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Ecotourism's dirty laundry? Exploring the relationship between participation, equity and conservation around protected areas in Madagascar.

Abstract

This research project set about to explore different stakeholder perceptions on the subject of local participation in, and benefits from, tourism around the Ranomafana and Andringitra National Parks in Madagascar, and regarding conservation outcomes.

Findings from n=47 semi-structured interviews, supplemented by information collected using other qualitative research techniques, point to low levels of local participation – whether in the tourism development process or in the benefits of tourism. Reasons for this include historical socio-economic factors and the perpetuation of unequal power dynamics. Although non-financial benefits of tourism are recognised, barriers to local contact with tourists were found to limit these.

Expressions of discontent triggered by national park entrance fee rises revealed entrenched feelings of local resentment and anger concerning the suspension of ecotourism revenue-sharing. This policy had previously partially compensated for a dearth of direct benefits from tourism. Local residents' sentiments were of deceit and alienation from 'The Park'. Dissatisfaction was also linked to the national park organisation's management style, particularly concerning guide and porter treatment.

A situation of increasing inequality and insecurity around these protected areas was indicated, combined with uncontrolled environmental degradation – particularly in Ranomafana National Park. Findings infer a causal link between equity in policies and conservation outcomes; highlighting the importance of perceptions of fairness in meeting forest protection goals. They also question the effectiveness of promoting ecotourism as an 'alternative livelihood' to compensate for the interdiction of local forest use after protected area creation.

Résumé

Ce projet de recherche a pour but d'explorer les différentes perceptions qu'ont les différents acteurs à l'égard de la participation de la population locale au tourisme, et des bénéfices qu'ils en tirent, en zones périphériques des parcs nationaux de Ranomafana et d'Andringitra à Madagascar, et d'en analyser les conséquences en matière de conservation.

Les résultats de 47 entretiens semi-structurés, enrichis par des informations collectées grâce à des techniques qualitatives de recherche, montrent des niveaux faibles de participation locale, tant dans le processus de développement du tourisme, que vis-à-vis de ses bénéfices. Plusieurs raisons expliquent ces faits, notamment des facteurs socio-économiques ou historiques et la perpétuation de dynamiques du pouvoir inégalitaires. Bien que des bénéfices non-financiers du tourisme soient reconnus, différents freins au contact entre populations locales et touristes viennent limiter ces bénéfices.

Des expressions de mécontentement déclenchées par l'augmentation des droits d'entrée aux parcs nationaux, ont mis en évidence de profonds ressentiments et une indignation locale envers la suspension de la politique de partage des revenus de l'écotourisme. Cette politique permettait auparavant de partiellement compenser l'absence de bénéfices directs du tourisme. Ainsi, les résidents locaux se sentent dupés et aliénés par 'Le Parc'. Cette insatisfaction est également liée au mode de gestion de l'administration des parcs nationaux, surtout en ce qui concerne le traitement réservé aux guides et aux porteurs.

Les inégalités socio-économiques et l'insécurité ont été révélées en croissance autour de ces aires protégées, le tout combiné à une dégradation environnementale incontrôlée – surtout au sein du Parc National de Ranomafana. Ces recherches montrent un lien de causalité entre l'équité des politiques environnementales menées et leurs conséquences en conservation ; et soulignent l'importance des perceptions d'égalité pour l'atteinte des objectifs de protection forestière. Ils remettent aussi en question l'efficacité de la promotion de l'écotourisme comme 'moyen de subsistance alternatif' pour compenser l'interdiction de l'utilisation par les communautés locales des forêts après la création d'une aire protégée.

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This thesis is dedicated to the people of Andringitra and Ranomafana.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Protected areas, tourism and local communities

A growing awareness about the importance of biodiversity conservation over the past fifty years has led to a huge global increase in protected areas¹. However, whilst the remit of protected areas has significantly broadened since the 1970s to include poverty reduction (Mulongoy and Chape 2004), and regardless of calls for more financial backing², funding shortages have become increasingly common. With operational costs often surpassing revenue (Novelli and Scarth 2007), there is a growing phenomenon of what is termed ‘Paper Parks’ (Mulongoy and Chape 2004: 32) - where evidence of protection on the ground is wanting.

It is a common assumption that successful conservation is dependent on improving the economic circumstances of the local population through environmentally-friendly activities or ‘sustainable livelihoods’ (Metcalf 2003, Conservation International 2017). To this end, and in light of protected area underfunding, one strategy that has been widely adopted to simultaneously and sustainably meet conservation and community development objectives has been the promotion of tourism or ‘ecotourism’³ (Mulongoy and Chape 2004: 17; Poudel, Nyaupane et al. 2014: 2). Success stories cited include Zimbabwe’s CAMPFIRE (Mbaiwa 2007) and Nepal’s Chitwan National Park (Nyaupane and Poudel 2011).

“The notion that ecotourism provides a community-orientated and participatory approach to producing economic development in a sustainable way results in a very powerful argument in favour of it, and one that presents a significant challenge to critics of it” (Duffy 2008: 337).

However, while advocates such as Adams (2003) consider tourism to be a means to an end (funding for conservation and/or poverty reduction), others such as Plummer and

¹ The Convention on Biological Diversity defines a protected area as: “a geographically defined area which is designated or regulated and managed to achieve specific conservation objectives” (Mulongoy and Chape 2004).

² The fifth Parks Congress in Durban’s call for increased funding for protected areas (Mulongoy and Chape 2004) was reiterated by the sixth Parks Congress in Sydney (World Parks Congress 2014).

³ The International Ecotourism Society (1990 in Honey 2008: 6) defined ecotourism as “Responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people”. However, numerous variations on sets of principles have since been developed.

Fennell (2009) and Newsome and Hassell (2014) talk of managing protected areas for sustainable tourism (researcher's emphasis). Compatible with most IUCN⁴-defined protected area categories (Rotich 2012), tourism is indeed declared an important objective in itself for two of them (Poudel, Nyaupane et al. 2014: 3). Neumann (1998) even argues that protected areas' tourism objective pre-dates that of nature conservation; citing their main goal as having been the protection of landscapes for the pleasure of people who had the financial means to travel to them.

Critiques such as Matiku (2008) have pointed to the dearth of benefits from tourism accrued by local communities around most protected areas. Amongst other issues, discontent with regard to perceived broken promises of economic development at the time of protected area creation (Silva and Motzer 2015) or linked to the perceived inequity of benefit-sharing (Belsky 1999) is not uncommon. It is widely acknowledged that the costs of protected area creation to local people have been disproportionately higher than the benefits received (Coad, Campbell et al. 2008; Scales 2014a; Nyaupane and Poudel 2011), which are felt principally at the global and national levels. Instead of bringing benefits, in many cases tourism has been shown to amplify inequality. For example, price rises in tourist areas can have negative effects on household welfare, disproportionately affecting the poorest (Ferraro 2002: 272), and changes in power relations favouring external investors can lead to high social costs of tourism (Hampton and Jeyacheya 2015).

Rather than contributing to conservation objectives, sometimes a perceived lack of local benefits from protected areas can lead to increased environmental destruction (Mutanga, Vengesayi et al. 2015: 12, Bennett and Dearden 2012: 10, Kaufmann 2006: 187, Schuetze 2015, Harrison, M. et al. 2015). A global assessment of protected areas (Oldekop, Holmes et al. 2016) concludes that empowering local people, co-management, reducing economic inequalities and providing livelihood benefits are conducive to positive conservation and socioeconomic outcomes. However, even when benefits are felt by communities, case studies have shown that tourism is rarely considered an alternative livelihood option but is instead part of a diversification of activities (Novelli and Scarth 2007). In other words, activities considered to be incompatible with conservation could continue or even intensify with increased income from tourism (Nyaupane and Poudel 2011: 1349; Bennett and Dearden 2012). This

⁴ International Union for Conservation of Nature.

therefore implies that economic incentives are not always an effective strategy for conservation, or at least not alone.

Tourism's potential as a tool for poverty alleviation

All of this should be considered within the wider debates in tourism and development circles. Thinking and practice has evolved since the 1960s-70s assumption regarding the 'trickle-down' effect, followed by the more critical political economy approach of the 1980s-90s linking tourism to dependency and neo-colonialism, coupled with the rise of 'alternative' tourism, and recently a greater recognition of the complexity of tourism (Saarinen and Rogerson 2014; Spenceley and Meyer 2012; Scheyvens 2011). The potential of different forms of tourism, including 'community-based tourism' (CBT)⁵ and 'pro-poor tourism' (PPT)⁶, to reduce poverty has been hotly debated. Advocates such as Goodwin (2008) point to the need to improve linkages to increase the poor's access to the tourism market and to strengthen their existing livelihood strategies through employment and small enterprise development. Conversely, critics such as Baker (2007) suggest that tourism can never alone provide sustainable livelihoods and that other economic alternatives to tourism may be more appropriate depending on the socio-cultural context (Strickland-Munro and Moore 2013). It has been widely brought to attention that even the PPT approach does not target the poorest in society nor benefit the poor relatively more than the non-poor (Harrison 2008; Chok, Macbeth et al. 2007b; Akyeampong 2011). In this sense, PPT, just like conventional tourism, might even contribute to increasing inequity (Tran and Walter 2014).

Chok, Macbeth et al. (2007b: 144) highlight how unrealistic poverty reduction through tourism is without addressing wider structural inequities. This political economy approach recognises the dominance of western neoliberalism (Turner 2006; Britton 1982; Corson 2011) and views tourism as an advanced form of capitalism, which reflects and deepens existing inequalities and power structures (uneven access to economic, social, political and cultural capital). Indeed, 'conservation' and 'development' are equally considered part of the capitalist ideology that aims to create dependency of less economically-developed countries (LEDCs) on the West (Duffy

⁵ Although CBT definitions and modes of organisation vary, three main criteria proposed are that it is situated in a community, owned by one or more community members and community members are involved in decision-making (Zapata, Hall et al. 2011). In other words, the community is actively involved.

⁶ PPT is defined as "tourism which brings net benefits to the poor" (Ashley, Roe et al. 2001: viii; Harrison 2008).

2008; Rist 2007). Rist (2007: 485) goes so far as to argue that economic growth (presented as ‘development’) not only

“fails to address poverty or to narrow the gap between rich and poor, but in fact it both widens and deepens this division and ultimately creates poverty, as natural resources and human beings alike are increasingly harnessed to the pursuit of consumption and profit”.

Since tourism alone is unlikely to lead to poverty reduction, and creating dependency on an unstable industry should be avoided, it is important to regard tourism as part of a mixed livelihoods strategy (Coria and Calfucura 2012). As stated by Chok, Macbeth et al. (2007: 158), “*Livelihood stability is more important than mere job or income creation*” for the poor. The livelihoods framework (Scoones 1998) is therefore perhaps a useful tool to consider tourism. It facilitates reflection on what combinations of types of ‘capital’ (natural, economic, social and human), in what context and combined with which institutional processes, affect people’s ability to participate in tourism, with what sustainable livelihood outcomes?

Community participation in tourism

Ever since Murphy (1983) developed his ecological model of community-orientated tourism planning, albeit in a western context, there has been increasing academic discussion around the issue of community participation in tourism. Maximising the participation of the ‘host’ community has been promoted as a means of ensuring successful local development outcomes and the sustainability of the tourism initiative. This trend towards greater local involvement can also be contextualised as being part of a broader participatory turn in resource management. However, the subject of whether community participation is needed in tourism, how to go about ensuring it, and its various related problems, are hotly debated.

Whilst some believe that participation is essential in order for communities to benefit from tourism in a meaningful way (Timothy 1999: 373; Brohman 1996; Coad, Campbell et al. 2008; Bennett and Dearden 2012), others such as Simpson (2008) and Nault and Stapleton (2011: 697) have said that this is not necessarily the case and that community control may not lead to equitable benefits. Regardless its end result, some such as Pimbert and Pretty (1997) argue the moral importance of participation, seeing the participatory process as a form of empowerment and democracy or equity in itself (Mutanga, Vengesayi et al. 2015: 9). However, it is also true that democratic principles

may not be the foundation of all societies (Nault and Stapleton, 2011), especially in many LEDCs.

Timothy (1999) differentiates between community participation in the tourism planning stage and with regard to benefit distribution; and argues that the latter has commonly been paid more attention than the former. However, whilst he expects participation levels to increase as tourism develops (Timothy 1999: 388), Tosun (2000: 627) has found that local participation, control and benefits actually decline with tourism development. This is linked to increasing capital intensity and outside ownership, as illustrated by Butler's 1980 '*Tourism Area Life Cycle*', resulting from increasing demands for quality and responsiveness to tourism's rapidly evolving trends (Butler 1980). Tosun categorises the limits to participation in the tourism development process in LEDCs as being operational, structural and cultural, and has described how these "*appear to be a reflection of the prevailing socio-political, economic and cultural structure*" (Tosun 2000: 613). The following paragraphs discuss these limitations in more detail.

Factors influencing local participation in tourism are related to local people themselves, external stakeholders and the wider socio-political environment. Attitudes, desire for employment and level of skills, education or information will affect people's levels of participation (Timothy 1999; Shui, Xu et al. 2012). People are often motivated by a desire to climb the social hierarchy and aspirations for a better future (Silva and Motzer 2015). Partnerships and institutions are other key factors (Plummer and Fennell 2009). For example, research by Jensen (2009: 153) in Madagascar showed that tour operators' perception of a lack of local structures resulted in limited community collaboration. Leadership and trust is also critical, with more cohesive communities (with higher social capital) better able to participate (Nault and Stapleton 2011: 697).

Mutanga, Vengesayi et al. (2015) highlight protected area manager - community relationships as key to local participation levels, which is in turn linked to historical legacies between the community and other stakeholders (Turner 2012), such as non-recognition of traditional land rights and a perceived separation with the land (Strickland-Munro and Moore, 2013). Disempowerment and poor economic conditions constrain participation (Timothy 1999; Tosun 2000). For example, local people may not be able to afford to spend time participating in the tourism development process (Tosun 2000: 625). There are also cultural and political influences (including power relations)

affecting participation levels (Timothy 1999; Shui, Wei, et al. 2012), with some people who simply may not want to participate⁷.

These various factors may also impact on the form of local participation in tourism, which can be categorised ranging from ‘manipulation’ to ‘citizen power’, or ‘information sharing’ to ‘community control’, as defined by Arnstein (1969) and Pretty (1997). Another key question is ‘who participates?’ as it is widely recognised that communities are not homogenous units and that those participating may not represent the interests of all groups within the community (Agrawal and Gibson 1999). Tosun (2000: 613) concludes that promoting a participatory approach in tourism is futile without a complete transformation of the prevailing “*socio-political, legal, administrative and economic structure*”.

Community benefits from tourism

In addition to the question of ‘who participates?’ in tourism, the question ‘who benefits?’ is equally important and deserves to be paid more attention. Novelli and Scarth (2007) highlighted how those benefitting from tourism are generally not those who suffered the highest opportunity costs from protected area creation. Factors affecting costs and benefits include protected area status and history of use (Coad, Campbell et al. 2008). Wright, Hill et al. (2016: 5) elaborated on this point, stressing the importance of distinguishing between compensation for those who “*have the greatest environmental impact [often the richest] and those most vulnerable to resource access restrictions*” [often the poorest] within a community. If the objective is social justice, then the latter should be priority for benefit accrual.

Key issues found recurring in literature are that of ‘elite capture’ (Hampton 2013; Coad, Campbell et al. 2008: 6) or ‘elite dominance’ (Silva and Motzer 2015: 66) and the supremacy of prevailing power relations in the LEDC context, constraining the potential for equitable sharing of tourism’s benefits. Although Coad, Campbell et al. (2008) highlight the importance of participation in decision-making, they note that elite capture generally happens despite community involvement. Equity in benefit distribution therefore appears to be a common concern and this research project’s findings also highlight it as a serious and fundamental problem.

⁷ Disinterest in participation is not necessarily a result of disadvantage, powerlessness or laziness but may be a result of indigenous culture (Strickland-Munro and Moore 2013: 36) or may reflect a dislike for the tourism industry or a reluctance to over-integrate into a market economy.

Mitchell and Ashley (2007: 2) presented three pathways for economic impact of tourism: direct effects (such as jobs in tourism), secondary effects (such as revenue from agriculture or local spending) and dynamic effects on the economy. However, technical constraints to communities receiving economic benefits from tourism include insufficient skills, marketing, investment capacity, and the fragility and structure of the tourism industry (Turner 2012). For example, involvement of local suppliers is hindered by the rigid service requirements of international tourism and the policies and practices of tour operators (Jensen 2009: 157). The type of tourist development and stage of destination development are important factors with regard to indirect economic impact; economic linkages, income multipliers and local control tend to decrease with the size of business and stage of tourism development (Hampton 2013). Although many countries have been targeting upper-end tourism, Hampton (2013: 52, 67) suggests that lower-end tourism (such as backpacking tourism) might bring more economic benefits to local communities through stronger linkages and lower leakages (greater local participation and ownership). This backs-up Brohman's call for more small-scale, locally owned developments (Brohman 1996) with the aim of greater equity in benefit distribution.

However, there is significant debate around the issue of leakages and linkages. Whilst attention is often focused on the large flow of tourism's economic benefits out of the destination country, Mitchell and Ashley (2007b) argue that calculations of these 'leakages' are often erroneous. Amongst points they raise are that package holiday tourists' out-of-pocket spending should be considered, whilst payments involved in the global value chain outside of the destination should be omitted. They claim that exaggerated leakage figures distract attention from the more pertinent issue of how to increase tourism's linkages to the local economy.

Although direct or indirect employment in tourism may benefit few local people around protected areas, other potential types of economic benefit from tourism for communities include concessions and gate fees (Novelli and Scarth 2007). However, the impact of benefit sharing depends on the types of benefit, their size and their speed of delivery (Mutanga, Vengesayi et al. 2015: 11). The issue of protected area user fee allocation has been raised (Carret and Loyer 2003; Novelli and Scarth 2007), in particular the pertinence of financing infrastructure projects when costs borne to local communities are primarily related to livelihoods.

“The way the revenue is allocated is fundamental and, if funds are allocated on a non-entrepreneurial development basis, the struggle against the ‘symptoms’ of dependency from the park will continue, as community development projects in the form of schools, clinics and boreholes, for example, do not solve the problem of passive economic dependency ...” (Novelli and Scarth 2007: 70).

It indeed raises the question of whether access to such services should be seen as a basic human right rather than a form of compensation to local communities.

Although there is a tendency to concentrate on the economic benefits of tourism, other locally perceived benefits include skills, access to information⁸, credit and markets (Coad, Campbell et al. 2008: 23), as well as environmental and aesthetic ones (Novelli and Scarth 2007). Harrison (1992) and Besculides, Lee et al. (2002) highlighted the importance of social and cultural exchange with foreigners, with Stronza (2000) pointing to tourism’s potential to spark auto-reflection and action within communities and Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) stressing tourism’s power as a transformative social force for good. It has indeed been suggested that non-economic aspects may be of greater importance to communities than financial benefits, and that perceptions of benefit are largely determined by culture (Strickland-Munro and Moore, 2013: 38; Sontikul, Bauer et al. 2009). This is equally applicable with regards to protected areas. Strickland-Munro (2010) for example indicated that intrinsic socio-cultural community values on the importance of protected areas were more significant than economic benefits from tourism in their case study areas. Church, Fish et al. (2014) have further expanded on this issue of the cultural value of ecosystems by developing a conceptual framework to aid cultural ecosystem service assessment in order to inform decision-makers.

Achievement of conservation goals

Although tourism-funded projects may bring benefits to local people, this is rarely linked to long-term sustainable resource use (Durbin and Ratrimoarisaona 1996: 205; Marcus 2001: 389). Ironically, tourist numbers could increase despite worsening conservation indicators - as has happened in certain dive tourism sites (Daldeniz and

⁸ Whilst Timothy (1999: 374) cites education as a benefit of tourism (categorising this into professional, vocational, entrepreneurial and general community awareness), it could equally be said that education is a necessary prerequisite to meaningful participation or benefit accrual in the first place.

Hampton 2013) where coral reef biodiversity has been plummeting as tourism booms. A direct link is therefore needed between benefits from tourism and conservation if protected areas are to be effective. For example, it has been suggested that revenue-sharing or in-kind distributions should be conditional on conservation results (Novelli and Scarth 2007; Peters 1998b: 35).

While community participation in, and benefits from, tourism may contribute to the achievement of protected area objectives, Brockington (2004: 411) has asserted that conservation goals can be achieved despite local resistance. Other factors affecting conservation success include (non-tourism) financial resources, enforcement measures and stakeholder collaboration (Rotich 2012: 180).

Critically, the achievement of protected area goals (whether for conservation or for poverty reduction) is dependent on the effectiveness of governance (Mulongoy and Chape 2004: 18), along with management and development inputs (Nathan and Dearden, 2012: 25). Equitable benefit provision, and avoidance of negative social consequences such as jealousy or conflict, is largely reliant upon the procedures or mechanisms in place – as well as, to some extent, local cultural aspects.

Considering how limited published research is in the field of tourism and conservation in Madagascar, this research project aims to broaden debates concerning protected area management, participation and benefit-sharing both nationally and globally.

1.2. Research objective and questions

This research project's objective was to explore the relationship between local participation in tourism, equity⁹ in benefit distribution and achievement of conservation goals around protected areas in Madagascar.

The specific research questions and sub-questions were as follows:

- 1- To what extent have local residents participated in tourism planning and development around the case study protected areas?
 - i) What is the nature and extent of local participation in and/or control of tourism?

⁹ Timothy (1998: 54) defined equity as referring to “*equality of opportunity and recognition of needs among various stakeholders, in terms of individuals, social groups, and communities, for both present and future generations*”.

- ii) How has the situation evolved since the creation of the case study protected areas, and what may have driven this?
 - iii) What factors determine local participation and/or control?
- 2- How are participation levels linked to equitable benefit distribution resulting from tourism?
- i) How do different stakeholders compare in their perceptions of benefits accrued from tourism, as well as losses? Are benefits considered to be equitable?
 - ii) How do different stakeholders compare in their perceptions of required and achieved compensation for residents as a result of protected area creation?
 - iii) What factors affect the principal economic leakages and linkages of tourism's value chain in the case study protected areas?
- 3- How has involvement with tourism affected livelihoods strategies?
- i) How does participation in tourism development impact on an individual's use of local forest resources?
 - ii) How have benefits accrued to an individual from tourism impacted on their use of local forest resources?
 - iii) How has this evolved over time?
 - iv) What may be contributory factors for the above and why is this important? / What does this mean for the forest?
- 4- To what extent have case study protected area conservation goals been achieved?
- i) How do different stakeholders compare in their perceptions of the level of "success" achieved, both in terms of conservation and local 'development'?
 - ii) What do different stakeholders identify as being factors of 'success'/ required to promote conservation and poverty reduction?
 - iii) How do protected areas with different levels/modes of resident participation in tourism, and benefit distribution from tourism, compare in terms of achievement of conservation goals?

2. Madagascar

2.1. Country context

Madagascar, the fourth largest island in the world, is located in the Indian Ocean to the east of Mozambique. The first human inhabitants are thought to have arrived from present-day Indonesia and Malaysia around from 400 AD (Randrianja and Ellis 2009). In 1500 the Portuguese led the way for European influence and domination in Madagascar, followed by the British and then the French – who colonised Madagascar for over 60 years until the country’s independence in 1960 (Masombahiny 2017). Madagascar continues to retain strong ties with France, the source of almost half of its visitors (Ministry of Tourism 2015).

Categorised in the ‘low human development’ category, Madagascar ranked 154 out of 188 countries and territories in the Human Development Index in 2014 (UNDP 2015). Over three-quarters (UNDP 2012) of the country's 24.2 million inhabitants (The World Bank 2016) live in rural areas. The same proportion also live in multidimensional poverty¹⁰; national statistics for the rural population in 2012 show that 82.5% lived on under \$1.25/day and 93.7% lived on under \$2/day (INSTAT 2012). Madagascar’s gross national income per capita¹¹ decreased by about 35.5 percent between 1980 and 2014 (UNDP 2015). In addition (and related) to high poverty levels, corruption remains a serious and growing problem; Madagascar was ranked 128 out of 168 countries in the latest ‘Corruption Perceptions Index’ (Transparency International 2016)¹². Technological advancements remain slow with under 4% of the population using the internet (UNDP 2015).

Madagascar’s biological wealth is in stark contrast to its poverty. Considered a biodiversity “hotspot”¹³ due to its “*almost unparalleled levels of [flora and fauna] endemism, species diversity and human threat*” (Goodman and Benstead 2005: 73), it

¹⁰ The Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) identifies multiple deprivations in the same households in education, health and living standards.

¹¹ Gross national income (GNI) per capita is gross national income divided by mid-year population.

¹² Madagascar’s score has lowered from 32 in 2012 to 28 since 2013, representing a worsening of corruption.

¹³ Conservation International included Madagascar in “*the ten most at-risk forested hotspots around the world*” in 2011 for having lost 90% of its original habitat yet harbouring at least 1,500 endemic plant species (Conservation International 2011).

has been declared a priority for conservation efforts. Despite just 12% of Madagascar being forested (Convention on Biological Diversity 2017), the island is best known for its flagship species: the lemurs¹⁴. The Madagascar Tourism Ministry has sought to harness this incredible biodiversity as a promotional tool, adopting the slogan “Naturally Madagascar”. However, alarming reported rates of deforestation in Madagascar, rising to over 1% annually (Kim, Sexton et al. 2015)¹⁵, are cause for concern for the tourism industry. According to the Convention on Biological Diversity Secretariat (2017) “*It is estimated that the economic benefits of ecotourism from protected areas [in Madagascar] over the last 5 years are in the order of USD 57 million*”.

Tourism in Madagascar is regulated by the Tourism Ministry, which has directorates in each of the country’s 22 regions. First given its own ministry in 1994¹⁶, Tourism was again grouped with other sectors in 2002¹⁷ and, except for a brief period in 2009, the Ministry of Tourism has only stood again in its own right since 2011 (Madagascar Tourism Ministry 2014). Madagascar’s National Tourist Board was set up in 2003; a separate marketing organisation that also serves as “*a platform for dialogue between the public and private sphere*” (Madagascar National Tourism Board 2014) and that has since established numerous regional tourism boards. Its remit includes the promotion of cultural tours and ‘sustainable tourism’. Although Madagascar’s tourism has traditionally been centred on protected areas, there are now an increasing number of small-scale tourism initiatives around the country, often marketing themselves as “community-based” tourism¹⁸. Many of these are managed by, or linked to, community-based forest management associations (whose contracts with the Malagasy State often specify designated ‘tourist’ zones) offering forest trails and village homestays, and have involved the training of local guides and other stakeholders.

Nonetheless, Madagascar’s national tourism industry is mainly comprised of providers of goods and services (accommodation establishments, restaurants, guides, etc.), travel

¹⁴ The number of lemur species discovered to science rose from 32 in the early 1990s to over 100 by 2013 (Scales 2014b: 343; Convention on Biological Diversity Secretariat 2017).

¹⁵ Deforestation rates are highly disputed due to differing methodologies and definitions of ‘forest’ used. Madagascar’s National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan, for example, claims a slowing of deforestation to a rate of 0.4% from 2005 to 2010 (NBSAP 2015: 37).

¹⁶ Tourism was previously grouped with the following Ministries in chronological order: Town and Country Planning, Provision, Trade, Transport, Meteorology, Industry and Urban Development.

¹⁷ Chronologically, with the Ministries of Transport, Culture, Environment, Water and Forests, and Handicrafts.

¹⁸ The Viatao guidebook ‘Tao Madagascar’ 2015 provides details of many of these, often termed ‘solidarity tourism’ in French.

and tourism promotion enterprises (inbound tour operators) as well as the national airline (Air Madagascar¹⁹). 'Madagascar National Parks' (MNP) is another important tourism stakeholder, responsible for the management of forty-three²⁰ protected areas including all of Madagascar's national parks. MNP will be discussed further in the next section.

After four years of political and economic crisis, Madagascar's internationally recognised government that took office early 2014 has been encouraging more inland tourism to diffuse visitors away from the traditional coastal-based colonial sites. It is also keen to rid Madagascar's image of a destination for sex tourists due to bad publicity after the Nosy Be tourist killing in 2013 and other subsequent foreigner murders (Hamilton 2013 and AFP 2016).

Nonetheless, and despite its huge potential, tourism remains in its infancy in Madagascar - particularly in comparison with other Indian Ocean islands. The travel and tourism industry contributed just 4.8% to Madagascar's GDP and to 3.8% of total direct employment in 2015 (World Travel and Tourism Council 2016). However, including wider effects from investment, the supply chain and induced income impacts, tourism represented 11% of total employment in 2015. Domestic travel spending remains relatively low, generating 19.4% of direct Travel & Tourism GDP in 2015 compared with 80.6% for visitor exports²¹ (World Travel and Tourism Council 2016).

Tourism in Madagascar is characterised by being low volume and largely high cost. Although Madagascar has deliberately favoured the promotion of top-end tourism²², larger-scale tourism development also remains hindered by a lack of infrastructure and the high cost of flights²³. *“The combination of poor infrastructure and high cost means that Madagascar is unable to cater to either luxury or budget travellers and is left as a niche destination for more adventurous nature lovers”* (Scales 2014: 257). Instability

¹⁹ Until recently Air Madagascar largely monopolised internal commercial flights in Madagascar. However, there is now competition from Madagasikara Airways who started operations in 2015 (Madagasikara Airways 2017) and received their air operator's certificate by the Malagasy Civil Aviation in January 2016 (Madagascar National Tourism Board 2017).

²⁰ The number stated on MNP's website (Madagascar National Parks 2017) whilst FAPBM's website, accessed the same day, stated 47 protected areas.

²¹ Foreign visitor spending or international tourism receipts.

²² The Ministry of Tourism even aims to *“re-invent luxury”* with a 7-star categorisation (personal notes, Chan Mane S. R., Presentation at the International Tourism Fair, Carlton Hotel, Antananarivo 29/5/2015).

²³ According to Freudenberg (2010: 70), on average 60% of tourism expenditures are on international flights to Madagascar. Similarly, one Madagascar tour operator (respondent 13) declared that flights accounted for 40% of tourist expenditure, with commission to the travel agency abroad amounting to 20% of the overall holiday cost.

within the national airline, Air Madagascar, has also been a constraining factor (Travel and Tour World 2015; Cholez 2014). Crucially, tourism in Madagascar has been repeatedly impacted by political instability²⁴, tourist numbers more than halving after each crisis (Ministry of Tourism 2016; Freudenberger 2010: 70).

