant discourse or mode of action and discover effective ways of defying and manipulating them. Long, by resuming Villareal's (1994) study of the impacts of a public intervention program to promote the agro-industrial activity of Mexican women of the El Grullo village by a beekeeping project, and the processes of how power relations emerge through both compliance and resistance, gives an example of how subordination can eventually lead to gaining power. Some of the women participating in the project start to give their own meanings to what it can lead to, assuming identities of entrepreneurs and active developers of their destiny. As a group they slowly become closer knit and stronger in confronting the government technicians and officials of the program about issues such as funding and training. The empowerment through the project gives confidence to challenge also local authorities and even their husbands as the women push for inclusion in decision making in other areas as well. They took the project into their own hands and managed to manipulate the surrounding social groups by assuming different identities and positions at the interface encounters when necessary. This led to a broader re-conceptualization of the relationships within the village in the new and evolving framework of authority and power. (2001, 79–81.)

Looking at power and knowledge relations shows how dynamic interfaces can be in this sense as well. Knowledge can be power, power can squash or transform knowledge and also both power and knowledge can be resources and outcomes. Everything that we are subjected to at an interface is processed through our knowledge system (Arce 1992, 230) and this is why it is important to keep the implications and challenges of this at the back of our minds upon studying who or what actually is the group and how is it presented at the interface.

3.3 Representing a group at the interface

When talking about lifeworlds or perceptions meeting and mingling the concept of the interface might seem as something occurring at a rather abstract level. However the idea does imply real face-to-face encounters of the individuals or groups negotiating at the intersection (Long 1989, 2). But who is physically put to or present at the interface when the idea is to transmit the perception of a whole social group or culture? The several external influences and the different roles that people have and assume in their lives through the activities in which they participate daily makes it complicated to establish somehow “pure” agents or representatives of a particular group. However working in a group, as a collective, in a conflict situation with multiple “opponents” can also be seen as a pertinent resource. The coalition of actors should retain a shared definition of the interface situation and have the same objectives and interests and be able to find a certain level of agreement

on what the best course of action is upon negotiation. The representatives are conceded and trusted with the power to act and make choices on behalf of the group and thus should also possess the cultural means of transmitting and translating messages at the interface. Coalitions can also be formed of networks of actors sharing common goals. (Long 2001, 56.) In tourism there is a need to represent the interests of the individual communities but perhaps the indigenous or the Tacana as a whole, a coalition, as well upon interacting and making decisions of how community-based tourism in their home surroundings should be carried out.

A further challenge in representation is that in order to reach compromise or any level of harmony at the interface the representative needs to respond also to the claims and expectations of the other actors present (*ibid.*, 70). Negotiation requires flexibility, and choosing what the important battles to tackle and win are is tricky. Representation is also complicated by the fact that the interface has the potential to transform the perceptions of the people involved and that people might also have individual goals that they wish to pursue, which could compromise their loyalty to the group. However the representatives cannot simply discard their background and initial intentions since this can easily lead to losing legitimacy in the eyes of not only one's own social group but the other participants of the interface as well (Arce 1992, 217). Since shifts and transformations are hard to predict, the best a group can usually do is put people who share the values and ideas of the group here and now to the interface. The choice of who represents a group isn't always necessarily a democratic commonly agreed upon decision, occasionally representatives are born naturally or certain active people rise to the occasions in an almost self-selected manner. For instance in tourism the community leaders might also be natural leaders for the enterprises since they are already in a way responsible for the development and wellbeing of the community. The formality of the process of choosing representation can depend for instance on how organized or hierarchic the entity and interface are. Regular communication and discussion with one's group about strategies and routes of action are essential in further developing and defining the cultural priorities and understandings (Long 2001, 77). A lot is required from a representative since it is not only enough to know who the other people at the interface are, but also what for instance the knowledge system that they represent consists of and implies at the intersection (Nakata 2007b, 143).

As mentioned, at the cultural interface the stress is on the individual who is placed at the intersection of varying cultures. He represents himself but carries obviously with him a cultural background. The differentiated responses that may occur from individuals of the same culture might not mean acculturation or distance from one's roots, but could and should according to Nakata be seen as rather reflecting the dynamism within the groups and the diversity of the contexts that the indigenous now live in. Nonetheless at least at a cultural interface a level of cohesion and continuity

is always preserved through history and narratives of what they have been as a collective and this continuity in the present is what makes people belong to a culture, an identity even in changed circumstances. (Nakata 2002, 286; 2007b; 205.) Yet we simply cannot expect even a seemingly homogenous group to react and respond to the multitude of situations and elements at the interface always in a harmonized way. Or as Long (2001, 51) suggests the cultural repertoires that consist of values, types of discourses, traditions and symbols, should be embraced as heterogeneous and hybrid. The idea of the existence of clear black and white perspectives needs to be contested. In the Madidi context this could mean not stigmatizing community members as non-indigenous even if certain decisions they take don't match the cultural norm or mainstream.

Accepting heterogeneity can also lead to getting rid of cultural or social stereotypes, even though this might once again complicate predicting actions and reactions at the interface. Even so, there is always something common within the groups, which helps us understand their complex position, but the interface shouldn't be tried to reduce to e.g. a simple indigenous-western relation. Also, a culturally or historically based deterministic perception of events at the interface shouldn't be entertained since it is a place of possibilities beholding positive and negative impacts for different people and groups at different times. (Nakata 2007b, 200.) This means that from what has previously occurred at the interface one shouldn't make conclusions of what might occur. Adding to this idea is the important point that Long (2001, 70) brings up, which is that it shouldn't be assumed that certain groups, for example ones based on gender or ethnicity, behold deeper loyalties. Hence an indigenous representative can be equally flimsy in his stance at an interface as e.g. a government official with seemingly less fundamental ties to the interest he is pursuing.

3.4 Trust and mistrust at the heart of negotiation

The last element of the social interface theory presented here is the significance of trust at the interface. As hinted in the previous subchapter trust is important in choosing representation to the interface but it is also a key factor in the interactions between different groups involved. We are all familiar with the idea that trust does not appear from nothing, but is something that needs to be built between actors and groups. Establishing good personal relations between key players at the interface is important for reaching desired outcomes (Ubels 1989, 198). The notion of trust is especially relevant in intervention situations when a public agency might become to hold in its hands the future and development of the target groups of the intervention (see for example Arce 1992, 217–246). In Madidi and tourism this means for instance that the regulations of national and local government on what can and cannot be done in the park can have significant impacts on the livelihoods of the indigenous living in it. Even though the intention of conservation may be noble at

the interface there needs to exist trust that government interests don't threaten indigenous interests or even survival.

Previous experiences of interaction with different actors or groups of other social lifeworlds can impact greatly the way these others are perceived and trusted at the interface. Having a negative experience can hinder trust and also help reaffirm one's own points-of view. Continuous deceptions and broken promises from one party can also lead to the creation of negative stereotypes based on mistrust. If for instance a public agency planned intervention fails and harms the object of intervention it can result in heavy blaming and underpin resistance to change of the people affected who would rather maintain the status quo. (Arce 1992, 222–6, 235.) Having confidence only in one's own model of action makes finding paths of collaboration and opening spaces for negotiation obviously difficult. Mistrust is thus damaging to the idea of an interface as a place for innovation and creation of new knowledge. By closing the space for negotiation the social groups are left to uphold their own visions and mindset and the opposition between participants at the interface continues leading basically to “socially constructed systems of ignorance” (Arce 1992, 217). In Madidi indigenous people withdrawing from discussion and showing obstinacy might have the effect of better preserving culture, but makes of course participation in organized tourism in their own environment impossible.

Since the impacts of actions taken can evidently be very different to different groups the planned intentions and definitions of what happens and should happen at the interface situation should be carefully discussed. This doesn't necessarily mean arriving at a consensus, but drawing boundaries and rejecting other meanings and conceptualization given is not ideal either and leads to only accepting the ideas that serve one truth of the matter (Long 1992, 149). Working towards a common goal among groups with differing lifeworlds also requires respect and trust for different knowledge systems. Long (2001, 170) describes that especially in bureaucrat – peasant relations the interplay of two knowledge systems, expert and lay, can result in more “human solutions” for the local context, which counter the superiority of purely science based economic and technological development solutions. Engaging in the use of various knowledge systems can also open the doors for broader (local) participation, when everyone is given the opportunity to understand.

Lack of communication, transparency and inclusion can thus create mistrust. Purposeful bad communication especially between two different knowledge systems can also be a demonstration of power and will to exclude or deceive others. This deception can happen for example when someone uses a specialized or technical language, a jargon, to speak to people who he knows will fail to comprehend it (Hirst 2003, 203). It can also mean omission of facts or information that the person is

privity to but influence the lives of the others as well. This sort of trickery can lead to counter-trickery, e.g. further lying and omissions by also the others at the interface, which naturally may lead to a cycle of mistrust. The presence of mistrust can also be seen to imply that the gap between the realities and perceptions of what needs to be done at the interface is bigger than initially imagined. (Arce 1992, 222.) At the dynamic tourism interface there is potential for mistrust to present itself in all imaginable relations with the indigenous e.g.; tourist-indigenous, NGO-indigenous, government-indigenous and even indigenous-indigenous. Overcoming and avoiding these potential issues is crucial for the success of the industry in Madidi. The constant battles and extremely multifaceted and difficult conflicts might make one think whether the interface really ever could be a place for meaningful interaction and development. In the upcoming analysis chapters (5 & 6) some of the places and situations open for struggles but also sharing and constructing new knowledge in the tourism interface will be presented. After this in chapter 7 a more in-depth discussion and theorization of how the tourism interface can be perceived and what implications the processes occurring there encompass will be examined.

4 DATA AND METHODS

4.1 My personal background for this study

I lived in Latin America from September 2013 to December 2014, first doing a 3-month internship in Peru and then a yearlong study exchange in Chile. My first visit to the Amazon was a guided tour in December 2013 in Peru. After the second touristic visit, which was to the Bolivian Amazon, I was convinced that I wanted to go back and study the people, nature and contexts of ecotourism more carefully in the unique environment of the rainforest. Through observing and conversing with the locals during the tourist trips I gained certain insights and thoughts about possible areas of interest. The idea of writing my thesis about something related to Latin America and its natural resources had been fairly clear to me since the beginning of my Master's degree. I minored in Latin American Studies and Spanish, which gave me the confidence to carry out a study that required a good knowledge of the Spanish language and an understanding of Latin America and Bolivia.

During my internship at the Finnish Embassy in Lima, Peru, I became familiarized with some of the development cooperation projects that the Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs had with developing Latin American countries. EIBAMAZ was a project aimed at improving bilingual education of Amazonian populations and was focused partially in the area of the Bolivian Amazon that I was interested in. The project was done in collaboration with UNICEF and it was through the people involved from both our Embassy and UNICEF Bolivia that I received great local contacts and ideas on what to study. I had also maintained contact with the people I got to know on my first trip to the Bolivian Amazon and they helped in many ways to understand the field of ecotourism in Madidi. The university courses in Chile taught me about the diversity and complexities of knowledge systems and cosmologies of indigenous peoples. Trying to grasp how indigenous knowledge systems fit into arenas of modern multicultural industries became the driving force behind this study.

My background and the relationships I have formed have played an essential role in defining the topic, finding the right people and being able to talk with them, gain their confidence and manage to have such open conversations. Without all this I doubt that I as an outsider could've gathered such a fruitful, rich and open data for this study. However this certain kind of tacit knowledge and understanding that I have has also forced me to be even more conscious and aware of maintaining my position as an objective researcher, an outsider with a fresh vision, for this study.

4.2 Semi-structured interviews as a method for data collection

The data of this research comprises of six (6) semi-structured interviews with eight (8) indigenous community members involved in community-based ecotourism projects in Madidi National Park. The interviews were carried out between October 30th 2014 and November 11th 2014 in the surroundings of the park. The interviews were all done face-to-face and recorded. They produced a total of approximately 7 hours of recordings resulting in over 120 pages of transcripts. Four of the interviews were done in the city of Rurrenabaque, one in the community of San Jose de Uchupiamonas located inside the park, and the group interview was done at the interviewee's ecolodge also located within the National Park. The criterion for the interviewees was that they had to be from an indigenous community and working in community-based tourism inside the National Park. Based on this criterion one interview was excluded from the final data since his enterprise operated in the buffer zone of the park where the same rules and regulations do not apply.

The interviewees were found by using the snowball technique, in which one interviewee or person leads to another. Initially contact was made with the manager of the agency with which I had done my first tour in Madidi in July–August 2014. He gave a good overview of the community-based tourism actors in the area, which gave an idea about how to narrow down the enterprises that should be interviewed. After this contact was made by personally approaching the interviewees through the agencies in Rurrenabaque. Also contacts from the Special Advisor of cooperation for development of the Finnish Embassy in Lima, Ms. Myatt-Hirvonen were used to reach out to UNICEF Bolivia to get an idea of NGOs in the area and their operations. This is how contact with a local researcher, Jazmin Daza, was made. She gave great ideas on how to approach the park officials who provided maps and background information helpful for this study. Jazmin also helped mold and focus the interview outline and gave ideas on culturally interesting perspectives. She was also essential in getting in touch with the community of San Jose de Uchupiamonas and the Council of the Indigenous People Tacana (CIPTA), which had surprisingly bureaucratic procedures for gaining permissions to do research on their lands.

All the interviews were carried out using the same semi-structured interview outline (ANNEX 1). In semi-structured interviews the researcher prepares a suggestive outline and questions surrounding certain topics that are to be covered during the interview (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 48). The interviews of this study all covered the same general themes, but they proceeded flexibly according to the interests of the interviewee and the topics he or she brought up and wanted to highlight. The semi-structured interview serves well the purposes of this research since it allows the interviewee to

bring out his or her subjective interpretations of the topics and emphasizes what the individual finds central to discuss about the given themes (Hirsjärvi & Hurme 2001, 47–48).

