

# Is the Coexistence of Logging and Tourism Practicable?:

A Case of An Indigenous Village Community,  
Saint Cuthburt's Mission in Guyana

伐木と観光の共存は可能か？

— ガイアナの先住民村セント・クスバーツ・ミッションの事例 —

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## Abstract

In an indigenous village community of the Arawaks in Guyana, people have no option but to depend upon tourism industry, but the advancement of logging into the interior within the village territory makes it difficult. The author proposes the necessary condition to promote a community-tourism which the whole community participate in and benefit.

## 要 約

ガイアナの先住民アラワク人の一村落社会は、観光に依存する道を進まざるをえなくなるが、伐木の深化がツーリズムの推進を困難にしている。伝統文化を再構築し、住民全体が参加し、誰もが利益を得るためにも、コミュニティ・ツーリズムを推進する上で必要な要件を提案する。

**Key words** : Guyana, Arawak, ecotourism, community tourism

**キーワード** : ガイアナ、アラワク人、エコツーリズム、コミュニティ・ツーリズム

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## Introduction

Today, globalization of tourism has reached to every corner of the world, including the jungles of South America. The modern tourism assumes safety and

comfort, and those modern tourists with uniform ways of behavior have demanded all sorts of service and new types of tourism. Ecotourism, which is one of these new types of alternative tourism and is believed to soften a negative effect over nature at minimum level, benefit the locals economically, and satisfy tourists, has been supported by the developing countries as the most sustainable type of tourism, reflecting the harmful aspects of mass tourism since the 1990s. Destinations of ecotourists exist relatively undamaged in nature, and there usually exist indigenous societies with exotic cultures. The “exotic Other” has been subject to modern “tourist Gaze” (Urry 1990), and ecotourists have tended to visit those indigenous societies. However, the modern tourism has originally developed in the western world and its system is not well known to the most of the indigenous people. It is already a well-known fact that tourism has brought undesirable and long-term negative effects on indigenous people<sup>1)</sup>. Nevertheless, tourists have penetrated into the indigenous societies, and most of those native people have no option to react to this global movement of tourists as hosts since the more they are involved in the market economy, the more money they need without enough job opportunities.

Tourists' flow from the developed countries are not steady through year. Accordingly, only during a certain period of a year the natives can expect certain amount of income from tourism. Thus, they have to rely upon different sources of income in other period. If participants to tourism industry are mostly female locals, males have to find their own jobs other than tourism. In developing countries job opportunities of the indigenous people outside of their own communities are limited, and most of them are found in those of low wage labors. Is it feasible for them to coexist with tourism within their own village communities, having jobs other than tourism, utilizing their own resources, and not relying upon aids and jobs in the outside?

This article focuses on a Arawakan village community in Guyana and discusses the feasibility to promote ecotourism. Then, the author suggests some factors to promote a successful community tourism<sup>2)</sup> development, in which an entire community plays a role as host and shares the profits from tourism. Data for this article was mainly collected during a fieldwork with questionnaires during August, 2007. All households who produce crafts were the subject of this research. In this research, three young elites of the village were appointed as research assistants for the researcher by the village captain (*Toshao*).

### **Indigenous Population in Guyana and the Arawaks of St.Cuthburt's Mission**

The Arawak is one of nine indigenous ethnic groups (the Arawak, Carib, Akowias, Patomonia, Macushi, WaiWai, Arucuna, Waipishiana, and Warrau) in Guyana, and their number is approximately 55,000. The Arawak and Warrau live mostly along the Atlantic interior, the Carib in the northwestern interior, and the rest of those groups along the border between Guyana and Brazil. There are 15 indigenous settlements in the eastern Atlantic side and 25 in the western side of the country. All of them are located in the remote areas, being very difficult to access from the capital city, Georgetown (Figure 1). These 40 settlements were already surveyed and their boundaries were established by the government. Residents of these settlements own the land rights. There are 120 Amerindian communities including these 40 settlements in Guyana, and population of each community ranges from 120 to 6,000. Most of those population make livings by agriculture, fishing, and hunting. Of course, some people work as miners, employed fishermen, artisans and so on (*Guyana Chronicle*, April 13, 2004). One of these 40 settlements with legal boundary is Saint Cuthburt's Mission.