Obtaining accurate official tourist statistics in Madagascar is problematic as airport arrival numbers do not differentiate between tourists and other types of non-resident foreign visitors (Jensen 2009). Nonetheless, national statistics show that visitor numbers peaked at 375,010 in 2008, when tourism became the second biggest source of foreign currency (Carret, Rajaonson et al. 2010: 106). However, they then fell to a low of just 162,687 visitors in 2009 (Madagascar Tourism Ministry 2016) as a result of the political crisis. Conversely, official figures show a trend to greater revenue generation from tourism, with revenue peaking at 649.6 million dollars in 2014, as well as increased employment with job numbers that climaxed at 39,384 in 2015 (Ministry of Tourism 2015). It is to be noted, however, that tourism in Madagascar is extremely seasonal, with the main high season between July and November and most visitors avoiding the rainy season between January and April when cyclones are common. The average tourist to Madagascar stays for three weeks (Ministry of Tourism 2014) and almost two-thirds visit national parks or go on treks (Madagascar National Tourism Board Magazine 2013).

Despite these seasonality and infrastructure constraints, one of Madagascar's government's priorities is the development of tourism as an economic development and poverty reduction strategy. This was set out in its 1995 Tourism Code²⁵, its 2003 Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) (Christie & Crompton 2003: 40) and its 2014 strategic document for national tourism development²⁶ (Madagascar Tourism Ministry 2014).

Although the Ministry of Tourism set an objective to attract 1 million tourists by the year 2020 (Madagascar National Tourism Office 2015), it is questionable as to whether the infrastructure and capacity exists to realise this. For example, official statistics show

²⁴ Madagascar's three most recent political crises occurred in 1991, 2002 and 2009.

²⁵ Legislation on tourism in Madagascar is primarily the law N°95-017 Tourism Code and additional decrees including two in 2001 related to accommodation establishments. A revised version of the Tourism Code as well as a strategic plan for tourism was due to come out at the time of writing this thesis.

²⁶ This was an inter-ministerial effort to improve the tourism industry in compliance with the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism.

that Madagascar had just over 24,000 rooms in 2015 (Ministry of Tourism) – a fraction of what would be required to accommodate this number. National data is also not openly available indicating the percentage of hotels, travel agencies or other tourism service providers that are foreign-owned (World Bank 2013: 7).

2.2. Madagascar research and policy framework

Context of protected areas and protected area tourism in Madagascar

Madagascar has a long history of protected areas; its first nature reserves were created in 1927 (Durbin and Ratrimoarisana 1996: 19) with both local resource use and tourism prohibited within their boundaries (Corson 2011). Madagascar's first national park was later established in 1958 under French colonial rule (Peters 1998b: 31).

The current situation with regard to tourism around protected areas in Madagascar is best understood within the larger economic and political context, and in relation to conservation policy. Madagascar's 1980 loan default led to the 1983 launch of structural adjustment programmes with the Bretton Woods Institutions (Kull et al. 2007) and to a string of policies which adhere to this neoliberal development framework. The aim was to reduce poverty through economic growth, including the promotion of tourism (Sarrasin 2013). In parallel to this, the conservation emphasis in Madagascar changed between the 1970s/80s and 90s from considering forests to being merely of regional importance to them having a global significance, and "*from consumptive to non-consumptive uses [of forests], in particular tourism*" (Scales, 2012 :74). Tourism was thus identified as the solution, the 'alternative livelihood', to meet both development and conservation objectives. Duffy (2008: 340) brings attention to the fundamental role of international donors in shaping Madagascar's focus on ecotourism, pointing to how "*the cross-cutting and contradictory discourse on preservation and community conservation are interspersed with a clear commitment to neoliberal principles that suit donor agendas*".

Following on from its 1985 National Conservation Strategy (Durbin and Ratrimoarisana 1996: 21), Madagascar's first National Environmental Action Plan

(NEAP)²⁷ of 1990 promoted the development of ‘discovery’ tourism, including the development of new national parks to attract visitors. The aim was that ‘ecotourism’ would generate about a third of funding for protected area maintenance by 2000, and 80% of funding by 2010 (Durbin and Ratrimoarisaona 1996). These anticipated benefits of tourism were (rightly) considered by some to be “*over-optimistic*” (Durbin and Ratrimoarisaona; 1996: 345) due to infrastructure and accessibility constraints in the country. Tourism in MNP-managed protected areas is highly concentrated; just six protected areas attracted over 90% of visitors between 2004 and 2010 (Carret, J 2013: 64). The management cost of Madagascar’s protected areas, estimated at between 14 and 18 million US\$/year as from 2012, was indeed at least fourteen times more than revenue obtained from entrance fees in 2008, when visitor numbers peaked (Carret, Rajaonson et al. 2010: 115; Freudenberger 2010: 38; Sarrasin 2013: 18). Although entrance fee revenue appears to have increased since then²⁸, probably as a result of tariff rises and the suspension of the benefit sharing policy (discussed in section 4.3.3), revenue generated from entrance fees still remains largely insufficient in comparison to the management cost of protected areas.

Low tourist numbers, combined with increasing numbers of protected areas in Madagascar, have impacted on the potential for achieving objectives related to protected areas’ financial autonomy. Madagascar is in the process of creating 93 new protected areas in addition to the 47 that exist already (FAPBM 2017), with 122 protected areas already listed in Madagascar’s 2015-2025 Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan²⁹. Whilst a Protected Area and Biodiversity Trust Fund³⁰ was set up in 2005 with the aim of creating a sustainable funding mechanism supplementary to ecotourism, funds generated by it remain insufficient for all of Madagascar’s protected areas (Carret, Rajaonson et al. 2010: 120; FAPBM 2017³¹).

²⁷ The NEAP was implemented in three phases over the following 17 years and aimed to “*reconcile the population with its environment toward a sustainable development*” (Hanson 2012: 1).

²⁸ MNP’s 2016 budget, published online (MNP 2016) presents their ‘own funds’ as representing 27% of the annual budget. It is assumed that income from entrance fees is included in this category.

²⁹ Although the World Bank’s Madagascar Country Environmental Analysis (2013: 59) stated that 144 protected areas cover 12% of Madagascar’s surface area, many still had temporary status at that time.

³⁰ FAPB (*Fondation pour les Aires protégées et la biodiversité de Madagascar*) was created with initial financial capital from WWF, Conservation International and the Malagasy State – later added to by AFD, FFEM, IDA and others.

³¹ 36 protected areas covering 3.2 million hectares, representing a third of Madagascar’s protected areas surface area, are due to receive FAPBM funding in 2017. Funding, amounting to more than 2 million dollars annually, is divided as follows: 60% for MNP and 40% for other non-MNP sites (Madagascar National Tourism Board 2017).

Founding a protected area management body and the issue of compensation

In parallel to launching its National Environmental Action Plan, Madagascar also founded a national protected area body in 1990 (Peters 1998b; Peters 1998a: 522). An association ‘of public utility’ or non-profit parastatal association initially called ANGAP, and later renamed ‘Madagascar National Parks’ (MNP), the decree n° 91-592 of 4th December 1991 transferred its management³² of Madagascar’s network of national parks and reserves as from 1992. An entrance fee revenue-sharing strategy was adopted the following year, when it was declared that 50% of benefits from national park entrance fees would be put towards community projects bordering these protected areas. This incorporated what was termed a ‘*participatory management approach*’ to involve communities in decision-making (Peters 1998a: 523), and was seen as a blueprint for improving people-park relationships:

“Park entrance fee sharing demonstrates a concrete uni-directional link between conservation of the park and development for local people, exemplifying the second part of The Ecotourism Society’s definition of ecotourism. It remains to be seen whether or not the reverse linkage can be established between fee-generated development and conservation of the park” (Peters 1998a: 526).

This revenue-sharing policy was considered a form of compensation for few direct local benefits from protected areas (Durbin and Ratsimoarisaona 1996). For example, just 0.002% of Ranomafana National Park’s peripheral zone population had previously benefited from tourism, “*with virtually no benefits going to the majority Tanala [ethnic group]*” (Peters 1998a: 524). Our research findings related to the application and effectiveness of this benefit-sharing policy are presented and discussed later in this thesis.

At least seven ‘Integrated Conservation and Development Projects’ (ICDPs) were implemented in Madagascar at the time of new national park creation. Health and environmental education components of these were considered to be development interventions rather than compensation for local people (Peters 1998b: 26), which was

³² However, only the Ministry of the Environment can sanction people for violations committed within protected area borders (Henkels 2001; Bill no. 028/2008 annexe to decree COAP 2008).

not provided³³. Carret, Rajaonson et al. (2010: 123) have, however, noted the unsatisfactory results obtained from micro-projects funded around Madagascar's protected areas, with little evidence of socio-economic impact on the surrounding population. Opportunity costs of national park creation to local people are nevertheless likely to have been significant; for the case of Ranomafana, Ferraro (2002: 261) valued them as representing “*annual costs per household of between \$19 and \$70 over a 60-year horizon*”. Harper (2002) described how Ranomafana National Park's establishment had led to increased inequality, few opportunities for the poorest, more neglect of chronic illness and an overall worsening health situation as a result of limiting the economic options for most villagers.

Community-Based Natural Resource Management

Whilst the idea of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) came around globally in the 1970s, it was not promoted in Madagascar until 1996 – first uniquely through the GELOSE³⁴ law, with the later addition of the 2001 GCF decree (Dressler et al. 2010). Based on principles of social justice, CBNRM was hailed as being a more participatory approach to the ‘top-down’ or ‘fortress conservation’ style traditionally employed in protected area creation, including in Madagascar. However, CBNRM has since been criticised both internationally and nationally for failing to bring the benefits promised whether in terms of ‘community development’ or conservation (Dressler, Büscher et al. 2010; Hanson 2012: 2; Kaufmann 2006). Rasolofoson, Ferraro et al. (2015) showed there to be limited impact of CBNRM on reducing deforestation rates between 2000 and 2010 in Madagascar. In fact, there is evidence that it has at times triggered the inverse of what was intended in terms of accelerating both deforestation and social inequality (Toillier, Serpantié et al. 2011). There are claims that the type of participation promoted was often ‘passive’ or ‘manipulative’ (Pimbert and Pretty 1995: 30; Arnstein 1969), with little local involvement in decision-making (Turner 2012; Hanson 2012). As Pollini (2011: 78) put it “*It [GELOSE] mostly provided a legal framework for the implementation of unauthentic participatory methods that restricted access to resources without providing alternatives*”.

³³ More recently, a compensatory ‘social safeguards’ approach was adopted to fulfil the World Bank's safeguards policies and which is now embodied in national guidelines on protected area creation (Carret 2013: 67).

³⁴ ‘*Gestion Locale Sécurisée*’ Law No. 96-025 of 30/09/1996.

Madagascar's new protected area network

Soon after the rush to implement CBNRM contracts in the late 1990s and early 2000s, Madagascar's then President committed, at the 2003 World Parks Congress in Durban, to triple its surface area of protected areas (Dressler et al. 2010: 9). This was from a starting point of 1.7 million hectares and was in line with global objectives to increase the number of protected areas to cover 10% of every country's major biomes (Corson 2011). The political dimension to the President's decision, named 'the Durban Vision', has been discussed by Duffy (2008) and Corson (2011). Both highlight the enormous power of international institutions and non-governmental organisations such as the World Bank and Conservation International in directing national policy.

In line with the United Nations Millennium Development Goal to eradicate extreme poverty by 2015, the Durban Congress spoke of the need to address poverty, improve governance and benefit/cost-sharing (Mulongoy and Chape 2004: 18). Despite it calling for a "*new paradigm for protected areas*" integrating equity (Mulongoy and Chape, 2004: 21), Duffy (2008), Pollini (2011) and Corson (2011, 2012) all allude to the farcical nature of 'participation' in the establishment of Madagascar's new protected area network since then. The rush to meet the five-year deadline, in addition to financial constraints, effectively prevented any meaningful community engagement in the process (Corson 2012). Combined with giving increased control of forests to non-state entities (Corson 2011), policy therefore appears to be in stark contradiction to the supposed increased community involvement through CBNRM. Rather, '*it has delegitimized peasants' power and authority to control access to and benefit from Madagascar's forests*' (Corson 2011: 722).

Whilst the 'Durban Vision' goal had officially been reached (at least on paper) by 2010, when protected areas covered six million hectares of the country (Freudenberger, 2010; *Les Nouvelles de Madagascar* 2013), with protected areas said to cover nearly 7.2 million hectares by 2015 (Madagascar's 2015-2015 Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan), Corson (2012) argues that Madagascar had already met the 10% objective even before the 2003 declaration³⁵.

Madagascar's national legislation regulating its protected areas, or COAP (Law No. 2001-005 of 21/2/2001), was revised in 2015 (Law No. 2015-005 of 22/1/2015) to allow

³⁵Taking into consideration "*biosphere reserves, hunting reserves, forest stations, and reforested areas, as well as the 4 million ha of classified forests that the DGEF [Environment Ministry] manages for wood supplies.... In total 6.6 million ha were already protected in Madagascar*" (Corson 2012: 347).

for new protected area categories and governance types including the delegation of protected area management to individuals or organisations. At the same time it upheld existing prohibitions on resource use accompanied by hefty fines for non-compliance.

Ecotourism's effectiveness as a strategy

Whether for national parks or the new protected area network (in which CBNRM structures are being integrated as 'co-managers'), managers and promoters such as MNP, Conservation International and Wildlife Conservation Society increasingly aim to promote (eco)tourism as a means of financial self-sufficiency and a form of compensation to local communities. However, Walsh (2012), Sarrasin (2013) and Peters (1998b) have highlighted how tourism has failed to benefit local communities around protected areas in Madagascar, with costs repeatedly shown to outweigh benefits (Ferraro 2002; Scales 2014; Harper 2002). Studies have found that protected area creation in Madagascar impacted disproportionately on the poorest, along with other groups such as single mothers, old and young men (Ferraro 2002). These groups are arguably least likely to participate in or benefit from tourism.

In addition, the suggestion that tourism could be a livelihood substitute for traditional agricultural practices such as swidden cultivation ('tavy') in Madagascar has been denounced by critics including Scales (2012) as misunderstanding the motives for forest clearance. Considering 'tavy' to be "*an irrational practice driven by necessity rather than choice*" (Scales 2012) ignores its socio-cultural context (Peters 1998b; Peters 1998a; Keller 2008), its historical context as well as the economic sense of 'tavy' under certain circumstances (Harper 2002: 114, 120). Keller (2008: 652) highlights the fundamental difference between the world views of conservationists and the Malagasy "*ethos of growth*" - with a farmer's loss of land or forest being more than just economic but representing a defeat in life's purpose (Keller, 2008: 656). The effectiveness of promoting economic incentives to conservation, such as tourism, is therefore questionable.

Nonetheless, priority areas highlighted in Madagascar's 2015 - 2025 National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan³⁶ (linked to meeting the objectives set out in the Convention for Biological Diversity that Madagascar ratified in 1995) are the extension of these protected areas and the integration of biodiversity management activities in

³⁶ Decree No. 2016-128 of 23/2/2016.

economic and development sectors, including tourism. It should be noted that the objective of the 2010 Aichi Action Plan for 2011-2020 was to conserve biodiversity so as to ensure sustainable and equitable benefits for the population.

Questioning 'received wisdoms' on Madagascar's environment

There has equally been increasing debate in academia questioning dominant environmental narratives or discourses regarding rates and causes of deforestation in Madagascar (Kull 2000; Scales 2012 and 2014). This has effectively debunked the common narrative that Madagascar was “*completely, or almost completely, forested 2,000 years ago*”³⁷ (Keller 2008: 651) and the neo-Malthusian received wisdom about population growth driving deforestation³⁸ (Scales 2014). The subject has even been broached by the World Bank (Carret, J 2013: Annex 2: 118) who have called these narratives “*a disservice to the goals of poverty reduction and environmental protection... Obfuscating the true nature and causes of environmental degradation results in misinformed policy, legislation, and resource management plans*”.

However, alarming predictions continue to be cited by conservationists, for example that the forest cover of Madagascar will completely disappear in the next 20 to 30 years (Sarrasin 2013: 10; Delp 2011). Although these figures are used to justify the extension of the protected area network, the effectiveness of this strategy is hotly debated. Official statistics (Convention on Biological Diversity Secretariat 2017) and Carret, Rajaonson et al. (2010: 112) claim that protected areas have been successful in reducing deforestation rates. Conversely, findings presented by Kim et al (2015) suggest that forest degradation has instead increased in parallel with an increase in protected area coverage. Hill, Miller et al (2015) point out that one causal factor to this phenomena can be the weakening of previous forest governance regimes as protected areas are created. Jones, Andriamarovololona et al. (2008: 982) assert the veracity of this in the Malagasy context, suggesting that the imposition of external conservation rules, combined with loss of property rights, is weakening traditional mechanisms of resource management and call for greater cultural understanding in interventions.

³⁷ An example is WWF stating that Madagascar has lost more than 90% of its original forest cover (WWF 2016).

³⁸ An example of which is Clark (2012) and equally the Convention on Biological Diversity website 2017.

Concluding thoughts on research and policy

Despite numerous policies, projects and efforts to promote ecotourism as a strategy for conservation and development around protected areas in Madagascar, it is still only too common to find villages that are important tourist destinations yet which remain by any standards very poor. Although tourism may create jobs, a clear and effective strategy for redistributing revenue generated within the sector appears to be lacking. It is crucial to look at how to maximise the benefits of tourism both to local communities, ensuring their equitable distribution, and to biodiversity conservation. There seems to have been little research into how tourism in Madagascar could be harnessed as a poverty reduction tool, including how revenue leakages could be minimised whilst at the same time maximising linkages to local communities. This research project contributes to filling the gap, with a specific focus on protected area tourism.

In addition, unless tourist numbers significantly increase in the near future, strengthening alternative funding mechanisms for Madagascar's protected areas is necessary with a view to achieving both conservation and development goals. This research project's findings contribute to reflexion regarding Corson's (2011, 2014 in Scales 2014b) argument that the wisest course of action for effective conservation would be to concentrate on making existing protected areas more effective, rather than creating more 'paper parks'.

3. Methods and study sites

3.1. Research sites

Research was carried out using a comparative case study design in protected areas located in the ex-province of Fianarantsoa (Haute Matsiatra and Vatovavy Fitovinany regions) in southeast Madagascar.

Two national parks (IUCN Category 2), both UNESCO World Heritage Sites, were chosen to illustrate communities experiencing different forms of tourism and at different stages of tourism development. Whilst other case study sites had been considered for the purposes of this research project, which would have represented a wider variety of protected area governance types, the Ranomafana and Andringitra National Parks were considered the most appropriate for this study for the following reasons:

- They are both primarily stay-over sites where the impact of tourism would be more measurable (in comparison to other predominantly day-visit sites).
- Both have experienced tourism for a significant number of years (in comparison to other sites where tourism remains in its infancy).
- Both are sites where the researcher had no direct involvement in tourism-related initiatives, reducing the potential for bias.

Although Ranomafana and Andringitra are now managed by the same body (Madagascar National Parks: MNP) and local residents surrounding both areas are primarily subsistence farmers, the two sites differ in many ways; historically, culturally, in terms of landscape (including flora and fauna) and accessibility. The following table presents some of the key characteristics of the two case study areas.



Figure 1: A view of Ranomafana (municipality centre).

Table 1: Key characteristics of case study sites.

Research site	Ranomafana National Park (RNP).	Andringitra National Park (ANP).
Location	<p>RNP borders 7 rural municipalities³⁹ (spread over 3 districts and 2 regions). In 1994, the population bordering the RNP was estimated to be 27,000 spread over 160 villages (Peters 1994: 387).</p> <p>The RNP entrance is 65 km northeast of Fianarantsoa town.</p> <p>Accessibility is very good: RNP entrance located on the main road RN25 (tarmac road since 2007).</p>	<p>ANP borders 5 rural municipalities⁴⁰ and 2 regions, with an estimated surrounding population of 8,769 in 2000 (Rajoma 2006: 21).</p> <p>ANP can be accessed from 2 sides; the west (Morarano, in Vohitsaoka municipality) or the north (Namoly, via Sendrisoa municipality).</p> <p>Access is difficult, requiring a four-wheel drive vehicle from Ambalavao town or involving a trek to the park entrance from the nearest public transport terminus.</p>
Ethnic group and livelihoods	<p>Primarily Tanala ethnic group in the 4 south/eastern municipalities (although they are now outnumbered in the central town of Ranomafana</p>	<p>Primarily Betsileo in the northern zones (with predominately irrigated rice farming systems), Bara in the southern and western national park limits (with a much greater emphasis on burning for</p>

³⁹ Municipalities of Ambohimiera, Tsaratanana, Ranomafana and Kelilalina in the Ifanadiana district, Vatovavy Fitovinany region. For Haute Matsiatra region: Municipalities of Ambalakindresy and Morafeno in the Ambohimahasoa district and Androy in the Lalangina district.

⁴⁰ These are Namoly (which separated from Sendrisoa municipality in 2015), Vohitsaoka and Miarinarivo rural municipalities in the Ambalavao district of Haute Matsiatra region, and Ivongo and Antambohobe municipalities in the Ivohibe district of Ihosy region.

Research site	Ranomafana National Park (RNP).	Andringitra National Park (ANP).
	<p>by the Betsileo and Merina ethnic groups). Swidden agriculture ('tavy'), centred on rain-fed hillside rice cultivation, is traditionally practised in these areas.</p> <p>Principally Betsileo in the RNP's north/western limits (3 municipalities), where more irrigated rice-farming is practised.</p>	<p>cattle grazing lands on the western side), and Baraharonga to the east (where swidden farming is more practised).</p>
<p>Landscape, flora and fauna</p>	<p>41,601 hectares of tropical low to mid-altitude (400-1,534m) rainforest (Wright 1992: 115).</p> <p>Rare lemurs, the trigger for RNP creation, (Sarrasin 2013: 12) include the greater bamboo lemur (<i>Prolemur simus</i>) and the golden bamboo lemur (<i>Hapalemur aureus</i>) as well as the black-and-white ruffed lemur (<i>Varecia variegata variegata</i>). Other fauna include the web-footed tenrec (<i>Limnogale Mergulus</i>).</p>	<p>31,160 hectares (MNP 2016). Made up of 3 ecosystems: low altitude rainforest, montane forest and high-altitude vegetation.</p> <p>The Namoly ANP entrance offers rainforest on one side, dramatic granite mountainous outcrops on the other with deep valleys and ridges, marking the southern limit of Madagascar's eastern escarpment.</p> <p>Rare flora found in the area include the palm <i>Ravenea glauca</i> and hardwoods such as <i>Dalbergia sp</i>, whilst fauna include over a dozen lemur species.</p>

Research site	Ranomafana National Park (RNP).	Andringitra National Park (ANP).
	Rare flora include <i>Pandanus</i> and the palm <i>Dyopsis thermarum</i> (so far only found in Ranomafana).	
History of NP creation and management	<p>Previously categorised a National Forest Area (<i>‘Domaine Forestière Nationale’</i>) - classified forest with timber concessions (Wright, Andriamihaja et al. 2002: 114).</p> <p>A USAID-funded ICDP (Integrated Conservation & Development Project) implemented by American universities⁴¹ from 1990 – 1996 was responsible for national park creation (IUCN Category 2) in May 1991.</p> <p>Management was transferred to ANGAP in 1997 (renamed MNP in 2008).</p> <p>RNP was declared a World Heritage Site in 2007.</p>	<p>First classified an ‘Integral (Strict) Nature Reserve in 1927 (IUCN Category 1), permitting only scientific research within the protected area.</p> <p>A WWF project launched in 1993 led to national park creation (IUCN Category 2) in 1999.</p> <p>Management was transferred to ANGAP in 2005 (renamed MNP in 2008).</p> <p>ANP was declared a World Heritage Site in 2007.</p>

⁴¹ Universities of Duke, North Carolina State, State University of New York at Stony Brook, and Cornell (Wright, Andriamihaja et al. 2002: 120).

Research site	Ranomafana National Park (RNP).	Andringitra National Park (ANP).
<p>Type of tourism product and stage of development</p>	<p>Tourism is well-developed, based around visits to the RNP and the thermal baths. The first documented attempt to manage the area’s hot springs occurred in 1897 (Delaunay 1958 cited in Peters (1998a: 519). These springs were the reason for Ranomafana’s development as a tourist destination as early as the 1940s.</p> <p>Good tourist infrastructure (over 25 hotels, catering for all needs), which continues to expand.</p> <p>High number of RNP visitors (which peaked in 2008 at 24,542). However, these figures do not capture the large numbers of Malagasy tourists to Ranomafana who often only visit the thermal baths.</p>	<p>Tourism is less developed than in RNP, largely due to lower accessibility.</p> <p>ANP has low visitor numbers (which peaked in 2008 at 4,240).</p> <p>It is primarily a trek destination, particularly for Pic Boby (Madagascar’s highest climbable mountain at 2,658m), and most suitable for visitors who are prepared to camp.</p> <p>Very limited infrastructure near the northern ANP entrance in Namoly (1 hotel, 1 MNP dormitory, 1 community homestay) with more infrastructure to the western side (1 MNP dormitory in Morarano, 5 hotels/campsites in the nearby Tsaranoro valley).</p>
<p>Other relevant stakeholders</p>	<p>The ‘ValBio’ biodiversity research centre, managed by Stony Brook University.</p>	<p>Nearby community-based forest management associations (who have contracts with the forestry administration) in Namoly and Tsaranoro.</p>

Research site	Ranomafana National Park (RNP).	Andringitra National Park (ANP).
	<p>The NGO ICTE (Institute for Conservation of Tropical Environments) who were formed out of the Ranomafana Park Project.</p> <p>The large ‘PIVOT’ health project has been based in Ranomafana since 2013 as a result of relations with ValBio.</p> <p>Community-based forest management associations (who have contracts with the forestry administration) in certain peripheral areas of RNP.</p>	<p>Outsider-owned tourism businesses in the Tsaranoro valley (near to Morarano).</p> <p>The German government who committed, in 2007, to financially support ANP through a ‘Sinking Fund’ (FAPBM 2017).</p> <p>KfW (<i>Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau</i>) German bank, a key donor of ANP.</p>
Past research in the area	<p>Whilst the opening of Valbio research centre has attracted a continuous stream of biological researchers to Ranomafana⁴², there have also been a handful of social scientists who have carried out research projects (including Peters 1998; Hanson 1997; Ferraro 2002; Harper 2002 ...) -</p>	<p>In stark contrast to Ranomafana, academic papers from the Andringitra area are few and far between (for example Regnier 2012), and none covering tourism were found.</p>

⁴² A lack of applied research was noted by Valbio’s Scientific Advisor (personal communication 2014), most Valbio researchers following their own research priorities.

Research site	Ranomafana National Park (RNP).	Andringitra National Park (ANP).
	<p>particularly during the period following RNP's creation, when Peters (1998a) first highlighted the high leakage and low linkage of tourism revenue generated in Ranomafana, and the lack of opportunities for local people. The failure of ecotourism to benefit locals has since been reiterated by Pollini (2011: 76) and Sarassin (2013).</p>	



Figure 2: MNP 'Gîte' (lodge) in Namoly (to the left) with the landscape of Andringitra behind.

As detailed in Table 1, case study sites differ in terms of their ecosystems and the tourist experience on offer. Although tropical forest is found in both, the part of Andringitra most visited is not forested but rather a rugged rocky terrain providing challenging trekking and spectacular views across the landscape. In comparison, most visitors to Ranomafana National Park come to see lemurs and the rainforest habitat. Other key differences between Ranomafana and Andringitra National Parks are related to their accessibility, with Ranomafana being largely more accessible to visitors as it is located along a main road that is currently well-maintained. In contrast, access to both of Andringitra's entrances (shown in Figure 2) are along very rudimentary tracks, meaning that travel is more time-consuming, challenging and costly. For this reason, there are stark differences between the two sites in terms of the level of tourism development as well as regarding visitor numbers (appendix 4 provides details), with Ranomafana receiving around eight times more tourists than Andringitra. Indeed, Ranomafana's tourism industry predates its national park over 50 years. The case study areas also differ with regard to their history of protected area status and forest use; whilst Andringitra had been strictly protected for over 70 years prior to national park creation, Ranomafana's natural resources had been heavily harvested.

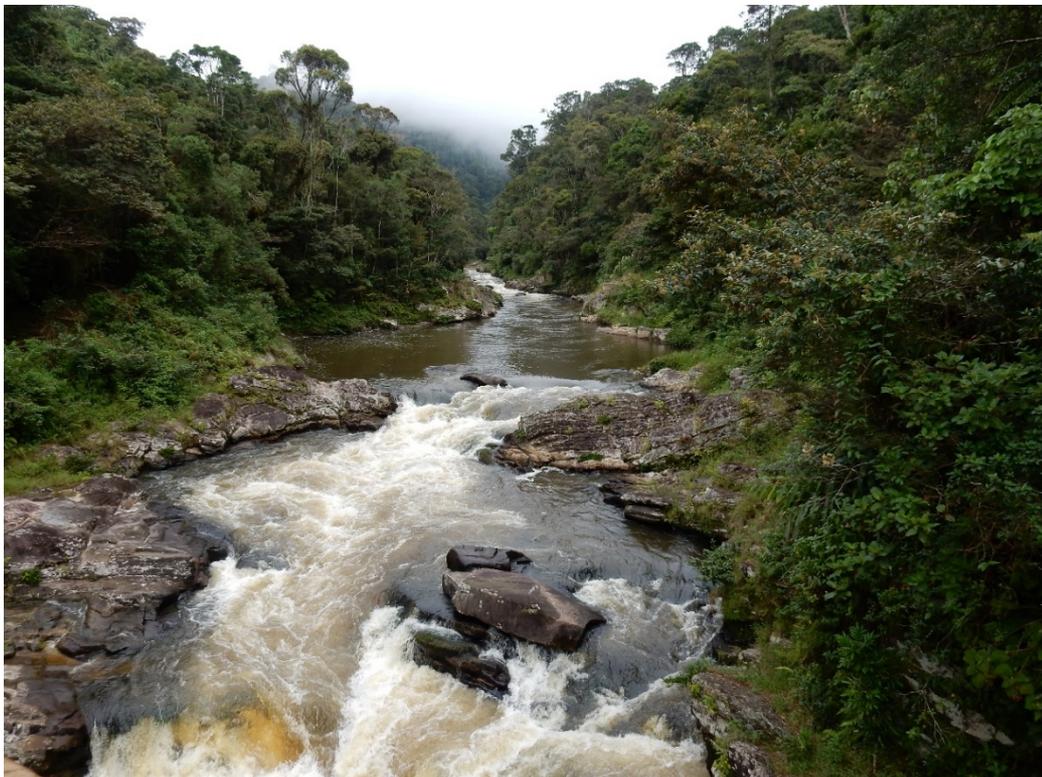


Figure 3: The River Namorona that cuts through Ranomafana National Park.

Figure 4: Location of research sites.