In this study I had to also consider possible challenges arising from interviewing people from a very different ethnic and cultural background to my own. Semi-structured interviewees are a typical qualitative data-gathering method for western scholars but might seem a foreign way of interaction to the indigenous of Madidi. Even though the indigenous interviewed had been somewhat trained in accommodating people of different origins I still was obviously a western outsider researching a culture with a distinctive epistemological root. Challenges in cross-cultural interviewing are various; they range from issues in communication and interpretation and understanding your own position in relation to the interviewee, to comprehending the reality of the interviewee in the most similar way possible (Ryen 2001, 335–6). My position as an outsider researcher was underlined also by the fact that I needed to seek out written permits from council leaders to be able to conduct some of the interviews in the TCOs of the indigenous. In order to overcome some of the other issues related to cross-cultural interviewing I read about and discussed with local scholars, park rangers and other people the indigenous cultures of Madidi, their history, current status and lifestyle in general. This background information was essential in establishing an atmosphere of trust and portraying understanding between the interviewees and me and it enabled me to make meaningful remarks and deepen certain themes spontaneously during the interviews. Developing rapport and good relations “with interviewees facilitates valid data collection” (Ryen 2001, 337). I was lucky in that I didn’t need to use a translator and was able to personally carry out all the interviewees without great difficulties. By establishing open relationships I managed to conduct naturally flowing conversational interviewees, in which I feel personal perceptions and ideas were shared frankly and freely and my own cultural understanding also strengthened.

In semi-structured interviews the interviewee should have first-hand experience of the subject of the study (Hirsjärvi & Hurme, 2001, 48). The interviewees of this study represent four different community-based tourism agencies; Chalalan Ecolodge, San Miguel del Bala Ecolodge, Sadiri lodge and Mashaquipe Ecolodge and three different communities. It is necessary to mention that the enterprises used in this study don’t host the tourists in the actual communities with indigenous families, but have built the ecolodge in the vicinity of communities on community owned territories and many of the companies include visits to the community in their tourist packages. All interviewees currently worked or had worked in management positions or as guides or both in their agency. The interviewees are from communities that represent the Tacana or Tacana-Quechua ethnic groups and each person had physically lived in the communities for a significant period of

time, usually growing up, but four of them had later moved to either Rurrenabaque or San Buenaventura.

Seven of the interviewees were men and one was a woman. The interviewees were aged between 36 and 59 years. Five still spoke fluently their native language Quechua, two of the interviewees spoke some Tacana and one said that he only knew the words to certain objects in Tacana. The interviews were all carried out in Spanish and I have personally translated the quotations used in this study. The quotes are coded E1–E8 and LV, E standing for “entrevistado” = “interviewee” in Spanish and LV for my own name. Seven out of the eight interviewees had received their primary education in the community school and one had attended school in the city of Rurrenabaque. The families of all the interviewees had worked traditionally in small-scale agriculture, which is typical to the indigenous of the area. The identities of the interviewed people will be kept anonymous due to delicate matters discussed.

4.3 Theory-guided content analysis

This study is a qualitative study in which the chosen theory and theoretical concepts have helped guide the analysis of the interview data in order to answer the research questions. Content analysis can be simply described as a method of analyzing documented data, such as interview transcripts, in a systematic and objective way with the purpose of describing and organizing the data into an understandable format. Content analysis is seen as a fitting method for processing unstructured or semi-structured data such as the interviews of this study. One of the benefits of this method is that it allows to examine the meanings to things as given by individuals. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 105.) By using this method I aim to give importance to the personal interpretations of the interviewees on what the role of their knowledge is in ecotourism and how ecotourism has impacted the transmission of it.

The analysis of this study is not a strictly theory-driven analysis in which the researcher tests the validity of a chosen theory in a new context. In this study the theory of interfaces and conflicts in them and what was already known of the research subject served as guiding tools for firstly making the interview framework and then the analysis. Familiarization with the central concepts and previous studies on the matter help guide the analysis so that the influence of previous knowledge is evident but not in the sense that it aims to test the theoretical framework but rather gives new perspectives and ideas to it. (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 93–99.)

In theory-guided analysis the analysis tends to proceed in two phases, where it is firstly analyzed by data-driven methods in which the research questions guide the classification of the data and the

researcher lets the data speak and bring out the different units of analysis. After this the analyzed data is approached using the theoretical framework presented. The thought process is hereby guided by both the data and the previously studied theoretical concepts and models (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2002, 97–99.) In this study I first went through the transcripts looking to organize them by common patterns, expressions and themes relating to the research questions and the interview topics and made some loose categorizations based on this initial reading of the data. These themes included for instance seeing how and where the interviewees felt they transmitted indigenous knowledge, how did others relate to IK and in what parts was conservation mentioned as an important objective of the actions of the interviewees. The initial analysis left me with several expressions and topics, some larger some smaller, based on which I returned to the data to take a closer look at what was said in more detail and what differences and similarities were raised when talking about the topic. After this the expressions and topics were bunched and regrouped into larger categories. This is how chapters 5 and 6 of this study were born. Altogether the analysis advanced in a rather natural way and it can be seen to begin by thinking how things started, then presenting what the situation is now and thirdly evaluating what the impacts have been to the present.

After this first analysis phase the theory came into play in chapter seven, when the analyzed data was regrouped to match some of the ideas presented about the interface theories (chapter 3), but also bring new ideas and interpretations to it through the indigenous context. Content analysis is often criticized for the lack of constructing meaningful conclusions and presenting the discovered themes as results (Tuomi & Sarajärvi 2009, 103). I believe that taking another look at the results of the preliminary analysis through the theory allowed me to arrive at more in-depth conclusions that go beyond just categorizing the data. The objective was to show how the interactions and impacts described in the initial analysis categories (chapters 5 & 6) fit into the idea of tourism as a place of struggle and development and through this discussion bring out the conclusions and answers to the research questions. The aim was always to let all voices be heard before approaching the categories again with the theoretical concepts in mind. This allowed the analysis develop into a fruitful discussion between data and theory and truly answer the problems with the opinions and perceptions of the interviewees.

5 INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE AND ITS TRANSMISSION IN MADIDI

In the following two chapters I will analyze the interview data collected in the attempt to discover answers to the presented research problems. The commitment of the indigenous people to working in community-based ecotourism enterprises and projects was strong and it was evident that they thought their voices should be heard at all stages of local tourism planning and that they felt they played a vital role in the conservation of the area through their tourism projects. I will first take a look at the different ways other people involved in the management and conservation of Madidi National Park have taken into consideration the use of indigenous knowledge as part of their work and what benefits IK could have for conservation (5.1, 5.2 & 5.3). After this I will go over the means of transmission of indigenous knowledge to tourists (5.4). Lastly in chapter six I will focus on what are some of the impacts of the tourism industry on the communities and their members internally.

5.1 Conservation by whom for whom?

Adjusting to the establishment of Madidi National Park in 1995 had obviously not been a very smooth process for the indigenous people residing in the areas that were to be protected. It is important to take a look at the initial reactions of the community members to the creation of the park, the arena of ecotourism, in order to understand some of the uncertainties felt in the future. Only two of the interviewees felt that their community's opinions or knowledge of the area and their way of life had been taken into consideration at the initial stages of planning the park. It had come as a confusing change to many living within the newly founded park that suddenly several of the activities crucial to their survival, such as hunting and fishing, were forbidden. The indigenous described their way of life as sustainable and validated this by the simple fact that they had lived in the area for a long time without harming it. It came as a shock to them that their existence in the park was threatened or questioned even though they saw themselves as the ones conserving it for their own future.

-- The park was established and henceforward it was "hunting prohibited, fishing prohibited, this and that prohibited, cutting down prohibited" "prohibited, prohibited", and it was prohibited, everywhere you looked things were prohibited! So to hell with it! We have lived here all our lives and suddenly everything is forbidden? And even afterwards there has been no consensus as to how much or in what parts you can or cannot hunt. (E4)

My father had a lot of problems (with the park rangers). Sometimes they would fight and he would say "You will not come and teach me about the rainforest, how the forest survives. If we would have destroyed the rainforest it would not be here now, this means that we have taken care of it, our grandfathers and us. You don't need to come and tell us to take care of it". (E6)

One of the persons who felt that his community had actually played a part in creating and defining the park noted that it had been the tourism ventures of the people from his community that had spurred the scientific studies of the area that were later used in the inducement of the government to establish the park and protect also the cultures within it. Whether any knowledge of the local people was actually incorporated into the actual studies of the park was however left unclear. Another interviewee mentioned that evidently the existence of the communities in the rainforest was not unknown to the outsiders and their cultures had been studied quite a bit also upon creating the park. Yet it seemed that instead of using the actual knowledge of the indigenous people about the area to help create a relevant and more adequate model of conservation for the park, the outsiders used the knowledge about the indigenous people merely to describe their existence:

Sure, they do scientific studies and anthropological revelations and sociological etcetera etcetera, but only to say that this culture exists and lives here, that this people is here and they know to do this, they are doing that, we need to conserve that, they are already doing it, it's a good idea, right? But like you said, to be concrete, to actually ask what it meant, what it would mean eventually, they didn't say. (E4)

The studies conducted by outsiders following western models of making science can be seen to have left the indigenous at a weak position to defend or participate with their knowledge since they might not have been able to justify it according to western standards. How they knew, lived and perceived the environment seemed different from the outsiders, but how this difference could be useful or important was neglected. One interviewee also mentioned that it had seemed unfair that suddenly people came in presenting management plans and other formal documents concerning the park that were initially difficult for the indigenous to interpret. Little was explained in an understandable way to the people most affected. A certain type of contested knowledge space was created. Nakata (2007a, 8) describes that different knowledge systems use distinct theories of knowing and following Verran (2005) he notes that no system should or can verify the "claims of truth" of a different system using its own rationale and standards. For the indigenous knowledge to actually be used effectively it would require a deeper understanding and willingness from both sides to see the other parties point of view and accept the fact that it possibly differs at an epistemological and ontological level from one's own:

The indigenous of the lowlands has a, how was the term, has a vision. And perhaps the government and everyone who forms part of government still speak to us of a worldview, right? So it is a matter of me seeing green and you seeing blue. So we need to start to respect each other from that point, I need to accept that you cannot see the color that I see, isn't this true? And for this the both of us need to have the willingness to sit down and say "okay, we understand clearly, the both of us, that I don't see the way you do and you don't see my way so let's respect your interests and mine", right? But I feel that this willingness does not exist. (E4)

As Nakata (2007a, 8) puts it: “The way we come to know and understand, discuss, critique and analyze in university programs is not the way indigenous people come to know in local contexts.” Open participation and discussion requires work and willingness from all stakeholders. The lack of meaningful communication obstructs trust building and can hinder achieving objectives. In Madidi it seemed there was still work to be done in bridging the gaps between the different perceptions and modes of operation.

The other person who also felt that there had been little conflict between the community and other parties involved mentioned that mainly different NGOs had taken the time to get to know the communities and involve them in the processes. According to the same person conflicts with the National Service for Protected Areas (SERNAP) had also been minimal since they respected the rights of the indigenous to the lands conceded to them, the Communal Lands of Origin (TCO). Painter & al. (2011, 1085) also note that Bolivian conservationists have realized that recognizing the indigenous land rights helps preserve the protected areas. This recognition helps clarify conservation objectives and agents.

Mainly different NGOs have entered to socialize with the community. -- But also we have worked in the reordering of the territory, right? So now the communities have reordered their territories where they can practice ranching, agriculture, aquaculture, coffee farming, chocolate farming and everything, so all these types of things have been organized. (E8)

Despite the recognition of land rights the majority of the people interviewed felt that not only had the park been established without consulting them, but that it was also not being conserved *for* them. Development interventions and their impacts upon entering the lifeworlds of the people and social groups affected can often receive very different meanings from those initially intended or anticipated (Long 2001, 72). Hence even if the original idea by outside authorities in establishing the park was also cultural conservation the communities internalized it differently as something obstructive to their lifestyles. The observations and sentiments of the interviewees of the indigenous needs being neglected are also contradictory to the objectives stated in the Supreme Decree of the creation of PN ANMI Madidi (see 2.2), which mention safeguarding cultural heritage and bettering the quality of life of the indigenous of the park through conservation. One might logically think that a protected area is created in order to protect the things that are left inside the area, but the actual purpose of creating the park was unclear to the interviewees. Everyone showed some level of skepticism towards the intentions of conservation of both NGOs and the government, figuring that financial benefits or accountability to investors were probably the main factors conditioning the management of the projects within the park:

No, I feel that rather they (the government) are more worried about doing business. I don't think that they are worried about either the conservation or the culture. (E6)

LV: But do you feel that many of the organizations working in this area are more worried about the environment than the culture?

E1: I think yes. It also depends on how they get their financing, their money, they have an objective, right? Several times they have wanted to manage us from the outside but we have said, "No, you are the passengers, we are staying here. Since any problems that arise once something is not well it will be us who will have the problems, not you, you will be far gone."

The priorities for conservation of the other stakeholders might echo the fact that according to the study by Allgoewer (2011, 67) most tourists come to Madidi primarily to see the nature and not necessarily the cultures and communities of the area, so perhaps it is in their interest to firstly protect the main attraction, which is the rainforest. The indigenous did not really see a difference to protecting nature or protecting culture since they described their lifestyle as one in harmony with and dependent on the surrounding environment, thus they had a strong vested interest in protecting the environment. The perceptions of the best models of environmental conservation seemed divided and trust between the different actors was fragile. Nonetheless the need to search for means of working together became clear as the fields of interest of different stakeholders grew making it important to not let one's voice be suppressed.