Saint Cuthburt's Mission was named after an Anglican missionary who came to

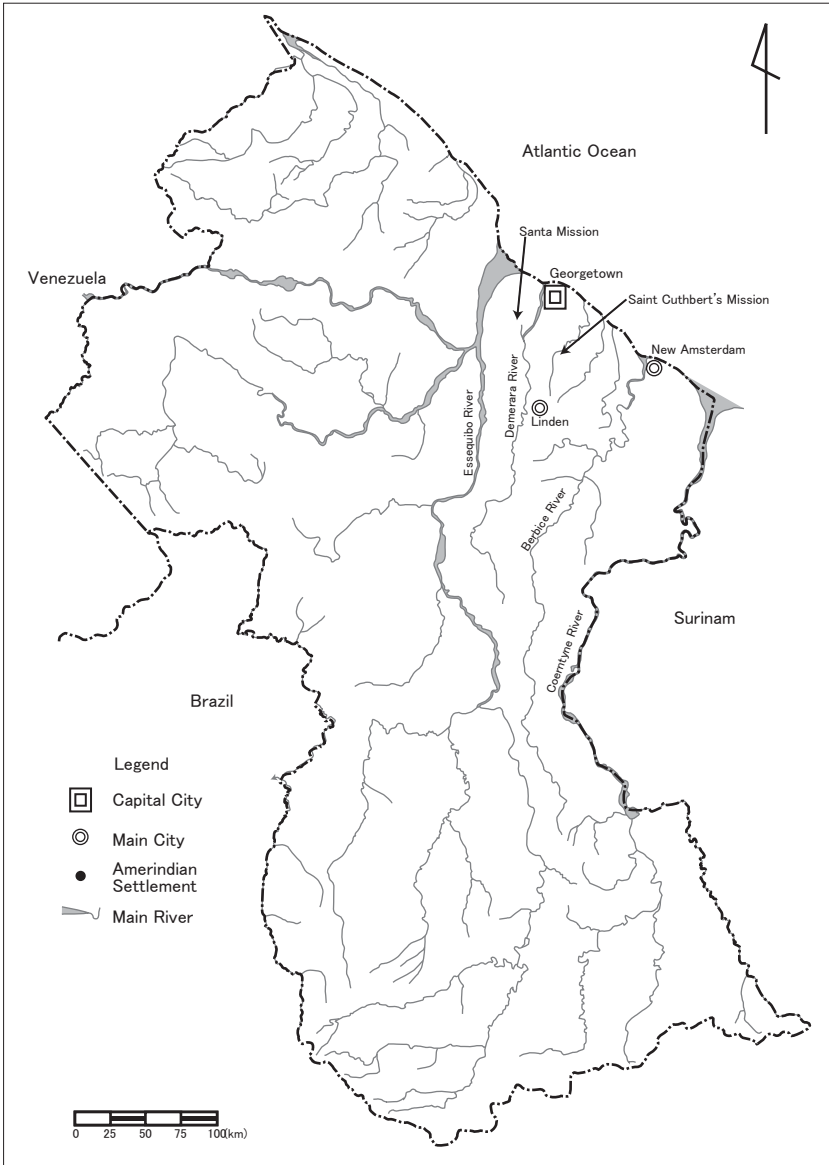


Fig.1 Amerindian settlements in Guyana

this region for mission during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Aboriginal people scattering in the forest were gathered by the missionary and the village was established. Here is well known as *Pakuri* in the Arawakan language. Three quarters of the village land belongs to the administrative unit of Region 4 (Demerara/Mahaica) and the rest to Region 5 (Mahaica/Berbice). The village is located on the left bank of the Mahaica river, and is surrounded by a vast savanna and bush in the east. Total land area of the village is 242 mile<sup>2</sup>. It is about 90 km through road and about 104 km through the river from Georgetown (Figure 1). The main road from the highway to the village was maintained by the British soldiers during the 1960s and the early 70s. By then, it had taken about three days to go to Georgetown by rowing canoes. This main road is quite sandy. When it is dry, two wheel drives easily sink in the sand. During the rainy season, water flows on the road and there appear many puddles. Thus, only four wheel drives can pass. Besides, trucks carrying logs cut in the village forest have made the road condition worse. Consequently, it takes more than 1 hour from the highway to the village even though the real distance between the highway and the village is only 19 km. This road has been one of the biggest problems to be solved. Whenever there were national level elections, the government made vague promises to solve this problem, but nothing has happened after the elections over.