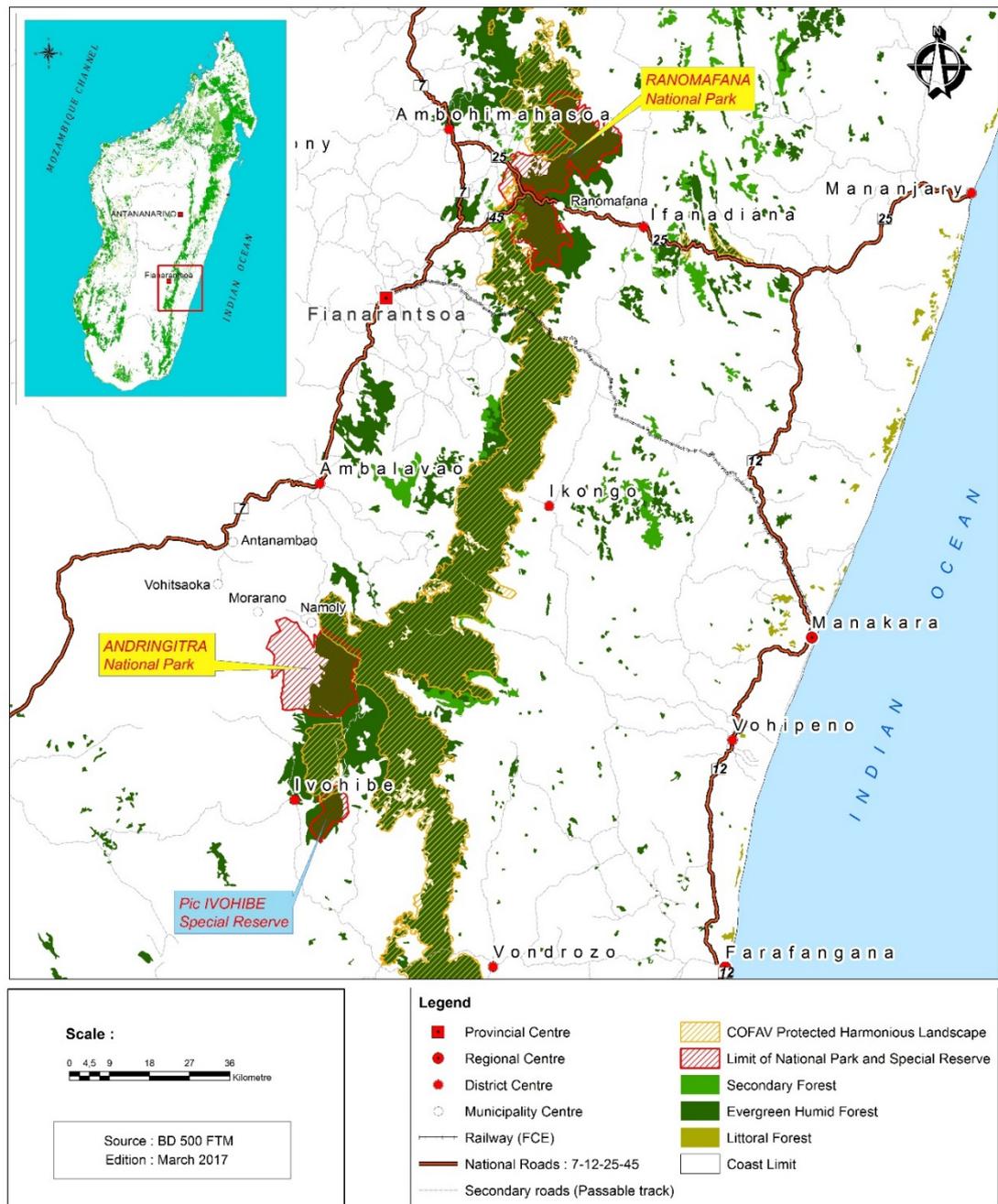


Figure 5: Map showing the two entrances to Andringitra National Park.

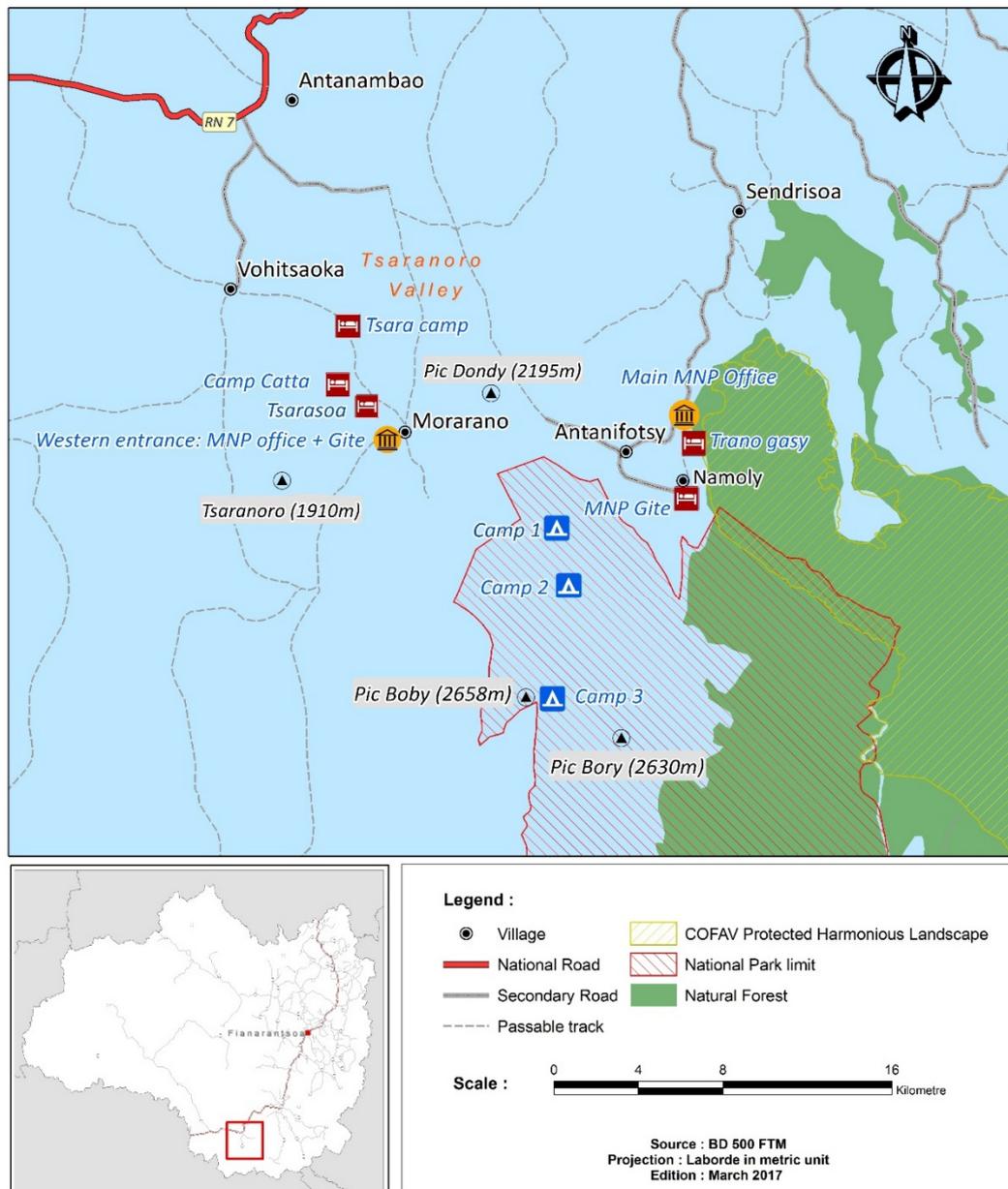


Figure 6: View towards the main MNP ticket office and interpretation for ANP in Namoly.

3.2. Research design

3.2.1. Research timing

This research project was carried out over two extended periods in Madagascar between January 2015 and December 2016, with five principal field trips to case study areas conducted in the months of August, October and December 2015, and January 2016.

3.2.2. Research approach

This research falls in to what Sandbrook, Adams et al. (2013: 1487) term “*research on conservation*”. Distinguishing this from “*research for conservation*” in that the mission of conservation science is not necessarily shared, it looks at the phenomenon of the conservation movement itself; practices, institutions and structural contexts. This type of research is, however, equally important to conservationists in order to improve their effectiveness. It deepens understanding of “*the social, political and economic conditions in which they operate and especially the effects of their actions and the actions of the organisations they work for and support*” (Sandbrook, Adams et al. 2013: 1489). Others promoting “*research for conservation*”, such as Russell and Harshbarger (2003: 8), have equally called for a greater understanding and collaboration between conservationists and social scientists for “*wiser investments*”.

An inductive approach was adopted for research undertaken, building theory out of data collected rather than vice versa. Multiple, mixed-methods were employed, allowing for greater flexibility to respond to findings and to reorient research as necessary than with a more structured approach. For example, information from initial interviews often led to the formulation of new questions in subsequent interviews (Russell and Harshbarger 2003: 189). This approach equally aimed to reduce particular biases of different methods, such as group bias or individual dominance in focus groups. Qualitative methods were combined to a lesser extent with quantitative data collection to enable the gathering of key statistical data useful for analysis. Specifically, semi-structured interviews integrated several short questions administered face-to-face to obtain the profile of the participant or to gather key quantitative information. For example, hotel owners were asked for data

including their lodging capacity, numbers of workers and the proportion of workers who were recruited from the local population.

The first phase involved researching at the macro-level including examining national legislation and policy documents on tourism and conservation, and reviewing literature on case study areas. Other secondary data sources used included published reports and statistics, tourism promotional material, websites and media reports to enable a clearer understanding of the context of the research topic.

Participant observation was also a technique employed. Having lived in this area of Madagascar for 15 years prior to the research project, the researcher's experience working with a non-governmental organisation (NGO) in the field of community development and natural resource management provided numerous opportunities for informal and unstructured discussions with tourism and conservation stakeholders at the national, regional and local levels in Madagascar throughout the research period. For example, participation at a workshop in Fianarantsoa to develop a new strategy related to the Convention on Biological Diversity in February 2015, or in the process to create a national network for responsible tourism in the first half of 2015, allowed for a wider assessment of issues around the research theme. Likewise, attending presentations and debates at the International Tourism Fair in Antananarivo in May 2015, including those of the Tourism Ministry and the General Director of MNP, provided key information for the study.

Participating in tourist activities as a tourist, such as national park walks, 'cultural tourism' excursions, visits to the Ranomafana thermal baths or staying at hotels, also allowed for a different perspective to be gained. And finally, the researcher's involvement in combined stakeholder attempts to resolve a conflict around participation in, and benefits from, 'ecotourism' elsewhere in the 'COFAV' (Ambositra – Vondrozo Forest Corridor⁴³) zone shed light on different stakeholder views related to similar issues that have arisen in case study areas. Detailed notes were taken on a continual basis to complement interview data.

⁴³ The COFAV received permanent Protected Area status as the Natural Resources Nature Reserve COFAV (equivalent to IUCN Category 6) (CI 2013: 4) in 2015. COFAV extends from north of Ranomafana National Park to south of Andringitra National Park.

Information from these various methods combined, and field observation, then informed the design of semi-structured interviews, and also added to primary data gathered through interviews. It enabled the triangulation of findings. Forty-seven semi-structured interviews were carried out with a wide variety of stakeholders at the national, regional and local levels including tourists, authorities, service providers and local residents around the protected areas in question. In-depth, semi-structured interviews appeared to be a culturally-appropriate technique to approach the research questions due to the Malagasy trait of discretion, indirectness and averseness to confrontation - which might hinder the disclosure of key information without a degree of inquisition. Interviews were held in a relaxed, informal atmosphere, with initial questions chosen to put the respondent at ease, and without taking too many notes. More structured research tools such as structured interviews or questionnaires might have risked making respondents feel uncomfortable and reluctant to speak openly. In addition, low literacy levels amongst villagers ruled out the appropriateness of questionnaires, which would also not have provided the flexibility of interviews and the ability to probe and obtain additional information which could be highly relevant.

Although semi-structured interview guides varied slightly according to the stakeholder group, discussions centred around local participation in, and benefits from, tourism as well as the achievement of development and conservation goals in the case study national parks. An example of a semi-structured interview guide can be found in Appendix 2.

3.2.3. Research respondents

Numerous stakeholders were targeted in this research project, from the international level (tourists), national level (tourism promoters), regional level (government officials, NGOs, etc.) and local level (protected area managers, service providers, local residents, community leaders, etc.). This allowed for the appreciation of different perspectives and the gathering of information from a wide range of sources, so as to triangulate results.

The following table presents information on the forty-seven semi-structures interviews carried out with people from these different stakeholder categories, which were supplementary to numerous discussions undertaken informally.

Table 2: Data on semi-structured interviews carried out.

Number of semi-structured interviews carried out	47
Number of interviews relevant to Ranomafana NP	27
Number of interviews relevant to Andringitra NP	24
Number of interviews digitally recorded	32
Total number of people interviewed	66
Gender division of interviewees	38 male, 28 female
Age range of interviewees	Late teens to 60+
Profile / Occupation* of interviewees:	
Tourist	16
Tourism business / Tour operator	10
Researcher / Research centre	3
Government official	2
Interest-group	1
Non-Governmental Organisation	2
National park manager / employee	3
Guide (local or district-level) ⁴⁴	8
Community leader / member of benefit-sharing structure	4
Local service providers	6
Local residents	11

**Note: Some interviewees fell into several categories (e.g. many of the guides were also local residents and some also had tourism businesses).*

3.3. Issues arising from choices of research techniques

Particular challenges of methodologies adopted are discussed next, namely potential biases of semi-structured interviews, risks and inadequacies with the tourist expenditure recall technique and sampling techniques. For each challenge highlighted, methods used to address these issues during research are presented.

⁴⁴ It should be noted that, in the case of Ranomafana, in addition to National Park guides there are also guides working for the Valbio research centre who accompany researchers into the forest. Only the RNP guides were interviewed for this research project.

Semi-structured interviews were designed around topics identified from the literature review and in order to answer the research questions. Questions started broad and became narrower during interviews so as to avoid the ‘order effect’; an example of a semi-structured interview guide can be found in Appendix 2. As far as possible, questions leading to ‘yes/no’ answers were avoided so as to prevent the ‘yes effect’ (Newing, Eagle et al. 2011: 111). Interviewer bias was reduced through careful wording of questions, and through striving to be as value-neutral as possible during interviews. Questions were piloted with native-speakers of different languages (English/French/Malagasy, as required) and adjusted as necessary before launching into full research.

At times, interviews bordered on becoming focus groups, as more people joined the discussion which had begun with just one or two people. This was particularly the case at the village-level, where it sometimes proved difficult to find a quiet corner to conduct an interview. However, groups numbered no more than five people⁴⁵ and this allowed for deeper discussion and greater triangulation of results obtained. Data was therefore triangulated within subjects (interviewing certain people a second time, where considered necessary), between subjects (interviewing numerous people) and using cross-methods. Endeavouring to be as critical as possible in results interpretation, analysis of fully-transcribed digitally-recorded interviews helped reduce potential bias.

Tourist expenditure recall is another technique that was integrated into interviews to evaluate visitors’ contribution to the local economy, particularly around case study areas. On completion of semi-structured interviews with tourists, often held at the end of their visit to the national park, they were asked to provide a simple breakdown of expenditure during their stay for different types of costs (see appendices). Although Breen, Bull et al. (2001: 479) pointed to the risk of ‘memory decay’ when using the recall method, which may result in a lower estimation of visitor expenditure, the risk of error is reduced if the interview is held soon after the protected area visit. Frechtling (2006: 31), who reviewed literature on estimating visitor expenditures over thirty years, backed this up - concluding that “*evidence suggests that the exit survey model can provide the most accurate visitor-*

⁴⁵ Three interviews were held with five people present, and three with three participants.

expenditure information if expenditure recall is limited to the previous 24-hour period and multiplied by the projected length of stay". The diary method requires a higher level of input and consequently often results in low response rates (Huhtala 2007: 225).

Frechtling (2006: 27) highlighted the issue that visitor expenditure diaries/recalls only take into account direct visitor expenditures, omitting purchases on their behalf (indirect and induced effects), and thus underestimate economic impact. Estimations of mean expenditure are also difficult as certain expenditures, like accommodation and transport, often vary little with group sizes up to three (Frechtling 2006: 30). It was therefore important to report clearly if expenditure noted was per person or per group. Expenditure categories used met the minimum level of detail recommended by Stynes and White (2006: 9). The verity of information provided was checked for accuracy against information given by guides as well as other tourism stakeholders (business owners/ local service providers). However, due to the limited number of respondents who were able to provide accurate tourism expenditure information, data collected was mainly relevant for triangulating other research findings and for giving an overall impression of economic leakage from, and linkage to, the area.

Research sampling techniques were decided according to the target group category and other practicalities. Opportunistic or convenience sampling was used for tourists, guides and local people, integrating at the same time quota sampling. This helped ensure that there was a balance; for example between different tourist 'groups', genders and ages, or to take into account differences related to geographical locations around a specific protected area. In particular, research was conducted in the areas surrounding both points of access to Andringitra National Park⁴⁶. Purposive sampling based on key informants was carried out, starting with a list of people identified as being central to the research subject such as protected area managers and local authorities. These were accessed directly through requesting interviews with them, or through using contacts as initial entry points. Chain referral or 'snowball' sampling was also occasionally used to investigate groups that may have been harder to approach and to target people that the researcher was previously unaware of.

⁴⁶There is only one main entrance to Ranomafana National Park.

It is accepted that, due to the nature of the scope of the research project and the sampling techniques used, research findings should not be taken to be necessarily representative. However, it could be said that they provide a useful picture of the issues at stake. The researcher has endeavoured to present an accurate interpretation or understanding of the varying stakeholder perspectives encountered.

Initial sample size targets were reviewed and revised according to the diversity of answers obtained and the need to continue triangulation of findings. Research continued until “*saturation*” (Newing 2011: 75) was reached, when further interviews produced no major new findings. Structure remained fairly flexible to allow for return trips to study areas or repeat interviews with stakeholders as necessary. The issue of potential bias in responses due to tourism seasonality was not considered to be a risk, particularly as the usual ‘high season’ of 2015 attracted much lower tourist numbers than expected, partly due to perturbations with Madagascar’s national airline company (Ricci 2015). In addition, research was carried out with local residents and tourists at different months of the year, which would have reduced any potential bias. Locations where interviews were held were also chosen to maximise results: where people were most at ease and not in a hurry to leave. For example, tourists were approached in the evening in their hotels or bars, or at lunch, and appointments with key informants were fixed in advance.

Other reliability issues also arise with the use of secondary data sources; as highlighted by Scheyvens (2014: 44) “*just because data is published or official, it may not necessarily be truthful or valid*”. In order to reduce the risk of unreliability, efforts were made to cross-check data across different sources before being used. Where possible with regard to Malagasy laws and texts, the original documents were consulted rather than relying on other secondary sources.

3.4. Data processing and analysis

Research data was processed and analysed on a continual basis as it was collected. Brief notes were usually made during interviews, although often less so when the interview was being digitally recorded. Immediately or soon after each interview, the researcher’s initial impressions and thoughts were noted in a notebook dedicated for that purpose. For interviews that were not recorded, full notes were written-up within a day to reduce the risk of error or forgetting details.

All notes were typed-up in Word (with back-ups of all files carried out) and full transcripts from digital audio recordings were made, simultaneously translating those interviews carried out in French or Malagasy into English. Transcripts were filed in order of each interview carried out, and were annotated, cross-checked and coded. Using an inductive approach, these codes were developed on completion of data collection, with codes defined both from research questions and from data obtained, ascertaining new themes that arose. An index was developed including between 6 and 8 'parent' codes, with child codes then identified. Data was manually coded. Colour codes also facilitated the task of thematising notes.

Research results were then summarised, bringing together a document of recurrent key themes emerging from interviews. Following on from that, an inventory was compiled of findings to respond to the research aim and questions. Analysis was also carried out with regard to differences in perspectives between stakeholder groups concerning the key themes of participation, benefit distribution, and conservation and development impact. Given the level of data collection and that some attributes of Nvivo software were not appropriate to the research project, a personalised computer database was created by the researcher to manage data collected.

3.5. Researcher positionality

As the researcher is fluent in Malagasy, and is familiar with the local dialects in case study areas, field research was carried out in the Malagasy language whilst interviews with French or English stakeholders were also held in their native languages. This direct communication between the researcher and the interviewee aided in avoiding potential miscommunication through the use of a translator or research assistant, and made the building of rapport and trust easier. As Scheyvens (2014: 156) discusses, being accustomed to the local language and customs helps to maximise data reliability.

The researcher's long-term involvement in the region⁴⁷ allowed for privileged insights and a long-term view of evolution in the area. At the same time, the researcher remained acutely aware of issues related to cross-cultural research and

⁴⁷ The NGO for whom the researcher works has operated in both case study areas, on projects non-related to tourism and the NP (Ranomafana: from 1995 to 1997 and again since 2006; Andringitra: from 2005 to 2013 with occasional one-off interventions since).

potential bias due to her personal background and experience, which she tried to address as far as possible. For instance, the risk of a conflict of interests was minimised by targeting a subject area which was largely unrelated to the researcher's professional field of work. In addition, the researcher expressed no personal opinions during interviews, aiming to always follow the carefully-worded and pre-tested questions. As discussed by Scheyvens (2014: 62), perceived differences in power during qualitative research can bias results. Every effort was therefore made during interviews to minimise respondents' potential sense of unease, endeavouring to make the process as informal as possible.

A digital voice recorder was used, where possible⁴⁸ and with participants' permission, to record interviews, in order to allow close analysis of responses post-interview. A brief introduction to the research project was given to all participants at the start of the conversation. They were guaranteed confidentiality if they wished to remain anonymous and it was explained that recordings would only be used for the researcher's own study purposes. Each informant was verbally asked for consent to participate. Nobody refused to be recorded and many even expressed that they would be happy for their views to be made public. However, due to the sensitive nature of some of the issues discussed, confidentiality of respondents is ensured and all information is presented anonymously in that informants are identified only by code and general position, and interview dates are not revealed. However, village identities have been provided due to their importance in discussion of the various research findings.

As and when it was deemed appropriate, the researcher provided small gifts, such as vegetable seeds or soap, to local residents who participated with the research project as a sort of recompense for their time. These gifts were, however, presented in a culturally-acceptable manner (as a '*voandalana*', translated literally as a 'fruit of the road', from the town) and offered at the end of the interview without the interviewee's prior awareness that they would be given something.

Scheyvens (2014: 5) highlights the importance of making research relevant and useful to the country or communities concerned. Sharing of research findings will occur through the provision of a written summary of results to key informants, or

⁴⁸ At times, for example, it was too noisy to be able to record.

final manuscript, depending on what is requested. A verbal presentation of results will also be held after completion of the final manuscript, with invitations sent to stakeholders including policymakers, with the aim of contributing to discussions on how to improve the performance (in terms of development and conservation) of protected areas and tourism in Madagascar. Results will also be shared via appropriate platforms such as the 'Madagascar Environmental Justice Network'.

To conclude, this research project employed qualitative social science techniques to explore the relationship between local participation in tourism, equity in benefit distribution and achievement of conservation goals around two national parks in Madagascar. Information obtained through 47 semi-structured interviews carried out over two years was supplemented by numerous informal conversations with diverse stakeholders, participation at meetings, conferences and talks, participant observation, as well as consultation of secondary sources of data. An inductive approach was used to analyse data collected. This chapter has discussed methods used, how the challenges of methodologies were addressed and how the researcher endeavoured to limit potential bias to a minimum.

4. Presentation of research findings

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents research findings, starting with those related to local participation in tourism and moving on to explore perceptions of equity in benefit distribution and regarding the level of achievement of development and conservation goals around the case study sites. Despite differences in the level of tourism development and the type of tourist product on offer in the two areas, similarities were found in terms of constraints to local participation in, and benefit accrual from, tourism and national park creation. Anger and protest provoked by the raising of visitor entrance fees in November 2015 is dissected, uncovering factors of discontent common to the two national parks. Views raised concerning MNP's management style are considered, along with the reactions of newly-elected local authorities around these protected areas, before discussing the overall findings and how they relate to the wider literature on this subject.

However, it is useful to first present information gathered, during interviews, on tourist expenditure in Madagascar and around the case study protected areas. This helps to frame research findings in terms of the potential economic impact of tourism locally. Data collected with tour operators (respondents 13 and 47) on in-country tourist spending showed meals/subsistence and accommodation to account for the majority of the average visitor's expenditure (between 17% and 30% for each of these two categories), followed by travel and excursions (between 10% and 13%), national-level guides and the Madagascar agency commission fee (8% to 10% for each). Tourist spend on national park entrance fees was roughly proportional to spend on national park guides and porters (around 5% for each), with local souvenir spending and tipping varying significantly between visitors.

Backpackers' expenditure accounts indicated wider beneficiaries of spending and greater linkages to local areas - with a higher proportional spend on national park guides and porters (up to 53% in the case of Ranomafana) and on tips (up to 11%). In comparison, due to the high transport costs to Andringitra National Park, a district-level guide (respondent 17) declared 50% of tourist expenditure on excursions there to be spent on travel costs, 15% on meals (provided by the guide),

10% on entrance fees and 13.75% on national park guides and porters. Agency-booked tourists were unaware of the breakdown of the majority of their expenditure, having pre-paid for most items such as accommodation, national park entrance, travel and excursions. It is noteworthy, however, how the majority of these respondents said how ingredients for meals in the national park were brought in from outside the area, as well as the insignificant level of tipping and souvenir purchases they declared.

4.2. Local participation in tourism

This section looks at local participation in tourism (and its benefits) with regard to national park creation and the accompanying policy and processes to promote tourism. It then goes on to consider different forms of participation in tourism around case study areas, exploring barriers to local participation for each. Specifically it looks at business ownership, employment, at participation in maintaining the tourism product (the environment that visitors come to see), participation in ‘community’ tourism initiatives and participation as contact with tourists.

4.2.1. Participation at the time of national park creation

Although tourism in Ranomafana predates national park creation by around 50 years, the accreditation of national park status is considered to have been a key stage in the tourism development process of both case study areas. Perceptions of local peoples’ level of participation in that process were assessed, uncovering contrasting views between stakeholder groups. Likewise, perceptions of local agreement to this change in categorisation varied. The establishment of Andringitra National Park (ANP) was unanimously perceived to be a positive development by local respondents as it was seen as a relaxation of the area’s former categorisation, which had prevented any local use or benefits, and as a result of WWF awareness-raising leading up to its change of status. The permission of cattle grazing within ANP was also seen as a benefit.

However, local attitudes were largely found to be the inverse in the case of Ranomafana National Park (RNP), whose establishment is widely attributed to an

American primatologist's negotiations with the Malagasy government⁴⁹. RNP creation saw a major tightening of laws regarding use of forest and non-timber forest products – basically outlawing entry by local people into the delimited park area⁵⁰. Whilst those leading the initiative at the time described the participatory manner in which RNP was created, with village elders involved in the delimitation of park boundaries (MNP, Interview 8) and an initial three-month socio-economic survey carried out around the park defining priority actions (Interview 6), the picture painted by locals contrasted sharply.

'Needs interpretation' at the time of RNP creation was a contentious issue which one respondent claimed was open to misinterpretation (Interview 14). This reaffirms the situation as described by Hanson (2007, 2009), who argued that the process of needs production involved the manipulation of local people's dialogue through translation and reporting practices, perpetuating the dominant language ideology and preconceptions of needs in a neoliberal framework. A local guide (Interview 30) described the non-participatory manner in which the RNP was put-in-place: "*People here were threatened, told not to touch the forests – which had been their livelihood*", inferring 'coerced' or 'manipulative' participation. A foreign observer resident at the time (Interview 14) described the situation as follows:

"So [there was] instant distrust and false relationship with locals as they were told they could not use the forest for so much as a ravinala [palm tree] leaf and yet the Americans were cutting trees down to make bridges, research cabins, trails etc., filling the forest with researchers and tourists. So of course rumours abounded about ulterior motives, stealing animals, wood, petrol, etc."

It appears that, through this initial approach to national park creation, non-participation was institutionalised from the start in Ranomafana - leading to the persistence of unequal power dynamics ever since, and to the continued bitterness of 'locals' with regard to past injustices. In addition, local leaders around both case

⁴⁹ RNP creation was initiated after Dr Patricia Wright 'discovered' the Golden Bamboo lemur *Haplemur aureus*, a highly endangered lemur species (three respondents claimed it had already been discovered).

⁵⁰ Prior to RNP, forestry permits were still issued and the local population could collect forest products. Whilst respondents 30 and 42 claimed that the forest had been inhabited pre-RNP, most interviewees said that occupation had been limited to farming activities.

study areas claimed to be unaware of the content of their national parks' *'cahier de charges'* (official documents) detailing park management and tourism's role within it.

4.2.2. Participation as business ownership

Respondents consistently avowed that local people were not yet participating in tourism as business owners or managers; proof being that all but one hotel around the case study national parks were owned by 'outsiders' at the time of research. Even the 'localness' of that one owner was disputed by some; a question of distance of their ancestral home from the national park boundary. Ranomafana's numerous '*hotely*' (Malagasy eateries serving rice and accompanying dishes) were also owned by people from outside the area.

Barriers to local investment in tourism were found to include financial and social constraints, a lack of understanding of tourism business and a dearth of personal contacts. One business owner (Interview 6) explained that "*People here are just used to doing slash and burn and don't think that they could use their land in other ways*". According to respondent 6, locals around the national park area who sold their land to outsiders⁵¹ often later regretted it. This lack of business-sense was also underlined by a tour operator (Interview 13): "*It's [tourism is] business, it's just business. People don't know how to do an invoice, but I like people to tell me how much things cost. Here people are still at the level of 'I'll do this and how much will you give me for it?'*"

There is equally the question of desirability of investing in tourism, which some local people might not perceive to be a secure option – preferring to invest their money in other things. Respondents highlighted the fragility of investing in tourism due to Madagascar's volatile political situation, which has been turbulent since 1989 - two crises having occurred since 2001. Following the 2009 coup d'état, a democratically elected government only took office in 2014 and the situation continued to be fragile – with the probability of another President overthrow remaining high for much of the research period, especially mid-2016. Increasing

⁵¹ Although this phenomena is particularly great in Ranomafana, where tourism is significantly more developed, much land in the areas surrounding ANP entry points have also been purchased by outsiders for future development (Interviews 17 and 47).

insecurity had made certain villages off-limits to visitors (research centre, Interview 9) and airline disruptions were said to have affected preferences for tour routes (Interview 47), all impacting on local participation in tourism. A tour operator (Interview 13) spoke of the challenging business climate in Madagascar, saying “*There’s not many people investing here and I think that people are very brave if they do*” – referring to decades of political stability, corruption, lengthy bureaucratic procedures and deteriorating infrastructure. The risk that goes with investing was demonstrated by the backing-out of one hotel investor near Namoly, which was attributed to the state of the road and low tourist numbers.



Figure 7: Bridges on the road from Ambalavao to the ANP Namoly entrance.