5.2 Paths of collaboration for conservation via tourism

Finding a path of conservation satisfactory and beneficial to all parties is a tricky balancing act between local communities, national and local government and several NGOs. Even though the communities had had some negative experiences in dealing with outsiders it was NGOs or private people that had inspired some of the agencies at different stages of developing the communal businesses and to open the doors of the communities to the rest of the world. For instance the people from Mashaquipe said that it had been a Norwegian girl visiting Rurrenabaque who had encouraged them to start their own business. It seemed that motivated community members had set up the enterprises with eagerness and that they felt ownership of the business was important. Communally owned enterprises might experience weaknesses in organization and management, but these faults can be surpassed in time (Denman 2001, 11), which seemed to have happened in the four enterprises interviewed. The profile of the touristic operations of Bolivia since the late 90s' can be described as community led agencies reliant on international cooperation (Allgoewer 2011, 52). Cooperation was important since it was also clear from the interviews that indigenous knowledge alone would not be enough to run a business, help in training personnel in different fields such as administration, marketing, hospitality services and languages had been essential to all of the businesses interviewed:

The idea is that of course the knowledge we have on the rainforest gives us a great advantage, we were only lacking the commercial and administrative knowledge. (E6)

Well I have only received some training about the environment, a week on business administration, a week to learn to use this equipment (points to the computers). (E1)

So the project had a part for training everyone in the community on different areas. They had consultants who consulted the community members on what they would like to get training on. I decided to train to be a guide, so there were many topics, right? What does the nature contain, entomology, ornithology, botany, generally everything. Because it is the base, one needs to know. (E3)

The sharing of information between the communities and other stakeholders did not go only one way. One of the tourism agencies said that it had helped the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) in monitoring the environment of the area and two other agencies said that their guides also do or are planning on doing some level of monitoring to also evaluate the impacts of tourism on the environment. Collaboration in this matter seemed sensible since the guides would be walking the lands anyway and the data collected is mutually important. Cox (2009, 71) states that the rich local knowledge of the biodiversity completed with scientific studies by biologists, ecologists, etcetera should form the basis for the economic development and land-use planning of sustainable tourism. The challenge might be in translating the way the indigenous speak of their observations to a more understandable format for scientific purposes. Nonetheless the benefits of the vast amount of knowledge gathered throughout decades or centuries are great to the conservation of the area since it helps detect changes, and as one the interviewees noted it also saves time and money when hard to get places wandered by the indigenous anyways need to be investigated:

E1: So we are in a super important place where there are species that aren't identified in scientific books yet. What does this mean? It means that you must put a lot of effort, put a lot of money into the investigation, right?

LV: But you know these species?

E1: Of course we have always known them! For example it was in the news that "discovered in the Amazon of Brazil a tapir, bigger, heavier, of a different color" No! That's not strange for us, we have it already, we already know that there are two different kinds, we already knew.

The interviewees pointed out that the knowledge they own is real lived and experienced knowledge that should be attractive to outsiders as well. Also studying the oral histories of the indigenous one might discover new species and be able to note changes in the sense that if people have suddenly stopped to talk about a certain bird, animal or plant it might mean that at that point something happened that made it disappear from the area. Traditional stories can be seen as containing very practical knowledge of the environment and geography of the areas inhabited by the indigenous

(Klapproth 2004, 79). However the awakening of some people to realize the potential of indigenous knowledge also led to abuse of the indigenous as explained by one of the interviewees:

Initially tourists came here thanks to the private companies. I believe that many times they only used us to show the rainforest, because as you know the majority of the people have the ability and even more so the elders had a lot more skills to wander in the rainforest, so they would impress the tourists, but obviously it was a problem since they usually wouldn't pay us, they would just use us and when you went to collect your rightful pay there just was no such thing, so it was complicated. (E7)

Other forms of abuse have happened in the Amazon before as well, for instance in the form of private companies taking tourists to communities without asking permission for entrance (Beahm 2011, 71). Attempting to avoid abuse and wanting to empower their own community is what led to founding at least two of the interviewed enterprises. It seemed that once the other people working in the Madidi area realized that the indigenous are capable of running successful and sustainable tourism businesses the respect towards their knowledge and way of doing things grew. The interviewees also noted this in that the shame of confessing indigenous heritage and indigeness had disappeared almost entirely among the people working in tourism. As indigenous tourism in different parts of Bolivia started to instill itself as a valid way of communities to do business the respect began to be reflected in drafts of the national legislation as well. The recognition at government level was seen as a triumph to the community-based tourism industry:

This is a clear example, in the law before there was no recognition of community tourism or community-based tourism, absolutely none whatsoever. So this is a major step forward for us that the knowledge we have is almost being recognized and particularly since I think there are companies the really for me...well you are analyzing Rurrenabaque so I believe you will see that the community run agencies are the best ones, no? (E7)

The current indigenous-friendly government of Bolivia can be seen as an important asset also for community-based tourism. At this point it's important to point out that due to significant indigenous presence in Bolivia it's fair to assume that some of the national, local and park authorities include indigenous people as well. Thus in this study when referring to "authorities" I am generally referring to people that don't primarily represent the indigenous or communal tourism agenda even if they are of indigenous heritage, hence they are seen as "others" by the interviewees.

5.3 Justifications for community-based tourism

Despite the signs of appreciation for indigenous knowledge from outsiders the support for community-based tourism wasn't self-evident. Different arguments were used to justify that it should be specifically the indigenous and their knowledge system that should be integrally involved

in the tourism industry of the area. As noted earlier their existence in the park was generally justified by their way of life, but in the justification of running tourism communally two paths of argumentation were evident: the necessity to secure a livelihood in their own lands, which also is a fight for conservation by obstruction of extractive industries, and IK as an advantage for locally sustainable tourism practices.

5.3.1 Our lands

Indigenous communities had lived and worked a long time in the lands granted to them by the government. The lands provide them everything they need, and then some, making them self-sufficient. The indigenous, ironically as one of the interviewees said, have been involved in commercial activities that can now be seen as unsustainable, such as hunting animal skins or forestry. Such activities allowed the indigenous to show skills and knowledge that they had developed, but the commercialization of the activities and growth of the scale of them, which was often done by outsiders using the indigenous as labor (CIPTA 2002, 16–22), was what made the activities undesired and unsustainable from a conservation point-of-view. With the creation of the park many of these means for livelihood were banned and the zero policies for some traditional activities also obstructed the possibility of transmitting the skills related to the activities to future generations. The indigenous as landowners needed to search new legal activities in the protected area to be able to maintain their community and culture alive:

So the indigenous surrounded by the protected area were the ones who receive the direct impact (of creating the park). Upon seeing this imposition, these norms, these laws, we the leaders said “No. If it’s going to be like this we have to find another way to use our own areas where we have walked”. And from there the idea is born. -- The only way to operate within the laws was through tourism. With this objective and effort to conserve, repopulate the flora and fauna, but also benefitting us with what was to come. -- generate sources of employment for our people, generate capacities for the human resources, re-value our own culture and avoid contamination of the forest. (E1)

All interviewees mentioned both environmental conservation and economic benefits and direct and indirect employment for the community members as the reasons for getting involved in the tourism business. There was an interesting slight division in that the interviewees who were also community leaders stressed the importance of financial benefits, whereas the people mainly working as guides or in lower management seemed to underpin conservation. Also the companies that had an association that through legal contract or regulation was financially responsible by a certain percentage of income to their communities brought into the discussion the concept of what is a truly communal tourism enterprise (turismo comunitario). They saw that their enterprises by dividing 50% of their incomes from tourism among the community made them a truly communal enterprise

whereas other enterprises were basically private ones and their commitments to the communities loose. Education in many fields, employment of community members, small monetary and supply donations, increasing the awareness about the indigenous to tourists and developing the community in other ways through tourism were some of the positive aspects that the other interviewees mentioned in arguing that their enterprises were at least community-based. It will be interesting to see if the definitions of communal tourism face the need for clarification as the industry grows, since it was a surprisingly hot issue to many of the interviewees.

A successful community-based tourism industry was also hoped to be the answer to the growing pressure from extractive and invasive industries such as petrol, forestry and big infrastructure projects such as dams and roads. The indigenous often expect ecotourism to provide an alternative to outsider actions damaging and harmful for their lived environment (Zeppel 2006, 278), although whether tourism truly can replace destructive or harmful activities has been largely debated (Stronza & Gordillo 2008, 450). One of the interviewees felt that their business had become a flagship for their whole country and saw it as unlikely that tourism would be removed from the area. However due to previous experiences of unannounced government interventions the majority of the interviewees were skeptical that their business ventures would be protected:

Like I said tourism will always try to strengthen cultural and ancestral relations, ancestral knowledge, valuing the rainforest and such things, but on the other hand politically the government of Bolivia wants to gain economic power with the topic of petrol, right? (E5)

Especially the people who had their lodge on the edge of the park believed that little by little the government would concession the lands around them for the use of megaprojects. A current example of this is the plan of an Italian company to build two dams in the park along the Beni River. The project is backed by the government and opposed by the local indigenous. (EjAtlas webpage 2016.) Land rights have been an almost constant conflict between the government and the indigenous and the Bolivian indigenous have since 1990 organized several successful protests to protect their rights (Colque, 15.8.2011). The fight for cultural conservation was nothing new:

The indigenous will not allow it (government intrusion), we will fight the only way we know how to. We have arms that make no sound when discharged. (E8)

The indigenous seemed to have a strong understanding of what was theirs and what was the right course of action in Madidi and for the communities. Some of the interviewees showed a strong passion for conserving and protecting their position in the park even if it meant resorting to more radical measures than just negotiating and talking.

5.3.2 Supporting the sustainability

Different skills and abilities that the community members had gathered through their way of life were seen as supporting the sustainability of tourism. Knowing how to use local natural resources such as palm tree leaves known as *jatata* in the construction of roofs of ecolodges or cultivating some of the produce offered to the tourists near the lodges in traditionally maintained small scale farming plots, *chacos*, were seen as some of the ancestral skills that added both charm to tourism but also awareness of a different, local and harmonic lifestyle. Even the limited possibilities to use local resources within the regulations of the management plans helped maintain the traditions alive. One skill that however didn't require use of anything material, and was seen by also others than the indigenous as a remarkable advantage, were the spatial abilities inherent to the guides. Even though this was seen as something perhaps teachable with time to outsiders or as something for which many tools such as compasses and GPS had been developed, the ease and confidence that the indigenous had in wandering around the rainforest using only their instincts was seen as a benefit:

A training is given, right? But a very short one and it is not the same to give it to a person who lives in the city as it is to an indigenous living in the country. I think it is always easier to give feedback and teach the local people than people coming from the outside. (E2)

To put in in simple terms it is like your house, right? You can be without light in your house and still know where everything is since it is where you have grown or because you have explored every corner of your house, right? -- I think it is something innate in an indigenous. (E4)

The traditions of working together, sharing and fast learning by observation were also mentioned as helpful traits to running a communal business.

Another interesting matter that reflected the notion of community-based tourism as self-evidently sustainable was the rejection of the word "eco" when the interviewees talked about their businesses, even though it was included in the official names of the agencies. Everyone had an idea of what the concept meant with explanations ranging from tourism in the big house (=the rainforest for the indigenous), harmony between man and nature, ecological tourism etcetera. Outsiders had generally given these definitions and explanations and some interviewees had strong opinions on what the reality of "eco" was. The majority saw the term as a marketing tool and attractive slogan, the use of which wasn't regulated or limited and in practice could mean just about anything:

Yes I have seen people promoting "eco", but in practice I'm sometimes left with doubt of what is called eco. During my life while growing up in the rainforest and everything I never had thought of this that is called "eco", you wouldn't name it. But when I later learned that there is a word meaning "respectful to nature", which is what I think eco means, but I then have seen big companies talking about it in practices that had nothing to do with eco. (E6)

The interviewees preferred using terms like responsible, educational or quality tourism and the term eco was perceived as something redundant. This can be seen to echo the idea that the indigenous don't need to be told to run an ecological or sustainable business in their local environment, even though as mentioned earlier there are examples of misuse of natural resources by them. The fact that the concept introduced from the western world was new and fairly loosely internalized by the indigenous also speaks of the hesitance and disinterest of them adopting foreign terms into their way of talking of things. Defining, theorizing and labeling concepts is typical of western thinking and science (Capra 1992, 29–35), whereas the indigenous saw ecotourism as something that is to be done and practiced rather than spoken of and defined. This difference between them and us was visible in many parts of the study when asking to define concepts such as indigenous knowledge. These questions reinforce Nakata's (2007a, 8) statement that a university background subscribes us to the western and scientific knowledge traditions, which mediate the organization "of knowledge and its discursive and textual practices". It was constantly important for me to try and find ways to operationalize and concretize the concepts and questions I had.

5.4 Transmission of indigenous knowledge through tourism

The idea of community-based tourism as an educational tourism was pertinent in the practices carried out with the tourists by all four enterprises. However indigenous knowledge as something transmittable to the tourist seemed foreign as a thought to the interviewees who rather spoke of demonstrating and showing parts of culture and traditions, of which some actually are the visual or oral expressions of indigenous knowledge.

5.4.1 Transmitting tangible, visual and oral cultural heritage

The easy to see and illustrate elements were the most commonly showed things of cultural heritage. Handicrafts and tangible artifacts such as rings made of coconut, necklaces made from seeds, sugarcane juice processing and even constructing a small river raft of balsa wood were some of the things the guides demonstrated and actively included the tourists into making as part of the tourist packages. Some of the tangible elements, for example canteen carriers made of liana, had come to form part of the tourism experience almost accidentally due to curiosity shown by tourists towards something the guide had thought of as routine and ordinary. Some enterprises also included a visit to the community to show tourists in what kind of houses the families live, how they are built, how food is prepared etcetera.