## **Saint Cuthbert's Mission and Changing Socio-Cultural and Economic Conditions**

### **Migration out of the Village and Structure of Household**

According to the United Nations Development Program, the village population was 900 in 1993. And, the number increased to 1,263 in February, 2007 according to the Ministry of Amerindian Affairs. Again, the village captain (*Tbshao*) assumed the village population was about 1,300 and the number of

household were about 280 in August, 2007.

Questionnaires survey was carried out for 110 households (39.3% of the total households of the village). Total population of these households are 470 persons (4.27 members per household in average). Although no exact numbers were reported, many young people must have migrated out of the village. Table 1 shows the population per age group and suggests relatively many people among the 20s have migrated out.

Not all the people are 'pure' Arawaks, but some people's fathers were East Indians, Chinese and the like. This society used to be a matrilineal and required anybody to have Arawakan mothers to become the members of the village, but anybody allowed by the village council can settle down in the village today.

There are an Anglican church and a church of Church of Christ, and the latter attracts more followers. There is *Saint Cuthbert's Locono Committee* which has been maintained by a part of C.T.Robinson Fund which was founded by endowment of an English man, C.T.Robinson. This Fund has been used to teach the Arawakan culture such as language and skills to use bow and arrow to the primary school children between 10 and 15 years old. Little sum of money was

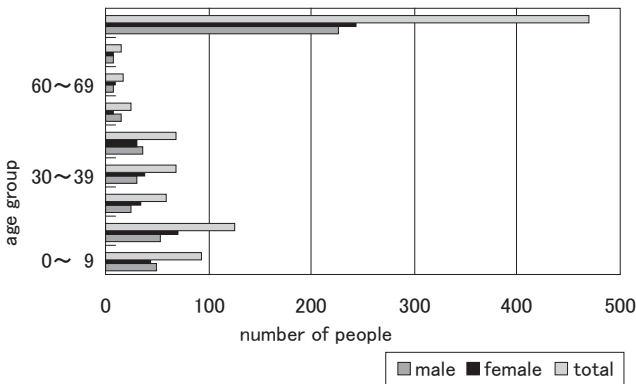


Table 1 Population of Saint Cuthbert's Mission (August 17, 2007)

given to the participants to these classes as remuneration. However, this program has been abeyant since 2005 mainly because the interest rate of the Fund decreased drastically, and thus, the capital also decreased. A part of this Fund was also used as scholarship to students for higher education in town, but this also stopped. Without the Fund the villagers are not dare to teach their own traditional culture to the children. According to Edwards, those indigenous people living the interiors of the Atlantic Ocean were reluctant to maintain their own traditional cultures and tried to urbanize and civilize themselves. They preferred using English rather than their own languages (Edwards 1980: 2). Thus, especially the youths were reluctant to sustain their traditional ways of life including language. Mr. Robinson once visited this region and felt sad as the culture was disappearing from the Arawaks. Therefore, he left a will to give part of his endowment for the maintenance of the Arawakan culture at Saint Cuthbert's Mission.

There is a nursery and a primary school in the village. About 150 students are studying at the primary school. A new secondary school was built in the village and opened in September, 2007, and those from other villages can study here with those of Saint Cuthbert's Mission.

There is a health center, but there are no doctors but a nurse with license and two nurses without licenses. There is no ambulance in the village although there often occur serious accidents caused by chainsaws for logging, damages caused by poisonous snakes, childbirths, and so. Since some villagers own four-wheel drives, they are utilized whenever it's necessary.

### **Village Council**

The number of villagers exceeds over a thousand, the village council consists of ten members. The council members are elected every three years like the

other Amerindian villages. They have a council meeting on the last Saturday in every month. The present captain (*Toshao*) was elected in 2005. *Toshao* should be given \$30<sup>3)</sup> (hence, dollar in this article means U.S. one) monthly allowance by the government. Since there are no police stations in the village, the council attempts to solve disputes in the village. Community-oriented villagers with relatively steady jobs such as school teachers, shops and the like tend to be elected as council members<sup>4)</sup>.

The village has tax-revenue from the loggers who have to pay the tax (‘royalty’) of \$20 per a truck load of logs. This is the most important revenue for the council. This tax is used to pay the laborers to maintain the road and the like. Thus, this tax from logging has created jobs. This system has been adopted since the 1960s. On the other hand, those migrants abroad from the village have sometimes sent back donations, computers, medicines, books, sports goods and the like.