4.2.3. Participation as employment in tourism

In this section, participation as employment in tourism is explored – looking at who benefits the most and the dynamics of participation around the case study sites, in particular with regard to guides, porters, hotel workers, MNP employees and those working in sales.

It was widely felt that local peoples' employment opportunities around case study national parks were mostly limited to working as guides or porters, or to low-level hotel jobs. Tourist respondents noticed that guide and porter jobs largely benefited men. This backs up other researchers' findings that women are frequently restricted to low-paying service roles in tourism (Salazar 2012) or even to just selling crafts or prostitution (Snyder and Sulle 2011).

Guides and porters

The challenges confronted by women working as guides were presented as being particularly high for ANP due to the highly physical nature of trekking there. One male guide (Interview 24) said "*You need to be strong to be a guide – some women are scared of the work*", whilst a female former guide (Interview 38) in ANP stated "*I like the work but my body can't keep up*" - even if she had targeted the older, more "*tired*" visitors.

Although the researcher found guides and porters to be largely 'local' (depending on definitions; see inset box), exceptions to the rule for RNP guides were mentioned in several interviews. One guide (Interview 30)

Box 1: Defining "localness"

Ranomafana, being located on a main road and the site of thermal springs, has a long history of tourism which had attracted outsiders to the area long before the National Park. Combined with it having been a centre for hardwood timber extraction, Ranomafana has been subject to large in-migration and land speculation over decades. Consequently, differentiating a 'local' from a 'non-local' is somewhat problematic and definitions varied between respondents – one main criteria often being the location of the person's burial tomb. Whilst it was suggested that people recruited as RNP guides were generally supposed to have been resident in the surrounding neighbourhoods for at least five years; this was two years for ANP guides.

Conversely, tourists generally considered all Malagasy people to be 'local' rather than considering the differences in origins within the country. For this reason, tourists' perceptions differed from those of other respondents, describing a high level of participation of locals particularly around RNP.

declared “*There are some that have power, like in ANGAP [MNP]. There are people that arrive, family of workers, and become guides. Nobody can say anything*”. This reflects the general feeling of powerlessness to take action against corruption and abuse of power. The existence of non-local guides was confirmed by one tourist couple (Interview 29) whose RNP guide informed them that they came from another area.

The policy to only recruit local guides was said to have been put in jeopardy at times, with the protected area management body threatening to replace them with external guides. Guides around both national parks spoke of the Ministry’s or the Park’s ultimate desire to recruit only people of a certain ‘level’; an insistence on guides having qualifications was the object of previous guide strikes in RNP. “*It’s not INTH⁵² students from Antananarivo who live from this, but us...*” affirmed a guide (Interview 42), who went on to say “*MNP didn’t dare to bring the INTH here [to replace local guides] because people here are really angry. If you bring them here then there will be dead bodies*”. In other instances, MNP’s agents had been used to guide tourists, “*so we have said to them [MNP] that we each have our own role and money, and we shouldn’t step on each other’s toes*” (guide/hotel owner, Interview 33).

Although local guides appeared to have won their case at the time of this research project, MNP being obliged to accept local guides in order to stem discontent and protest, a continuing distrust of MNP motives was sensed amongst local guides, who felt their situation to be insecure. This suspicion was exemplified by a guide (Interview 30) who described “*We do evaluation tests regularly, every year. It’s like taking our baccs⁵³ annually. ANGAP’s objective in doing this is that there are people they’d like to remove... The test’s like a façade*”. Frustrations on the same subject extended to porters, with some having undergone numerous tests without yet qualifying to become guides, leading them to question the evaluators’ competence in the matter.

⁵² INTH: National Institute for Tourism and Hospitality (in Antananarivo), from where replacement guides were supposedly due to come from.

⁵³ Baccalaureates are equivalent to A’level qualifications, in the French education system.

Although guides were supposedly independent, MNP was said to have overriding control over approving new guides⁵⁴ or expelling existing guides, and for validating guide and porter tariffs. Guides expressed frustration at being uninformed of current, and frequently changing, MNP policy or procedures on guide recruitment.

Whilst guides and porters were structured in both national parks, to greater or lesser degrees, leadership and management problems were more evident in ANP (both for the Namoly and the Morarano guide associations), leading to an apparent lack of cohesion. Although Morarano porters claimed to work on a rota system, several respondents noted how clashes were not uncommon: *“Our guides are all quite selfish. Even those who’ve just had their turn will insist on going again. But they should compromise as here there are few tourists. But those that go, always go. And those that don’t go, are just there”* (MNP, Interview 35). At times conflicts extended to involve the neighbouring valley of Tsaranoro; tourists were said to have arrived at the ANP entrance in Morarano with porters taken on in Tsaranoro, but who were forbidden from entering the national park.



Figure 8: Tourists arrive at the MNP ANP ticket office / lodge in Morarano.

Organisation appeared better in Namoly, where porters were grouped together in associations for each tour operator (adhesion to more than one was permitted so long

⁵⁴ Although, for RNP, guide tests had been carried out with representatives from the tourism Ministry, MNP, the guide Federation, guides and the ARATO association (of hotels).

as rules were abided to) and guides took it in turn to wait for clients at the park entrance. Each of the eight groups of five guides included both French and English speakers. However, the disproportionately high number of guides in comparison to tourists still meant that, unless a tour operator obtained written permission from MNP to take a specific guide⁵⁵, guides only had the opportunity to work every eight days. Often guides waited for clients to no avail, leading to high levels of despondence. Guides in RNP also took it in turn to wait at the park entrance, albeit on a less organised basis, with some popular guides working uniquely on a reservation system with clients. One guide (Interview 30) revealed the importance of pride and image in deciding whether to work: “*This year I haven’t been up there [to the national park entrance] to wait at all. It affects your prestige*”. However, in contrast to Andringitra, a sense of solidarity amongst RNP guides was illustrated by their sharing of revenue in the low season, when one tourist might be accompanied by two guides (guide, Interview 30), and by existing guides actively training-up new guides.



Figure 9: The RNP ticket office and entrance.

Local participation in guiding was nonetheless constrained by the need to support costs incurred during training (although a lack of recent training organised by MNP was indicated by many) and apprenticeship. According to respondents, apprenticeships normally lasted between 6 months and 4 years, when would-be guides accompanied existing guides. As a result, the poorer section of society had generally been unable to get involved. One local resident (Interview 22) declared “*I would like to be a guide but I am struggling too much— what with the kids and busy with farming activities*”. Nonetheless, government officials (Interview 46) claimed

⁵⁵ The inability of visitors to freely choose their guide without this authorisation was criticised (Interview 24) for reducing visitor satisfaction (some guides being of a low capability) and therefore giving ANP a bad reputation.

to have observed an increase in local peoples' enthusiasm for participating in tourism work as tourism develops, commenting that *"before it was really hard to persuade villagers because they were too preoccupied with rice-farming and cattle"*.

Jobs with hotels, restaurants and the national park body

Many smaller-scale tourism businesses in case study areas were found to be family-run with few other employees. For those that did recruit workers, it was often just cleaners and watchmen, and local feeling was that the odds were very much against them. This despite National Environment Office regulations requiring hotels to hire a certain proportion of employees locally. One Ranomafana resident (Interview 27) avowed *"If they see in your dossier that you're from Ranomafana, then they don't recruit you"*. Locals' sense of hopelessness, of conspiracy against them, extended to work with MNP. Asserting that no locals work for "The Park" [MNP], a resident (Interview 27) speculated *"Maybe they fear that people would discover the truth about what really goes on"* – suggesting that there is a darker side to MNP activities. This appears to back up findings of Peters' 'Social Impact Assessment' (1994) which had highlighted local peoples' perception of lack of opportunities in Ranomafana - with just 3% of park-related employees from the Tanala ethnic group at the time, and reflected inequity of salaries. In contrast to these views, both MNP Ranomafana and Valbio research centre respondents claimed that a majority of their employees were local. However, MNP Andringitra confirmed that just three or four of their forty workers were native to the area (Interview 15).

Low educational levels were an obstacle to getting jobs in hotels, restaurants or with MNP, few local people having qualifications above primary school level. This was coupled with a lack of experience in the market economy. As a researcher who had lived in the area said (Interview 39):

"When they [villagers] come to the road [to Ranomafana], they are so detached from the real world, they're so unexperienced in the real world... It's like going from the Middle Ages to the Modern World... In Ranomafana everyone has mobile phones or everyone you know has one. Everyone's got electricity, everyone can pop in and see TV in hotelies, and they kind-of know about the world... A lot of it's about confidence and knowledge and ability, so not just the language barrier".

One hotel manager (Interview 5) also pointed to early difficulties in hiring locally, with peoples' initial refusal to clean toilets, considering it "*dirty work*".

The constraint of lack of experience and training was equally stressed by local respondents; an argument which, it was claimed, was used to justify staff dismissal and replacement.

"The agreement from the start [at the time of national park creation] was that people from here should work in these hotels... But these people are people who've never waited in their lives. Even putting a shoe on is a problem for some as they've never worn them before. So they [the hotels] pretend to recruit them for a short period, then get rid of them and get their family members in. That's how it works" (local guide, Interview 30).

In ANP, one hotel owner (Interview 36) actively sought to recruit from different ethnic groups to make employees more controllable. Stating "*from my experience I've learnt that it's not good to just have one ethnic group – they all take over... too much solidarity*", the respondent inferred that workers from the same background tended to club together and disrupt the working environment, presenting an opposition to the prevailing power structure. For this reason, employment of locals was limited to the more menial jobs or occasional wage labour.

Sales

Several respondents suggested that tourism provided an important market for the sale of locally produced goods, crafts and agricultural produce in Ranomafana, which could be sold at preferential prices ; "*Now grapefruits are sold for 1,000 Ariary [25 pence] each whereas before they were just used as footballs*" (hotel manager, Interview 5). Nonetheless, villagers being cheated out of a good price by middlemen was also highlighted (Interview 6), as they had initially lacked confidence to sell direct to hotels. However, as noted in Interview 39, selling things may not always be first nature to locals. It might be difficult to integrate into a market economy when traditionally local people have lived a predominantly subsistence lifestyle. Assertions such as "*Tanala [the dominant ethnic group in Ranomafana municipality] are difficult to teach*" (Research Centre, Interview 9) represent a tendency to generalise and attribute behaviour or problems to an ethnic

group rather than considering the underlying patterns of inequality and disadvantage that lead to this behaviour⁵⁶.



Figure 10: Selling locally-made crafts in Ranomafana.

Larger, higher-end Ranomafana hotel establishments and the main vegetable market stall remained supplied from Fianarantsoa town due to choice and reliability issues. One Ranomafana restaurant owner (Interview 6), echoing other respondents, expressed her amazement at how local efforts to grow vegetables or make jam had stopped once schemes promoting them ended: *“People tend to always wait for the next project – they don’t continue with activities. They wait. That’s really the problem here”*. Referring to the numerous projects of a short duration that have been carried out in the area since RNP creation, the respondent inferred that these had failed to have any long-term positive impact but had rather promoted a culture of dependency on aid. The implication was that these projects were misconceived with insufficient local capacity-building and support, or with inadequate attention paid to the prevailing socio-political environment and local power dynamics.

Contrary to the various opportunities for sales in Ranomafana, the challenges of selling to tourists around Andringitra were underlined due to it being a trek destination which visitors only passed through. The vast majority of tourists literally drove in, usually via the Namoly entrance, and immediately started trekking - many

⁵⁶ This ‘ethnic stereotyping’ is discussed at length by Harper (2002).

doing a circular trek where they came out in Morarano. Meals were usually already prepared by tour operators, or food for the trek purchased in town prior to the trip. Low visitor numbers were also constraining. Local sales to tourists were therefore largely limited to some local crafts (notably arrows and beads), chickens, firewood and drinks. The lack of other local crafts and produce for sale around ANP, particularly Namoly, was remarked by most tourist respondents.



Figure 11: Children selling hand-made bead necklaces in Tsaranoro.

Where it existed, participation in the structured fabrication and sale of crafts seemed to be mostly dominated by non-locals due to local peoples' traditional cultural and historical reluctance to joining associations, combined with low education levels and high poverty levels. Barriers to participation were frequently cited as being a lack of time to spend at meetings, the need for immediate financial gain and an entrenched suspicion of being exploited by others in the group. This real or perceived inaccessibility of association membership to locals extended to all types of association, from those working on agriculture to microcredit. For this reason, members of Ranomafana associations were generally found to be made up of 'better-off' residents, immigrants to the area, whilst handicraft sale around Andringitra remained unstructured and very limited, constrained to individuals' efforts to produce and sell. The moving of the ANP ticket office in Namoly led to

the closing of the sole women's association's sales-point, with claims that the protected area management body was generally not favourable to collaboration to facilitate sales.

Motivation for craft production was found to be dependent on demand and therefore highly influenced by tourism seasonality issues or the general political context of the country. One Ranomafana association leader (Interview 26), talking about the effect of low visitor numbers, declared “*people got fed up [making things] because they didn't sell anything, they had no income. So we haven't got many members left*”.

The relationship with tour guides was also raised as an important factor in ensuring sales, with some guides apparently discouraging tourists from making local purchases unless they were given commission by the seller. This draws similarities to research highlighting the important role of guides in influencing a tourist's experience and social mediation (Jensen 2010, Belsky 1999, Weiler and Ham 2001).

4.2.4. Participation in maintaining the tourist product

In terms of maintaining the tourist product, or the environment that visitors come to see, local participation varied to a certain extent between RNP and ANP. This chapter explores the role of different stakeholders in this maintenance; notably the general community, guides and porters, local park committee members ('CLP')⁵⁷ and the Protected Area Orientation and Support Committee ('COSAP')⁵⁸.

Local people were found to be active participants in natural resource management around case study areas, but with claims of their manipulation by the park authorities. Perhaps motivated by free meals provided, communities had been responsible for the establishment of fire breaks around both national parks, as well as for fighting incidents of fire within the park. There were some complaints of communities being used for free: “*All the community are forced to participate*” (Community leader, Interview 18). ANP guides and porters were obliged to cover their own food costs during annual trail maintenance through payments made to their association each time they worked. MNP defined membership of the ANP guide and porter association (signifying authorisation to enter ANP) as being

⁵⁷ Prior to 2014 local park committee members were termed 'CCLP'.

⁵⁸ The 'COSAP' is made up of mayors of surrounding municipalities, state services, *gendarmierie* and CLP members.

conditional on participation with this annual trail maintenance (MNP, Interview 35) - hence underlining MNP's control over membership. This was a sore subject for all guides interviewed. *"ANP revenue should be used for maintaining the park but here the guides and porters do the work for the park for free, without even meals given. And we're forced to or they sack us. And we also pay the entrance fee"* (guide, Interview 24). Since ANP guides had heard that that locals were paid for trail maintenance in other national parks, including in RNP, they decided to take action. *"This year [2015] we went on strike and refused to do the work as we can see there is a budget that should be allocated to this. We haven't spoken out, just not done the work"* (guide, Interview 24). However, ANP guides and porters were paid for annual road maintenance works between Tsaranoro valley and Morarano.



Figure 12: The road between Tsaranoro and Morarano (ANP western entrance).

The CLP were set up by MNP to ensure forest patrols, monitoring, reporting and awareness-raising at the village level, getting paid monthly for their days of work. The head of MNP declared *"we try to integrate communities in park management... Community agents work to survey the park (collecting information), so it has become a lucrative activity"* (Suzon, G., Presentation 28/5/15). Although launch of the CLP was heralded by some as a significant development in promoting participatory development around protected areas, members were found to lack

decision-making powers. One respondent (Interview 7) equally spoken of the CLP's launch as being a means for MNP to ensure World Bank funding.

In addition, each national park's consultative organ 'COSAP' was more concerned with overall protected area management than purely tourism itself. The role of COSAP was described as having evolved from being involved in decision-making on projects to fund with national park entrance fee revenue to being a consultation organ or advisory board which facilitates the identification of partner organisations and assists with park monitoring. Most local respondents painted a picture of local participation in the COSAP orientation structure as being somewhat superficial or tokenistic, raising issues of representation and how, or by whom, members were selected. A disempowerment of the COSAP structure appeared to have been initiated over the years by the protected area management body, with claims of increasingly little local representation (Interviews 7 and 32). One respondent suggested that members were handpicked for their passivity in order to reduce dissent (Interview 25); *"People who don't know anything or won't talk out are chosen"*. However, an ANP park agent described how local representatives on COSAP are chosen by CLP members and neighbourhood chiefs. A couple of respondents suggested that local protest had been stifled through ousting or threatening outspoken COSAP members (Interviews 18 and 24).

These findings paint a picture of local participation in natural resource management as having been coerced or manipulative– the extent to which varied depending on the level of power yielded by MNP over guides and porters, or the relative powerlessness of these groups in the different areas. It is suggested that case study sites, when listed on a scale of guide and porter empowerment from highest to lowest, were as follows: Ranomafana, Namoly and Morarano.

4.2.5. "Working rice-fields that have no water": Participation in community tourism initiatives

This chapter looks at local participation in community-based tourism initiatives instigated by different stakeholders around the two case study areas; the protected area management body, NGOs and the private sector (tour operators, guides and hotels), with some in collaboration with community forest management associations.

The growth of tourism initiatives around these national parks, including non-park trails, was found to have led to varying levels of local participation. Around ANP initiatives included the creation of forest trails by community forest management associations in Namoly and higher-level development of the Tsaranoro valley just 1.8 miles from one of the ANP entrances in Morarano. For Namoly, hopes of tourist arrivals were risen as a result of Conservation International's support, since 2009, for the development of trails in community-managed forest. Disheartened by a lack of visitors, paths had since become overgrown: *"We should really do maintenance but why bother when there's no income from tourists? It's like working rice-fields that have no water"* (local resident, Interview 20). Community associations are constrained by lack of 'inside' knowledge of tourism industries, a lack of capacity for marketing as well as power relations with other stakeholders (including the protected area body and hotels). Local guides were furthermore cited as being a constraining factor to community tourism taking off, with many doubling up as national park guides and preferring to sell the more lucrative ANP trails (Interview 19). Combined with poor management and leadership, these factors led to tourism projects which were unsuccessful in attracting visitors and increasing local income.



Figure 13: Two community-based forest management associations' offices (left) just opposite the main MNP ticket office and interpretation centre for ANP in Namoly (right).

Similarly, MNP's project to develop 'community ecotourism' or 'ethno-tourism' initiatives in a village bordering RNP⁵⁹ was discussed (Interview 39) as having been in the pipeline since 2000 with apparently no tangible results in terms of visitors or revenue to date [end of 2015], just the building of 'white elephant' infrastructure that remained unused. Likewise, MNP funding for 'community' tourism

⁵⁹ 8 villages around RNP were targeted for this project (MNP, Interview 8).

infrastructure⁶⁰ in Ambatovaky village did not appear to have been accompanied by on-the-ground initiatives to host tourists (informal discussion and personal observation). Respondents in both case study areas spoke of a lack of MNP support for community tourism initiatives (Interviews 7 and 18). Other NGO-led community tourism initiatives were also mentioned by respondents.



Figure 14: 'Community tourism' 'Ecoshop' set-up by MNP in Ambatovaky.

However, the indication was that guide or tour operator-led initiatives had been attracting more visitors than those promoted by the protected area body or NGOs, albeit with sometimes questionable community participation and benefits. A community member (personal communication) in a village bordering RNP spoke of villagers being asked to perform traditional dances for tourists with no financial reward, and of visitors' destructive practice of unstructured gift distribution to children. Likewise, a guide who had been organising regular 'community tourism' visits to another village over several years gave no explanation of how entrance fees (paid through the guide) were used to benefit the local community, which remained by any standard very poor (personal observation). Similarities could hence be suggested to the situation with Maasai village tourism enterprises in Kenya where driver-guides were found to be receiving 96% of village entrance fees (Mvula, C., Lecture 17/11/14).

⁶⁰ A crafts sales point and numerous signs along the road to Ranomafana advertising community tourism were installed in 2014-15.

There was a growing awareness of the need to diversify the tourism offer for reasons including significant visitor congestion on the most visited (shortest) trails in RNP, increasing visitor demand for more cultural experiences, the augmented national park entrance fees which could be prohibitive to some, and meeting the needs of increasingly numerous Malagasy tourists in Ranomafana. Whilst this need to diversify should open greater possibilities for local participation, tour operator preoccupations for client health, safety and satisfaction nonetheless appeared to limit prospects for community tourism. One respondent (Interview 30) emphasised how poor hygiene can be a hindrance to tourism: *“I don’t blame guides if they don’t want to take tourists to certain households. People want to visit a Tanala village. But [when] you go there you see fleas, dirt like anything. It’s embarrassing to take a foreigner somewhere like that.”* Another respondent (Interview 25) also highlighted how some communities remained reluctant to develop tourism, for example fearing that new forest trails would increase security risks for the cattle that are grazed there through improving zebu hustlers’ access to these presently unreachable areas.

In Tsaranoro valley near Andringitra, outsider-owned hotel intervention was found to be changing the face of community participation in, and benefits from, tourism. A conflict arose between hotel owners and communities, in particular the forest management association, with regard to the collect and use of a valley visitor fee. The local authorities and state services were also concerned about non-reception of the ‘environment tax’, formerly collected earlier along the road in Vohitsaoka centre; part of which had previously been paid to the local municipality and the forestry department. Hotel-owners had been requesting transparent management of the valley entrance fee revenue, demanding that it be used to sustain development activities they had originally started with other funding. Initiatives included setting up and running a private school and health clinic, and tree planting initiatives. Hotels had refused to transfer the visitor fee revenue that they had been collecting until their demands were met.

A Tsaranoro hotel owner (Interview 36) declared triumphantly *“We stopped giving them any benefit from tourism here....It’s now us in control. We want the VOI [community association] to adhere to our vision”*. Appearing to have a paternalistic attitude to the valley through a desire to take control of the situation, this hotel owner felt justified in taking these measures, believing them to be for the greater

good. As a result, a power struggle was playing out. In fact, the hotel owners' belief that their intervention safeguarded the equity of benefit-sharing was in line with other researchers' suggestions that equity at a local level might be best assured through foreign, rather than local ownership or control of tourism, so as to prevent elite capture of benefits (Simpson 2008; Zapata, Hall et al. 2011).



Figure 15: A hotel swimming pool in the Tsaranoro valley.

However, Turner (2006) highlighted the potential of tourism to increase community disharmony as a result of perceived inequitable benefits. As emphasised by Silva and Motzer's research in Namibia (2015: 48), local-level power struggles and conflict can “*mask the disruptive and anomic forces of the global tourism industry*”.

This chapter has highlighted the limits to local participation and benefits in “Community-Based Tourism” initiatives, putting under question whether such initiatives can in fact be termed “Community-Based”. The key ingredient of local ownership or local participation in decision-making was found to be questionable around case study areas.

The failure of efforts to integrate the local community into tourism could be attributed to poorly conceived projects, power dynamics or the top-down nature of many initiatives. For initiatives promoted by NGOs and MNP, weak links to the private sector had left community tourism projects without clients. This backs up

wider literature that stresses the importance of market access for the financial viability of community-based tourism, as well as good governance and a ‘bottom-up’ approach to project development (Zapata, Hall et al. 2011). Limited impact on poverty alleviation may be worsened by international donors’ short project funding cycles and demand for short-term outcomes (Salazar 2012); so discouraging potentially necessary structural action from being taken to address the underlying cause of poverty that might not be measurable in that time frame (Zapata, Hall et al. 2011). It could be suggested that these institutions have paid lip service to developing community initiatives through half-hearted attempts primarily aimed at attracting external funding and pleasing donors.

4.2.6. “The tourist bubble”: Participation as contact with tourists

Contact with tourists can also be considered a form of local participation in tourism. For ANP, findings revealed that guides and porters were generally the only people who had any direct meaningful contact with visitors. This was a result of the language barrier as well as tourists’ tight time schedules. As one visitor (Interview 2) said “*there were lots of waves and high fives as we walked through villages, but we didn’t really stop to interact*”. Another visitor (Interview 16), one of several respondents seeking ‘*authenticity*’, declared contact with the local people to be “*superb*”, referring to rum-drinking and traditional ‘*kidodo*’ dancing in the evening [with guides and porters], and said that they had been less comfortable with tourists they met. In both areas, most tourists traveling with tour operators were pre-booked and pre-paid, limiting their interaction with people outside the organised schedule.

One visitor (Interview 34) described the “*Tourist bubble*” phenomena: “*there’s almost a goal to shelter foreigners from Madagascar. Like you come to Madagascar and the guides don’t actually want you to go out into the market*”. This backs up another respondent’s premise that “*You don’t get the impression, when you’re talking to [local] people, that they ever have any direct contact with any tourists*” (Interview 39). Interviewees said that the local population often merely participated as passive recipients of donated goods (pens, sweets, food...) or as subjects to be photographed, with or without their consent, including the “*dehumanising*” act of photographing people washing (Interview 39). The same respondent saw the widespread shouting of “*vazaha*” (meaning ‘foreigner’ in Malagasy) at tourists as a

sign of separation or non-integration, illustrative of the lack of local participation in tourism. The importance of language to communicate and participate was repeatedly highlighted by tourists, businesses, guides, locals and other stakeholders.

These findings link to the extensive literature on the ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry and Places 2002; Larsen and Urry 2011; Katan 2012; D’Egidio 2014) and how tourists visually consume an environment or their encounters with the ‘other’. There are equally parallels to the concept of the ‘environmental bubble’ proposed by Cohen (1972), who suggested that tourists seek authentic new experiences from the familiarity of safe places.

Echoing sentiments expressed by many tourists interviewed, one tour operator (Interview 13) spoke of visitors’ reaction to contact with Malagasy people:

“They [tourists] definitely appreciate Madagascar culture and the feeling they have when they travel around. They like the way people smile a lot, they find people attentive, they feel comfortable, they don’t feel threatened... And that’s often a surprise to people. They come with a view to see the wildlife and they say ‘well this was actually a really nice place, I felt nice’. That’s a huge plus.”

Most visitors appreciated the simplicity and authenticity of life in Madagascar; *“People are happy here, that’s what they know. You’re happy with what you have”* (Interview 31). The contrasting perceptions of tourists and locals of each other was also reflected upon by one respondent (Interview 14); tourists seeing locals as *“forest-destroyers”* and the local perception of tourists as *“super-rich vazaha [foreigners], no work to do, no idea why they came here, but we must welcome, respect and fear them as is our tradition, and we must try and make do some business from them, selling stuff, guiding, prostitution”*. Tourists were even viewed with a level of suspicion at times, one driver-guide stating, in reference to wildlife tourists, *“What are they really going to do with all those bird pictures? They must be making money out of them”* (personal communication, 2015).

4.3. Perceptions of impact and equity in benefit distribution

The contrast between Madagascar's natural resource wealth and the extreme poverty of the majority of its population was presented in Chapter 2. One tourist (Interview 34) summed up these contradictions: *"It's weird. It's the only place in the world where lemurs exist yet the people can't feed themselves. And yet you'd think there'd be more tourism or it's spread out somehow - but it's not."*

With national park creation opening up possibilities for income generation that did not exist before, many respondents recognised direct or indirect monetary, as well as non-monetary, benefits for local people from tourism. This section starts by considering perceptions of the extent of achievement of conservation and development goals around the case study national parks – highlighting social impacts, poverty and underdevelopment, and increased inequality and insecurity – including the perceived supremacy of opportunities for 'outsiders'. It then goes on to explore peoples' opinions on equity in benefit distribution in more detail, looking at the national park entrance fee increase as a trigger of discontent largely due to broken promises regarding the splitting of revenue from tourism as well as the turbulent relationship between guides and MNP. It goes on to reflect on MNP management and the reaction of local authorities to the situation.

4.3.1. Achievement of conservation goals

Whilst managers of both national parks estimated that conservation goals had been met to about 90% (Interviews 8 and 15), it appeared that this was measured in relation to achievement of annual work-plan activities rather than intervention impact. Conservation was widely considered to have been more successful for ANP than RNP, although respondents noted that pressures differed for the two areas. Fire was identified as being the greatest threat to ANP, with burning for pastureland limiting vegetation regrowth right up to the border of the protected area - and some claims of deforestation as well as occasional fire within the national park itself. An ANP agent (personal communication, 2015) declared MNP's biggest problem to be the ineffectiveness of the State forestry agents; *"they get paid so they should do field trips"*, stressing that MNP does not have the power to make arrests. One school teacher vented similar frustrations; *"Every year pupils plant trees but they are*

always burnt the following year. The forestry department, the state doesn't do anything. I don't know what the solution is. Put a big firebreak there or implement a strict 'Dina' [set of traditional rules] with the state." However, a couple of local residents pointed to insufficient awareness-raising and education by MNP agents to address the problem.



Figure 16: Hillsides burning in Namoly, on the outskirts of ANP.

In the case of Ranomafana, serious threats to the national park were acknowledged by almost all stakeholder groups, including MNP. Although many respondents believed that the forest would not still be there if it were not for the national park, the situation was considered fragile. The principal menace highlighted was that of gold-mining within the protected area, carried out by local people together with outsiders. It was widely said to be the main cause of insecurity in the area, with declarations that *“the gendarme are [too] scared to do patrols”* (Interview 6). In light of corruption at high levels (Interview 9) and lack of national policy to address this phenomenon (Interview 5), one local leader went so far as to advocate opening fire as the only effective way to resolve this problem (Interview 43). Another respondent (Interview 39) pointed to the gold-mining problem as being

“one example where local peoples' interests are aligned with the Park's, but the Park has still failed to do anything about it. And now they've left it too late – solid houses have been built and wives/children settled, so it becomes a human rights issue. They are harder to evict”.

Illegal harvesting of non-timber forest products such as bamboo was said to be highest in mining zones within RNP (MNP, Interview 8). Whilst RNP's success in reducing the incidence of 'tavy' (swidden agriculture) was hailed as a victory for some respondents, it was seen to represent great suffering for others. This was in recognition of the cultural importance of 'tavy' to the Tanala people as well as the lack of alternatives or compensation provided after national park creation - a subject repeatedly raised. The resultant poverty was said by numerous respondents to have fuelled the gold-mining rush. It was also in recognition of all those people who continued to be imprisoned after being caught clearing forest or harvesting forest products. One resident alleged that enforcement measures disproportionately targeted the poor or those without contacts in high places (Interview 27).



Figure 17: Crayfish collected from the rainforest are sold to passers-by in Vohiparara, a village bordering RNP.