Three of the interviewees mentioned that it was difficult at times to encounter the things of one's own culture that might be interesting or extraordinary to the tourists when most of the activities

were very mundane to the community members themselves. The idea of everyone was to provide a good service to the tourist and keep in mind that it is the communities' livelihood at stake so making the experience pleasant was noted as more important than pushing one's own culture and beliefs if it seemed that this was not the interest of the guest. One had to be sensitive to the interests of the tourists and find a good mix between culture and environment. In guiding this usually meant reaching a balance between local color and storytelling and scientific knowledge about what is being interpreted (Denman 2001, 18). Ideally the oral stories and myths told about the animals or the rainforest would be enriched by visualization:

That is what the tourist learns here, we tell him and he also experiences because we tell about the animals and then sometimes we see the animal of the story and you see its behavior, the life of the animal. (E3)

The interviewees also noted that interpreting IK to tourists in an understandable way was at times hard and not only because of language issues which naturally made some aspects of what was being transmitted to be lost, but also because of the cultural differences of learning, transmitting and acquiring knowledge generally:

I think the experience and knowledge of the rainforest is still kept, but what you can't do is explain it in your own way to the tourists. You need to find a way, the words, how to accommodate them so that they understand, because if you teach in your manner, the way you have grown and learnt, it is difficult for them to be able to understand you. (E1)

Help in interpretation and translation was exactly what many of the guides had received in the formal parts of their training. The majority of the tourists needed guides who spoke English and obviously the tourist experience was the more enriched the better the guide knew how to translate and transmit culture into an understandable format. Evidently the majority of the heritage shown was meant just to give an idea of the culture since many of the skills are non-applicable outside the rainforest context. Therefore the success of the transmission should be evaluated on whether it made the experience more enjoyable rather than whether the tourist actually acquired the skill taught to him. Entertaining through culture was important for the tour operators and it was also a means to show gratefulness to the tourists:

We have always showed immense gratitude to the tourists especially on the last night when we have a traditional night as a farewell. There we tell stories and myths, we talk of our culture, we show our typical dance that we do. We dance and share with them, right? -- We show a part of our culture and it's not only for an hour. (E8)

IK is local and therefore only small elements of it can be passed on to outsiders. Nonetheless the interviewees mentioned that as the guides from the community noted the importance of mastering

the traditional skills for tourism purposes it inspired the transmission of the skills, related stories and other forms of knowledge among the guides. Also later on the same knowledge along with also more general knowledge about tourism management was passed on to the younger generations. Thus the tradition of sharing knowledge was applied also through tourism. The benefits for environmental conservation of this type of IK and its transmission can be argued as negligible, even though it might give people concrete ideas and inspiration to leading a more sustainable lifestyle in their own contexts. Nonetheless cultural conservation at some level did happen through the transmission of the tangible elements as their importance within the community became elevated.

5.4.2 What is left out

Not everything of the Tacana or Tacana-Quechua indigenous cultures in Madidi was up for display. Almost all interviewees stated that there were some very private, sacred and intimate aspects of culture that were not to be shared with the tourists. These included certain rituals and customs that were meant only for the communities. One reason for not sharing them was wanting to keep the rituals as untouched and respected, it was thought that the tourists could not fully understand their meaning and would think of the rituals as a spectacle put up for them:

Of some of them (traditions) we are conscious that they would be frowned upon (sneers). Some of us have beliefs, we have beliefs above all that are ancestral and practiced by our people, so it is something more mystical, like something more intimate of our culture, so it is not meant to be made a show of. (E4)

As noted above the inability to comprehend the purpose of the rituals was also thought to lead to the tourists' disapproval. Other interviewees also mentioned that some aspects of the culture might seem too strange or even salvage for the tourists and therefore were better left non-displayed. If tourists showed special curiosity or explicitly asked about these things they would be given brief explanations, but inclusion to the acts was generally uncommon among the enterprises interviewed. However all interviewees said that upon interaction with the tourist the experiences and culture was to be presented as authentically as possible without putting on a show. The Tacana and Tacana-Quechua communities in Madidi dress and appear similar to western people. Indigenous tourism in the Amazon has in some places suffered from agencies paying the indigenous for manufactured shows in which they dress in traditional garments painting themselves and dance (Mansperger 1995, 88). These kinds of manufactured displays were frowned upon and avoided by the interviewees since the rituals should happen in their appropriate time and place.

Another undesired yet fairly popular element in the tourism industry related to the indigenous was drug tourism. Rurrenabaque is one of the places where some companies offer ayahuasca tours for

western tourists. Ayahuasca is a vine found in the Amazon used traditionally by shamans in different rituals to connect with the spiritual world for different reasons such as healing. However it has become a popular attraction for tourists to come seek solutions to their personal problems. (Dobkin de Rios 2005, 203–7.) None of the interviewed companies offered ayahuasca tours and they shunned the idea of sharing these rituals with tourists. Everyone admitted that their tourists did ask about them, but usually out of curiosity rather than actually wanting to participate in the rituals. The Tacana people said that it was something they practiced privately but that one had to be very careful and use a good and trustworthy shaman. Using ayahuasca without the appropriate knowledge was seen as completely irresponsible:

In our culture someone is born with this ability (as shaman), so it's not like "Ok Liisa will do it", no. Someone for some reason is born with the ability so they are the indicated person. For example we at the lodge do it three or four times a year with everyone, but not the tourists, it is something much more internal and it is one of the things we don't really comment on or want to involve in tourism. (E7)

The interviewees expressed also that they rather not share things that they do not know about. Some of the traditions were nowadays only stories about what their ancestors had done and the interviewees felt they themselves didn't have enough knowledge or understanding about them and therefore preferred to leave them intact so as to not misinterpret them to others. This reflects Morolo's (2002, 1; after Nakata 2002, 283) idea that knowledge and its place in the community needs to be understood from an integrated perspective including material and spiritual aspects of the society and the complicated relations between them. Choosing not to carry out activities that aren't fully comprehended can be seen as respect towards what was known before.

5.4.3 Sharing values and the reciprocity of knowledge

If transmitting and interpreting the visible and tangible was at times hard, one might guess that explaining values that arise from a biocentric worldview was even more complicated. All of the interviewees said that in their personal and communal lives they still carry out certain rituals that are meant to show respect to Mother Earth and strengthen the harmony between man and nature, such as asking for permission and giving offerings in the form of coca leaves, tobacco or alcohol when starting cultivation or building a lodge in the rainforest. However when asked about whether the underlying values of what is done are explained to the tourists the interviewees said that it would be important to do so, but concrete means of doing it were hardly mentioned. The subconscious nature makes it difficult to transmit the intangible aspect of indigenous knowledge. Passing on knowledge of this sort rarely happens in conventional teaching situations (Nakata 2007a, 8). Nonetheless, for the survival of indigenous culture planting ideas of their worldview is valuable

to helping at least understand the communities better. The extent of linguistic expressions of the relation with nature appeared to be limited to a few words and was found challenging:

Yes, we teach this part (values) to the tourist as well. That in reality it is everything, that man as you said is not the master of the earth, of nature, but nature has its own master which is Mother Earth. (E8)

I think we do try, but I think it's still at a very low level the topic of the worldview. (E7)

The objective in tourism should hardly be transmitting an indigenous worldview but rather explaining parts of how and why the respect for the lands has developed. Describing the roots of the relationship that the community historically has with the land and explaining why the community had become involved in ecotourism were ways of doing this. Showing pictures of olden times and of the construction of the lodges and also by explaining how the lands had always provided everything they needed for their people were concrete means of explaining the respect for the places the indigenous inhabited. Inviting the tourists to see the community working and living together was an implicit way of showing family values. The relationship of the indigenous with the place had developed through time and across generations; therefore transmitting it to tourists could only be superficial. Tourists cannot become IK “knowers”, since they are not the agents of the knowledge (Nakata 2007a, 9), but they can respect it:

I think there is respect for what was before, right? The people that come here, as X said, they are environmentally aware, educated people, right? -- It's not hard to make them understand and for them it's also to come and see us they go “wow, these people haven't even finished school, or haven't studied anything, they are from a community and they have accumulated so much knowledge”. – I think they always express their respect towards local knowledge. (E4)

The previous quotation also expresses another thought that the majority of the interviewees brought up; the fact that the people who come to the park are often already quite environmentally aware. This was also implied by some people using the term “quality tourism” to mean that the quality of the tourists was good in the sense that they were respectful towards what they had come to see. The tourists often shared many of the environmental values of the indigenous peoples, which made working with them easier. Understanding the indigenous lifestyle was something seen as important in understanding how the local tourism worked. Many of the interviewees also noted that in some cases the tourists had a better and more advanced understanding of environmental protection in things such as waste recycling, ethical diets or renewable energy sources. So even though the indigenous qualified their lifestyles as sustainable they often were unaware of some of the common practices of what could be seen as the western environmental lifestyle, related often to more urban environmental problems. These were new somewhat strange issues for the communities and they

hadn't always received adequate training to deal with them and were therefore thankful if the tourists could help in educating and training on the matters:

Evidently we are very lucky that our tourists that visit us the majority are very conscious of this (environmental values) and I think that many times they are a lot more educated than us in recycling their trash. But despite this we also want to have the knowledge to be able to teach this because we want to protect. (E7)

Some tourists also had scientific or broader biological knowledge about the flora and fauna that was occasionally shared with the guides. Reciprocity is one of the principals that should guide the tourism happening in Madidi National Park; this is even stated in The General Law on tourism (Ley N° 292, 2012, art. 6). Reciprocity meaning exchange and complementarity is a concept often linked with indigenous communities and their social structures. It materializes for example in the concept of *Ayni* which means mutual work for instance when one family helps another family in sowing and harvesting (Zibechi 2010, 20, 54.) In tourism in Madidi it seemed that there was reciprocity of knowledge between the tourists and the communities:

In tourism one wants and comes to learn, right? -- So there is a relation of knowledges from both sides. For example you can tell me about your country and I will tell you my things. So there is a relation of many things that goes to building trust and one sees "oh so in Finland it might be so, but here it is like this" And the relations form by learning from the tourist. (E5)

Many of the physical elements provided in tourism had also been subjected to this sharing of ideas. The guides had observed and also talked with the tourists about their interests and likes, which had helped to improve the services they provided. For example some traditional foods were modified to better fit the taste of the western palate and comfort had been added to the sleeping arrangements of the tourists. The indigenous noted that a level of openness was crucial to the success of tourism and one had to be welcoming and mutually respectful to both lifestyles. The unwillingness for example of the Masetén and Tsimané people in the neighboring National Park of Pilon Lajas to fully share their culture with the tourists and their skepticism towards the industry was seen by the Tacana as one of the reasons for their failure, whereas the communities in Madidi were described as generally more open and receptive to outsiders. The aim of inviting the people to come to know the indigenous lifestyle was to simultaneously show the beauty of the rainforest and help them understand the importance of conserving it also for the cultures. This was hoped to be one of the memories and perceptions that the tourists would take with them upon leaving:

I think that what I would want and what we seek is that the tourist leaves understanding a bit how we have been able to live for so many years in the rainforest and how we have achieved to conserve it. And that he feels part of this effort we are making to protect this place. (E7)

Conveying the positive aspects of indigenous life to conservation was clearly the objective in sharing the culture. How this translates in the minds of the tourists and whether it has clear impacts is hard to evaluate, but sowing the seeds of the indigenous as the agents of protection could help gather more widespread momentum for both cultural and environmental protection as tourists take new impressions with them to their western context. Community-based tourism can be seen to support both the anthropocentric worldview in conservation when man is given the responsibility of nurturing, but also showcases the indigenous biocentric view of conserving through harmony and coexistence. Tourism could be perceived also as a chain of conservation where the tourists have the opportunity to protect the cultures which in turn protect their environment. The next chapter continues by analyzing to what extent tourism has been able to conserve the cultures and looks at the other impacts of the bilateral processes of tourism.

6 IMPACTS OF ECOTOURISM ON THE COMMUNITIES

The multiple impacts of tourism on the communities naturally contain both positive and negative elements and the perceptions of this, what is good and what is bad, varies on individual and communal levels. In this chapter both types of impacts will be analyzed from the data in order to answer the third research question of impacts on communities and their use of IK and to lead the way to the discussion and conclusions in chapter seven.

6.1 Appreciation and pride – empowering the locals

As noted earlier (5.4.1) tourism had encouraged the guides to develop and sustain certain cultural traits as they were seen as attractive to tourists. Similarly tourism in general seemed to have raised a newly found awareness and appreciation among the communities for their ancestral heritage. Noticing that someone was interested in their culture and knowledge bolstered up the self-confidence of many of the locals and not only the ones actively partaking in tourism, but also indirectly of the whole community according to the interviewees. Creating appreciation and respect for local traditions is one of the hoped impacts of community-based tourism (Denman 2001, 2) and it seemed to have happened in Madidi. Also experiences of success in managing their own enterprises brought feelings of pride to the indigenous, especially since they had heard stories of failure of community-based tourism in other parts of Bolivia. The newly found respect for indigenous knowledge among the people themselves was also elevated when they realized that it was the focal point of the daily tourism practices. Even the vast amount of western knowledge required hadn't managed to make all the local skills and traits invalid, on the contrary IK had rather helped develop the tourism product offered. The interviewees said that being indigenous obviously had value in tourism and they didn't see their way of running their companies and advocating simultaneously for conservation as hindering local development. They were aware that they were dealing with a fragile industry and that success was not to be taken for granted. This made the accomplishments even more remarkable and pride was taken in being able to give back to the community through tourism.