### **Disintegration of the Village Community**

The villagers used to practice mutual help (*massel-meda*) among them when they needed many hands in such occasions as opening forests, building houses and the like. Many people participated in the past. Those who asked the help usually prepared breakfast and lunch, *paiwali* which was made of cassava, and cigarettes for those who help. When around 10 persons helped, the host prepared 6 gallons of *paiwali* and a packet of cigarettes. However, this type of mutual help has disappeared since the early 1990s when market economy has started gradually to penetrate here. Today, whenever people need many hands, they have to hire laborers for wages. Although the United Nations Development Program describes that the integration of this village community was high (<http://www.sdn.org/undp-docs/nripd/:8>), this type of mutual help was already



disappearing in the early 1990s. Ninety one households answered to practice mutual help such occasions as wedding, funeral and the like at the research this time. On the other hand, nineteen household answered “no” regarding to practicing the mutual help. Because they did not have enough time, they were too old, their houses locate far from the center of the village, they do not like to help those who are too dependant to the others, and the like. In terms of the degree of satisfaction on the village community, many people answered that the community required more cooperation.

The question regarding to change in the village, sixteen households answered there were no change. On the other hand most people answered that the village had changed. Among those latter answers, there are those answers such as “more money has circulated within the village,” “people are earning their own money and can buy stuff using their own money,” and the like. These statements suggest how the market economy has been penetrated among the villagers and changed the community. The fact that many of the crafts (mentioned later) are exported through middlemen, most of the logs cut here are converted and exported into Asia, many foreign products including food are consumed in the village suggests us how this indigenous village has been involved in the globalization.

## **Penetration of Market Economy**

### **(1) Agriculture and the Change in Food**

Each household is allowed to use up to four acres of land as house lot in the village, but the average house lot of the 110 households are 1.87 acres. Small number of villagers engage in the traditional type of agriculture, hunting with bow and arrow and blowgun, and fishing. The average farm land of 110

households is 0.62 acres, only 40 households practice agriculture and their average farm has 1.7 acres. They produce such crops as plantain, bora (a kind of beans), banana, sweet cassava, pumpkin, eddo, cabbage, egg plant and the like. Twenty-nine households out of 40 sell their products to the fellow villagers. In the past, most of the households grew cassava which used to be staple food, but only three households produce cassava today. Those 3 households bake cassava breads and sell to the villagers (see Figure 2). In order to produce cassava bread, cassava has to be grounded, dried, and baked. It takes three days to complete this process. A household bakes thirty breads a month and sells a piece for \$1.5. Today, most households eat rice, macaroni, flour-made bread as staples, but they have to purchase these food in town. A pound of rice costs \$1.5, flour for \$0.33, chicken for \$1.40 at the market in town (August 17, 2007). Some villagers roast and eat bread fruits during the season. Regarding to hunting and fishing,



Figure 2 Woman with a few cassava breads (August 17, 2007)

people not only consume the meat at homes, but sell some of them to the fellow villagers. However, fish and animals in the forest have decreased probably due to the destruction of forests due to excessive logging and increase in population. Sometimes the river and creeks dried up and many fish died off recently.

## (2) Occupation and the House Budget

Unemployment rate in the village community is around 20%. If a man is employed as a logger within the village territory, he is paid \$10 for 10 to 12 hours of work a day. In case of diamond or gold mine outside of the village, he is paid \$15 a day. If a person employed for logging by a Filipino outside of the village, he is paid only \$5.2 for 8 hours of work. It is quite a low wage and many decline to work for him. In either case, not many men engage in those labors mainly because of its dangerous and hard work. Table 1 shows average income of the household head according to age group. Those household heads between 30 and 49 years old are 63 % of 110 households and earn about \$491.29 monthly in average.