Respondents declared “*Destruction continues because people are in economic difficulty*” (Interview 6), because “*they don't yet see the real benefits [of the Park]*” (Interview 7) or because “*they have no choice but to do it*” (Interview 42). Whilst traditional, now ‘illegal’ livelihoods of many local people continued, they were said to now risk their lives in the process and had been forced to go underground out of fear. When asked what would happen if weavers of Pandanus reed mats or honey collectors were caught, one local (Interview 32) declared “*In Mananjary [east coast town] - Prison. No delay, no compromise. Even just because of a reed mat. It's a really sad situation.*”

Another unexpected threat to biodiversity mentioned in the case of RNP was that of tourism itself. Pointing to how saturated the most popular trails had become in high tourist season, two respondents said that the noise of so many visitors had caused lemurs to flee. One guide (Interview 32) noted a reduction in fauna, particularly lemurs, observed on trails; *“Maybe there’s an impact of all the research carried out – which reduces them [lemurs] rather than increasing their numbers – When the researchers capture them frequently... With lemurs, you’re not even allowed to take a photo of them at night –the camera flash of foreigners might affect them.”* As scientists themselves have admitted, including the founder of RNP, there is some truth in this – with reduced numbers of lemurs observed in tourist zones (Russon and Wallis 2014).



Figure 18: Tourists photograph a lemur in RNP.

It was evident that environmental threats to these protected areas remained largely unknown to tourist respondents, who were given the overall impression that conservation efforts had been successful. Statements such as *“it’s pretty much untouched”* (Interviews 2 and 16), *“wild”* or *“nature well preserved”* (Interview 16) were common. When asked about tourism’s impact on conservation, most tourists

replied with reference to more direct effects of tourism linked to waste management, tourists keeping to paths and campsite cleanliness.

Two foreigner respondents cited environmental service benefits from forest conservation as a result of national park creation, including hydrological benefits.

As one tour operator put it (Interview 13):

“They[the locals]’re not losing out from having a protected area, although they may perceive it in the short-term. They’re not. That is a fact. Because if they were using those resources as they want to, that resource would not last very long. They’re getting a good deal being banned from going in and chopping everything down”.

This view reflects the common belief that protected area creation slows down forest destruction and therefore leads to environmental benefits for neighbouring communities; an assumption that has been increasingly questioned by researchers (Scales 2014b). It could be suggested that case study national parks have had the effect of accelerating environmental degradation in their surrounding areas, whether out of vengeance or necessity, with there now being a sharp contrast between protected and non-protected areas. One local (Interview 30) in Ranomafana affirmed that deforestation had been a sign of protest: *“The Tanala live off the forest and, if they had their way, they wouldn’t destroy the forest. If they are helped. But due to all the lies, being told they’ll get compensation, then people had enough, and they destroyed the remainder of forest (which you now see as deforested) on purpose.”* Another RNP guide (personal communication, 2015) suggested that lemur consumption was on the increase as a reaction to non-payment of the community’s share of park entrance fee revenue.

Nonetheless, the importance of national parks for educational and biodiversity awareness-raising purposes was largely recognised, contributing to local, national and global benefits of increased environmental awareness. MNP was keen to point out how access to the park was free for local people and prices were reduced for Malagasy people, with negotiation possible for the guiding fee. Several tourists had heard about the Valbio research centre in Ranomafana and considered it to have an important conservation impact. The conservation value of highly competent local guides was also stressed, people describing them as *“Extraordinarily knowledgeable*

guides having worked with so many scientists and combined with local knowledge” (Interview 14), with guides expected to raise environmental consciousness amongst other villagers. Guides were said to like *“showing it [the national park] off, talking about their area”* (Interview 1), with tourism motivating local people to conserve their environment (Interview 3). As a result of the high proportion of young people in the area working in tourism, the killing of wildlife was said to have significantly decreased around ANP (Interview 20). The existence of Valbio Centre should present valuable research opportunities for Malagasy students, all foreign students being required to have a national counterpart. However, despite this requirement, Valbio admitted that just around 10% of the 80-100 researchers that came to the research centre annually were in fact Malagasy (Interview 9).



Figure 19: The entrance to the Valbio Centre in Ranomafana.

Tourism is often presented as the “golden carrot” for forest conservation. However, it was suggested that community motivations for forest conservation in ANP were not principally related to ecotourism. As one villager said;

“Behind the mountain [forest] are the dams which irrigates our rice-fields, and that has always been the reason to protect it. And it’s where we keep our cattle. It always has been. So it’s where all the basis for us Betsileo’s life is – cattle and water. And peoples’ awareness is already raised. So whether or not there are tourists we can guarantee that the forest will be protected” (Interview 20).

In other words, it was put forward that the main reasons for the community’s conservation of the forest were the resulting hydrological benefits for farming as well as the forest providing a safe haven for their cattle.

4.3.2. “Protecting the forest and animals, but not the people...?” Achievement of development goals

As acknowledged by the protected area management body (Interview 8), whilst the main objective of national park creation was forest conservation, an improvement in local peoples’ living conditions is necessary in order to achieve this. In other words, MNP’s focus should be both conservation and development. This is not clearly reflected in the stated purpose of MNP, which reads “*to establish, to conserve and to sustainably manage the national network of parks and reserves, representative of Madagascar’s biological diversity and natural capital*” (MNP 2017).

This section presents findings related to perceptions of development around the case study national parks; first looking at the positive and negative social impacts of tourism, then at inequality and insecurity, and finally at poverty and underdevelopment.



Figure 20: The Ranomafana Lemurs Festival in 2015.

“Becoming civilised?”... Social impacts of tourism

Numerous positive social impacts of tourism were cited including improved hygiene and cleanliness, new projects (some initiated by visitors/ researchers), better local markets, increased solidarity and love (Interviews 5 and 20) and overall greater knowledge. Huge reductions in unschooled children were noted (Interview 5), with young peoples’ motivation for study and learning foreign languages intensifying as they aspired to work in tourism. *“Now, thanks to guides/porters learning French and English, they understand the benefit of sending their children to school. So now people are becoming more conscious, are evolving”* (Interview 25). A greater awareness was coupled with increased revenue for several respondents; *“I have seen a great change in my life since being a guide – now I can pay for schooling for my (grand)children, I know about hygiene and cleanliness, to wash my clothes every week”* (Interview 21). Likewise, increased income had led to improved food security for some: *“since ecotourism, many young people now have income from tourism and so the famine period has shortened”* (Interview 25), and a greater capacity to make investments and improve the family environment (Interview 47). One respondent recounted success stories of individuals whose lives have been transformed through tourism (Interview 5).

Whilst it was recognised that *“a good exchange depends on the tourist and his motives for coming”* (Tourist, Interview 16), positive impacts of cultural exchange cited included the evolution of clothing (the wearing of trousers or shorts!) and hospitality (including cooking). *“People are getting the ‘vazaha [foreigner] feeling’ ... Like when they have an aperitif with foreigners and there’s nibbles with it. So they learn that you should eat when you drink. That’s a good thing. Before when people drank it was just to get really drunk”* (Interview 25).

An increased pride in culture and traditions was noted (Interview 6), respondent 47 pointing to the boom in the number of *kabosy* (Malagasy guitar) owners. Fear of outsiders had reduced: *“Before people used to run away when they saw a foreigner. Locals were trained and told that foreigners are OK...People are becoming civilised”* (Interview 24). In fact, the value of tourists as a distraction was mentioned (Interview 39) in the context of community tourism: *“It’s a bit of entertainment. Not a lot happens in a village in Madagascar. Having some useless people who can’t*

carry buckets of water is just a bit of something going on, it's not necessarily damaging. It can be a fun exchange."

In contrast, negative social impacts of tourism underlined by some included some undesirable attitude and behaviour changes as a result of exposure to the outside world, amongst others swearing and talking about women. *"Now there are no restrictions. Even in the market, young people swear, are vulgar, don't respect taboos"* (Interview 25).

Inappropriate behaviour in Ranomafana was said to particularly affect local girls and the unemployed, who *"had nothing to do"* or were after *"fast money"* (Interview 5) such as prostitution. Young people were said to be influenced, sometimes deciding they wanted to marry a foreigner and stop their studies, or taking up drinking. *"When they see what foreigners do, they copy it stupidly. But it's something they shouldn't yet do. It brings on both good and bad impacts. But in a village like this, then negative consequences are the majority"* (Interview 30). Tourism was said to create a culture of begging amongst children (Interviews 3 and 39), and to breed selfishness – people fighting over clients' custom.

The destructive nature of money from tourism was indeed a key point raised by many. One respondent described initial disruption in the years following national park creation: *"Dump a ton of money in the hands of a bunch of young men [guides] and they very quickly tore apart the traditional power structures and order, so you ended up with a village divided between haves and have-nots"* (Interview 14).

Family conflict was highlighted as a consequence of the adoption of inappropriate behaviour and greater income; *"Before there were few marital separations but now there are people who change their spouse four times in the course of a year"* (Interview 30). There were also allegations of neglect of traditional livelihoods due to tourism.

It was emphasised by a couple of respondents how improvements in income and livelihoods for guides and porters had not translated into improved sanitation, with open-air defecation still widely practised. One respondent vented their frustrations on this subject: *"In the park [the policy is] "pack it in, pack it out", even sweet wrappers are taken back. Why don't you apply this principal to your own house(hold)? Why not manage your waste properly?"* (Interview 25).

Inequality and insecurity

The vast majority of respondents recognised that the overriding benefits of tourism locally were captured by those working as guides and porters⁶¹, with local tourism businesses also stressing the benefits from income via sales. One respondent (hotel manager, Interview 5) declared “*Only people who don’t make an effort, lazy people, don’t benefit. Everyone with land should benefit*”, thereby suggesting that local people should be able to produce to sell to tourist businesses.

However, the view that everyone who desired to should be able to benefit from tourism contrasted with the frustrations of all locals interviewed, concerning their perceived lack of opportunities. As one Ranomafana resident (Interview 27) said, echoing local sentiment:

“Real locals are fenced in – all opportunities are for outsiders... The forest and animals are protected, but the people aren’t. Human beings are left hungry. The ‘tompontany’ [owners of the land] are hungry, but the ‘vahiny’ [outsiders] are full... All the ‘vahiny’ here have everything – the good houses, everything. But the locals have nothing”.

The over-riding sentiment was that those in most difficulty, the rural population, had been prevented from carrying out their traditional livelihoods and yet had been given no alternative – no employment with MNP or in tourism – forcing people into illegal activities such as the sale of local rum or goldmining, for which they were again persecuted over. One local (Interview 32) spoke of increased theft as a problematic consequence of the situation: “*We want peace but some of those who don’t get jobs with the park or hotels or anything, then some of them steal and destroy things – chickens or bananas. That’s a very sad thing. Because of being unemployed. But mouths must be fed every-day...*”

There were numerous suggestions from respondents that indebtedness and inequality have increased around these national parks over recent years: “*The truth is that, before the park, people had money. They had a lot more money than they do now... But now, what people eat today they’ll be trying to find tomorrow*” (guide, Interview

⁶¹ ANP guides and porters’ turnover for 2014 was, according to MNP (Interview 15), 77 million MGA (£19,250), although when divided by the number of people (around 40 guides and 400 porters) this gives an average annual income of under £44 /person.

42). According to Respondents 22 and 23, for Andringitra, the opening of a new state primary school in Namoly in 2012 was largely a result of many families' inability to afford the (higher) school fees at the existing private school. Whilst, for Ranomafana, one resident (Respondent 30) declared that the majority of pupils at one school had been pulled out as parents could not keep up with the fees or even just the cost of stationary. One Ranomafana local (Interview 32) avowed "*Things have become more difficult. Before we didn't have any problems. The people who work in the Park are blessed, but us outside it we have no happiness. None.*"

Increased inequality as a result of tourism was also said to have led to greater insecurity, with cattle hustling on the rise; "*People don't like seeing other people who have money and they don't. Jealousy is a problem. Once a porter was killed just after taking tourists as they knew he had money*" (Interview 23). The stark contrast between these 'haves and have-nots' was said to be demonstrated in that "*Now there are two clear routes that young people chose: either going into tourism or becoming bandits*" (Interview 25), with parents or elders too afraid to tell the young off for fear of reprisal. The impact of tourism on access to health and education services was also touched upon by one respondent (Interview 43) who noted the high cost of living in Ranomafana as being an obstacle to people in countryside giving birth at the health centre or to children pursuing secondary school education⁶².

Another respondent (NGO, Interview 14) pointed to both the prohibitively expensive land prices in Ranomafana, which had led to slum conditions for some locals, and to the exploitation of local people by outsiders: "*The local population lost land, livelihoods and then got shat on by outsiders*", highlighting increased inequality in society as a result. Most locals interviewed in Ranomafana had a sense of being over-run by outsiders, of whom they remained suspicious. "*The outsiders don't fight with us, but we don't know what's really in their hearts. When locals look for work they don't give any*" (Interview 27). A feeling of indifference was sensed from a few other community members, who commented that tourism only benefits

⁶² Whilst there are numerous primary schools in the villages surrounding Ranomafana, the municipality's only secondary school is found in Ranomafana centre itself.

those in tourism. The majority of locals remain observers as tourism development advances around them.

“Cattle-owners begging for cow manure”: Poverty and underdevelopment around national parks

Whilst positive and negative social impacts of tourism were recognised, numerous respondents noted how little development was visible around case study national parks. High poverty levels and the lack of investment in the surrounding areas upset all local authority respondents, who contrasted the wealth of MNP and other large national park-related institutions with the sorry state of local infrastructure – in particular the lack of efforts to repair the bridge to Ranomafana’s thermal baths, the abysmal condition of the roads to ANP⁶³ and the pitiable state of local schools. One guide (Interview 17) echoed several other respondents in saying *“School pupils in Namoly sit on the floor. You can see for yourself. It’s sad. In an area where 50% of the benefits should go to the community”*.



Figure 21: Lessons in Ambalamanandray Primary School – a stone’s throw from the MNP lodge in Namoly.

⁶³ However, MNP (Interview 15) stressed that the road was not theirs but the State’s, and communities are encouraged to take responsibility.



Figure 22: Community members work together to haul logs to mend the make-shift bridge linking Ranomafana to its thermal baths.

Around both entrances to ANP, damage to WWF-provided [community] drinking water infrastructure meant that people fetched water from sources open to contamination (informal discussion and personal observation). One respondent declared *“I don’t understand why infrastructure that exists already isn’t improved but instead is left to degrade. But they were good tap-stands”* (Interview 25). This was in stark contrast to the situation in Tsaranoro, where private tourism investors had provided clean drinking water to the community.



Figure 23: A derelict community tap-stand in Morarano village, at the western entrance to ANP.

Many respondents also criticised the ending of support for agricultural activities or alternatives to the (now outlawed) traditional practise of ‘tavy’, since initial national park projects ended. Underlining the need to help resolve the problem of

diminishing village-level banana productivity (a principal income source around Ranomafana and yet cause of deforestation), one respondent (Interview 7) declared *“this is what helps keep people alive, and when people are alive they no longer destroy the forest”*.

To some extent, the lack of projects funded by tourism revenue may have been hidden by activities funded by other donors, with MNP (Interview 15) saying *“Luckily we have the KFW”* (a German government-owned development bank and principal donor of ANP), who funded small projects around ANP. However, an ANP agent (personal communication, 2015), explained how MNP projects at the time were only focusing on easily-realizable actions that gave quick results in a couple of years.

For RNP, there were claims that others were now doing MNP’s work for them; *“Valbio is now doing the work that the Park should be doing”* (guide, Interview 42) – referring to Valbio research centre’s community outreach activities that span education, tree-planting, farming and hygiene promotion. Nonetheless, one respondent (Interview 30) pointed out that, whilst revenue from researchers in Ranomafana outstrips that from tourists (as a result of high charges and the long periods that researchers stay), *“there’s nothing that you can see as a real concrete benefit of it for the people who should benefit”*.

An air of disempowerment was evident, particularly amongst local authorities; *“It’s like we’re begging for cow manure elsewhere [in other people’s cattle pens] when we have our own cattle”* (leader, Interview 18). This reflects the sentiment that the zone was generating wealth for Madagascar, or for MNP, but, because surrounding communities were not benefiting from what they were rightly due, local people were forced to plead for help elsewhere. There was therefore an unjust dependence on external project support. This respondent continued *“If we were developed [we had revenue from national park tourism], we could then financially support surrounding municipalities rather than looking at twinning with municipalities abroad. The municipality could recruit technicians to train up people with revenue.”*

In contrast to locals’ perceived underdevelopment, MNP (Interview 8) spoke of improved living conditions for people living near the park in comparison to those further away, and tourists appreciated the *“completely genuine”* (Interview 1) nature

of villages around ANP. One visitor supposed that lack of evidence of ‘development’ due to tourism revenue might be because local people give priority to other things that are not visible, leaving villages to always appear traditional and untouched (Interview 3). This draws parallels with Harper’s (2002: 177) reflexion on “*Observers witnessing the effects of structural injustice and seeing little more than cultural difference*”.

A couple of respondents emphasised how the greatest factor of development for one of the case study sites was unrelated to the national park. In addition to noting the impact of having mobile phone network, “*The biggest thing to hit Ranomafana was of course the road and nothing to do with the forest*” (Interview 14), with the central village “*unrecognisable since the road was built*” (Interview 39). This highlights the key contribution of infrastructure improvement and telecommunications to an area’s development as a tourist destination.



Figure 24: The tarmacked road to Ranomafana, and a roadside sign for Valbio.

4.3.3. Visitor entrance fee rise as a trigger of discontent

Despite the recognition of certain financial or non-financial gains, a generalised undercurrent of discontent was revealed regarding the level of benefits that have been received in both case study areas as a result of national park creation and tourism. Whilst dissatisfaction appeared to have been brewing for some time, open expression of frustrations to outsiders was rare largely due to cultural norms. Respondents commented on how people got on with their lives, either not expecting

much from MNP or just waiting for things to improve. One guide in ANP said “People here don’t complain, they’re not complainers like in Isalo [National Park] and in other Parks like Ranomafana” (Interview 37). However, others highlighted the fragility of the situation which, it was considered, could explode at any time.

The raising of national park entrance fee tariffs as from November 2015 was the tip of the iceberg for many, uncovering some underlying issues that were the source of pervasive resentment. The raising of the tariffs itself was the cause of anger or disgruntlement to some respondents, particularly those who could be affected by reductions in backpacker numbers or clients brought by local tour operators or guides; most respondents considered that the price rise would not impact on clients of larger tour operators. These sentiments were shared by people in Morarano as the price rise was thought likely to amplify their existing conflict with the nearby Tsaranoro valley, with the fear that tourists would no longer come to ANP⁶⁴. The legitimacy of this concern was confirmed by two hotel managers in Tsaranoro (Interview 36 and personal communication, 2015), who affirmed they would not be selling ANP as from 2016 since clients already complained about the old prices. Equally, tourists indicated how their driver-guide had discouraged them from entering ANP, advising them to stay in Tsaranoro instead (personal communication, 2015).



Figure 25: The natural swimming pool in community-managed forest of Tsaranoro.

⁶⁴ The Tsaranoro valley offers other, cheaper, non-park trails.

Many other respondents considered the price hike to be acceptable but judged the timing to be miscalculated, Madagascar's tourism industry still trying to get back on its feet after years of disruption due to the volatile political situation. A few suggested that entrance fees should have been risen gradually, rather than such a sudden jump (between 130 – 520%). However, one RNP guide (Interview 30) explained how, due to Madagascar's uniqueness and how little known it is currently, the price rise would not put tourists off coming – *“it will even attract more of them”* – pointing to the five-star hotel investments under construction at the time in Ranomafana as proof of this.

However, for most guides and porters interviewed, the raising of entrance fee tariffs unearthed deep-rooted grudges with the protected area management body and, for the population in general, revealed widespread resentment with regard to prior promises of benefits from ecotourism. Local frustrations also appeared to have been exacerbated by recent increased insecurity which had seriously affected some villages in the area⁶⁵, with resentment for inaction on the part of authorities.

“Dirty underwear”: Ecotourism as compensation for national park creation

The non-application of the protected area management body's policy to allocate half of visitors' entrance ticket revenue to community development projects was found to be a major point of contention for the majority of respondents. It was widely understood around these national parks that half of entrance fee revenue had been promised as compensation for livelihood losses resulting from Park creation. Commitment to this policy of revenue-sharing was indeed published by RNP's founder (Wright, Andriamihaja et al. 2002), declaring the potential for big fund generation for villages, who again implied this policy's functionality 10 years on (Wright, Andriamihaja et al. 2014). One local guide's comment (Interview 30) was typical of many respondents:

“People were promised that if they protect it [the forest] they would be given a school, given nurses or a midwife, or clean drinking water, or blah blah.

⁶⁵ Amongst other incidents, the population of Torotosy and Bevoahazo villages, bordering RNP, were unsettled after bandits attacked their villages in 2015. It was believed that these bandits were directly linked to the illegal gold mines within RNP.

But there was nothing... It was a means to install themselves. It was what was promised when the park was set up and people were told to budge”.

Local people, particularly around RNP, felt that the protected area body used this policy to trick them into agreeing to park creation. Adding to this supposition, one respondent claimed it was deceit to justify a profitable academic business, referring mainly to the creation of the Valbio research centre in Ranomafana by Stony Brook University (New York); *“What upsets me most is just the lies. It’s the steam-rolling of justification and the bogus lies. With an environmental agenda which doesn’t include human issues – that pays lip service to people”* (Interview 14). This referred to the perceived manipulative way that the initial USAID-funded park project implemented by American universities had promised benefits from ecotourism as compensation for stopping local forest use.

Only tourism business owners spoke in defence of MNP or spun the ‘party line’, generally being reticent to mention the 50% policy’s suspension or claiming that the policy had since been reinstated. Statements were made such as *“Not having the ‘50%’ funds was bad publicity for the Park”* (Interview 5, researcher’s emphasis). Several respondents only started openly expressing their views on the situation later on in conversation. One research centre employee (Interview 9) said *“People think that 50% should be 80%, and are always in conflict with MNP. Nobody’s every satisfied. But I think it’s fair, I understand the situation”*. An ANP agent (Interview 35) complained of locals expecting to just be given money, when MNP can only help associations; funds were said to be insufficient to be able to target individuals (MNP, Interview 8, and park agent, personal communication 2015). Locally, MNP admitted to the policy’s suspension, which they attributed to protected area funding problems since Madagascar’s political crisis of 2009. It was explained how MNP functions as a network⁶⁶, pooling income, and how increasing MNPs financial autonomy was the second main objective of tourism, after helping the local population (Interview 8). Whilst local MNP managers claimed to hope for and expect the policy to be continued, MNP’s Antananarivo headquarters were said to be ultimately responsible for decision-making. The head of MNP, in response to a

⁶⁶ MNP is responsible for managing three types of protected areas in Madagascar (National Parks, Special Reserves and Integral Natural Reserves), of which only national parks really generate revenue through ecotourism.

question after his talk at the International Tourism Fair on whether the 50% policy was still in effect or had been suspended, replied:

“Some municipalities are over-funded, [there is] a problem of management capacity. At least 4 or 5 thousand projects were funded through the DEAP [protected area entrance fee revenue] since 1990. The board of administrators [of MNP] decided to reduce the 50% because: 1) Many projects have started to fund in the zone e.g. PSDR [Rural Development Support Programme ‘Projet de Soutien au Développement Rural: a World Bank-funded project that operated from 2001 to 2012], 2) Protective measures are most important for us, to conserve the Park’s entirety”
(Suzon, G., Presentation 28/5/15).

With this ambiguous answer to the question, he inferred that there was no need for these funds to continue to support local communities who were either already sufficiently funded or incapable of managing the funds properly, but that funds were best allocated to pure ‘conservation’ or enforcement causes. Claiming that the 50% policy had been voluntarily adopted by the protected area body (i.e. they are under no legal obligation to keep it), he spoke of the importance of building MNP’s financial autonomy.

However, one community leader (Interview 43), highlighting the unfairness of their national park subsidising other protected areas and, echoing debates about local costs for global benefits, declared:

“It’s not this Park, not the people here that will keep other parks alive. The people here have their forest and need to benefit from it... It’s not right, if supporting those other parks over there is destroying peoples’ lives here... It’s not fair because the population here at the grassroots level are really amongst those making a sacrifice to protect that [the forest], so that everyone can have water, so that everyone in this world can have clean air. But the people that really strive to protect it are not getting benefits themselves. And so it’s really not fair at all. This is one of the reasons for the [guide] strike”.

Guides, local people and community leaders were unanimous in voicing their views on the inequity of the “50% policy” stopping. They highlighted its injustice along

with the lack of communication with, and transparency of, MNP on the subject – and the threats, sanctions or imprisonment that have been suffered by those who dared to speak out. Some local people complained about MNP using these entrance fee funds for their own salaries as well as to cover exaggerated CLP costs. Only one local guide, from Morarano, claimed to be unaware of what benefits the local community should get.

“Local people know that [about the lack of 50% for the community] but they can’t say anything – who can they talk to? Betsileo⁶⁷ people aren’t difficult, they agree to things. They don’t take a direct stance but they are capable of putting a spanner in the works – they are hypocrites. If you don’t stick to what was agreed they can turn against you” (guide, Interview 17).

This statement highlights local peoples’ generalised feeling of powerlessness and their inability to speak out openly – coupled with their capacity to take action to sabotage operations when promises are broken. Also referring to the traits of their ethnic origin, another respondent in Ranomafana (Interview 32) stated *“us Tanala, we’re afraid of the State. We couldn’t ever head up a strike”*.

Leaders noted the geographical limitations of tourism around national parks, with benefits for just one out of seven municipalities bordering RNP⁶⁸, and for two out of five bordering ANP⁶⁹. Even for these three municipalities where ‘ecotourism’ is centred, leaders claimed a lack of financial benefits whether for the municipality or for the local people⁷⁰. Since half of entrance fee revenue had previously been split equally between all neighbouring municipalities (MNP, Interview 15), benefit-sharing was considered to have been fairer in the past. One respondent in Ranomafana declared (Interview 30) *“Evolution for local people was evident before when the 50% policy was applied, even if tourism hadn’t taken off yet (there were few tourists). If this policy had continued, things would be different”*.

⁶⁷ Betsileo is the main ethnic group of people living near the entrances to ANP.

⁶⁸ Table 1 details RNP’s neighbouring municipalities. Only Ranomafana was said to receive benefits from tourism (Interview 7).

⁶⁹ Table 1 details ANP’s neighbouring municipalities. Only Namoly and Vohitsaoka were said to receive benefits from tourism.

⁷⁰ Non-national park income from tourism for Ranomafana municipality (Interview 7) was declared to be from the arboretum (2% of the arboretum’s revenue) and the market. There was no direct income from MNP.

Visitors to ANP were largely uninformed or unclear of how the entrance fees were used, and often even unaware of the cost of their visit to the protected area; trips being habitually pre-paid to tour operators. Several respondents were shocked to see how little guides and porters got paid in ANP, recognising that monetary benefits were principally going to the service provider (tour operators). Although many RNP tourist interviewees were told that half the entrance ticket goes to fund development projects, one respondent was informed of the policy's suspension⁷¹.

Explaining why the myth of the “50% policy” was still perpetuated through national park guides, a tour operator (Interview 47) said:

“There aren't really any guides that complain [to tourists] – because it's like dirty underwear that you don't want people to see. They say ‘there's 50% that should go to development projects’. Because for some travel agencies that's one big selling point for the park – and foreigners are very sensitive to things like that”.

In other words, this respondent suggested that guides feared that tourists knowing the reality could negatively impact on tourism in these areas, consequently affecting their own livelihoods. Likewise, one local guide (Interview 24) claimed that tour operators were aware of the situation regarding the “50% policy” but did not inform their clients, implying that this would be bad for business. And articles published by Ranomafana researchers equally perpetuated the belief that this policy remained in operation (such as Russon, Wallis 2014). This benefit-sharing policy was even highlighted at a presentation during the founding workshop of Madagascar's responsible tourism network ‘*Antso Re*’ as being an example of best practise (personal notes, 9/4/15, Hotel Ibis Antananarivo).

Numerous stakeholders noted that, despite the “50% policy” still being advertised, they had yet to see or hear about any projects materialise.

“Where you've got protected areas you've got the park entrance fees which should be used. The parks aren't showing what they're doing particularly

⁷¹ The guide's disclosure of this to the visitor could be because he was considered ‘local’ as he spoke Malagasy, or could be because the National Park visit was carried out the day before the entrance tariff increase - when tensions were rising in preparation of a guide strike. It is however noted that, since the research was carried out, MNP has endeavoured to improve transparency and communication to tourists through a poster on display at the RNP entrance.

well to improve the social conditions in the areas. That's really for the national park authority. It would be nice if they did something to show, to explain to people [tourists] how people live in the area and what they're doing to improve it. They don't do that. But that would be another attraction and a reason to visit – which they could then charge money for probably – and guides would have more work as well, so it would create more wealth that way” (Tour Operator, Interview 13).

Even an MNP agent (Interview 35) declared “*As I see it, it's [the benefit-sharing] not going as it should be because, even me (and it's only you that I'll tell this to), I work with MNP but I've yet to see what projects they've done*”.

A general hope was expressed by respondents that the recent entrance fee rise would lead to the reinstating of the “50% policy”, and therefore greater spending on development around the national parks. However, MNP had yet to indicate that this would be the case. Indeed, the poster on display at Ranomafana National Park in early 2017 suggests that support for community projects has been struck off the list (personal observation)⁷².

“Chilli and eyes”: National park body relationship with guides and porters

Perhaps the main trigger of the 2015 guide strikes was the conflict surrounding guide tariffs and guides' poor working relationship with MNP: “*The relationship between the guides and MNP, it's like the Malagasy proverb 'chilli and eyes'*” (guide, Interview 42). This reveals the frequent animosity or clashes between the two parties and guides' entrenched suspicion of MNP, linked to the history of conflict in RNP and particularly the protected area body's attempts to replace them with more qualified outsiders (detailed in section 4.2.2). Guides' feeling of disempowerment resulting from their relationship with MNP was particularly acute for ANP; they believed that MNP's lack of help to enable them to get accreditation⁷³ was done on purpose to keep them weak. Frustrations at the lack of guide

⁷² This poster specifies that the main beneficiaries of the entrance fee are the visitors, the park and MNP employees, and villagers who are members of the Park's Local Committees.

⁷³ In fact, the Ministry of Tourism had not delivered any authorisation to guides in the Haute Matsiatra region over the two years prior to the research period (Interview 46), with the process restarted at the end of 2016.

categorisation with corresponding tariff differentiations were universal for guides around the two national parks.

Guides felt that their tariffs should be aligned with, or proportional to, national park entrance fees, with most of respondents' statements reflecting the feeling that *"We work harder than the national park"* (ex-guide, Interview 38) or that MNP's work is done by the guides. *"There's no consideration given to the fact that the guides are behind all of this, when they [MNP] decide to triple the entrance fees. It's like the guides are nothing to them"* (guide, Interview 30). This feeling of being hard-done-by, yet believing themselves to be key to the success of the national park, was not confined to guides alone but extended to porters – who, amongst other things, cited the unfairness of the evaluations carried out to decide which porters could become guides. However, some porters and guides dependent on their day-to-day income were against going on strike. These people were criticised by others for having a short-term vision - *"it's not the taking of a tourist tomorrow that is important but Ranomafana's future"* (Interview 33).