Any tourism will always help you in, well, one is the financial part and the other is the social part, right, the giving value to the culture that one looks to see. And because in the rural communities we have been seeing that people no longer wanted to be, no longer were valuing their self-confidence, they didn't want to speak quechua or speak this. -- But people were leaving and forgetting what was from our ancestors, right? So this helped a lot, helped recover what we have of our ancestors in order to show in a touristic activity and that we also learn to teach to the people who come to visit, right? (E5)

So not only had tourism brought with it economic sovereignty and opportunities to some of the communities, especially to the ones in charge of the businesses, but also aspects of psychological empowerment to the people. Psychological empowerment can mean enhancements of self-esteem and wellbeing, which may lead to greater confidence to further educate oneself and embark on other activities of personal development. Employment and income can also give status especially for groups that generally have low-status, such as women and young people. (Scheyvens 1999, 247.) Many of the interviewees mentioned that access to further education was one of the objectives of the community members involved in tourism. One interviewee also said that it is especially women who during high season are important to the industry and have a lot of work. Of course it can be debated whether working as a waitress, cook or maid, which seemed to be the main work given to women, really elevates the women's self-esteem, but at least it offers the opportunity to work outside the household and have personal incomes and perhaps a greater feeling of independence. Another interviewee mentioned that it was especially the youth that was open to tourism and saw the opportunities in it, whereas the older generations might have been a bit more apprehensive at the beginning due to previous experiences of abuse and mistreatment:

Now the youth we see that tourism is an opportunity to preserve this nature that we have if managed appropriately, because no matter what tourism will have an impact but if we manage well I think we will be able to conserve what we have, but simultaneously have utilities to live better, have better education, which was most complicated when we were living in the forest, there was no education and obviously let alone a healthcare center. So I think this has changed, the way people act...I mean this new generation of young people we think that yes, this is an opportunity. (E7)

Holding the ropes of tourism in the community's hands was perceived as important. Two of the enterprises had formed associations or boards that were the authorities in making decisions about tourism activities and the other two enterprises were less formally organized with the community in the decision-making policies. However everyone noted that benefits for the community and local culture were of the essence in their business. The opportunity for local decision-making can also be seen as a way to bolster the indigenous people's ethnic pride. Advocating local control makes possible the planning of a culturally adequate and harmonious industry, strengthening the possibilities of sustainability and stability for the locals. (Timothy & Tosun 2002, 187.) Even though outside help in certain issues was necessary as noted earlier (see 5.2), promoting community management of tourism can also serve as a form of political empowerment of the people. This means that the interests, worries, questions and opinions of all the community members are heard and responded to and that the people are also given the chance to be represented at higher-level decision-making bodies whose actions affect the communities. (Scheyvens 1999, 247.) In Madidi in regards to the four interviewed enterprises the political empowerment at the communal level

seemed to function in the sense that tourism was carried out in harmony with and within the community. However the structures of representation at the local government level were still somewhat unclear and comprehensive participation and discussion weak:

Yes, now they have a representative in the administrative council, right. And well, there they decide how to do things. But unfortunately sometimes there is someone who just decides and the others approve. (E6)

Giving and obtaining political control and even economic control to local communities or enterprises is generally the most challenging part of creating a truly sustainable ecotourism industry (Honey 2008, 31). Nonetheless it was clearly the target and hope of all the people interviewed, even though they were aware that in order to achieve it they needed to organize themselves more effectively.

Despite needs for improvement in the political empowerment of the communities the indigenous obviously felt that tourism had increased the appreciation for their culture not only in the places where touristic activities occurred but also generally in the Bolivian society. This was reflected in the felt changes of the outsider perceptions of the indigenous when they participated in life outside the communities. For example one of the interviewees expressed that in the past they had been discriminated and mocked for the way they dressed and talked when they attended school in the city of Rurrenabaque, but this had now changed. The interviewees felt that tourism had helped renew the image of the indigenous and erase some of the ideas of them as backward and uneducated people. It had also managed to correct some of the romanticized stereotypes of the indigenous as completely savage and wild people rummaging in the rainforest. The purification of the indigenous image had been a long process and the local people took pride in the fact that they had been the agents of their own destiny on this account as well:

24 years (since the first march for indigenous rights)! To be able to make something that is recognized of yourself, right? Being indigenous has a value, it is valuable to have an identity and identify with something, with someone or with a culture. This is the case now, but we don't owe it to anyone, to no government. This is something we the indigenous have recovered, this recognition. -- And in addition we the indigenous are doing something unique, no? Tourism, ecotourism, they (the guides) are using their knowledges. And this logically has mended their self-esteem, their perception of themselves. (E4)

The shame was finally disappearing as the idea of the indigenous as the “poor peasant” (E5) was being challenged by the new educated, business-oriented and very capable indigenous. This goes to show that at its best ecotourism can also work as a tool to promote and raise awareness of other indigenous issues such as education, democracy and human rights (Honey 2008, 31). As mentioned many highlighted especially the need for education and were happy to be able to participate in it to

even higher levels. It was seen also as one way of overcoming some of the new challenges brought on by tourism, such as the necessity to learn a language. It might seem a bit paradoxical that some of the new needs of the indigenous, such as learning to recycle and speak English, were actually created by the western tourism industry and the solutions to them were also offered by formal western style education. Many of the ideals and aspirations of the desired path of development had come from the outside. Would they have known to want these things without tourism? One might also ask couldn't and shouldn't the indigenous have indigenous solutions to the challenges of community-based tourism? Nonetheless overcoming the challenges be it by outsider methods or otherwise did seem to elevate their self-esteem, confidence and pride and thus empower the communities in different ways. However even though it seemed that tourism gave equal opportunities to everyone in the communities it was also clear that not all communities or even individuals had the equal abilities to capitalize on these opportunities. The next subchapters will focus on what types of inequalities, conflicts and shortcomings were perceived to arise through tourism when empowerment and cooperation failed.

6.2 Conflicts and changes between and within companies and communities

The normal procedure to starting community-based tourism for all four enterprises had been quite similar. Firstly they had consulted the communities about their feelings on the project, making it clear that not everyone needs to be actively involved, but the community as a whole can still gain benefits indirectly through the project. Generally this meant improvements to the infrastructure or services in the community. Secondly permission to build the ecolodges on the communal territory was sought from the central councils of the indigenous people to which the entrepreneurs belonged to and then higher local authorities. In community-based tourism it is important that the community can trust the management in that they will do what is right for the majority. The interviewees did mention that not all goals or promises to the community were always fully met, at least not in the intended schedule. Upon asking about the biggest conflicts or obstacles to managing the tourism projects the lack of know-how about how the industry works was mentioned almost by everyone. This didn't only mean not knowing how to market, guide or do accounting, but also understanding the larger structures and implications of the industry and being able to evaluate properly the possible problems and pitfalls of tourism in the long run. The indigenous might find it challenging to adjust to an industry that brings benefits only in a longer timeframe and not instantly. Many of the traditional activities such as hunting and even farming allow reaping benefits faster than tourism, which requires time and constant work and still provides no guarantees of success (Allgoewer 2011, 118). Not comprehending or being able to explain to the community how the industry gives back at times caused conflicts when the people were expecting benefits and money as

soon as they saw tourists enter the lodges. The longer processes of building an industry and for example investing initial returns back into the company to improve the service can seem incomprehensible and deceptive to people reliant on the incomes.

The lack of knowledge and understanding of how tourism works as an economic activity, as a business. -- That is the source of many things. It's to say, we don't understand and well this causes conflict, conflict at the local level let's say, disputes. -- I think that in the distribution of benefits is where we haven't known, we haven't it hasn't been strengthened a lot this part and this has caused rifts in the society itself and in understanding how an enterprise generates money or has to make me money. (E4)

As feelings of confidence and pride can lead to empowerment, the lack of them and the lack of knowledge about the tourism structures and necessary skills can lead to disempowerment even if the indigenous are ostensibly involved in tourism development (Höckert 2015, 76). Besides increasing formal training one way of overcoming issues related to trust and doubt towards the industry could be hearing success stories from one's peers, in this case the other communities that had managed to establish prosperous and sustainable companies in the area. Chalalan and San Miguel are generally acclaimed as the pioneers and models for community-based tourism in Madidi and especially the example of Chalalan has been even internationally acknowledged as a strong demonstration of indigenous efforts in tourism (see e.g. Allgoewer 2011, 105; Rome 2007, 204; Stronza 2008, 108; Zeppel 2006, 82). It seemed that there was a lot of know-how and experience about what to do and what to avoid, but upon asking the interviewees whether this knowledge was shared among the communities and companies everyone responded that neither had they received or given any kind of training or shared their ideas or experiences with the other companies of the area. Some of the more renowned entrepreneurs had travelled abroad to talk of their company, but sharing at a local level was nonexistent.

Yes we have done this (shared our experience of communal tourism). We have been to other parts, we have tried a lot to talk about in France and Spain, with I don't know, other people in other countries. The government took us to exhibit our experience in South America, in Peru, with Brazil, in many parts, Ecuador. So we have tried a bit to inform on how to develop the activities, the economic part of communal tourism. (E5)

One of the interviewees said that he had tried to push for more collaboration between the different companies for example in the form of a centralized tourist information office where tourists would be presented with various options and operators and then based on the information provided be able to choose the best suited option for him, e.g. the best lodge for bird watching or family friendly tours. It has been argued that in Rurrenabaque tourist companies should work more together in evolving more adequate management models, promotion and marketing and finding solutions to the common problems that the agencies have in order to cut costs and better develop the local industry.

Instead of competing constantly with each other it would be more beneficial for Rurrenabaque to focus on improving its services so that it could compete internationally with the other neighboring countries offering tours to the Amazon, mainly Peru and Brazil. (Allgoewer 2011, 14.) One of the interviewees said that he didn't feel that there even was real competition in Rurrenabaque, since the numbers of tourists in the area were still relatively small compared to the neighboring countries. He suspected that the tourists that they mainly got were the overspill of the people who weren't for some reason able to go to Peru. It seemed to be a challenge to build a local quality tourism industry instead of having Bolivia and Rurrenabaque become perceived as the cheap option to access the Amazon.

Besides the lack of mutual sharing of experiences about work many of the interviewees also noted that the relations between the communities and people had also chilled after the creation of the park. One person noted that the indigenous before used to walk and move more freely in Madidi and the lands were seen as shared common and freely accessible places, but now people seldom visited the other neighboring communities and everyone was concerned about owning and safeguarding their or their communities' property and lands. The interviewee who mentioned this also exclaimed that he felt it was outrageous and ridiculous that people, even sometimes the indigenous, were charged entrance or needed a permit to enter the park or the communal lands. It seemed that natural interaction among the indigenous had diminished as people became more protective of what they saw as theirs. These types of struggles as to who owns natural areas and parks are quite common between the indigenous and national authorities and even development NGOs (Honey 2008, 98), but it seemed that similar mentalities of ownership and jurisdiction had regrettably seeped into the relations among the indigenous communities themselves. Even though the interviewees said that a certain level of control was logically necessary to the sustainability of tourism, it seems paradoxical that the control and even surveillance was noticeable among the indigenous who according to themselves didn't pose a threat to the park and nature, but apparently did cause some kind threat to the other activities of one another and the other indigenous communities.

Despite some changes in the relations between different communities according to the interviewees the traditional hierarchies and social structures within the communities had remained fairly untouched even though new structured entities, such as associations, were created to organize the management of tourism. However some had also noted forms of individualism and cracks in the traditions of cooperation and even transparency among the local people as well. This lack of a shared vision and benefits for all wasn't only limited to handling tourism but also representation of the indigenous communities as one altogether. It might be an exaggeration to say that the people who once had held a united front in order to protect their rights were now becoming divided in

some central issues, but one interviewee did in quite strong words say that he felt that the structures initially built to protect them seemed to have turned against them to serve the needs of the individual or a small minority:

I think it's true that we are seeing very weak minded people. And what's happening let's say is that we the indigenous people are finding ourselves sometimes divided due to lack of being able to think and because of the poverty that sometimes, well, they'll offer somewhere a source of work, pay you a bit better or give you money and you are making important decisions, but you are making personal decisions in the name of your people, which obviously in time will be harmful. And this is why we the indigenous find ourselves completely divided, one organization here, another there. Politics has infiltrated itself here, right? Sold-out leaders who have committed to things that have led to direct personal interests and well because of this really you can't even speak the same language among the organized indigenous peoples because there is someone in between filtering and taking the information and giving it to others. So we are almost undone. Our old national organization that presented us spoke on behalf of a tiny part of the people, not for 100%. -- It is very fragile, right? Poverty makes you interfere where you shouldn't and weakens you in a great way. (E1)

As Scheyvens (1999, 248) following Taylor (1995) points out, it would be rather romantic and even utopian to think that indigenous communities would distribute and share the incomes and other possible benefits of tourism without problems. All communities contain inequalities that might even become highlighted when a fruitful and profitable mode of income is brought in but fails to incorporate and benefit everyone (Scheyvens 1999, 248). This fear of misrepresentation could also be one of the issues that made some people skeptical towards tourism and also something that was hard to foresee upon starting up the business. If other activities were carried out in the community together why wouldn't tourism work within the same rationale as well? The ideas of representation also come back to the problem of whether an individual or what kind of individual is truly capable of representing a group's interests over his or her own ones (Long 2001, 70). The above quotation mentions poverty as the issue causing misrepresentation and it can be thought somewhat ironic that even though tourism was meant to eradicate poverty and better everyone's lives it seems to in some cases have underpinned underlying negative issues.

Despite even severe disputes in the communities and limitations to certain livelihoods the people managed to still preserve and carry out many of their traditional activities in the communities albeit in a somewhat changed fashion. It is logical that not everyone in a community can work fulltime in tourism, since that would mean neglecting and ignoring the other chores central for the existence and functioning of the community and also leave it vulnerable in the case that the tourism projects fail. All of the interviewees mentioned that traditional livelihoods, mainly agriculture, were still practiced for at least self-sufficiency and in some cases also for economic profit. Tourism in Madidi had thus not taken time away from many of the ancestral activities, even though it is a risk

especially when a community comes heavily dependent on tourism practices (Mansperger 1995, 88). However the introduction of money, which had partially already happened from other non-traditional activities than tourism, also influenced the way that the traditional activities were carried out. As money became the incentive for work not much seemed to happen without it:

There has been a change, because people don't barter (trueque) anymore. Before as there was no economic activity, there was little produce and people bartered in the way that "I'll give this and you give me that" or "You help me today, and I'll help you tomorrow", right, helping one another. In quechua we call it Ayni, right? But now there isn't a lot of this anymore. So if you don't have cash, you just can't...this has changed yes. (E5)

So the idea of helping others in exchange for money had become more common whereas the concept of reciprocity in physical labor was left in the shadows. Disruptions to social customs of reciprocity seem to be a rather common consequence of tourism, which can lead to inequalities in the socio-economic status of people (Mansperger 1995, 92). In this sense tourism can have a negative impact on the community members who aren't involved in it and don't receive a monetary compensation for their traditional work. This together with possible inadequate and only partial representation could make one wonder whether community-based tourism really has the potential to empower the whole community, even the ones on the outskirts of the business? The interviewees mentioned that the people who didn't participate centrally in tourism usually kept away simply because of disinterest or skepticism towards it. It is true that since none of the companies hosted the tourists in the communities, the possible disturbances and everyday impacts of the tourists to the people not involved were quite minimal, but impacts on a larger scale might have been greater and not always even so obvious.