**Table 1 Average income of household per age group of household head**

Age groups of household head	Number of household	Average income (\$)
10 ~ 19	2	182.50
20 ~ 29	13	296.93
30 ~ 39	35	488.86
40 ~ 49	35	493.72
50 ~ 59	7	458.57
60 ~ 69	10	488.50
70 ~	8	445.63
Total	110	457.05

**Table 2 Average home budget in Saint Cuthbert's Mission** (unit: \$)

item	expenditure	%	item	income	%
food	109.34	23.9	craft	62.30	13.6
clothes	21.87	4.8	logging	96.31	21.1
education	32.14	7.0	others	298.55	65.3
electricity	14.13	3.1			
logging					
tax	10.45	2.3			
water	0.18	0			
pleasure	16.77	3.7			
loan	1.37	0.3			
others	250.91	54.9			
Total	457.16	100.0	Total	457.16	100.0

Various sorts of grasses and trees have been utilized as traditional medicines and other purposes, and the youths also sustain a part of this tradition. There are small general stores in the village, but most of the villagers tend to go town for shopping because the prices of goods are quite high in the village. Yet, it takes \$11 for round trip between the village and Georgetown. Table 2 shows the average balance of home budget of 110 households.

Expenditure for food is the largest (\$109.34) monthly, \$32.14 for education, \$21.8 for clothes. Transportation fee is included in the others, and it must be relatively large sum because people have to purchase their staple food and go to sell their crafts in town. Their housing materials, batteries for their radios and other electric appliances, offerings to church, and the like are included in the others, too.

### (3) Improper Maintenance of the Village Infrastructure

Except those 40 households built for the poor families in the southern part of the village, electricity is provided between 18:00 and 22:00 every day. However,



**Figure 3** Wind mill. Now water is pumped up, using solar energy.

there is no special service on Saturday and Sunday when people can relax. Since those households getting the service has to pay for the electricity. Sixty households out of 110 are getting the service and pay \$25.90 monthly in average. Even pensioners have no special discount. There is a well pumped up by solar energy generated from 5 solar panels donated by Indian government in 2004. Water used to be pumped up by windmill funded by Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). Villagers have to come to this well and take water back home in buckets. Some people go to the Mahaica River for washing dirty clothes and for bathing, or collect rain water in their private cisterns at home

since the village is large. Two households own their own private wells at home and pump up water by electric generators. Thus, they have to spend \$13.04 monthly.

## **Expectation of the Promotion of Tourism**

Tourists seldom visit Saint Cuthbert's Mission. One of the reasons is believed to be the bad condition of the main road and lack of tourism facilities within the village. The villagers have no interest to use river and creeks to carry tourists from town for 2 to 3 hours by boats. There are mangroves along the river and creeks and various wild animals and birds nestling there. At night people can find eyes of crocodiles shining there. To the villagers water transport appears to be dull and backward for foreign tourists. Rather than using canoes, villagers consider that transportation such as four-wheel drives seem to be modern and more civilized. Canoes or boats have been traditional means of transportation for the indigenous people. Even boats with outboard motors made by Yamaha are used here and there in the interiors today. In Georgetown we seldom see boats in the canals. The main means of transportation in town are cars. It is the symbol of the "modernization" or "civilization" for the indigenous people to catch up such a condition in Georgetown.

There are no tourism accommodations such as hotels and restaurants in the village. However, there are some good spots for camping and picnic along the Mahaica River. There is a high season in tourism in the village. That is September which is set as an Indigenous Heritage Month in Guyana. For a month, the village offers a few days for 'traditional' dances and cuisines to the visitors. Plenty alcoholic beverage is produced both for the visitors and the villagers. Yet, most visitors are the relatives of the villagers who are working in



**Figure 6 Mahaica River of Saint Cuthbert's Mission (August 2006)**

town. The outsiders are not required to pay for the entrance to the village. There is a well cleaned park-like open space along the Mahaica River. Outsiders sometimes visit there for picnic or barbecue and swim there, but most of them come by their own vehicles, and the village gets no profits from those people. Almost all the households express for the support the tourism development of the village. Their reasons to support are as follows: “very good and will provide employment (in the village),” “no standard form of employment, so it is the way forward to generate income to village from crafts,” “a good future anticipation will boost the community economy,” “it will be better for the community, create job opportunities for the locals, make their own business,” “it helps to develop the community and provides some employment.” Most of the reasons are that tourism can create job opportunities and can contribute to the village economy. The villagers want to have more visitors. On the other hand, some think there is

no tourism here at all. Therefore, they may want to promote the tourism development.

## Craft Center and After Its Disfunctioning

### Craft Center's Contribution

There is a craft center at the center of the village. The structure of this building is not the traditional one thatched by grass. The center was built in 1994 by SIMAP directed by Dr.Chin of this organization. There were 150 members in 2005, but it ceased to function in that year. By then, it was managed by a credit center committee which was composed of a president, vice president, secretary, accountant, and 4 other committee members. The committee members were elected every 2 years. When a person joined to the center, that person paid \$0.5 as membership fee and \$0.25 as monthly fee. Members exhibited their handicrafts at the center and paid 10% from their sales to the center.