Figure 26: Valbio female porters entering RNP.

Respondents explained why guide tariffs should be increased: *"Ours are the lowest in Madagascar, whilst the trails are the hardest. MNP are always telling us we're not allowed to increase tariffs, to wait a bit... that guides who aren't skilled cannot*

increase tariffs” (ANP guide, Interview 25). The unfairness of the situation was brought home by one guide (Interview 30): “*Just one bungalow in Centrest [Hotel in Ranomafana] is 750,000 [Malagasy francs⁷⁴] (£37.50), like Setam [Hotel]. Does the government dare tell them that their bungalows are too expensive? But when it’s the guides’ salary then they say it has to be this!*” Resentment over this issue of tariffs, over the perceived lack of support given to guides as well as the fact that guides and porters are, for ANP, responsible for trail maintenance without getting paid or fed, led to planned protests during the research period. It was said that the national guide federation had prompted Ranomafana’s guide association to take action after the federation’s national-level proposal for a guide tariff increase in line with entrance fee tariffs had been outright rejected by MNP (Interview 47)⁷⁵.

RNP guides compared their situation unfavourably to that of Valbio centre’s research guides, who had apparently all been ‘decorated’ with medals, saying how they felt unappreciated by MNP. Of the three guide strikes since RNP’s creation, two were related to the issue of guide qualifications and one to the entrance fee price rise. In comparison, ANP guides felt powerless to protest; findings suggest a sense of hopelessness in taking action or being unable to influence decision-making – and even more so for those on the Morarano side. It was claimed that some guides had been suspended or even arrested for speaking out against the protected area management body (Interviews 24, 25 and 30), or for standing-up for their rights or for those of local people⁷⁶.

The conflict between guides and park authorities was an issue repeatedly raised by different stakeholders, in particular tour operators, guides and porters. Referring to the lack of categorisation of guides, the standardisation of guide tariffs⁷⁷ and the belittling attitude of MNP staff, one guide (Interview 30) said:

“You in ANGAP amaze me! You have a director, an accountant, a deputy-head, a watchman, a gardener. So why don’t you all earn the same salary?”

⁷⁴ Whilst the Ariary (MGA) is the current Malagasy currency, many people continue to refer to the past currency of Malagasy francs or ‘Fmg’ (1 Ariary = 5 Fmg).

⁷⁵ Towards the end of the research period, new increased guide tariffs proposed by the guides’ association had been officialised for RNP (see Appendix 6).

⁷⁶ A similar situation regarding foreign researchers was reported by the anthropologist Harper (2002: 235) who was “cautioned” to avoid expressing criticism of the RNP Project.

⁷⁷ National park tariffs remained the same for all different types of guide irrespective of their level of competency or qualification, whether they be a tracker or a specialised guide.

But you do that to us? You are condescending! ... Talking about the environment is like a car. If all the tyres have burst, even if you buy a new engine, will your car be able to move? The guides are doing the work, but not you. You over there say to increase it [the entrance fee], for your salaries, running costs”.

Through making this analogy, the respondent aimed to stress how strengthening the protected area management body without considering guides’ needs would be ineffective in meeting MNP’s objectives.

4.3.4. MNP management and communication: The source of discontent?

Most of the concerns raised by respondents signified leadership, management and communication problems internal to the protected area management body. MNP was criticized as having a top-down structure and decision-making processes, even dictatorship-style management (tour operator, Interview 47). The competency and transparency of their financial management was questioned by some (Interviews 18, 25 and 30)⁷⁸. One respondent (NGO, Interview 45), referring to MNP’s non-payment of the 50% of entrance fee revenues, said “*it’s not theft*” but hypothesised that they were incapable of paying. Due to insufficient revenue from tourism, this respondent suggested that more fundraising needed to be done to generate other means of financing protected areas. He then went on to say “*What really surprises me is that MNP are doing a big recruitment drive and yet they say they don’t have any money. What about the salaries of all those people?*”

Another respondent attested “*Their organisation is really the worst ever, there’s none*” (guide, Interview 42), in reference to the significant delays and inconvenience temporary workers have to endure before MNP pay them for their work. Claims of MNP staff incompetency, laziness and their ignorance about biodiversity within the protected area were rife, with assertions that workers never entered the forest, just staying at their desks (Interviews 30 and 42). A hotel owner and tour operator (Interview 36) went so far as to say “*The workers are like civil servants who play*

⁷⁸ Frustrations and suspicions expressed about MNP back up fears of continued financial mismanagement highlighted in a report on 25 years of USAID environment programmes (Freudenberger 2010: 38). However, in contrast, MNP reported its reception of a budgetary transparency certificate in 2016 (MNP 2016).

cards, sleep with girls and do nothing” – implying ineffectiveness and reception of pay unrelated to the achievement of work objectives.

Allegations of corruption were made with regard to recruitment procedures – *“With the Malagasy, it’s all [about] contacts. Those that know someone get a position”* (guide, Interview 42) – as well as with reference to continued environmental degradation within the national park. Inferring MNP complicity, one tour operator (Interview 47) said *“I don’t know if the Park’s work is [in]sufficient or are there corrupt people in the Park personnel? ... Should the management style be altered or are the Malagasy [people] now unmanageable?”* This lack of capacity was stressed by a municipality leader (Interview 42) - *“As I see it, I don’t think the national park [MNP] is capable of managing protected areas any more. Even the gold miners, they have been there for almost 2 years now and they [MNP] haven’t managed to get rid of them...”*

A lack of vision, analysis and strategic planning on the part of MNP was implied by many respondents, including the funding of ineffective infrastructure which remained unused.

“When MNP (ANGAP) took over from WWF the first thing they did was to close the tree nurseries and stop all tree-planting efforts. The [MNP] lodge is a beautiful building but poorly managed with no road to it. It’ll be dilapidated by the time it’s actually used... and then they’ll have to re-do it” (Interview 36).



Figure 27: The 'road' to the MNP lodge in Morarano.

Very low occupancy rates and poor maintenance and management of MNP-run accommodation, as well as related infrastructure such as water supply, was confirmed by personal observation⁷⁹ and MNP workers themselves (Interview 35). There were also allegations of poor management and investment in national park guides, including insufficient capacity-building, and a failure to address rogue guides who contributed to increased insecurity (NGO, Interview 45).

Deficiencies in MNP communication were highlighted by respondents from all stakeholder groups, who found this protected area body to be defensive, competitive, opaque and difficult to work with. In reference to their lack of collaboration with another environmental organisation, one respondent (Interview 25) said *“There is a strange jealousy - but everyone’s objective is development”*. The apparent lack of stakeholder consultation by MNP on policy changes, such as the entrance fee rise, was raised by community leaders, guides and the Regional Tourism Directorate. Referring to having learnt about the guide strike [and entrance fee rise] on national television, a respondent declared *“us here at the Directorate know nothing about it... we don’t know anything, we’re just like the average person watching”* (State official, Interview 46). It was equally broadcast in national news stories in November-December 2015 (personal observation) that, in addition to non-payment of the “50% policy” funds, one reason for the guide strike was MNP’s lack of stakeholder consultation prior to the entrance fee rise. However, in rebuttal of this, a protected area manager (Respondent 8) declared that the decision to raise national park entrance tariffs had been made by the Tourism Ministry and others.

Whilst one tour operator considered that the entrance fee increase was not excessive, they pointed out that services needed to be improved to reflect the price, as a gradual degradation of trails within national parks had been observed (Interview 47). Another tour operator (Interview 13) complained about new rules introduced concerning visiting hours to protected areas;

“The measures are very severe ... they decided to turn the wildlife reserves into a kind of office space that only open at certain times, and it has limited

⁷⁹ Unprepared and dirty rooms, insufficient equipment such as mattresses and mosquito nets, lack of water or service providers such as cooks for visitors.

a lot the nature that visitors see – because that's the highlight of coming to Madagascar, it's quite frustrating that we can't allow visitors to see it".

Particularly affected were opportunities to see rare birds, best viewed at dawn, and nocturnal wildlife.

A lack of collaboration and support from MNP was brought up by local authorities, community-based forest management associations, guides and porters – who were under the impression that MNP considered them to be the enemy. This leads one to ask whether national park managers' denial of any knowledge of discontent⁸⁰ was either false or a reflection of the distance between MNP and local communities. They appeared to overlook the cultural practice of not openly expressing dissatisfaction, linked to the fear of questioning those in power.

"People here know there should be the money [half of entrance fee revenues] but, since it stopped, nobody says anything. It's not custom here. People prefer to be hypocrites than speak out. If you say something they [MNP] take this to mean you're going against them. They can threaten you. Like us guides, they say they will sack us if we speak out. Some people do speak out, like myself. I dare to. But I just get shrugged off– they say that their boss knows the answer, those in Tana [Antananarivo, the capital city] know the answer" (guide, Interview 25).

Although a few respondents said that the reason for the suspension of the 50% policy had been communicated to COSAP members, the wider population or other stakeholders appeared to remain largely in the dark about the current situation. As a result, rumours abounded. Equally, there was found to be little communication about the role of COSAP, leading to high levels of suspicion locally. *"Before there used to be annual reports and consultation about how to spend the money – it used to work. MNP have not communicated news on the situation since 2007"* (guide, Interview 25).

Tour operators and guides found it difficult to ask MNP about the situation, or claimed to not get a straight answer if they asked. *"When guides ask MNP we get a*

⁸⁰ Protected area managers believed the local population to be satisfied with benefits from tourism around the National Park (Interview 8) or to not be aware of any complaints regarding the '50% policy' suspension (Interview 15).

strange reply: 'it's not your place to ask about it, it's our work and not your business'. We've asked different staff, and it causes a big problem. They don't give a frank reply... They say 'you're not allowed to question park management'' (guide, Interview 24). It was asserted that questioning policy had led to guide suspension in some cases. Poor communication with guides and porters was a prime factor leading to resentment and demotivation within these groups. Even small things appeared to blow out of proportion; referring to the way the evaluations to become a guide were carried out, one porter (Interview 41) felt unappreciated: *"They gave us all numbers so now we're numbers but not names"*. Local authorities complained about MNP's lack of sharing of visitor statistics with the municipality – data that they considered themselves to have a right to for security and administrative reasons – declaring *"our administrative and financial autonomy is violated"* (Interview 18).

Similarly, one tourist respondent indicated that there was room for improvement regarding MNP's external communication. Visiting ANP two months after the entrance fee rise, they were frustrated at the inability to get correct pricing information, whether from the MNP website or the Regional Tourist Board Office in Fianarantsoa. They declared *"The organisation's not good enough – but people just put it down to the fact that it's Madagascar - 'It's normal, it's Madagascar'. But it's the communication which needs to be improved, people need to be told what to expect"*. MNP's suspension of one guide in ANP as a result of his client not paying-up the correct fee for the number of days (Interviews 35 and 37) could have been one impact of this communication problem, combined with the entrance fee price rise - with the guide being ordered to make up the price difference.

These research findings add to literature on the importance of communication and leadership for effective conservation, with the encouragement of learning and improvement within entities (Black et al. 2013).

4.3.5. Local authorities demand benefits from tourism

The level of municipalities' influence over tourism was found to be much higher in Ranomafana than around ANP, with a hotel visitor tax largely providing for Ranomafana municipality's running costs. A sense of disempowerment of local authorities around ANP was detected; Tourism-related constructions were carried out without approbation from the municipality, stakeholder communication was

more limited and authorities appeared unaware of their rights to benefits. One local resident claimed that local authorities are used, via the COSAP structure of which they are member, to MNP's benefit.

However, since the 2015 municipality-level elections, new mayors around both case study national parks appeared keen to assert themselves and take greater control over tourism in their areas in order to boost local benefits. Increasingly awakening to the benefits of tightening their grip on tourism, local authorities were conceiving strategies to this effect. Tactics included the Ranomafana local recruitment initiative; encouraging unemployed locals to leave their Curriculum Vitae at the municipality, putting pressure on businesses and organisations to recruit locally, requiring that job announcements be posted locally and local authorities' consultation or participation in the recruitment process. Other strategies (the application of which remain to be followed) consisted of establishing a municipality ticket office at the national park entrance with the aim of collecting half the entrance fee revenue immediately, rather than this passing by MNP, and enforcing payment of (increased rates of) municipality taxes from the protected area management body⁸¹, the thermal baths manager⁸² as well as hotel investors. In addition, local authorities were planning a clamp-down on non-payment or under-payment of hotel taxes to the municipality through their under-declaring of tourist numbers. One mayor planned to call a meeting with tourism stakeholders seeking collaboration on re-instating a tourist poll tax.

This greater assertiveness of local authorities was largely triggered by the declared scrapping of state subsidies to municipalities in 2015 and the consequent necessity for them to become financially self-sufficient through local revenue collection and initiatives⁸³. However, it appeared to be also a reaction to years of locals' resentment of perceived lack of benefits from the national park and tourism.

⁸¹ The municipality said they would demand MNP's payment of 2% of national park entrance fee revenue; according to a municipality decree which had never been enforced.

⁸² A Ranomafana municipality ruling to tax revenue from the thermal baths, managed by the Ministry of Health, had also yet to be enforced.

⁸³ Although State subsidies were in fact accorded again as from June 2016 in order to stem strikes by local authorities.



Figure 28: Villagers in the case study areas.

4.4. Discussion of research findings

This chapter has presented research findings in relation to local participation in tourism and in the benefits resulting from tourism, perceptions of the achievement of development and conservation goals around case study national parks and views on the subject of equity in benefit-sharing.

Section 4.2 presented findings related to the first research question which sought to uncover the extent to which local residents participated in tourism planning and development around case study protected areas. Findings demonstrate limited levels of local participation in tourism - whether in terms of employment, business ownership or mere contact with tourists. Efforts to increase local participation, via projects or policies, appeared to have insufficiently addressed the underlying obstacles to their participation – notably entrenched historical socio-economic and political disadvantage and unequal power relations which manifest themselves as low educational levels, weak capacity, poor foreign language skills and ‘traditional’ mind-sets. Findings give weight to Chok’s (2007) suggestion of the futility of promoting tourism as a poverty reduction strategy without action to tackle structural inequities which exacerbate poverty and constrain pro-poor attempts.

Whilst community-based tourism had been promoted in case study areas as a strategy to benefit local populations, results were found to be questionable. Indeed, successful community-based tourism examples have been described in the literature as being the exception rather than the rule (Sakata and Hana 2013, Goodwin and Santilli 2009). In addition, those initiatives that are financially successful could bring limited benefits locally, or local revenue that is unevenly distributed, and high cultural impacts. Section 4.2.5 presented the constraints to successful community tourism initiatives, including insufficient links to markets or the private sector and local power struggles over benefit-sharing. Local ownership of the initiative and participation in decision-making was found to be dubious in many cases.

As touched upon in section 4.2, research findings unearthed temporal constraints to participation in tourism, which was found to be often temporary (such as wage labour making gravel or collecting sand during hotel construction work), occasional (for example local musicians performing for tourists, including playing the Malagasy guitar '*kabosy*' or showing off the traditional '*dombolo*' dance in Ranomafana, for which the Tanala are renowned) or highly seasonal. Respondent 14 declared that it is not unheard of for people to work unpaid for months to keep their job for the high season when they can get paid, or having to supplement income by selling spices. "*The majority of guides now know that [work is seasonal] and so keep savings now, to prepare for January-February-March*" (guide, Interview 30). These findings support wider literature highlighting the precariousness of tourism (Lee, Hampton et al. 2015). However, although guides in RNP were impacted by seasonality issues and Madagascar's turbulent political situation, some businesses in Ranomafana town itself were less affected due to the increasing number of Malagasy visitors who are mainly attracted to the thermal baths.



Figure 29: Gravel for sale on the roadside near Ranomafana.



Figure 30: Construction of a luxury hotel underway in Ranomafana.

Numerous respondents attested that, as a result of a growing dependence on tourism, there is poverty when there are no tourists. In other words, greater participation in tourism could potentially increase vulnerability, and therefore poverty. Tourism's integration into the capitalist system and its fragility to political upheaval, global insecurity, seasonal fluctuation or natural disaster means that it might be dangerous to increase the poor's dependence on it. As pointed out by respondent 46, one option to reduce vulnerability could indeed be to increasingly target national tourists,

instead of focusing on international visitors. Likewise, the benefits of attracting independent tourists or backpackers have been emphasised by Hampton (2005), showing them to be less affected by global crises and to bring important economic benefits to an area due to their local expenditure multiplier effects. Several respondents noted that tourism remained an additional activity to most peoples' principal livelihood, with one guide denouncing another interviewee's claims of guide over-dependence on tourism and abandon of rice-farming, saying *"It's not true that guides [in ANP] have given up farming for tourism. Tourism is a supplementary activity – tourism alone will not keep you alive"* (Respondent 24).

As well as being limited in time, participation in tourism was also observed to be highly spatially localised around the case study national parks. There was found to be virtually no local participation outside of the main tourist villages (Ranomafana, Namoly and Morarano/Tsaranoro) and, even in these areas, opportunities for employment differed greatly due to the relative popularity of sites. For example, up until the research period, only a fraction of visitors to ANP entered via Morarano - meaning that guides and porters there worked significantly less often than those in Namoly. Site accessibility is a big factor influencing infrastructure development, visitor numbers, and therefore local participation and benefits. Local contact with tourists was found to be largely limited to guides and porters, and hindered by the language barrier and pre-organised schedules.

Research results back up the argument of Chok, Macbeth et al. (2007), who have demonstrated how a high level of dependence on tourism for livelihoods can have a detrimental effect on the poor in times of tourism decline, particularly on women and children, and can also lead to increased social conflict. This reiterates the importance of livelihood stability and the importance of considering tourism within the livelihoods framework (Scoones 1998).

In response to the second research question that asked how participation levels are linked to equitable benefit distribution resulting from tourism, research findings found limited local economic linkages and high leakage out of the local area around case study national parks. Visitors generally either dined in their hotels or ate meals prepared by tour operators, both of which were largely supplied from outside the area. Respondent-reported expenditure suggests that the only really 'local' spend

was on local guides or porters, representing merely around 5% of visitors' in-country budgets. The suspension of the "50% policy" also added to low linkages, with MNP revenue largely perceived as being used to benefit other areas or to cover their own management costs. However, one tour operator pointed out that leakage is fairly low at a national or regional level; *"In Madagascar even if the hotel is foreign-owned, most of the money that gets sent here gets spent here. There aren't many of those big hotel chains sending their profits offshore"* (Interview 13).

Section 4.3 presented findings related to protected area tourism's impact and equity in benefit distribution. These findings highlight a generalised sentiment of injustice with regard to benefit-sharing from protected area tourism, with a feeling of local suffering for global gain. Resentment was found to be particularly acute concerning the MNP-guide relationship and perceived broken promises due to the suspension of the "50% policy"; sentiments intensifying since the entrance fee price rise in November 2015. This tariff increase was also seen by many as further persecution, the fear being that it would lead to reductions in tourist numbers and consequent lost earnings. Findings once again bring to the fore locals' sense of powerlessness apropos their perceived lack of opportunities. Unequal power dynamics, combined with underdevelopment of local populations, resulted in local peoples' views being of minimal benefits arising from protected area existence and tourism. To the contrary, locals felt that the Park was squeezing them out or even persecuting them, whilst local authorities recognised the irony in having to beg for external project support for projects which they should be able to fund themselves.

No major differences in viewpoints were revealed between respondents of different gender, although male respondents tended to be more vocal in their views. However, the opinions of Malagasy people who did not originate from the protected area case study areas did contrast with those of 'local' people (originating from the surrounding area) with regard to the question of equity in benefit-sharing. This could be largely because these more recent settlers were directly involved in the tourism sector and therefore had a vested interest in portraying the situation with a positive light. Criticism of the status quo was unanimously expressed by respondents from the following stakeholder groups: local people resident prior to National Park creation, local authorities, tour operators, guides and porters. These respondents

voiced their opinions on the injustice of benefit-sharing and on the lack of compensation for residents as a result of protected area creation.

These results back-up prior research findings around RNP that show high opportunity costs borne by the local population due to protected area creation (Peters 1998a), with the poor, as well as elderly, young people and women (particularly single mothers), disproportionately badly affected (Ferraro 2002: 270; Peters 1998). As Harper (2002) notes, decision-makers had highlighted as early as 1993 the need to prioritise “*the equitable distribution of benefits to villagers in compensation for the loss of resources of the park*” (Ministry of Environment, USAID and ANGAP Debriefing, 7/12/93, General Observations quoted in Harper 2002: 112). Parallels can also be made to findings by Schuetze (2015) who spoke of the two contradictory crisis narratives around protected areas (project versus people) both presented as threatening the land, with barriers to local participation and lack of communication consolidating these narratives.

Whilst section 4.3.2 presented both the positive and negative social impacts of tourism in case study areas, as perceived by respondents, results suggest an amplification of inequality as well as insecurity. The impression given was that the two were inextricably linked, those people with limited opportunities turning to banditry and crime. Although this could be said to reflect national trends towards increased inequality and insecurity, it is particularly of concern around national parks where opportunities for local people are widely considered to be more significant than in other areas.

Research findings support Tosun's (2000) idea that forms and scale of tourism are beyond the control of local communities in less economically developed countries, due to the operational, structural and cultural limitations to community participation in the tourism development process. In line with Butler's (2006) tourist area lifecycle model, Tosun (2000) also described how local control over tourism development tends to diminish over time as development becomes increasingly institutionalised. Indications are that this was also largely the case in case study areas, despite recent attempts by local authorities to the contrary (as presented in section 4.3.5).

Arnstein's (1969) conceptualisation of participation as power remains a powerful tool, setting out the degrees of citizen engagement in decision-making ranging from

non-participation through tokenism to citizen power. Her “*ladder of citizen participation*” depicts participation as basically a type of power struggle between citizens trying to ascend the ladder and controlling organisations or institutions (intentionally or not) trying to limit peoples’ ability to gain control. Relating more specifically to tourism, Timothy (1999) moves on from just considering local participation in decision-making, expanding the principle of participatory tourism planning to consider participation in tourism’s benefits. Research findings lend weight to his conclusion that peoples’ skills, access to education and information, as well as their socio-political and economic situation, all impact on their ability to participate in tourism.

Referring to Arnstein’s terminology, community participation in tourism in case study areas could be said to have ranged from non-participation (including manipulation) to degrees of tokenism such as placation, with no degree of citizen power evident. This situation has resulted from unequal power relations both between the national park body and communities, and between ‘locals’ and those perceived to be ‘outsiders’, leaving locals without decision-making powers and equally with minimal benefits from tourism. In addition, it could be said that leaders, including local authorities and representatives of the Ministry of Tourism, have been disempowered from taking effective action to redress the situation through a combination of lack of information, resources and courage.

Indications are that insufficient involvement of locals in tourism planning as advocated by Liu and Wall (2006), combined with insufficient collaboration between different stakeholders as advocated by Timothy’s ‘*Cooperative Tourism Planning*’ model (1998), has limited the potential positive impact of tourism. Advocating that tourism should be integrated into the broader development strategy and plan of a country or region, Timothy (1998) insisted that cooperation between different planning sectors is necessary for a truly integrative tourism development. Specifically, he spoke of cooperation between government agencies, between levels of administration, between same-level polities, and private- and public-sector cooperation in order to ensure coordinated, efficient, equitable and harmonious regional tourism development. This cooperation was found to be lacking in case study areas, in addition to cooperation between these different sectors and the local

population. One key contributory factor is the lack of a policy framework; it is generally recognised that Madagascar's national tourism policy is currently outdated, requiring the integration of the sustainable tourism and community tourism concepts, and there is currently no national ecotourism strategy whether within or outside protected areas (5th National Report to the CBD, 2014). The long-awaited revised tourism regulations ('*Code de Tourisme*'), due to be announced at the time of writing-up, are expected to fill these gaps to a certain extent. However, another contributory factor is the protected area body's management style (discussed in section 4.3.4) which was widely considered to be uncondusive to cooperation.

The third research question set out to explore how involvement with tourism has affected livelihoods strategies and the use of local forest resources. Findings indicated a gradual trend to a market economy but no significant impact on traditional livelihoods for most of the population. Although many respondents articulated their view that working in tourism would reduce pressure on the forest, some also emphasised that swidden farming is largely a cultural phenomenon to which ecotourism will never be the solution. A greater environmental awareness amongst those involved in tourism was suggested with regard to the benefits of forest conservation and, around ANP, a willingness to participate in protected area management activities (trail maintenance and putting in place fire breaks). One local guide's decision to establish an "eco-lodge" to preserve a forested area could be attributed to their increased appreciation of both the intrinsic and monetary value of the rainforest. For ANP, tourism's seasonality and limited scale meant that it remained an additional activity to traditional livelihoods.

However, findings were limited with regard to how benefits accrued to an individual from tourism have impacted on their use of local forest resources. This is largely because few cases of traditional farmers succeeding in finding tourist-related work were identified. Tourism was found to disproportionately benefit newcomers to these zones. Due to the scope of this research project, it was not feasible to evaluate the impact of projects previously funded by the entrance fee benefit-sharing policy around case study areas. Conversely, findings did indicate certain impacts on natural resource use resulting from a perceived lack of benefit accrual from tourism. In particular, it was argued by several respondents that the gold-mining surge in RNP was related to increased poverty in the area and disillusionment with the protected

area body. Contributory factors to changes in livelihoods strategies and natural resource use were found to include MNP policy (particularly related to the benefit-sharing scheme and guide policy), political stability, tourism seasonality, communication between stakeholders and perceptions of equity and oppression.

Lastly, in response to the fourth research question, perceptions regarding the level of achievement of protected area conservation goals in case study sites were presented in section 4.3.1. Whilst many respondents believed forest cover to be undoubtedly higher than if there was no protected area, the recognition of continued serious pressure on natural resources was universal, particularly gold-mining. Insufficient action to fulfil local populations' development needs was widely claimed to be a reason for non-achievement of conservation goals; increasing poverty forcing people into destructive practices. This was also said to be linked to the ineffectiveness of the Malagasy government in taking action against infractions, pervasive corruption, as well as manifestations of revenge due to local discontent against the protected area management body. It could equally be considered a result of the disempowerment of the COSAP structure, as argued in section 4.2.4. As a consequence, the level of success of these protected areas in ensuring environmental conservation is debateable. Whilst the importance of protected areas' role of educating visitors was highlighted, pressure from tourism itself was also noted, particularly on lemur populations. It was suggested that local motivations for forest conservation may not be primarily related to expected benefits from tourism but more linked to other reasons.

5. Conclusion and recommendations

5.1. Revisiting the research objective

This research project set out with the objective of exploring the relationship between local participation in tourism, equity in benefit distribution and the achievement of conservation goals around protected areas in Madagascar. Taking two terrestrial national parks located near the island's south-eastern rainforest escarpment as case studies, qualitative social science research methods were employed to investigate the subject area over a two-year period. Findings from n=47 semi-structured interviews carried out with a wide range of stakeholder groups were supplemented by information from other primary and secondary sources, and participant observation. The study topic proved to be highly pertinent given that the research period coincided with an increase in national park entrance fee rates nationally, triggering widespread protest and debate around the subject of protected areas and equity in benefit distribution. Compilation and analysis of the research findings has revealed the complexity of the issues and the enormity of the undertaking to respond to the initial research questions.

The first research question asked to what extent local residents participated in tourism planning and development around the case study protected areas and examined factors determining local participation or control. Perceptions of participation at the time of national park creation were first presented, followed by an exploration of forms of direct participation. This focused on employment, sales and involvement in maintaining the tourism product or the environment that visitors have come to see. In addition, contact with visitors as a form of participation was discussed – including the entertainment value of tourists and the significance of exchange with tourists (considered by most respondents to be an educative experience).

The second research question examined the link between participation levels and equitable benefit distribution resulting from tourism, looking at different stakeholders' perceptions around this issue. The third research question considered how peoples' livelihoods strategies were affected by involvement with tourism, and the consequent impact on their natural resource use. Related to this, the fourth and

final research question looked at the extent to which case study protected areas' conservation goals have been achieved.

The acquisition of benefits locally around case study national parks was found to be largely dependent on the level and mode of people's direct participation in tourism. Opportunities for local residents to participate in tourism directly were exposed as being highly limited as a result of historical socio-economic factors and power dynamics. Similarly, the acquisition of indirect benefits locally from tourism was viewed by the majority of respondents to be lacking or insufficient – with expression largely focused on broken promises related to the sharing of national park entrance fee revenue. A widespread sense of inequity in benefit distribution was uncovered, combined with the recognition of numerous negative consequences of tourism, in particular high social costs. This appeared to have led to increasing inequality and poverty around both Ranomafana and Andringitra National Parks. In addition to contributing to heightening insecurity in case study areas, this amplifying disparity and hardship was said to have been fuelling apparently uncontrolled environmental destruction within RNP. Degradation within ANP was perceived to be less of an issue largely as a result of differences in ecosystems but also due to local peoples' historical acceptance of natural resource use prohibition since colonial times. However, overall indications were of a direct causal relationship between limited local participation in tourism, inequity in benefit distribution and non-achievement of conservation goals around protected areas.

Whilst Arnstein (1969) presented participation in relation to varying degrees of decision-making powers, and both Timothy (1999) and Tosun (2000) discussed participation in the decision-making process of tourism development as well as with regard to benefit-sharing, this research has gone beyond these concepts in considering participation as contact with tourists. Findings encourage the contextualisation of participation in a broader sense, particularly in tourism where encounters with the 'other' can be felt to be mutually enriching experiences.

Despite the recent focus on concepts such as 'Pro-Poor Tourism', surprisingly little tourism research has looked at the issue of equity. This gap has been highlighted by Lee and Jamal (2008), whose "*environmental justice – sustainable tourism*" framework incorporates distributive and procedural justice considerations. However,

this framework fails to sufficiently integrate social justice towards sustainable tourism development. Equally, whilst Nyaupane, Graefe et al. (2009) stressed the importance of perceived equity, trust and information on user fee acceptance in protected areas by users, research findings suggest that the same could be advocated for the acceptance of user fees by locals living around protected areas. This research hence highlights the importance of stakeholder perceptions of fairness of benefit distribution for effective community ‘buy-in’ to protected area management policy. It equally brings home the necessity of reducing poverty, inequality and corruption for successful long-term forest conservation. These findings are particularly significant in this era of expanding protected area networks at a global level.

5.2. Uncloaking ecotourism

Research findings lead to reflections on the effectiveness of ‘eco’-tourism⁸⁴ as a means to ensure forest conservation or to compensate for the opportunity costs of national park creation. Ecotourism is often promoted as an alternative to traditional livelihoods widely considered to be in direct conflict with forest conservation, in particular ‘*tavy*’ or swidden agriculture in Madagascar. This premise supposes that local people would either accrue direct benefits from ecotourism, such as through employment, or indirect ones such as through revenue-sharing, and that these benefits would substitute those previously obtained from ‘*tavy*’. However, findings have shown that constraints to the participation of local people in tourism were particularly significant for those individuals most likely to be reliant on ‘*tavy*’; less educated subsistence farmers. Opportunities for financially-lucrative forms of direct participation in tourism were found to be largely limited to certain groups of people, in particular the local elite or better-endowed settlers to the area who arrived since national park establishment. The main exception was for locals who found work as guides or porters.