Another shift that seemed to have occurred due to tourism was the way the indigenous benefitted from their surrounding nature and their knowledge of it. All the interviewees said that Mother Earth had always provided everything that they needed and some people saw tourism as a continuum to this. One of the interviewees said that it was always better if they could benefit from the forest without damaging it and another interviewee said that it was also the idea that what the indigenous did would benefit the forest, e.g. help it reproduce and conserve it. A change had happened in that because of tourism knowledge about some of the things in the rainforest, e.g. many animals, had become sources of economic income rather than sources of food. Thus the same object that before went straight from hand to mouth now brought money that made possible the purchase of other products of nourishment. The idea of natural resources having a monetary value wasn't a novelty since the indigenous had participated in forestry or hunting that also gave monetary profits, but tourism created a shift in the mindset of the people in the sense of making it possible to see that by protecting your culture and environment you can gain money. Even though agriculture was also a

sustainable method of self-sufficiency it often didn't produce anything extra like tourism now did and this new interest towards the resources had to be explained to the other community members as well:

We say "You will not kill this monkey, because of this monkey you can make money. The monkey is worth more in its natural habitat than on your plate, ok? So you might enjoy your meal a lot, but of this monkey you can get a lot more incomes by bringing in more tourists, right?" (E8)

Also new western concepts that came along with dealing with money had to be learnt. For example loans, debts and pricing and their implications and consequences needed to be understood so that the people wouldn't get scammed or become otherwise vulnerable in tourism. Two of the interviewees said that at the beginning they had had little idea of how to price their services and had often invented the prices from the top of their head when the tourists arrived. This was at times frowned upon by the more organized agencies that saw this as a scheme to lure tourists by testing how much they were willing to pay even though the interviewees said that it was pure unawareness of how to define prices. Another demonstration of the naivety of the indigenous was that due to the openness that the Tacana described as characteristic to their people it had been a strange idea at first to charge people for visiting them at all. As commented before, the people had before moved more freely and the idea of gaining something from just walking around with people, selling them an experience, was new:

Someone said to us "But you are not benefitting! Yes! Because these people that come here bring a lot of money and you have nothing, so you can profit because you are the ones that really have everything, this ecosystem, this rainforest, not just your bananas and pineapples and other fruit, but everything!" "Oh so of ourselves we can make money?" And that's how the idea came from the outside really. (E6)

These ideas of making a profit out of Mother Earth might be perceived as contradictory to the idea that nature in the indigenous worldview is often presented as having an intrinsic value. Also, do you even really need money to preserve your culture and the environment? Weren't they just fine untouched? The situation in Madidi however makes it crucial to offer alternatives to the pressure of other industries and the indigenous denying tourism as a viable option just because it objectifies nature could be destructive. Also tourism does in a way support the idea of bilateral caring when people and nature nurture each other as they live together in harmony. Nonetheless some of the interviewees did see many of the western elements that had come with tourism, a profit seeking business no matter who runs it, as alienating the indigenous from nature and from their previous lifestyles. One interviewee stated that if the people so involved in tourism would stop for a moment and observe what richness really is and value it, the nature surrounding them, they would no longer

talk of poverty in the communities. Even though many of the impacts mentioned in this chapter don't seem direct to the use of indigenous knowledge, they do have the possibility of causing indirect impacts if the underlying structures and the locales, the people and places, of the users of the knowledge change dramatically. The next and final subchapter of the analysis will continue to look at the threats and possibilities of tourism to not just the communities but to the individuals, especially focusing on the impacts of western and indigenous cultures clashing on the possibilities of transmission of indigenous knowledge.

6.3 Widening of the worldview – threat or possibility?

The most evident change that was mentioned by all the interviewees was that tourism had forced some people and on the other hand given the opportunity to some to move to the cities of Rurrenabaque or San Buenaventura. The interviewees who had moved to the cities had seen it as necessary for their work since that was the entry point of tourism and the agency's offices were located there. Only three of the interviewees currently lived in the communities even though the majority still had strong connections and family in them and some even a house, which allowed them to visit frequently. The people who lived with their families in the cities acknowledged that it would be challenging to transmit to their future generations the same values and knowledge that they had received growing up in the rainforest:

It's not that easy now here in Rurrenabaque, but what I can follow I still follow and am transmitting to my children somehow. But it's not the same anymore because the context isn't the same, right? I lived in the rainforest, so there, so the difference, I understood differently. For example my family would say that everything there weren't my enemies, but my neighbours, the wasps, the ants, the insects. We had to co-live with them, they had the necessity to live and even more I would say we had to provide for them seriously so that they would see me as their friend. --. It's not the same now and I think that sometimes we do, we teach just a sample of what was before, but to make it so...(E6)

Reflecting on what was described previously about the nature of IK and its transmission (see 1.2 & 1.3) it is understandable that it suffers greatly when it is taken out its context and transmitting the underlying structures and values of it becomes nearly impossible. If people for example no longer need to hunt or fish for their food the skills will quickly be lost. The applicability of the knowledge is also a part of what makes it valuable and if the children fail to have the chance to live the knowledge it could be hard to make them comprehend its value. If the new generations residing in cities never learn and thus transmit indigenous knowledge or other cultural elements to their descendants the impacts on continuity will obviously be devastating. Cultural assimilation, urbanization and in and out migration are among others some of the more common threats to the preservation and transmission of indigenous knowledge or traditional ecological knowledge. The

values and perceptions that are handed down from one generation to another are meant to help the youth adapt to and survive in the community life and its social structures. (Cristancho & Vining 2009, 230–3.) If the setting of transmission changes from the communities to for example schools, the learning of one's own culture tends to become a more individualistic experience in contrast to learning by living. Many of the interviewees cherished the fact that they had had the chance to learn from their ancestors and recognized that not everything about their culture and lifestyle could be taught in school, even though the possibility to get cultural education as a part of formal education was also seen as important.

It is completely understandable that skills from the rainforest that are useless in the city are not upheld but replaced by skills necessary for daily urban life. However this does not have to mean that the values, roots and worldviews should be perceived as obsolete or disappearing. One of the interviewees did mention that even though he lived in the city he felt that for being indigenous he would always feel a yearning to return and connect with the rainforest. Another interviewee also believed that despite being disconnected physically from nature the indigenous would maintain a great deal of the local knowledge since it was innate to their character. How could and does this desire and somehow internally born knowledge become transmitted and develop naturally in generations that don't have the chance to live in the communities? The idea of knowing yourself well before getting involved in tourism was also brought up as important as to evaluating whether you and your identity can “survive” tourism.

Tourism was also seen as giving the opportunity to many people, especially the young, to leave the communities in order to seek better education. As mentioned earlier, providing more education was one of the main goals of starting tourism projects. Some people perceived education as imperative to improving the services provided. However it seemed that many of the people who left due to education rarely returned. Many of the interviewees did mention that the dynamics in the communities had changed in the sense that it was obvious that the youth was leaving as they got new ideas and inspiration for their future through encountering the possibilities that seeped into the communities due to tourism. One person said that it was a shame that many people now preferred to learn English instead of their own native languages since it was thought of as more beneficial. One interviewee even mentioned that he had discovered that sometimes the youth were embarrassed to speak their own language or use for instance traditionally made backpacks outside the community. Several interviewees regretted this outcome of migration, especially the decline of the youth and their awareness of their own culture, even though they suspected that these things would've and already had to some extent occurred without tourism as well.

It's ironic, no? Because the idea was, is, to conserve, right? A people, maintain a people, sustain a people. The idea of communal tourism was this. Particularly [Company X], and I'm not trying to make [Company X] responsible in any way of not fulfilling this objective, simply it's logical that upon interacting with other types of people and that the activities themselves require that everyone comes to Rurrenabaque, right? So where do people have to be to provide their services? Well, where the tourists arrive, right? (E4)

Even though at times it can seem that education took the indigenous further from their original cultures, one interviewee did see it as one of the better elements from the outside especially in comparison to other western culture habits such as watching television or using the Internet. Some of the communities had become very developed and provided for example Internet to its habitants. It seemed that this kind of development divided opinions among the community members about what was regarded as natural beneficial development and what acculturation. Acculturation is the process of cultural modification of groups or individuals by borrowing from or adapting to other cultures or one culture merging with another due to prolonged contact (Smokowski & al. 2011, 3) whereas development is a process of advancing or growing over time. The indigenous certainly should have the same opportunities and rights to develop their culture, but it seemed to be a place of debate whether this should mean modernization in the similar fashion as in the outside world or improving and investing in personal and cultural development. It was hard finding consensus on the matter since some people failed to see the ongoing processes as any way worrying whereas some expressed great concern for the future of their culture. Also the dynamic and adaptive characteristics of indigenous knowledge and cultures also might've made it difficult to perceive the influx of western habits as threatening. As one of the interviewees noted, the indigenous were already used to adapting for whatever came their way.

So even though tourism had spurred appreciation and re-valuing of the indigenous cultures the opposite was also apparent in some situations. Adopting new values and cultural customs from the outside and breakage in the harmony of the communities can be seen as signs of social disempowerment. Also the growth of competition and even jealousy among individuals and communities instead of cooperation and cohesion are elements of failed social empowerment. (Scheyvens 1999, 248.) The interviewees expressed that a balance for how to properly manage ecotourism needs to be found in order to avoid these elements of disempowerment and encourage harmony within the community and also with nature. Even though tourism was enabling the conservation of many things it had at times been disruptive as well. The hope was that through better management the opportunities of cultural conservation could be maximized. One interviewee said that it was also important for the safeguarding of the culture and environment that the indigenous could control tourism, since this gave them the power to evaluate what was good and

what harmful for their people and hence shut the door if they felt the risks outweighed the benefits. Balance and holding true to cultural identity was crucial.

A development that, how could I say, consisting of the technical, the theoretical and leaving behind the roots, your knowledge, your culture, it's not a very successful development, right? -- By guarding these things (one's roots) we can advance a development, a future for the future generations. But if they just go on solely leaving the things that have formed a part of their lives, during many years, this is the result now. For example if I were young and would go away to study 15 years in another country, stay in another country working for years and then would return to my community, I would be totally different, right? With another education, another vision, beliefs even, unknowing the current things of my own roots, no? Leaving to the side. But I believe that these things, you can go where you want, but if you maintain your culture wherever you are, believe me things will be on the right track. (E1)

Maintaining the culture is also important for maintaining the authenticity of tourism. If culture is one of the main attractions in Madidi, what will be left if it disappears? Even though some of the interviewees felt that tourism didn't always fulfill the promise of cultural conservation and transmission all of the interviewees were relatively certain that the indigenous cultures were still at the point where they could go on living in Madidi independently without tourism and even without connections to the outside world. The communities were seen to still have the necessary skills and knowledge required to sustain and survive in the rainforest without the commodities from the western world and that they would not feel poor or dissatisfied if this were the case. However this scenario was seen as unlikely since many people did enjoy the access to and availability of things provided by tourism. There seemed to be no going back to how things were and in perhaps the worst-case scenario soon even no recollection of what it was that people could have gone back to.

LV: Are you scared that a sort of acculturation will happen due to these things that come from the modern world? Like you mentioned flashlights, telephones and such, are you scared that people will lose their abilities, some things, traditions of your culture?
E8: Yes, mostly the world always makes you forget, right?

7 TOURISM AS THE INTERFACE OF THE INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS

In this chapter the theory and data are brought together into a discussion aimed at looking closer at the processes occurring at the tourism interface and hereby drawing conclusion that help answer the research questions from the indigenous perspective. This study set out to research (1) the benefits of IK for conservation through tourism in Madidi, (2) how the knowledge is transmitted and (3) what the impacts of tourism are on IK and its transmission. The tourism interface from the indigenous perspective opens as both a social interface, a face-to-face encounter against the different actors expressing and arguing their points-of-view, but also as a cultural interface where the indigenous is placed at the intersection observing, absorbing, making choices and evaluating the new cultures that he is presented with. By discussing how the themes previously brought up from the social and cultural interface theories, such as knowledge, trust and representation, appear at the tourism interface we are hopefully able to make conclusions on what the pitfalls and places for success could be in developing the multi-actor field into a more wholesomely serving and conserving industry.

7.1 Who's the expert?

The tourism interface is an interesting reciprocal process in which the benefits of indigenous knowledge come to light because of the successful collaborations and bilateral learning that has happened among the different actors involved at the interface. In starting tourism and also in other activities occurring in the park it was clear that no one group could manage completely alone. Both environmental and cultural conservation in Madidi has over time become a collaborative effort involving locals and people from the outside. By analyzing the creation of the park and tourism as a social interface we can come to understand how the external factors coming into the lifeworlds of the indigenous within the park affected them, creating both constraints and resources to the activities that would be carried out by them. The steps needed to reach the current point of a fairly well working tourism industry show that interactions at the interface aren't single encounters, but rather longer processes of negotiating, renegotiating and constructing (Long 2001, 72). In this process of creating the interface the different actors little by little came to rely and trust in the skills and knowledge of one another in tourism in Madidi. The results of this study show that everyone did seem to eventually realize that nobody was the expert in everything and thus it became mutually beneficial to collaborate. At its best the tourism interface can become a place of merging, learning and sharing knowledge and skills, but at its worst it can become a constant battle of dominance and defining who the expert is and who knows best.