Crafts are traditional ones made of fibers produced from stems of *Ite* palm. People have to collect the palms in the forest, boile them, and dry them for 2



Figure 4 Craft center of Saint Cuthbert's Mission (August 2007)



Figure 5 Inside of the craft center (August 2006)



days under the sun. Weaving techniques have been handed down from their own grandmothers and mothers. Today, some people dye the fibers in various colors using artificial materials purchased in town. Price of the crafts are different according to quality. The quality of crafts depend on the producers' skills. The better skills they have, the higher prices they can ask. The biggest problem facing to the producers in the village is no market in the village. Tourism season of Guyana is from August to September, but tourists seldom visit the village during this period. Some visit during the Christmas and Easter time, but most of them are fellow villagers who migrated out of the village.

The fund of the center was used for maintaining the center, for transportation fees to carry crafts to the Exhibition held every year in Georgetown, and for the capital of micro-credit. A member could borrow up to \$5.00 at one time and did not need to pay any interest within a month. Most people could pay back within a month.

Some women engage in agriculture, and some run small general shops in the village. However, this craft center could widen the job opportunities for the women. Workshop used to be held almost every month for young people to teach how to produce crafts.

### **Death of the Leader and Dysfunctioning of the Craft Center**

The craft center ceased to function in 2005 mainly because tourists stopped coming to the village. In 2005 the present village captain's mother passed away who used to bring tourists back from hotels in town. She was the president of the craft center since its inception. Thus, crafts were not sold even though many of them were left on the shelves of the center since then. Thus, the villagers have sold their products to the souvenir shops and wholesalers in town independently.

There are 110 households which have one or more producers of handicrafts at home. A household earns \$62.30 monthly in average from the sale of crafts. This is about 13.60% of total income per household in average and is very important source of income. Crafts sold to the wholesalers in town have not only been sold to the tourists but have been exported to foreign countries<sup>5)</sup>.

### **How Craft Production Can Contribute to One's Home Budget: A Case of Alorius (42 years old) & Elmina Simon (42 years old)**

The Simon family moved into the present house of the housing project located in the southern part of the village in July 2007. They applied for a house to the village council and was allowed to move in for free. SIMAP (Social Impact Amelioration Programme, government's execution agency) built 40 houses for the very poor families in 2004. They have been given to those relatively young but poor families. Houses are wooden and have raised floors, consisting of 2 bed rooms and living room. There is no electricity and no water facilities here. Thus, residents here have to use lumps and have to go for water to the center of the village. The Simon has 3 daughters (16,14, and 12 years old) and a son of 7 years old at home. Alorius produces sweet cassava, plantain, banana, eddo, potato and red beans on 1.5 acres of farm. Besides, he sometimes engages in manual labor whenever it is available. Elmina produces crafts. When she sells the crafts to the wholesalers in town, they always tend to exploit the producers. It takes a day to weave a 20cm diameter of basket and sells it for \$4.00. She earns about \$70.00 monthly from the craft sales. Her daughter (16 years old) helps to make crafts with her. They need \$200.00 for food, \$50.00 for clothes and some more amount of money for miscellaneous items monthly, but their eldest daughter working in town helps them. Two daughters and a son go to school in the village, but the school is basically for free. They have a cooking stove, radio, mobile phone with



Figure 5 Souvenir shop in Georgetown (August 2007)

cards at home. They believe if more tourists would visit the village, their life might be eased tremendously. Elmina's grandfather was the first person to guide tourists by rowing boats in the village many years ago.

### **Advancement of Logging to the Interior and Its Limit**

According to a report of the United Nations Development Program, the logging was already quite important occupation for men here in the early 1990s and, trees such as *Wallabi* were logged intensively. Men of 32 out of 110 households engage in logging (32%) and earn about \$331.09 in average per household monthly. This is 72% of total income of each household engaging in logging. Without this income, those households cannot maintain their members. Loggers have to pay tax (\$20.00 per each 2 ton truck of load) to the village

council. This taxation system was introduced in the 1960s. This village fund has been utilized as wages of laborers to maintain village roads and the like.