As a result of limited direct benefits to local people, indirect benefits from ecotourism would need to be significant in order to provide a real alternative to traditional livelihoods or to compensate for the opportunity costs of protected area creation. The “50% policy” was the key mechanism developed around case study

⁸⁴ It could be argued that non-respect for the key principles of ‘ecotourism’ around these case study sites is the reason for its ineffectiveness in achieving desired outcomes.

national parks to provide these indirect benefits, through the equal splitting of entrance fee revenue between the national park body and local communities. Although local projects were formerly funded through this policy, key questions are whether they targeted the “right” groups of people (those with the highest opportunity cost of national park creation⁸⁵), whether they supported the “right” activities (were livelihoods promoted really “alternative” or instead “additional”?)⁸⁶ and whether sufficient monitoring and post-project support was given to ensure effectiveness and sustainability of project impact. Whilst the option of direct payments to families was ruled out by the national park body, it should be asked whether opportunity costs felt at the household-level could be compensated by projects at the community-level. One respondent reflected on this issue as follows:

“It’s not true that ecotourism is an alternative to ‘tavy’. Because they [local people] can’t see the benefits, the revenue they get isn’t sufficient to live on. And the 50% from the park will never be individual but collective – and that’s the problem with it. But if it was individual then people would see the benefit. It would be better to share it individually, but then the amount would be small and you wouldn’t see the impact” (Interview 6).

Although reported reductions in the practise of ‘tavy’ since national park creation might well be accurate, research findings suggest that this may be more an outcome of enforcement measures than a result of farmer support activities – particularly since it was almost universally acknowledged that application of the revenue-sharing policy had ceased since around 2009. A lack of viable livelihood alternatives for farmers traditionally reliant on ‘tavy’ appeared to have forced many into other illegal activities – including theft, banditry, local rum production or gold mining within the national park. It is also questionable as to how long-lasting this reduction in deforestation might be. One respondent hypothesised:

⁸⁵ Or, if conservation outcomes are priority over ethical considerations, those most heavily exploiting the resource in question.

⁸⁶ As highlighted by Wright, Hill et al. (2016) “*to be a genuine substitute, the promoted alternative must align with the needs and aspirations of the people concerned, and fulfil the same range of functions characteristic of the original activity*”. Harper (2002: 143) described the situation around RNP where villagers provided with project agricultural support most rapidly expanded ‘tavy’ as they had been economically empowered to hire labourers and rent fields from poorer neighbours.

“I suggest that the forest is just as threatened as it ever was and its’ life expectancy is still another 25 - 50 years... even if there is a slight slowing of tavy. Now, if tavy licences are no longer issued, without alternatives there will soon be a point when exploitation increases exponentially if people have no alternative. i.e. if you look over 50 years there will be periods of more and less intense exploitation due to a few minor variables, like application of legislation or alternative income from a mining strike, but over a given period without viable alternatives it is shafted” (Interview 14).

Peters’ ‘Social Impact Assessment’ (1994: 401), carried out around RNP, emphasised the importance of ‘tavy’ to “*secure food during the cyclone season, a supplemental rice production to the paddy, a manifestation of cultural identity, and a mechanism of social organisation*”. It appears that insufficient attention has been paid to these socio-cultural aspects of ‘tavy’ and to providing appropriate alternatives taking into account locally-specific constraints. Without acknowledging and addressing the wider context in which ‘tavy’ is practised, it is unlikely that the development of ecotourism will be seen as a real alternative by local farmers.

Equally, conservation enforcement measures, whether community-led or otherwise, were largely recognised by respondents as being insufficient to protect the biodiversity of protected areas – interviewees stressing the need to also ensure benefits to local residents.

“I think that one problem with environmentalists is that they only care about the environment and they don’t really care about the people. But it’s the people that are going to either burn down their forests or not and, in order to be able to prevent environmental issues, you need to have compassion for the people and try to figure out a way to reach them” (Interview 34).

Whilst ecotourism provides direct benefits as a result of contact and exchange with people from different cultures, which was widely considered an educative experience in itself, it is unlikely that these non-financial benefits could substitute traditional livelihoods. Although they might help foster new perspectives as well as a sense of pride and patriotism, promoting the intrinsic value of biodiversity (the importance of which should not be underestimated as the value of financial benefits

from ecotourism will probably never outweigh the value of the resource itself), this is unlikely to be an effective tool for conservation unless people's basic needs are met. As Maslow's 'Hierarchy of Needs' theory explains (1970), food security is amongst these basic (physiological) needs of over-riding priority to people which need to be satisfied before concern for others, including other species, becomes important. In addition, local peoples' prevailing feeling of injustice regarding benefit-sharing around case study areas is unlikely to be conducive to the development of intrinsic values. Numerous statements from respondents stressed this need to pay greater attention to addressing poverty and inequality, including *"They [MNP] need to satisfy people in order to protect it [the forest]. If they don't look at that first then it won't be protected"* (Interview 42), and:

"I think that the creation of Parks should enable people to see palpable benefits, in order for environmental protection to be 100%. Because if you think that a Park is put in place and you order the surrounding people not to use the resources there but there is no other benefit that they get from it, then they have no option but to either protest or to enter illegally. That's always the situation that will arise. So what should be improved, is to give people benefits - whether direct or indirect. Only then will environmental protection really be assured" (Interview 47).

The difficulties of working in Madagascar's unstable political environment were widely recognised, including by a tour operator respondent:

"There are very few models of success in Madagascar. Some reserves have been successful – they've created jobs and they've protected some areas. Obviously I haven't looked at aerial photos or talked to people, but most of the reserves are still there and people can still go and visit. I'm sure more could be done but at the same time in a failing economy in a failing country, they've actually managed to achieve something" (Interview 13).

However, the general feeling was that much more could be done to ensure that local people around protected areas benefit from tourism. This has indeed been admitted by the Malagasy government, with planned action *"to promote equity and benefit-sharing"* and *"to enhance and secure involvement of indigenous and local communities and relevant stakeholders"* being noted as having *"just started, limited*

progress” (Madagascar status on key actions to the Convention on Biological Diversity, accessed 14/1/17). Priority actions set for 2012-20 include to “Involve the local community for the management of protected areas, support for community management approaches, and involve them in all decisions” and to “Consider sharing benefits in protected areas / improved research / studies to establish and implement monitoring activities in protected areas”.

In addition to ensuring a favourable legal and policy framework, fundamental changes to MNP’s management style and communication were advocated by research respondents. More details are provided in the recommendations section that follows.

5.3. Future directions and recommendations

This research project has raised numerous questions that warrant further exploration. These include deeper investigation into the main community motivators for forest protection; research findings indicating that safe shelter for cattle or watershed protection might be factors providing greater stimulus for conservation than tourism. Further research could dissect the extent to which ethnicity is a factor influencing perceptions of participation and benefits from tourism around protected areas. Other issues worthy of sustained analysis include non-local domination of craft sales, local involvement in National Park management (including the organisation for trail maintenance and the representativeness of local structures that collaborate with MNP), and factors influencing the success or failure of community ecotourism initiatives.

The impacts of different forms of tourism in case study areas could be further examined in order to better discern their relative value in relation to costs and benefits locally. This would be valuable to inform tourism planning whether at a local or a national level. In addition, indications of links between tourism, inequality and insecurity deserve to be looked at in more depth. Significant gaps in knowledge should be addressed related to the extent to which the tourist sector in Madagascar is divided between foreign and local stakeholders. Lastly, more research into the impact of reducing or extending national park opening hours is also merited, assessing the legitimacy of suggested concerns about safety and disturbance of flora

and fauna, and the potential effects on revenue generation and visitor satisfaction levels.

In light of limited local benefits from protected area tourism, more innovative ideas to compensate residents for loss of resource access should be researched and tested. Amongst proposals already made have been the establishment of an endowment fund with a view to cash allocations to affected households, or the funding of a public works programme or in-kind distributions or subsidies of rice and/or fertilizer contingent on forest conservation (Peters 1998: 35). More research is called for to ensure that approaches developed to offset these opportunity costs are both effective and cost-efficient. Equally, considering the limited potential of entrance fee revenue to cover national park management costs, efforts need to continue towards the development of mechanisms for the sustainable funding of protected areas.

An array of policy recommendations emanate from research findings. These can be broken down into; firstly, how to increase local participation in, and benefits from, tourism; secondly, how to mitigate for the precariousness of the tourism industry; thirdly, how to increase MNP's financial autonomy; and, fourthly, how to readdress the alienation of local people around protected areas.

Recommendation 1. Increasing local participation in, and benefits from, tourism.

Opportunities for increasing linkages between tourism and local people around protected areas need to be identified and enhanced, in particular reducing the barriers to local employment. Greater investment in education and training of young people around protected areas is an essential part of this, particularly language skills so essential to the tourism industry as well as practical training for guides and access to resources such as books. In the case of RNP, provision of training and recruitment of locals was advocated as early as 1994 by Peters in his 'Social Impact Assessment' (1994). Building on Madagascar's existing National Environment Office requirements, a legal framework demanding hotels' recruitment and training-up of local people 'on-the-job' is advocated, with stricter monitoring to ensure effective application. However, in agreement with Liu and Wall (2006), who advocate the integration into tourism planning of a broader concept of building human resources capabilities not just focused on hospitality in big hotels, different forms of vocational training need to be developed. Particularly for ANP, increasing linkages

would also include providing greater support for craft production and sale, and developing opportunities for catering services or sale of foodstuffs locally.

Much more could be done to capitalise on increased global interest in community tourism initiatives, including the development of educational tours on different subjects such as local farming and culture. As one tourist put it “*You see all lovely fields and terraces but nobody tells you how it works*” (Interview 1). However, findings indicate how critical it is to provide sufficient support to these ‘community tourism’ initiatives, particularly at their outset, to ensure equitable benefit-sharing locally. Although the high failure rate of community tourism initiatives is acknowledged (discussed in section 4.4), as well as the prevalence of certain problems common to such initiatives, greater attention to some key aspects could help to avoid such issues. For example, the adoption of more participatory approaches at the launch of initiatives so as to increase community inclusivity, the establishment of agreed procedures to follow with regards to members’ participation and benefit-sharing, and collaboration with tour operators.

The promotion of community homestays could also, in addition to potential economic benefits, increase contact between visitors and local people – leading to other possible advantages. As one tourist said, “*You create friendships and then [tourists] start to not just care about the lemurs but the people... Cross-cultural understanding*” (Interview 34). Many interviewees recognised the importance of building these linkages with local communities in order to boost appreciation of both the value of tourism and of forest conservation.

Recommendation 2. Mitigating for the precariousness of the tourism industry.

Seeing tourism within the livelihoods framework, it is advisable to diversify the economic base and to acknowledge, and plan for, the risks associated with promoting greater local dependence on this business sector. In light of the fragility of the global tourism industry, and that Madagascar has to date focused its attention on attracting high-level tourism which is generally more vulnerable to shocks, it is suggested that more attention should be paid to attracting other visitor groups traditionally neglected by national-level policy makers. These include national and regional tourists, and backpackers, who are less likely to be affected by global events or national political situations, and whose spend is likely to have lower

leakage. This would also help to address tourism seasonality issues. Likewise, it is advisable to target specialist biologist groups who might be attracted to Madagascar in the rainy season (such as those seeking amphibians), which corresponds to tourism's low season.

At the same time, adherence to high standards of services is essential in order to attract tourists of all types, with many respondents indicating that there is room for improvement regarding visitor satisfaction levels. For example, one tourist's description of their visit to the Ranomafana thermal baths was as follows: "*It feels gross. It's not clean. Like the lukewarm water with like 100 kids in it*" (Interview 34). Greater attention to hygiene, waste management⁸⁷ and consideration of the establishment of a second bathing area to reduce over-crowding are suggested to improve the visitor experience and increase revenue in Ranomafana.

Recommendation 3. Increasing MNP financial autonomy.

In order to ensure satisfactory benefit-sharing around protected areas, MNP needs to become more financially autonomous. Boosting fundraising efforts combined with intensifying promotion of national parks is advocated, including marketing to attract tourists to stay in MNP-run accommodation. However, in order to maximise revenue generation this way, improvements to the management of infrastructure are essential to ensure a minimum level of comfort (including clean facilities, functioning water and electricity and provision of basic services). To this end, a procedures manual covering all aspects of infrastructure management and hosting guests should be developed, capacity-building provided to staff and a rigorous monitoring and supervision system applied. Likewise, adopting favourable policies to attract clients of driver-guides is recommended, who would otherwise be likely to take clients elsewhere where they are better received.

Another means of maximising revenue for MNP would be through increasing and diversifying the offer, particularly in light of competition from growing numbers of non-Park trails around both case study national parks. As one tour operator put it:

"If you create more circuits, you make more things that people can do. If they have more ability to see more wildlife they'll stay longer and they'll

⁸⁷ The Ranomafana municipality's efforts to establish an effective waste management system (collection and treatment) since the main period of research are to be applauded.

contribute more money. If you see everything in a day or two then you're going to leave in a day or two. If you can spend 4 days and still not see everything then people would think it was wonderful and stay for 4 days” (Interview 13).

Reducing saturation on the main trails (through developing new additional trails with similar characteristics to the most popular existing trails) would serve to both reduce negative biodiversity impact and visitor frustration. Limiting the number of tourists watching lemurs at one time has indeed been advocated by RNP's founder who, in fact, called for longer park opening hours as early as 2002 (Wright, Andriamihaja et al. 2002) in order to reduce pressure on biodiversity. Likewise, Freudemberger (2010: 70) pointed to the loss of MNP revenue as a result of limiting the tourist products on offer.

Improving geographical access to national parks, particularly ANP, also appears vital to increasing revenue. Despite national-level constraints, notably insufficient infrastructure investment in Madagascar generally, indications were that there was room for improvement regarding collaboration between stakeholders locally and regionally in order to funnel energies towards the common goal of improving access.

Recommendation 4. Mending relations with local people around protected areas.

Four key and interrelated elements are highlighted in order to get local communities on board as partners for effective conservation of protected areas; deepening understanding, appropriate action, better communication and collaboration, and equitable benefit-sharing.

The first step towards resolving the situation identified around case study areas, notably the alienation of the population bordering these national parks, would be for the protected area management body to better understand local people. Greater collaboration with social scientists and anthropologists is recommended to more fully comprehend resident perspectives, knowledge and contexts. This is in line with Scales (2014: 10) call for “*more conversations between different academic disciplines...; between researchers and practitioners; ... between outside experts and the individuals, households and communities who are directly dependent on the island's natural resources for their livelihoods*”. However, a prerequisite for this is a

change in mind-set to ensure an openness to new perspectives, and to recognise and learn from past mistakes. It would entail a questioning of received wisdoms regarding Malagasy farmers' role in environmental degradation.

A more profound understanding of local people around protected areas should result in the development of more effective strategies to meet the objectives of both residents and the protected area management body. As stated by Ferguson and Gardner (2010: 76) *“More inclusive and well informed policy processes would be expected to lead to innovation, policy reform and improved practices to produce more equitable and effective conservation”*.

Appropriate action in support of local communities would include focusing efforts on improving household food security, looking at improving traditional farming systems. In the case of RNP, this would mean concentrating on hillside farming techniques rather than valley floors. Action should promote alternatives to burning that maximise soil fertility including composting techniques, crop rotation and management of fallows. Identified by respondents as being particularly important were improving techniques of banana, bean and rice-growing so that on-farm production could be intensified, eliminating the need to clear more forest. Collaboration with agricultural researchers is recommended. In addition, more investment should be considered in cost-effective small dams to improve irrigation. Action should focus on building on local solutions to problems and on the main community motivators for forest conservation.

For ANP, one measure to reduce the risk of fire damage to the national park might be to promote the farming of fodder for cattle, as an alternative to burning hillsides for grass regrowth. One respondent (Interview 23) attested to promising results with pasture-growing trials carried out in 1998, but which were not continued. The importance of MNP's and local leaders' appropriation and continuation of actions proven to be effective was indeed stressed by another respondent:

“MNP is a powerful institution here - the strongest with regard to environmental protection -so it should also be strong in protecting local people. So MNP should think that NGOs in the area help them and MNP should strive to continue the work started once they leave. And that's the same for the municipality and the neighbourhood authorities” (Interview 7).

Adoption of a tool such as the ‘Conservation Excellence Model’ (Black and Groombridge 2010) by MNP for effective monitoring and evaluation, as well as organisational assessment, would be a very positive development. It would help the formulation of a clear vision and mission, enable the evaluation of processes relative to results and identify areas for improvement - with the goal of greater effectiveness and a more efficient use of resources.

Greater recognition of the importance of stakeholder perceptions of fairness, equity and transparency is called for, with an improvement of MNP’s communication, particularly regarding benefit-sharing. Greater dialogue with stakeholders is needed, especially between MNP and farmers, traditional leaders and guides, but also with business owners, state officials, NGOs, researchers and tourists. Whilst the challenges of ‘real’ participation are well documented (Pimbert and Pretty 1997; Brohman 1996; Cooke and Kothari 2001), working towards this end continues to be a worthy goal. As advocated by Schuetze (2015: 151), locals should be considered as partners “*rather than as the source of destruction or as objects of interventions*”.

Ensuring that opportunities for local people to enter protected areas are regularly available and publicised might also help reduce the distance felt between locals and ‘The Park’, and would serve educational and awareness-raising purposes. This would moreover contribute to keeping guides busy during the low season. Equally, endeavouring to raise and standardise guides’ skills through trainings and exchange would both help improve the visitor experience and contribute to a more equitable sharing of benefits.

On the basis of what the researcher has seen and heard, rapid reinstating of the “50% policy” to split entrance fee revenue between MNP and local communities is considered to be the only way to fully mend relations with local communities around case study protected areas. At the same time, an appraisal should be carried out of best practise regarding systems and procedures for fund management so as to ensure maximum impact where it is most needed; both where opportunity costs from national park creation were greatest and in order to bolster forest conservation efforts. The possibility of including the local municipality amongst beneficiaries of entrance fee revenue-sharing should also be considered.

Madagascar's protected area legislation (COAP law N°028/2008 of 29/10/2008: 2) defines 'ecotourism' as follows:

“A responsible and sustainable tourism based on the conservation of Madagascar's natural and socio-cultural capital, taking care to ensure ecosystem sustainability whilst respecting the environment and [local] populations, at the same time as ensuring equitable redistribution of economic benefits” (researcher's emphasis).

In addition to the moral argument for providing benefits to local people around national parks, this definition implies some sort of legal obligation to ensure equity in the distribution of financial benefits.

5.4. Concluding Remarks

These research findings raise serious questions about the received wisdom that (eco) tourism is an effective alternative livelihood for rural Malagasy farmers dependent on 'tavy' or swidden agriculture. They expose the dearth of both direct and indirect benefit accrual to local communities from protected area tourism around case study areas. Indications are instead of alarming trends towards escalating poverty and inequality combined with a spreading of uncontrolled environmental degradation. A decade after the revenue-sharing scheme's suspension, research results lay bare the apparent manipulative and unrepresentative nature of local participation in protected area management to date, and beg us to think more about equity in both conservation and tourism development.

As highlighted by Scales (2014), there are both ethical and practical problems with not prioritising local needs around protected areas, and conservation outcomes are unlikely to be effective or maintainable. The costs to protected area managers of implementing approaches to offset opportunity costs on local households represent the most significant cost in protected area creation (Carret 2013: 67). MNP, by choosing to concentrate their efforts on law enforcement whilst undervaluing the need for action and their obligation to address this issue, jeopardises the long-term sustainability of Madagascar's national parks.

It could therefore be contended that conservationists' inappropriate focus and arguably myopic consideration of the local community is a major obstacle to the

preservation of the extraordinary biodiversity found in Madagascar's network of protected areas.

Abbreviations

AFD	French Development Agency (Financial institution ‘ <i>Agence Française de Développement</i> ’)
ANGAP	National Association for Protected Area Management (former name of MNP but which many people continue to use out of habit)
ANP	Andringitra National Park
ARATO	Ranomafana Association of Hotels
ATR	French association for responsible tourism (‘ <i>Agir pour un Tourisme Responsable</i> ’)
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CLP	Local park committee
COAP	Madagascar’s protected area legislation (‘ <i>Code des Aires Protégées de Madagascar</i> ’)
COFAV	Forest Corridor ‘Ambositra – Vondrozo’
COSAP	Protected Area Orientation and Support Committee (‘ <i>Comité de Soutien des Aires Protégées</i> ’)
DEAP	Protected area entrance fee revenue (‘ <i>Droits d’Entrée dans les Aires Protégées</i> ’)
FAPBM	Madagascar Biodiversity Fund (‘ <i>Fondation pour les Aires Protégées et la Biodiversité de Madagascar</i> ’)
FFEM	The French Global Environment Facility (‘ <i>Fonds Français pour l’Environnement Mondial</i> ’)
FMG	Malagasy Franc (previous currency of Madagascar)
GCF	Madagascar decree related to forest management contracts / CBNRM (‘ <i>Gestion Contractualisée des Forêts</i> ’)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GELOSE	Madagascar law 96-025 enabling CBNRM / Secure local management (‘ <i>La Gestion Locale Sécurisée</i> ’)
GNI	Gross National Income
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Projects
ICTE	Institute for Conservation of Tropical Environments
IDA	International Development Association

INSTAT	National Institute of Statistics (<i>'Institut National de la Statistique'</i>)
INTH	National Institute for Tourism and Hospitality (Antananarivo)
ITM	International Tourism Fair Madagascar
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
KfW	KfW (<i>Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau</i>) Development Bank, Germany
LEDC	Less Economically-Developed Countries
MGA	Madagascar Ariary (the national currency)
MNP	Madagascar National Parks
MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
NBSAP	National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan
NEAP	National Environmental Action Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NP	National Park
ORTF	Regional Tourism Office - Fianarantsoa
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSDR	Rural Development Support Programme (World Bank-funded project)
RN	National road (<i>'Route Nationale'</i>)
RNP	Ranomafana National Park
SSI	Semi-Structured Interview
TO	Tour Operator
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VOI	Community-Based Forest Management Association (<i>'Vondron'Olona Ifotony'</i>)
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Glossary of Malagasy words

<i>Ariary</i>	The currency of Madagascar.
<i>Betsileo</i>	A highland ethnic group of Madagascar.
<i>Dina</i>	Set of traditional rules / charter agreed on by a group.
<i>Hotely</i>	Malagasy eateries serving rice and accompanying dishes.
<i>Kabosy</i>	Malagasy guitar.
<i>Kidodo</i>	Style of dance traditional to the Betsileo people.
<i>Tanala</i>	A Malagasy ethnic group meaning 'People of the forest'.
<i>Tavy</i>	Swidden cultivation (method generally involving burning to clear forest for the purpose of farming).
<i>Tompontany</i>	Owners of the land.
<i>Vahiny</i>	Outsiders.
<i>Vazaha</i>	Foreigners.
<i>Voandalana</i>	Souvenir, translated literally as a 'fruit of the road'.

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Appendices

1. List of interviews carried out

No.	Gender		Respondent Category													Interview recorded	
	M	F	Tourist	Tour operator	Hotel / restaurant	Researcher	NGO	Research Centre	MNP (Protected Area Manager)	Guide	Community Leader	Local service providers	State official	Interest group	Local resident	Y	N
1	1		1														1
2		3	3														1
3		1	1														1
4	1				1												1
5		1			1												1
6		1			1										1		
7	1										1				1		
8		1							1						1		
9	1							1									1
10		1		1											1		
11	1		1														1
12		2	2														1
13	1			1											1		
14	1						1								1		
15	1								1						1		
16	1	1	2														1

No.	Gender		Respondent Category													Interview recorded	
	M	F	Tourist	Tour operator	Hotel / restaurant	Researcher	NGO	Research Centre	MNP (Protected Area Manager)	Guide	Community Leader	Local service providers	State official	Interest group	Local resident	Y	N
17	1									1						1	
18	1										1					1	
19	1				1											1	
20	3	2													5	1	
21	4	1								2		3					1
22		1													1		1
23		1													1	1	
24	1									1						1	
25	1									1						1	
26		1										1				1	
27		3													3	1	
28		1			1											1	
29	1	1	2														1
30	1									1						1	
31	1		1														1
32	1														1	1	

No.	Gender		Respondent Category													Interview recorded	
	M	F	Tourist	Tour operator	Hotel / restaurant	Researcher	NGO	Research Centre	MNP (Protected Area Manager)	Guide	Community Leader	Local service providers	State official	Interest group	Local resident	Y	N
33		1			1											1	
34	2	1	3													1	
35		1							1							1	
36	1			1													1
37	1									1						1	
38		1									1						1
39	1	1				2										1	
40	1										1					1	
41	1											1				1	
42	1									1						1	
43	1										1					1	
44	1													1		1	
45	1						1									1	
46	1	1											2			1	
47	1			1												1	
Total	38	28	16	4	6	2	2	1	3	8	4	6	2	1	11	32	15

2. Example of a semi-structured interview guide

Local people not directly employed with tourism

Date: Time: Location of SSI:

PA concerned:

Interview introduction:

- Greetings
- Introduction (explaining what the research topic is, how the results will be used and how long it should take)
- Ethics (confidentiality, permission to record...)

Background information:

Interviewee

Name:

Place of
origin:

Place of
residence:

Gender: Female Male

Age range: 15-30 years 31-40 years 41-50 years 51-60 years >60 years

Level of
education: None Primary Secondary college university other
.....

Occupation:

Questions - Local people

- 1- What is the history of this PA's creation?
- 2- a) How have you been affected by the creation of this PA?
b) How successful or not do you think this PA has been in terms of conservation and development for local people?
c) Why do you think that is? (*What factors have contributed to this?*)

- 3- a) How has tourism development evolved in this area?
b) Why do you think that is?
- 4- a) How fair or not do you think the distribution of benefits from tourism is?
b) Why?
- 5- a) How have you been affected by tourism in this area?
b) Why?
c) How has this changed over time? Why?
d) Would you like to be more involved with tourism? Why?
- 6- a) Has there been any change in your use of forest resources over time?
b) Why?
c) What factors might change your use of forest resources (increase / decrease)?
- 7- a) Do you think that people from your area who now work in the tourist industry have changed their use of forest resources?
b) In what way?
c) Why?
- 8- a) How do you think benefits to local people could be increased in this area?
b) Might there be any problems with that?
- 9- a) And likewise for conservation, how do you think benefits to conservation could be increased?
b) What feasibility issues might there be?
- 10- a) To what extent do you think that (eco) tourism is a viable alternative to 'tavy'/ swidden agriculture?
b) Why?
- Many thanks for taking the time to talk to me. Is there anything you want to add?
Have you got any questions for me?

3. Transcript of one semi-structured interview

Semi-structured Interview Protocol – Tour Operators

No. 47.

Date: 27/5/16

Time: 7.30- 8.45 am

Location of SSI: TO Office

Background information:

Interviewee Name: [.....]

Nationality: Malagasy

Place of residence: Fianarantsoa

Post/ Name of TO: [.....]

Number of years of operation in Madagascar: Over 10 years

Gender: Female Male

Age range: 15-30 years 31-40 years 41-50 years 51-60 years >60 years

Level of education: Secondary school college university other
Unknown

Principal partners / clients: *National TO in Madagascar. Travel agency in France. Most clients are over 40 years old. There are few young people. People aren't too sporty but are used to trekking. There is a trend for honeymoons combining treks, towards younger people. Some people are over 60 years. The youngest is 27 years old and oldest 72. But most are in their late 40s or 50s.*

Specificity of offer: *Trekking and 'solidarity' tourism*

Certification: Yes No Details
Some of the TO that we work with are in the process of getting certification. But we don't have any. In addition, the travel agency that works with us in France is a member of ATR (certified by them) – and so when we work for them there are

certain standards we must apply – the minimum wage, environmental commitments, not working with underage children, many commitments that we have to sign up to... there's a policy document that must be signed.

Sometimes the wage we offer is above tariffs that the guides request, especially the guide-drivers that we work with. Or that of the porters – sometimes we paid above the official rate. But then it caused a conflict and we had to conform [to the official rate]. They disputed, asking why it was that when so-and-so went they would get a different rate. And it wasn't all the trails that it was applied to. But our budget wasn't the same as others. So more recently we had to conform to the Park's official rates. But applying human treatment. Like if we're not meant to pay for the porters' food we still give them meals. That's what remains. And that's what we've made our way of working now, for all the trails.

We have a porter association that works with us in ANP. We haven't yet really organised a training for them, but its training in-the-field – we go together and show them what should be done to improve efficiency of porters... at the campsite, when preparing food, etc.

We always have a team who prepare food but they [the porters] help.

PA which they visit: *South, west and a little bit of east (Andasibe and then south) are areas [of Madagascar] we promote. Ranomafana (lately there hasn't been anyone interested in trekking there but people just want to see animals), Andringitra (trekking) – which is the most extreme trek we propose in this area. Many people ask for that.*

Average number of clients/ year: *250 roughly.*

Average length of stay of clients (days): *Trips we propose as a TO (since 2013): about 20-30 people/year (from A to Z) – 2 or 3 trails. This year is looking good but there are some cancellations.*

Average length of stay near PA (days): *Madagascar: shortest trail is 15 days, 21 days is longest. But we can do longer on request. 25 days is the longest we've done. ANP: average 3 days 2 nights: camping, and in addition time spent outside the park like in Tsaranoro (before or after). RNP: 2 nights, 1 day.*

Rough itinerary of stay near this PA: *RNP: Arrive in the afternoon or evening and leave the morning. 1 full day. If we organise the trip, they do a day of walking in the park. But people chose if they want to do the trail that ends up at the pool – and they chose if they want to swim or go home. But if we're working for a TO, then it's generally just the morning in the park. And they're free in the afternoon – some do the pool, some the village, some the arboretum. ANP: apart from the village (Namoly/Tsaranoro) and the Tsaranoro valley, there's not much in addition to the ANP. It's true that there's the community-based forest management association near Andringitra but people don't really know about it, and the trail they propose is the forest to the east – but people in general, when they go in the forest and it's been advertised as having animals, then they're not interested unless they see animals. That's what I've seen. If they go and see nothing then they get fed up. I've already done that trail. Up till now we haven't promoted this trail but just that the people go into the park. But when we go into the park for 4 nights, 3 days, we talk about the forest but the Park's forest. And we tell tourists that there's a possibility of seeing animals if you go on certain trails, but it's rare. Even the park doesn't really do the [forest] trail.*

Usual type of accommodation near PA: Budget hotel Mid-range hotel Upper-range hotel
 Community homestay Camping Other
The partner TO generally decide this – usually Tsara Camp or Camp Catta. We can suggest. But for our trails, we propose 3 trails including ANP.