There were many obstacles on the path of building a community-run industry, starting from the creation of the park. Even though it seemed that the common interest of the stakeholders was conservation there was debate about what roles the various groups could and should assume or be given in working towards achieving the goal of sustainability. And despite common goals opinions did differ on what were the best courses of action to accomplish them. In reaching the noble goal of sustainability it is important that the groups manage to agree on the best measures to be taken in order to conserve an area (Caffyn 2002, 98). Negotiating and defining sustainability and conservation became the first battlefield of the actors, mainly local authorities and the community members, at the interface. The regulations and limitations imposed by the authorities were perceived by the indigenous as a sign of mistrust towards their historically proven sustainable lifestyle. Also making the processes of obtaining construction permits heavily bureaucratic and complicated or leaving the indigenous to interpret management plans of the park without help was thought of as a form of trickery. These sorts of games can be seen as demonstrations of power and they can also hinder communication and trust building at the interface (Arce 1992, 222–3). Even though there is still an imbalance in the power relations among the actors at the interface with help from especially different NGOs the indigenous have learnt to operate within the limitations set out, hereby slowly strengthening their independence from outsiders. It is encouraging to see that a multifaceted interface through sharing and learning can provide tools to even-out the resources of control and authority and create more equal encounters. The capability of the indigenous to adapt and acquire quickly new modes of operation can also be perceived as a benefit of their culture, and by supporting capacity building in the communities it seems that the interface supports the empowerment of the locals and their lifestyle.

The interactions in technical and practical matters demonstrate a classic example of lay and expert knowledge clashing as the indigenous negotiate their point-of-view from the basis that they know best since they have lived it and tested it through trial and error and the experts, authorities and NGOs, seem to base their suggestions on more universal theories on what should be done in order to conserve the environment. Who should we listen to then? Based on my study it can be argued that by involving the indigenous as much as possible in tourism we can also better ensure their commitment to local conservation. Also, since indigenous knowledge, and sustainable lifestyles with it, are often threatened by new development concepts or technologies (Senanayake 2006, 87–89) incorporating and making room for IK into the new concepts, such as tourism, can most likely be seen as beneficial to especially cultural and also environmental conservation. It would be ideal to be able to accommodate both forms of knowledge in tourism in a harmonized manner. However as discussed before (see 3.2) the very real risk is that only the parts of IK seen as beneficial or value-

adding to the fundamentally western tourism industry become integrated into tourism. These elements tend to be shallow representations of what it is to be indigenous and don't necessarily carry the essence of the indigenous culture but rather just display the commercially interesting parts. This is not only the risk in tourism, but collaborative development in general, in which IK risks becoming more fragmented due to the fact that outsider scientists take only the bits and pieces of it that best serve their interests and ignore the rest (Nakata 2002, 282). In my view the indigenous are trying to answer this dilemma exactly by taking as much of the industry into their own hands before tourism becomes a mere museum of what the culture was. I believe that for cultural conservation through tourism the indigenous management is crucial and enforcing overly foreign models of action can be detrimental.

However, in environmental conservation through tourism the arenas for cooperation are wider and perhaps the objectives in some cases easier to agree upon than in cultural conservation. For example monitoring the wellbeing of the environment seemed to be a task in which the benefits of working together were acknowledged and the information collected was important for all parties. Monitoring could easily have developed into an issue of mistrust among the groups if the people representing the scientific field would've ignored the abilities and skills of the indigenous to produce meaningful findings. Problems in trustful monitoring can result for instance if a group is thought to have a vested interest in manipulating the results (Danielsen & al. 2014, 236). In tourism this could have meant the indigenous lying about negative impacts on the environment in order to be able to continue their commercial tourism activities in the area. However, based on this study there seemed to be a genuine interest especially upon collaborating with the NGOs to produce accurate and trustworthy results. Often if monitoring is relevant for the local communities they tend to do it quite well (ibid., 247). Instead of becoming another situation of "who knows best" in my view monitoring and observing the environment was one of the areas in which the interface proved itself as a place for innovation and co-development of the knowledge systems as one added to the other for shared benefits. It might also be that by being able to also scientifically demonstrate the eco-friendliness of community-based tourism it becomes easier to present it as a legitimate option against extractive industries. Also by portraying the indigenous as agents and collectors of this important knowledge beneficial to conservation could further underpin the importance of their presence in the park and involvement in tourism.

I was left with the doubt whether collaboration in monitoring was seemingly smooth because it helped save costs and didn't produce significant direct financial benefits to anyone. Would the situation have been different if some group would have profited more? It will also be interesting to see how monitoring and data collection changes when extractive industries with clear financial

goals start to negotiate their way into the park. Who will do the monitoring then? This is another arena in which there exists an opportunity to marginalize local knowledge, negate its validation or scientific relevance, if it is perceived as an obstacle for development (Van de Ploeg 1989, 159). The whole question of where and how money also impacts both indigenous and other stakeholder actions now and historically would be a very interesting topic for further investigation. In this study it only came up if the interviewees mentioned it and generally the tone was that the others involved in tourism were driven more by financial profits whereas helping the environment primarily drove the indigenous even though, as discussed earlier, money had found its way to the communities in a negative manner as well partially due to tourism. All in all currently it seems that the indigenous can operate undisturbed as long as they remain on their communal lands and tourism paths and don't obstruct the lucrative activities of others.

The indigenous did undoubtedly perceive themselves as the experts of their own environment and its sustainable management and saw this as the key resource for them in tourism. Realizing more strongly the advantages of their knowledge for conservation can actually be seen as one of the positive impacts of tourism on the communities. The challenge had been to get to the point in which they could operationalize the knowledge they possessed for the larger benefits of community-based tourism. For this the help from outsiders was invaluable and presence at the interface was thus beneficial to them despite the conflicts and power struggles that arose from many actors trying to accommodate the differing ideas on how to operate. Looking at the results of this study the idea of IK and indigenous lifestyles as sustainable and thus beneficial wasn't really challenged anymore by anyone, hence I think that it might be more pleasant to discuss how the beneficial aspects of IK could be efficiently and meaningfully incorporated into tourism and conservation, rather than try to define and defend what the potential benefits of IK are for conservation.

One of the strengths of IK is its ability to perceive interrelations of disciplines and integrate them in useful ways thus creating more holistic approaches and synergy benefits. IK systems are also more open and agile than western knowledge in many ways. (Senanayake 2006, 89–91.) This agility and capacity of accommodating combined with a biocentric worldview could in my opinion at its best create ways of management and conservation that highlight the best practices from both knowledge fields. If IK systems could be perceived as equally legitimate as the dominant western knowledge system the outcomes of conservation could be very different, more context suitable and effective, at local levels. Instead of only doing studies about the indigenous we should aim to study with them and for them. However this scenario of invoking indigenous leadership for conservation is already complicated by the fact that the indigenous do lack many of the tools to combat and predict the threats to sustainability and the natural environment coming from the modern western world. In this

sense the idea of interdependency between actors, cultures and knowledges at the interface is further underpinned.

Nonetheless based on this study community-based tourism in Madidi has succeeded in becoming a functioning and currently quite locally dominated solution to conservation. Tourism might have initially been more of an outsider imposition but has now developed into an indigenous-lead industry. This image of communal tourism has become important even on the national scale in promoting Bolivian tourism thus empowering the locals and giving them leverage in negotiating the future of the industry, even though some enterprises that have managed to market themselves more efficiently as indigenous seem to benefit from this more than others. Nevertheless community-based tourism as an interface does allow space for different social groups and knowledge systems to operate in a rather harmonized manner to achieve their goals. The bigger goal of promoting communal tourism does seem to be conservation, but within this objective the stakeholders are still able to pursue their groups or even individual interests be they economic profits, education, reviving culture etcetera. The tourism interface is a place of continuous interactions that has developed into an organized interface with set rules and guidelines to the interactions and operations. But it is still also a place of tensions between cultures and groups as shifts in power and the emergence of new threats are always possible. The fact that the indigenous are so able to participate in tourism in my view also goes to show that there is respect and perceived benefits for conservation in the knowledge that they behold albeit discovering means to transmit and revive the knowledge more efficiently will be important for the future. The next subchapter will discuss how the tourism interface functions as a place for transmission of indigenous knowledge.

7.2 Opportunities for meaningful sharing

Based on the results of my study the transmission of indigenous knowledge at the tourist-indigenous interface was by no means a simple watch and learn process. In my view the frustrations portrayed by the indigenous about discovering the interesting cultural elements and explaining them correctly to tourists showed how they valued and appreciated the knowledge that had been passed on to them. The guides were the concrete representatives of the indigenous at the tourism interface and doing justice to their cultural heritage while offering a good service was crucial for the continuity of the business but also in portraying well the indigenous identity and emphasizing their capability of managing tourism in a sustainable way for the community. The contents of the tourism packages were generally crafted by the enterprises and the communities had to trust that the enterprises and guides would do a good job in respecting both their environment and the culture as they introduced the outsiders to the indigenous lifestyles. Conflicts within the communities could

arise in differences on what each person finds central to teach about their culture. Who for instance gets to decide that spiritual ceremonies should be kept private whereas demonstrating traditional dances is acceptable? What an individual sees as essential to his own culture and forming part of his cultural identity can vary a lot from one person to another and the different choices made by the tourism enterprises about what to portray can be argued to reflect the heterogeneity and dynamism of cultural responses that Nakata (2002, 286) explained as characteristic to the indigenous at the cultural interface nowadays. In my view it is not productive to deny any parts of culture even if they might not be approved as part of tourism, e.g. ayahuasca rituals, because if people stop talking about them they risk the loss of all knowledge and history of an aspect of culture that most likely has had a significant purpose at some point in time.

Based on this study the indigenous did seem to benefit quite a lot from the fact that their visitors were often already environmentally and culturally aware educated people. This meant that both actors at the tourist-indigenous interface understood the importance of conservation and respect towards nature at least to some extent, which at times could have meant less need to explain impacts of human actions to both the environment and culture. However, if the tourists had been completely unaware of these matters whose responsibility would it have been to educate them? Ecotourism is supposed to be an educational tourism, but can the burden of enlightening the tourists be left completely to the indigenous communities? This question has been debated also from the perspective that the indigenous have a responsibility to educate all outsiders, be they e.g. private tourist companies, on the impacts of tourism on them and their environment (see Scherrer & Doohan 2013, 158–170). But what is the responsibility of the park authorities and other stakeholders for whom tourism and its environmental protection and economic profits are also important? Even though the indigenous are the experts on their culture and have a vested interest in educating the tourists about it, shouldn't environmental education be a shared responsibility? And do the indigenous have the tools to meaningfully explain or even understand larger impacts of the western tourism industry? Learning and sharing knowledge and practices among different cultures can help smoothen both the tourism experience and also the collaboration of the other stakeholders by taming intercultural conflicts (Scherrer & Doohan 2013, 164). Based on this study in Madidi there is still work to be done in finding ways of collaboration to assess in a more comprehensive way the impacts of tourism on the area and its inhabitants and transmitting this information to and within the communities and perhaps the tourists. Also clarifying who should transmit what could make all knowledge transmission more efficient and meaningful.

Tourism as a social interface from the perspective of the visitor is a rather interesting idea since the visitor subjects himself to the interface completely consciously, and for him it is generally a single

encounter, rather than a continuous process or place for negotiation, that he receives in exchange for money. This voluntariness and the exchange of money in a sense also creates an imbalance of power between the tourist and the indigenous community when the tourist buys a cultural experience offered by the indigenous who depends on the profits produced (Honey 2008, 31). The tourists go to the interface, the intersection of cultures usually to obtain a cross-cultural experience (Sharma 2010, 207). Thus they are there to learn and observe something new, but not necessarily in order to integrate elements of these others into their own ways of life. For the indigenous tourism as the meeting place of the other is exactly the place of risk where the guides and also possibly other community members exposed in less direct ways become subjected to the influences of the different cultures. The impact is stronger for the indigenous since it is more continuous and constant than for the short-staying tourist. This clash is inevitable in tourism; the visitors cannot hide their differences from the indigenous and in order to transmit culture the indigenous have to be in contact with the visitors. If in tourism there would be extreme attempts to preserve local culture it could mean ignoring completely the visiting cultures and designing an industry where knowledge is unilaterally passed on to the others without creating spaces for interaction and sharing. Based on this study ignorance was not a desired path to take but reciprocity of cultures and knowledge was seen as richness and a useful tool to develop both personally and the community especially in issues that already impacted them but to which they didn't have the means to respond, such as waste management.

The results of this study show that some of the indigenous had received personal affirmation for continuing their own lifestyle. Despite seeing and hearing about the commodities and opportunities available in the outside world, rather than being tempted by them, the community members seemed satisfied with their own situation. At this point it is however important to remember that some commodities had already flowed into the communities so it is possible that the indigenous already saw themselves as having the best of both worlds. Nonetheless it did seem that upon noting how impressed and fascinated the tourists were with the environment in which the indigenous had the entitlement to reside the community members also came to remember and acknowledge how privileged they were in Madidi. Thus despite submitting their worldview and lifestyle to the interface they managed to maintain and appreciate what they perceived as substantial to the wellbeing of their culture.

The ability to integrate and transmit indigenous knowledge into and through tourism was in my view one of the most impressive aspects of the community-based tourism experiences even though the companies themselves at times felt they fell short in this attempt. The indigenous do have an advantage in tourism due to the knowledge and skills they possess and I believe that by making IK

visible in tourism they could create a strong demand from the tourists for particularly community-based projects, spurring the empowerment of the locals. It would be interesting to do a comparative study of non-indigenous and community-based enterprises in Madidi to see what the real differences are for the visitors. Would it for example be enough to hear and learn about the indigenous people in the area from non-indigenous people or would there be a significant difference in receiving and possibly living the information from the communities directly? The indigenous in Madidi did want to be directly involved and in charge of ecotourism, but could leaving them out and only orally explaining their existence perhaps be a better way to preserve their culture more intact and authentic? How would the impacts on the communities and the environment differ if solely private companies ran tourism? Based on this study the indigenous communities were already so exposed to the outside world that ignoring their involvement in all levels of tourism would have been nearly impossible and since tourism partially happened on the lands of the indigenous it was rational to integrate them into the business. Planning and development of tourism in destinations with significant active local communities has to take their objectives and capacities into consideration or the whole local industry could be compromised. Tourism often heavily depends on the collaboration and willingness of the local communities since they are part of the tourist attraction. (Timothy & Tosun 2002, 185.)