The area of logging has advanced to the more interior. In order to move to the interior, more forests have been destroyed and new roads have been cut. Logging in the interior and forest destruction due to population increase have caused the decrease in animals and fish in the surrounding areas. Besides, frequent passage of trucks carrying logs have worsened the condition of the main road, too. Regarding to payment of logging tax, transportation cost from the interior, high price of chainsaw, and increase in price of gasoline and oil, many villagers now start thinking it may destroy their own lives as long as they continue the logging.

On the other hand, there are some outsiders invading the village territory for logging. Logs are very important resources for export from Guyana. A pair of council members has been patrolling for the invaders along the village boundary since there are no policemen in the village, but it is not easy to locate those invaders.

The article 54(1) of *Amerindian Act 2006* states as follows: "A resident who wishes to use forest produce from Village lands shall obtain the permission of the Village Council and comply with any conditions attached to that permission." And, the article 58(1) states also as follows: "A Village which wishes to have the whole or any part of its Village lands recognized as a part of a national protected areas system shall comply with the requirements of any written law governing such system." The article 58(2) also states: "No protected area may be established over the whole or any part of Village lands without the consent of the Village general meeting."

Although many perceive that the logging in this village reaches at the limit, most people continue logging. But, there is no administrative action to regulate

it. There have been no village meetings to discuss this issue. The sole reason to continue logging is that there are no other job opportunities to earn much income other than logging. Thus, tourism development is expected as a savior to the villagers, but there are no good road, no tourist facilities. Guyana government has been emphasizing the promotion of ecotourism, but what is happening in Saint Cuthbert's Mission is a reverse movement against the policy of the government. The most blessing type of tourism in Saint Cuthbert's Mission must be ecotourism which is good for nature, the locals, and tourists<sup>6</sup>).

Santa Mission, which is the closest indigenous village from Georgetown and from Saint Cuthbert's Mission, has been attracting many tourists because of its proximity from town and because of two private eco-resorts run by private companies paying rent to the village since 1992. Sales of crafts there also have shown quite well because of the same reasons mentioned above. However, men there have been engaging in logging and destructed the forest as happening in Saint Cuthbert's Mission, too (Eguchi 2007a). There are no zoning for logging in the village territory, too.

## Conclusion

### **Globalization of Tourism and Disappearance of Traditional Culture**

Saint Cuthbert's Mission has been involved in market economy relatively early period because of its proximity from Georgetown. Concrete houses have replaced wooden houses. Some own four wheel drives, and many own various electric appliances. The villagers do not understand how to develop tourism. Not many ecotourists enjoy modern type of facilities, movement by four-wheel drives, and dishes cooked with food purchased at market. To those who believe that it is the better way to assimilate to the western ways of life rather than

maintaining their own traditions and to those who are so accustomed to the aids from the outside agencies, it may be difficult to understand the quality of the globalizing tourist gaze. Such an attitude is reflected to the fact that they stopped to teach the Arawak culture to their children without the fund.

Regarding to the question whether people satisfy the present condition of the village community, 28 households out of 110 answered “very satisfied” and 58 “a bit satisfied.” The total households who satisfy the present condition are 86 (78%). Many of them appreciate the way of development of the village as follow: “It has developed over the years,” “Because, I have seen many development happening in my community.” On the contrary, some villagers expressed not satisfied as follow: “development is very slow.” (Table 3). They want more development coming.

There existed a similar condition in Santa Mission, too. Many old people expressed they could not teach the Arawak language to their youngsters because there were no payment for them. They should avoid the situation such as “paradox of culture” which connotes that we must lose culture in order to save it (Eriksen 1993: 123). The Arawakan culture is facing to disappearance

**Table 3 Degree of Satisfaction over the Community  
(August 17, 2007)**

Degree of satisfaction	Number of household
Very satisfied	28
A bit satisfied	58
Hard to say	12
Less satisfied	6
Not satisfied	5
Not stated	1
Total	110

from food to belief. The natives are interested in the economic self-reliance through tourism, though. But, it seems difficult for them to discuss how they hospitalize tourists and make plans by themselves presently. The aid provided from the outside agencies seems to be quite natural to the villagers. Their creativity seems to have been taken away by excessive reliance to the outsiders. Their self-reliance in true sense has been restricted by sporadic, unplanned aids from the outside. It must be difficult to become economically self-reliant as far as their dependence upon the outside is very strong and they cannot understand the modern tourism system. It is very risky for the indigenous people to promote tourism without understanding the tourism market according to Notzke, who has studied the tourism development among the aboriginal people in the southern Alberta, Canada. She pointed out that lack of industry knowledge among the local operators (aboriginal people) (Notzke 2004)。