For Ranomafana – if not camping, it's 'Chez Gaspar' or Centrest (or Setam). And meals at Manja or Grenat.

Questions – Tour Operators

- 1- a) What do you understand by ecotourism?
- b) Do you consider your company to offer 'ecotours'? / 'responsible' tourism? / other?
- c) Why?

Ecotourism for me is responsible tourism. It should look out for the population and for the surrounding environment. And benefits from tourism should be felt. And you should be careful to ensure environmental protection.

We use the term 'solidarity tourism' but the truth is that when you do trekking you should always have the spirit of 'ecotourism' – the local population should always benefit from trekking – through promoting accommodation and meals with locals. You aren't always able to offer this everywhere.

Around the Parks, there are people around them that do this. For Andringitra – we haven't yet.

The trails that MNP promoted – Tsararano with trekking and community homestays, cultural visits, haven't yet taken off.

We have a website but it's not great. Most of our clients are through TO.

- 2- a) What factors do you take into consideration in developing the tours that you offer?
- b) And in the partners that you work with?
- c) In which order of priority?
- d) Why is that?

People don't like trekking in Ranomafana so much because it's in the forest and so it's monotonous – or people are just hoping to see animals and when they're satisfied with that they stop. We proposed a forest trail like Ambondrombe – which is similar to Ranomafana – but it didn't really interest many people. That's why we just do villages, viewpoints – people like landscapes. So that's why people like Andringitra.

- 3- a) How much do local people participate in or control tourism in the areas you work?

b) Why do you think that is?

I can't really say too much for RNP because we don't really go there so much – our clients for that have really decreased. But I've seen that the number of young people being accepted as park guides continues to rise – people from around the park, mostly from Ranomafana.

For ANP, other than the groups of porters – because the number of porters we take on depends on the size of the group but we count between 1.5 and 2 per person. And so we give work to many people when the group is big. The majority benefit. But the problem in ANP's case is that there are the 2 entrances. And so the opportunity for the people in those two valleys to work and benefit from the park is not balanced – as the numbers entering from the Tsaranoro side are fewer than from Namoly. Sometimes we enter from Tsaranoro but not so often. The reason is firstly the level of difficulty – it's easier to enter from Namoly. Secondly, most people who do that are doing the tour coming up from Tulear to Tana -and there aren't so many. And ever since the Air Madagascar problem, people are starting to change their routes – and so instead of going down to Tulear they'll return after Ranohira or Tsaranoro and ANP, via Ambalavao – because the flights aren't guaranteed.

It's not really linked to guide level. But then it's logical as well if the guides' levels aren't the same. Because even in Namoly there are guides of a lower level and so people are obliged to give recommendations. But the low number of tourists in Morarano is the reason for their [low] capacity – when guides don't work they can't practise. We haven't really had any problems with the Morarano guides, and we give recommendations all the time via the park. We ask the MNP Ambalavao for certain guides to go with us – it's collaboration between the guide association and the park.

It's in Tsaranoro that I can see that it's really developed – because people go there even if they don't go into the park. And many people there do different work, small-scale crafts. It's developed. But in the Namoly side you can't really see it because as soon as people arrive then they leave. People don't really stay. And I don't know if it's the awareness-raising that's insufficient or what, but you don't really see many crafts there on the Namoly side. And there are more people working in tourism on the Tsaranoro side that benefit, get employment – more jobs are created there in hotels etc.

The problem in Tsaranoro is that the valley is nearly divided into two. There's downstream of the valley where people don't work in the park but they want to take clients there. And those upstream of the valley who do all the work that MNP get them to do inside the park. And sometimes that causes conflicts – there are clients from those hotels who have already

taken on porters who want to go into the park. It's logical that porters from Tsaranoro valley should be able to take clients into the park but they're not really organised – as to when they can or cannot go into the park.

But I saw that a main cause of the problem was that the guides in Morarano were not very capable – and there was a dispute between porter groups. We were a victim of that before. That we brought porters from Tsaranoro and had to change them when we got to the park entrance. And so it was problematic for monitoring and because we had to resolve the conflict before we could go on.

Regarding the problem between the community-based forest management association and the hotels. Vohitsaoka brought that on. The community-based forest management association requested that the money collection point in Vohitsaoka be moved to Tsaranoro. But until the community-based forest management association are well organised, they did this [money collection] at the hotel level. And so the hotels include this in their bill – the fee for entering the valley. And so I don't know if this is the reason for the dispute between the hotel and the community-based forest management association. We pay this to the hotel. It's logical that we shouldn't have to pay this if you've just come after doing a trek in ANP – if you've come from the Namoly side. But if you're entering from Tsaranoro you must pay this before going into the ANP. And as far as I'm aware this was the reason for the burning of the forest in Tsaranoro. It was a result of that. But I don't know if it was when the money collection point was moved from Vohitsaoka to Tsaranoro that the problem started or whether it started when the hotels started collecting the fee.

Before we used to pay at the barrier in Vohitsaoka – it moved at the most 2 years ago. The amount is the same – 5,000 Ariary per person. The 2,000 Ariary fee was always there too, additional. That is per car. But the 5,000 Ariary is per person. The 2,000 Ariary is paid to the municipality for road maintenance.

- 4- a) What contact do tourists have with local people during their stay?
 - b) In general, how do they find this experience?
- 5- What do you think are the main impacts of tourism on local people around PA?
(probe: economic/social)

There has been a big change in peoples' attitudes. Some people know how to take advantage of things and work well, do investments, buildings, and send their children to school. Whether for RNP or ANP. But, one disadvantage of [guides/porters] taking it in turn to wait at the entrance, especially in ANP, is that there are people who are neglecting

their other livelihoods – as rural farmers. They just wait there whether there will be clients or not. But it would be better if they were informed of the date when groups will arrive – a reservation system should be put in place. Then people wouldn't waste their days just waiting for people at the park entrance – whether they have work or not. Sometimes the whole day is wasted. There are times that someone returns 3 days and still has no work. And so their other occupations are neglected.

But the problem we have is that the access to ANP is still problematic, and if people arrive unexpected and you have to look for people to accompany them – because there's no telephone there.

But in general a positive change is visible. Because people can improve their family lives when they work in tourism – do investments, open boutiques, improve their family environment – send their kids to school, etc.

6- a) How fair or not do you think the distribution of benefits from tourism is?

b) Why?

This is where the problem is. Because few people that work in tourism actually manage to make investments or create other activities. And there are some guides who are really capable who always get work and those guides who aren't very capable don't go very often. And so this skews the balance of benefits received. I can see that there isn't enough training. For ANP, it's also a barrier of low intellectual level for the majority – the generation doing it. But maybe the new generation, the young people now, who have completed lycée [college-level with A'level equivalent exams], who have a different vision. People who have lived a different life from just the villagers' life. And that might cause attitudes to change.

Training is the responsibility of MNP and other partners. Because if you really want people with experience, you need to train up the guides. It should be the role of the park managers as it improves the quality of service of the park. But up until now its travel agencies who sometimes call guides and do trainings.

If we talk about the Park and the distribution of benefits, I can't really say to you that it's satisfactory because it seems to be spent on the park running costs. For ANP, it's the guide and porter associations that do the trail maintenance in the park but I don't know if they're paid to do that or if they're obliged to do that – I don't know.

But the 50% that should go to the local population, you don't really see – because over how many years since the ANP was created, if you speak of only the road, the road is getting worse and worse and worse. And other than that, infrastructure and development – I don't really see anything major that has been done. I don't know the relationship between the municipality and the park, if there is any. But I haven't yet seen a school, dam or hospital that was funded through the park entrance fee during those many years. And Andringitra is one of the cheapest parks – which might be a reason there isn't much, because a 3-day trip in ANP used to just cost 25,000 Ariary... In comparison to other parks it's not much. So maybe there's not much revenue from the park entrance.

Tourists are still told about the 50% of protected area entrance fee and it's put up in writing at the entrance. Perhaps it's a question of personality, but there aren't really any guides that complain – because it's like dirty underwear that you don't want people to see. They say 'there's 50% that should go to development projects'. Because for some travel agencies that's one big selling point for the park – and foreigners are very sensitive to things like that. And so it's still said. But we don't know where does it really go? Like in Ranomafana the development micro-projects that have been funded are listed inside the park – you can still see that there. But if you look just from a neutral standpoint, then they have done few development projects.

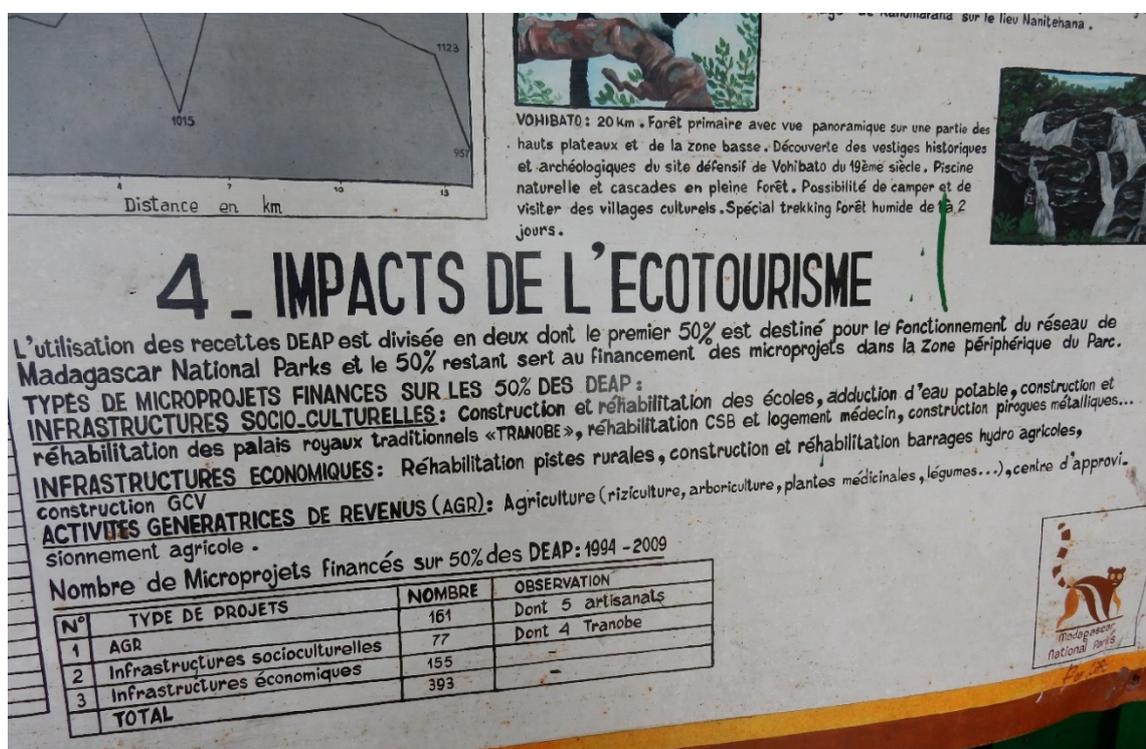


Figure 31: Information on display inside RNP regarding projects funding with entrance fee revenue.

We have no problem with our relations with MNP because it also depends on your mode of communication. Because there are people who are straight-talking and then the park gets defensive.

There isn't much communication from MNP about change of policy. They don't inform about it. And it's really unclear particularly since last year when they increased the park entrance fee rates – it wasn't clear in the email but they just said that their donor left and in order for the parks to be autonomous they are increasing their tariffs. But it didn't mention whether the 50% policy remains in place.

I don't know if it was discussed in the meeting held at the headquarters with the groups of TO, who they summoned. But it wasn't mentioned in their press release.

What are your thoughts on the entrance fee tariff increase?

The truth is this year is still an experiment. Sometimes people exaggerate it, create a problem about it. But if it's clear how it's increased then I don't see a problem with it. There haven't been any cancellations as a result of the increase in price. I see that the price increase is still not excessive, it's still within peoples' purchase power. Ranomafana is 50,000 Ariary. If you spend a whole day there, it's still reasonable. But what there should be is, if the price increases, then people should see the services offered correspond to the price. That should be upgraded – such as trail improvements in the park so as to improve peoples' security during the walk. But we continue to see a gradual degradation of trails within the park. They try but they can't keep up with it.

What is the reason for the guide strike?

It's not really clear, up until now there are still some places where it's not yet resolved. In Isalo, there's a guide meeting next week – the guide Federation. Because it's still unresolved. There have been frequent meetings with the Ministry, the Park, TO and the guide Federation because the 'Bemaraha' [problem] hasn't been resolved up until now. Isalo – it's not really clear, Andasibe – it's not really clear, Ranomafana – they do and don't. It's the Park themselves who sometimes make huge impositions – “that's how it is, and you can't over-ride that”. And our other problem is the last [Tourism] minister who just completely washed their hands of the matter – “whatever you agree together”. The root of the problem is not the increase in the national park entrance fee tariffs but that the guides did an “alignment of tariffs” when the entrance fee tariffs increased, but the TO and MNP put pressure on them that they shouldn't increase them. Because the guides of

Bemaraha Park showed proof of total stubbornness at the beginning of the price rise – they increased their rates to 180,000 Ariary per day for 4 people. Later on they reduced it – there was consensus there – but MNP wouldn't agree to make it official – because MNP control them. And that's causing a problem.

Like in Andasibe, there were people who proposed price rises before the entrance fee tariffs increase but they [MNP] just downright refused it. And that's the problem that continues.

And it's not clear to me why Isalo was almost on strike – I don't know why. The national park entrance fee for Isalo increased but there are staggered tariffs applied – if your client stays 2 days you pay less. But they just don't give a ticket, just a receipt. That's the situation. There is a reduction – like 65,000 [Ariary] x 4 is reduced to about 60,000 [Ariary] with the staggered rate.

But it's only yesterday that I got the email saying about Isalo maybe going on strike, not going to the meeting. I don't know the reason. They request solidarity. The problem remains unresolved.

- 7- a) How successful or not do you think PA have been in terms of conservation and development for local people?
- b) Why do you think that is? (*What factors have contributed to this?*)

They have been met but for what percentage of that which should be conserved? It's not really measured, because if you look at RNP there is part of the park where people are mining gold. There are people who illegally enter into the park. So I don't know if the Park's work is [in]sufficient or are there corrupt people in the Park personnel? And then there are incidents of the park burning, and you don't know the reason for that. As I see it, there's something missing from the management of parks – the fact that in Isalo [National Park] there is sapphire mining and theft inside the park – are patrols insufficient or are the people actually revolting? Should the management style be altered or are the Malagasy [people] now unmanageable? MNP does things, but how far are they able to?

- 8- a) How do you think benefits to local people could be increased around PA?
- b) Might there be any problems with that?

I think that the creation of Parks should enable people to see palpable benefits, in order for environmental protection to be 100%. Because if you think that a Park is put in place

and you order the surrounding people not to use the resources there but there is no other benefit that they get from it, then they are forced to either protest or to enter illegally. That's always the situation that will arise. So what should be improved, is to give people benefits – whether direct or indirect. Only then will the environmental protection really be assured.

- 9- a) And likewise for conservation, how do you think benefits to conservation could be increased around PA?
 b) Might there be any problems with that?

10- Would you be able to provide a breakdown of expenditure for an average tourist's stay in Madagascar? If we think that a 15 day trip is sold at 1500 Euros (local price) excluding flights, breakdown per person is:

- i. Meals / subsistence250 Euros
- ii. Accommodation250 Euros
- iii. PA entry 50 Euros (3 Parks average x 55,000 Ariary /person)
- iv. Guides and porters 60 Euros porters, 30 Euros guides
- v. Travel and excursions 150-200 Euros
- vi. Souvenirs / purchases *Depends on the individual, but some people spend 400 Euros on something they really like. It's generally not a big thing people budget for.*
- vii. Tips
- viii. Misc/other + accompanying guide

- Many thanks for taking the time to talk to me. Is there anything you want to add? Have you got any questions for me?

The political situation is also a really big problem. If there's no stability... Up until now there hasn't been an impact but if it blows up a bit then I'm sure it'll have consequences. And now there is trouble with Air Madagascar, and politics in general. Other than that, the roads...

The secret I want to say, the majority of TO and travel agencies don't advise travelling with the airline Malagasy Airways. Because that company is not yet in order with relation to the civil aviation authorities – for security reasons. It's Malagasy as far as I

know. It offers the same services as Air Madagascar. Air Madagascar is still problematic – the Germans won't travel with them. Those that take risks go with it. The insurance companies don't cover it. Most Germans travel by road. All the flight problems incite people to do trips that return on the same road back. But it's often difficult for tourists to travel 9 hours on the road in such a state - but you have to do it if you want to see things in a short time. But because internal flights aren't working then they have no choice. The majority of roads linking the main national parks are all in a bad state.

But, with the private sector, you can see how many hotels have opened over the past 2 or 3 years.

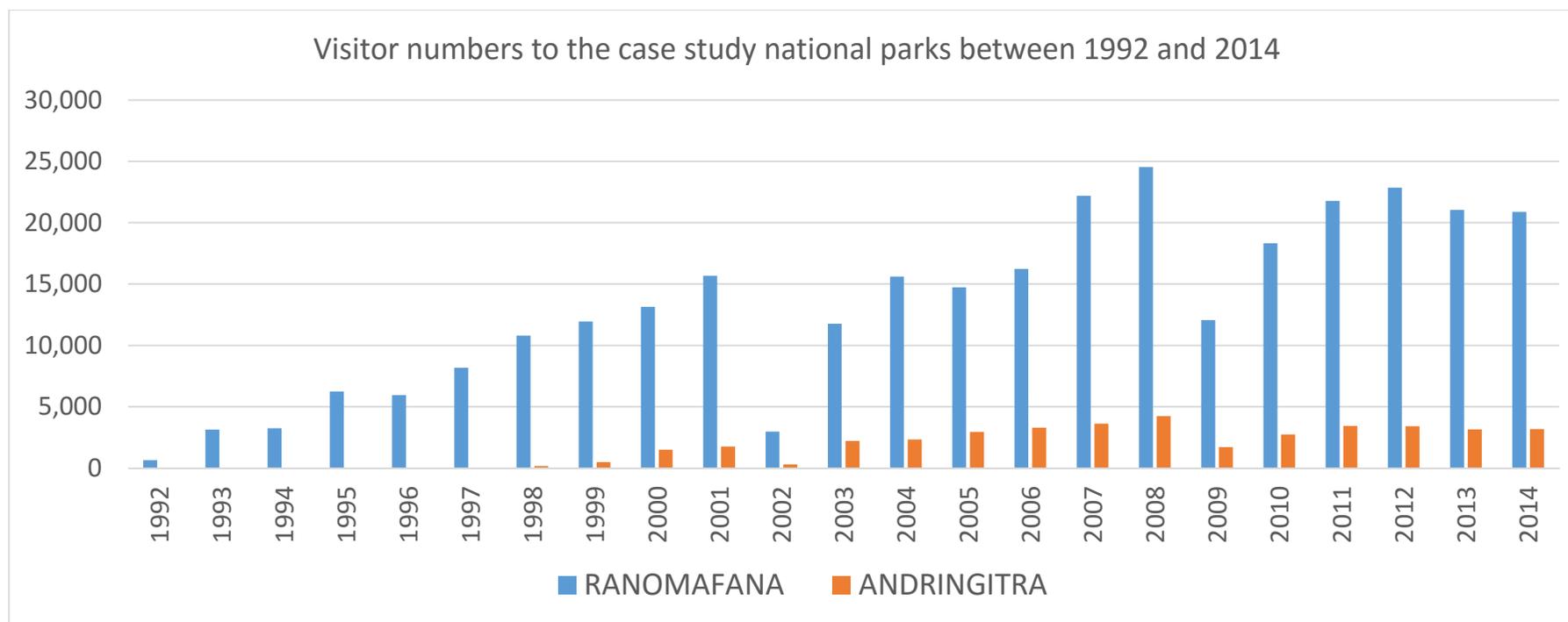
Our rates are amongst the lowest around, because far too many hotel rooms are available. But infrastructure for access is the problem and one of the main obstacles preventing tourism from developing here – if you want to go to ANP but have no four-wheel-drive vehicle you can't. If you want to go from Tana [Antananarivo] to Fianar[antsoa] you have to do 10 hours on the road. People can't cope with that. Why is it that a road just 400km takes so long? The government needs to look at infrastructure. I don't know if the government are aware that tourism was one of the three main gross national products for Madagascar in 2008. Where is it now? And if it continues then nothing will work.

I thought about setting up a hotel in ANP, opposite the Trano Gasy. We already did some levelling of the land. But the situation... and we also didn't imagine that we'd change to TO and so we're trying to improve that side of things – we did investments in vehicles, and then we had other problems related to that. But we are still thinking about doing it.

The real problem for foreign business people is that it's not profitable. Tsara Camp was already there and installed there, and then closed down... a combination of the barriers and the state of the road for that 50km – it's not practical. So they left. That road is one issue... if you invest there and then no tourists come...

4. MNP visitor statistics to the case study national parks

National Park	YEAR																						
	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
RNP	649	3,121	3,256	6,245	5,947	8,163	10,796	11,952	13,145	15,668	2,964	11,768	15,613	14,741	16,235	22,198	24,542	12,058	18,318	21,775	22,857	21,032	20,871
ANP							154	480	1,495	1,750	304	2,221	2,330	2,940	3,297	3,604	4,240	1,701	2,738	3,436	3,416	3,156	3,180
TOTAL	649	3,121	3,256	6,245	5,947	8,163	10,950	12,432	14,640	17,418	3,268	13,989	17,943	17,681	19,532	25,802	28,782	13,759	21,056	25,211	26,273	24,188	24,051



5. National park entrance fee tariffs displayed

MADAGASCAR NATIONAL PARKS
PARC NATIONAL ANDRINGITRA

TARIFS

DROIT D'ENTREE:

VB1:	10 000 Ariary
VB2:	15 000 Ariary
VB3:	20 000 Ariary
VB4:	25 000 Ariary
M:	1 000 Ariary/jour
K:	200 Ariary/jour

Figure 32: ANP tariffs before November 2015.

MADAGASCAR NATIONAL PARKS
PARC NATIONAL RANOMAFANA

DROITS D'ENTREES / ENTRIES FEES

TICKET D'ENTRÉE POUR VISITEURS ETRANGERS ADULTES
ENTRY TICKETS FOR ADULTS FOREIGN VISITORS

1 JOUR (DAY) 25 000 Ar	2 JOURS (DAYS) 37 000 Ar	3 JOURS (DAYS) 40 000 Ar	4 à 7 JOURS (DAYS) 50 000 Ar	15 JOURS (DAYS) 90 000 Ar
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TICKET D'ENTRÉE POUR LES MALAGASY ET ENFANTS
ENTRY TICKETS FOR MALAGASY VISITOR AND CHILD

MALAGASY	1 000 Ar / jour (/ day)
ENFANTS (CHILD)	200 Ar / jour (/ day)

TARIF DU SITE DE CAMPING / CAMPING SITE FEE

NOMS DES SITES	TARIF
- AMBODIAMONTANA - SAHAMALAOTRA - VATOHARANANA - ANTANIFOTSY	5.000 Ar / PERSONNE / NUITEE

Figure 33: RNP tariffs before November 2015.

Tarifs des Droits d'Entrée dans les Aires Protégées à partir du 1er novembre 2015



	ADULTE ETRANGER	ENFANT ETRANGER	ADULTE MALAGASY	ENFANT MALAGASY
ARCIS RECEPTIONNELS ISALO ANKARANA	65.000 Ar	25.000 Ar	2.000 Ar	500 Ar
ARCIS VARES BEMARAHY, ANKARAFANTSIKA, MONTAGNE D'AMBRE, LOKOBE, ANDOHANELA, NOSY HARA, RANOMAFANA	55.000 Ar			
ARCIS TITRES ANALAMAZAOTRA, MANTADIA, ZAHAMENA, TSIANAMPESOTSE, MIKEA, KIRINDY MITE, BEZA, MARAFALY, MAROJEJY, ANDRINGITRA, MANARANA-NORD, SAHAMALAZA, MASOALA, AMBOHITANTELY, CAP SAINTE-MARIE, ZOMBITSE VOHIBASIA, ANDRANOMENA, MANOMBO, MANONGARIVO, ANALAMERANA, BAIE DE BELY, TSINGY DE NAMOROKA, NOSY MANGABE, ANJANAHARIBE-SUD	45.000 Ar			

NOS POINTS DE VENTE

Les tickets d'entrées sont disponibles auprès des guichets d'accueil de chaque Parc National ou auprès du point de vente au kiosque de l'Office Régional du Tourisme Analamanga à Antananarivona. Ouvert du lundi au vendredi, de 09h à 17h et le samedi, de 09h à 12h00.

Figure 34: NP entrance tariffs as from November 2015.

6. National park guiding tariffs

GUIDAGE

1 JOUR: 20 000 Ariary
 2 JOURS: 35 000 Ariary
 3 JOURS: 50 000 Ariary
 4 JOURS: 70 000 Ariary

Au delà de 4 jours de visite voir avec l'accueil et le guide

Le tarif de guidage concerne un groupe de 4 personnes au maximum pour raison de sécurité

PORTEUR
 Ar 10 000/jour pour 20 kg de bagage

DROIT DE CAMPING
 Ar 6.000/nuit/ tente

LOCATION
 Tente : Ar 5.000 / tente / nuit
 Plaid : Ar 5.000 / unité / nuitée
 Ustensile de cuisine + couvert (Pack pour 5 personnes): Ar 5 000

DES ARTICLES DE SOUVENIR SONT EN VENTE A L'ACCUEIL

Ranomafana, le 16 Septembre 2015

L'Association des Guides Ranomafana (AGR)

A

La Direction du Parc National de Ranomafana

Objet: Information sur l'augmentation de salaire

Madame ;

Nous avons l'honneur de vous faire Part qu'après la réunion des guides que nous avons fait le 15 Septembre 2015, dans la salle de réunion de Madagascar National Park à Ambodiamontana de 13:00 à 15:00, une décision prise par la majorité des guides; les nouveaux tarifs de de guidage que nous voulons appliquer ici au Parc National de Ranomafana à partir de mois de Novembre 2015 juste au moment que le doit d'entrée sera de nouveau aussi seront comme suite :

- Circuit Aureus : 75.000 Ar de 1 à 4 Personnes
- Circuit SAHAMALAO TRA : 75.000 Ar de 1 à 4 Personnes
- Circuit VATOHARANANA : 105.000 Ar de 1 à 4 Personnes
- TREKKING : 120.000 Ar Par Jours de 1 à 4 Personnes
- Circuit Spécial botanique: 160.000 Ar par Jours.
- Circuit Spécial Ornithologie, herpétologie : 197.000 Ar par Jours

Nous vous remercions, Madame La Directrice du Parc National de Ranomafana, de notre grande collaboration. Merci infiniment !

Les membres de l'Association des Guides
 Présents pendant la réunion ci joint fiche de présence.

Le Président de l'AGR
 P. D.
 HERINIAWA/Thierry Augustin

L'ADJOINT AU MAIRE
 RAMBO
 RAMANDRISON VICTOR

Figure 35: ANP guiding tariffs (left), and (right) RNP guide association's letter informing MNP of their increased tariffs as of November 2015.

CIRCUITS	FRAIS DES GUIDES (1 à 4pax)	
TALATAKELY	40 000Ar	-
VATOHARANANA	75 000Ar	-
SAHAMALAOTRA	30 000Ar	-
AMBODITANIMENA	30 000Ar	-
VALOHOAKA	90 000Ar / jour	-
SOARANO	90 000Ar / jour	-
ORNITHOLOGIE	100 000Ar / jour	Circuit

TARIF DE GUIDAGE DANS LE PARC NATIONAL RANOMAFANA			
CIRCUITS	PRIX de 1 à 4 PAX	DUREE APROXIMATIF	Description détaillée
AUREUS	75.000 AR	2 – 4 Heures	Circuit en boucle 2 sites possible dont forêt de bambou et forêt secondaire de Talatakely. Observation possible : 03 sortes des Bambou Lémur dont Hapalémur Aureus, EulemurRufufrons, E.rubriventer,Sifaka, Insectes etc. Reptile dont Uroplatus, Oiseaux Différentes types des plantes, Possibilité de voir la Cascade selon le choix, point de vue panoramique. Accessible pour tous
VATOHARANANA	105.000 AR	6 Heures	03 Sites possible dont l'habitat primaire, forêt de Bambou et Talatakely. 02 Itinéraires possible en boucle : - Entrée du Parc, Forêts de Bambou, Talatakely et Point de vue et sortie au Village de Ranomafana passant par la forêt primaire, la Cascade de Namorona et une petite Village à proximité du Parc. - Entrée du Parc Forêts de Bambou, Talatakely et Point de vue et sortie en boucle à la même entrée passant par la forêt primaire et la cascade de Sakaroa. Observation Possible :03 sortes des Bambou Lémur dont Hapalémur Aureus, EulemurRufufrons, E.rubriventer,Sifaka, Vareciavariegata, Insectes etc... Reptile dont Uroplatus, Oiseaux Différentes types des forêts et plantes. Idéales pour les Naturalistes Difficulté moyen
VALOHOAKA, TRECK	120.000 AR/Jours	8 Heures	Circuit pour les Gens qui aiment le trekking, possibilité de prendre plus de temps dans l'habitat primaire. Itinéraire possible : entrée du Parc, forêt de bambou, forêts secondaires Talatakely, forêts primaire passant par le Campement de Vatoharanana, Village de Nanitehana à proximité du Parc et sortie par le Village Ranomafana au niveau du centre Thermal. NB : Pour le trekking plus d'une journée on passe dans d'autres sites de camping comme Valohoaka et d'autres Villages. Observation possible : Bambou Lémur dont Aureus et 2 autres espèces, Eulemurufufrons, E.rubriventer, Vareciavariegata, Sifaka, Oiseaux, amphibien et reptile... Différentes habitats forestier et plantes, Orchidée etc...
SAHAMALAOTRA	75000 AR	2 – 4 Heures	Circuit en Boucle facile et accessible pour tous, sites de Vohiparara dans la parcelle n°1, forêts secondaire de types haute altitude forêts de pandanus et marécage, recommandée pour les Amateur Oiseaux Amphibien et Reptile dont Mantellasp-Quelques espèces des lémuriens possible à Observer : Sifaka, E.rubriventer, E.rufufrons Différentes types d'Orchidées selon la saison, insectes giraffagilaffa.
Spécial ORNITHOLOGIE	200.000 AR	Matinée / après midi	03 Sites possible selon l'intérêt en espèces dont Talatakely-Sahamalaotra et Amboditanimena.
Spécial BOTANIQUE	160.000 AR	Toute la journée	Plusieurs sites possible, voir briefing avec les guide local Spécialisé

Figure 36: RNP guiding tariffs before (left) and after (right) November 2015.