The fact that the communities in Madidi were already influenced and exposed to outside influences adds another interesting question for further investigation; are the current indigenous lifestyles that are portrayed through tourism still justifiably in harmony with nature or are the images being transmitted only historical recollections of what was sustainable? What is the current reality of the sustainability of indigenous lifestyles? Perhaps in comparison with modern western lifestyles the image of the indigenous as sustainable communities still holds strong, but it is important to not overly romanticize a lifestyle that currently is a focal point of a business seeking economic profits. Nonetheless in Madidi the people at the tourism interface did seem to generally agree that involving the communities was beneficial since the knowledge transmitted portrayed the positive impacts of the indigenous on the conservation of the culture and environment. The tourist-indigenous interface was in many ways a place that nurtured tolerance and didn't make anyone invisible. The last subchapter of this discussion will focus on the internal impacts on the communities at the cultural interface of tourism.

7.3 Mirroring at the interface

Tourism and constant interaction with the western world and other cultures does put the people involved on the hotspot of the cultural interface. They are constantly in their work forced to make

decisions for their communities and for them as individuals as to what is the best course of action. They might often see gaining access for the whole community to western elements, such as Internet, as improvements to the community even though some members might find these too foreign, distancing them from their cultural identity. Who gets to choose how the community evolves? Should the people who want more modern lifestyles just move to the cities instead of pushing commodities into the communities? The people representing the indigenous at the tourism interface might often already be so exposed to the outside elements that their interests and ideas of desired outcomes have transformed. Also in social groups factors such as age and gender affect the perceptions of the world that impact the estimations of what is valuable (Long 1992, 153). The people developing tourism are also the ones deciding in a sense what aspects of culture can be turned into commodities. Economic objectives regrettably do make cultures liable to being perceived only as tradable commodities in ecotourism (Robinson 2000, 299) even in the eyes of the indigenous representatives. In order to maintain the shared vision of desired development constant communication with the community is important and perhaps mechanisms of liability and responsibility of the enterprises towards the communities should be improved. Since community-based tourism is the selling point in Madidi, at the moment the enterprises can't really afford to lose the backing of their communities, they need to remain loyal to their background. In my view the management of community-based tourism can easily become a very tough balancing act between financial profits and trying to reflect what is best for the whole community. How are the different objectives of tourism prioritized within the communities?

Looking at some of the negative impacts on the communities (see 6.2 & 6.3) it can be reasonable to ask whether going to the tourism interface was a smart move for the indigenous. Despite the fact that the indigenous now felt empowered by tourism, it was initially a type of development intervention that came from the outside, from NGOs and private people, in order to answer the issues of poverty or lack of livelihood options that the indigenous people faced. Thus it can also be thought of as a way of the NGOs to justify their existence in the area since they are essential in guiding the indigenous in finding seemingly local responses to development through participatory projects. This according to Long (2001, 88–9) is a quite typical way of disguising the managerialist aspect of interventions when apparent power is left in the hands of the locals even though the presence and power of the experts in the background is still very much impacting the interface. Has the praise and success of the community-based efforts created a false feeling of control for the indigenous? The communities do recognize the threats of e.g. the other industries intruding the area, which means they acknowledge the vulnerabilities and the fact that tourism might not be able to solve all their future problems. Based on this study it seems the indigenous do have power within

tourism, but lack control on what happens if tourism is forced out of the park. If tourism does disappear who will decide what the indigenous will do next? Throughout history it seems that in Madidi it has been expected that the indigenous can be persuaded to partake in any area of labor. Will indigenous knowledge and skills be harnessed for the construction of megaprojects and what could the use of IK for these destructive industries do to the indigenous identity and cosmology that entails nurturing nature?

Tourism was however currently perceived as one of the best ways to conserve the area and culture and since indigenous knowledge is also locally rooted in the area tourism was thought of as a way to cherish IK indirectly as well. Based on this study the new arenas to use IK were also fruitful places to develop it. In the current situation it is not in the interest of the indigenous or the outsiders to completely exclude each other from the different lifeworlds. If the interface is to work as a place of innovation and developing the knowledge systems exchanges, interaction, communication and diversity is necessary (Nakata 2002, 284). But to be able to participate in multicultural spheres in a way that doesn't risk losing culture awareness of our personal worldviews and traditions, one's own starting point, is essential (Mazzocchi 2006, 465). Based on this study finding ways to transmit to the descendants the underlying values of the indigenous culture will be one of the bigger challenges of the current community-members living between and influenced almost daily by at least two cultures. How the communities succeed in this will define a lot how the future generations of the indigenous along the Amazon construct their identity. Since being indigenous is a matter of self-identification it will be interesting to see whether the migration to the cities and the continuous interaction with other cultures changes the self-perception of the indigenous.

Even though tourism might not normally be perceived as an equally high-impact industry as for example forestry it can still have culturally detrimental impacts (Scherrer 2013, 160). I thought it was a positive thing that the interviewees didn't overlook or deny some of the negative impacts of tourism even though especially the other community members could use them as an argument against the sustainability of tourism if they wish to remove the industry from their community. In my view if the indigenous manage to be proud of their achievements not only because they create economic income but rather purely for the fact that what has been done is a community effort, using and relying heavily on local knowledge and culture, they could perhaps come to see more options and opportunities to use their knowledge in meaningful ways that are in harmony with their worldview. This would mean strengthening the idea of cultural conservation and development to be the heart of tourism instead of financial benefits, which seemed to be the main source of proudness currently. Looking in the mirror and trying to find the courses of action that reflect your cultural

identity isn't always easy, but I believe that trying to incorporate IK and cultural flavor into all the activities makes it present and visible to the communities and can thus help preserve it.

It is also essential to remember that the indigenous at the interface have the responsibility to conserve their environment and culture primarily for themselves, not for all humanity. The whole burden of conservation cannot be left to one people but has to be a joint effort. The other stakeholders surely can learn from the indigenous about preserving ecosystems and go on to make more universal conclusions on what best practices could be in conservation, which can be seen as the interface also impacting the larger structures beyond it. But the indigenous are still a small group concerned with advancing their own interests and ambitions and based on this study it seems that through tourism, despite some negative impacts and existing threats, the indigenous have managed to strengthen their position in negotiating the paths of development in Madidi.

8 CONCLUSIONS

This study illustrates that agreeing on common goals, negotiating best practices and finding locally compatible solutions for development is challenging not only among actors from different lifeworlds but also within smaller communities. Integrating the people who will be affected by the planned actions from the very beginning, promoting transparency and maintaining the channels of communication open with all stakeholders and with one's own social group would be the ideal premise to start constructing models of development that not only appear to empower and respond to the needs of the local people, but also truly do. This study showed the need and eagerness of the indigenous to participate in the planning of their own environment's future but a more holistic study of the other actors and their interests at the interface is necessary in order to discuss best methods of concretely achieving functional cooperation in the multicultural context of Madidi.

The indigenous saw obvious benefits to including their knowledge in the conservation efforts of the park. It was knowledge already present, applicable in many situations, promoted a harmonious relationship with nature and formed an intriguing part of the tourism experience. Its presence and transmission was both very visible and also at times subconscious in the interactions with tourists and within the communities. Yet ways to better utilize and highlight the benefits still need to be assessed and in this I believe lies an opportunity for very fruitful cooperation with outsiders. This should be collaboration without constant juxtaposing of western and indigenous perceptions, collaboration that could lead to more inclusive and innovative outcomes that enable mutual learning and create models of cooperation extendable beyond tourism to answer more global problems of unsustainable development. Upholding stereotypes and dichotomies of the indigenous as archaic and as a hindrance to change and the westerners as modern experts beholding universal knowledge and answers to everything is not really a viable path to follow as the indigenous communities increasingly become affected by western actions. Instead of imposing solely western solutions to global problems we should allow space for the indigenous to develop locally adequate responses as well and thus allow them to become equal agents of conserving their environment and culture.

Globalization and outside influences have seeped into the indigenous lives at very different rates in different places and thus we should also be critical towards the romantic image of the indigenous as natural protectors of Mother Earth. We should also acknowledge that the indigenous aren't a homogenous mass that aspires towards only one common goal. They have the same rights as anyone to pursue individual dreams that might not always be in harmony with their history or the perceptions that we have of them. This study showed that the ideas of what denotes an indigenous lifestyle and what should be preserved from the past varied within the communities, and that the

line between them and us could quickly become very blurry. It is already interesting to see that many western scientists seem to be searching for answers to “correct” the human-nature relationship from indigenous cultures while simultaneously some of these cultures are drifting further away from the supposed biocentric worldview due to outside influences. At its most extreme the case in the future could be that we, the outsiders, become more concerned with conserving indigenous cultures and their environments for the sake of universal wellbeing as the communities become enticed to strive for modern ideas of development. Will the world make them forget?

AFTERWORD

I'm in a car being driven in the rainforest, in the protected area, to the healthcare centre located in the nearest small town. The community leader's wife has been severely ill for many days and they have decided to take her to the clinic. I'm disappointed. I feel that what I have been told during my thesis interviews about the magical remedies and the skills the indigenous have for responding to everyday complications have been a fairy-tale. But let's be honest, would I have stayed in a community that lacks running water and electricity if I had been dangerously ill and known that there was a medical clinic just a 2-hour drive away? This was one of many situations in which my ideas of the Bolivian indigenous were altered and updated.

The more aware I became of the stereotypes I had and the difficulties of demolishing them the more nervous I became of whether I would be able to carry out a study that would fairly portray the current situation of the indigenous in Madidi. Also the more I studied the cultures and the supposed differences between them and us the more aware I became of the limitations that I as a western scholar would be faced with in grasping the nature of the Tacana and Tacana-Quechua people. Would the methods of western science that I carried with me be able to let the indigenous voice flourish? Relief came over me when I finally sat down and started the interviews and realized I was being understood and I could understand, and if not we would find a way to help each other or just be able to accept that in everything we couldn't comprehend each other, but we could still respect one another. The whole process of doing this study was a personal journey to a cultural interface, where my background conditioned my actions and a necessity existed to understand the expectations and implications of the other people that I had invited to the interface, my thesis.

Despite at times maybe being somehow sad about the amount of outsider influences evident in Madidi I'm also truly impressed by how resourceful and innovative the indigenous have been in benefitting from some of the commodities of the so-called western world. The other day I saw one of the agencies post a picture of a species of turtle unknown to them on Facebook and asking whether people knew what it was and if someone had seen the species before. This kind of knowledge sharing shows the potential of learning that exists when two worlds meet. Even though my study abides the ethics and regulations of scientific research the experience of doing the fieldwork has undoubtedly opened my mind to new ideas about the possibilities of fusing elements of different worldviews and ways of knowing.

This thesis will be delivered to all the people that partook and helped in the realization of the study in Bolivia.

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ANNEX 1: INTERVIEW OUTLINE

The data gathered is for the personal use of Liisa Varumo and will be analyzed anonymously.

BASIC INFORMATION

- **Name**
- **Sex**
- **Age**
- **Community and current place of residence**
- **Occupation (and previous involvement in tourism)**

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

- **Languages spoken**
- **Level of education and where education has been obtained**
- **Traditional livelihood of the family**
- **How the person has learnt to know his surroundings?**
 - Learning from and with parents
 - Wandering the rainforest
- **What meanings does the person give to the surrounding nature?**
 - How is nature used
 - Spiritual and material significance?
 - In contrast to other people's perception and relationship?
- **What kind of things and how has the person learnt about his culture?**
 - Narratives, history, handicrafts, cooking, hunting, medicinal plants, fishing etc.
 - Participation in daily activities of the community – observation, reciprocity
 - Reasons behind ways of doing things, routines and rituals
 - Knowledge received about the surrounding environment

ECOTOURISM

- **How did ecotourism start?**
 - In general and for the interviewee
- **Initial reactions of local people and extent of involvement**
 - Threat or possibility (for i.e. environmental or cultural conservation)
- **What does eco and communal mean for you? Where and how have these concepts been introduced to you?**
- **How did you decide to work in ecotourism?**
- **What have in your experience been the biggest (personal or general) obstacles to community-based tourism in Madidi?**
 - Inclusion by all parties?
 - Political context?
 - Understanding of the implications of tourism?
- **What do you want to achieve by tourism?**
 - Informing and educating?
 - Conservation?
 - Economic benefits?
- **What kind of formal training did you receive for working in tourism?**
 - Workshops, university degrees, other courses, other companies sharing experiences
 - Provided by whom? NGOs, government etc.

- **What kind of informal training was received?**
 - Learning by doing or observing, other community members sharing experiences

THE PROTECTED AREA PN ANMI MADIDI

- **How has your relationship with the surrounding area been traditionally?**
- **How (if at all) did it change in 1995 with the creation of Madidi?**
 - Positive and negative impacts?
 - Restrictions, laws and regulations
 - Better protection

RELATIONSHIPS IN TOURISM

- **Did tourism change something in the communities?**
 - Hierarchy, dynamics?
 - Access to services and cities?
 - New income
 - New (western) elements?
- **How is the participation of the communities enabled at different stages of tourism?**
 - Now and before, in the future
- **How would you describe the typical tourist?**
 - Purposes for coming to Madidi
 - Expectations and limitations and answering them
- **Cultural differences between the tourists and the indigenous?**
 - What do you show and tell and what not?
 - What do you learn?
- **What are your expectations from the tourists?**
 - What you want them to learn
 - What you need from them
 - Behaviour
- **Are there difficulties in the communication with tourists?**
 - Are you able to transmit the things you want?
 - Do you feel understood?

FUTURE

- **How do you think tourism will evolve in Madidi?**
 - In Rurrenabaque
 - In your enterprise
- **Do you think tourism is an answer for conservation in the long run?**

ANNEX 2: MAP OF PN ANMI MADIDI