### **Promotion of Community Tourism**

Craft center and micro-credit system at Saint Cuthbert's Mission were managed by a sort of charismatic leader. It ceased to function after she passed away. Presently, there are no leading persons for tourism development, and crafts are sold independently outside. Most of the villagers want to promote tourism development, but there are no leaders for tourism and no ideas to sell their traditional culture to tourists. There may be no way to avoid such situation since they used to be treated as one of the outcaste minorities for long time<sup>7)</sup>. As Notzke pointed out, "On the part of many aboriginal product suppliers, there still is a lack of knowledge and appreciation of the nature of the tourism industry, of the 'business' requirements of tourism enterprises, and of the conditions and potential benefits of partnerships with the travel trade. While this is hardly surprising, an apparent reluctance on the part of newcomers to the industry to

remedy this situation is of more concern” (Notzke 2004: 47).

The present author suggests the following conditions for the promotion of community tourism at Saint Cuthbert’s Mission:

- (1) zoning of logging area both for sustainable development and for the promotion of tourism;
- (2) reconstruction of traditional culture both for future generation and for ecotourism;
- (3) reconstruction of traditional agriculture both for sustaining life of the villagers and for tourism;
- (4) establishment of the tourism cooperative both for restarting the craft center and dealing with wholesalers in town collectively;
- (5) training leaders among the young people;
- (6) building tourism facilities in traditional way of building, utilizing local materials;
- (7) long-term planning how to distribute the benefits from tourism among the villagers;
- (8) consulting with the outside indigenous groups who initiated community tourism<sup>8)</sup>;
- (9) trying not to depend upon the outsiders too much in every aspect.

Saint Cuthbert’s Mission must become a destination of ecotourists sooner or later. And, she may experience serious negative effects unless there is a well-bounded planning by themselves. It must be too late to withstand against the invasion of globalizing tourism without cooperation among the villagers and planning discussed by the majority of the villagers.

### Notes

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This article is an interim report of the author's study.

- 1) For example, *Cultural Survival Quarterly* and other books even in the early stage of tourism study featured the vulnerability of indigenous people caused by tourism, showing various examples among the indigenous people in the world (*Cultural Survival Quarterly* 1990a, 1990b; Smith 1977).
- 2) According to Tourism Concern, community tourism is defined as follows: "Community tourism (sometimes called community-based tourism) is a form of tourism which aims to include and benefit local communities, particularly indigenous peoples and villagers in the rural South (i.e. 'developing world') ([http://www.tourismconcern.org.uk/resources/community\\_is.html](http://www.tourismconcern.org.uk/resources/community_is.html) November 30, 2000).
- 3) 1US dollar is almost equivalent to 200 Guyanese dollars. Thus, if 1US dollar is equivalent to 115 yen, 1 yen is equivalent to 1.74 Guyanese dollar.
- 4) According to the vice *Toshao* (August 17, 2006).
- 5) "Handicraft is by far the major single income generator among the Amerindians in Guyana. Exports from this sub-sector totaled US\$1,474,700 over the past five years according to data from the Bureau of Statistics" (*Guyana Review*, Vol.11, No.128, August 2003: 26).
- 6) The Ministry of Amerindian Affairs set out to regulate the commercial logging within the Amerindian communities. It has held training sessions with the support from Guyana Forestry Commission to realize sustainable development. Although Saint Cuthbert's Mission is included in those communities, there was no training session, yet. *The Amerindian Act 2006* makes provision for the indigenous people to have exclusive rights over the land they occupy. Yet, if a community embarks on commercial operations, it has to inform the ministry and the Guyana Forestry Commission. In many cases, this is not done (*Guyana Chronicle*, Friday, February

23, 2007).

- 7) The term “outcaste minority” refers to those people lower than the lowest class in a state as the least “civilized” and, thus, the “backward” and “primitive” (Lowenthal 1972). In the Caribbean, the Amerindians used to be classified in this category. They have been socially discriminated by the rest of the population until recently.
- 8) A case of ecotourism practiced at the Maya villages in Toledo District, Belize is well known case as a community tourism. (Eguchi 1994. 2007). Toledo Ecotourism Association (TEA) was organized in 1991.

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