

# Who does care the Preservation of Nature?

— A Case Study of Tourism among the Arawaks of Santa Mission, Guyana —

EGUCHI Nobukiyo

---

## Abstract

This paper aims to analyze the relationship between various actors relating to ecotourism practiced at an Amerindian village (Santa Mission) in Guyana. Guyana has been promoting ecotourism since the 1990's. But, it has been utilized differently among the various actors such as the indigenous people, tourists, travel agents, resort companies, and the state. The native people don't care whether it is ecotourism or not. They need cash. In order to make ends meet they go for logging within the village territory, destroying the natural environment. The state and tourism-related industries have no authority to regulate it and are, in fact, not interested in the destruction of nature within the Amerindian settlements. While attracting tourists by emphasizing the beauty and importance of natural environment, the outsiders do not pay much attention to the degradation caused by the logging. This paper shows the difficulty to carry out the ideal type of ecotourism in the indigenous settlement.

## 要 約

本稿は、ガイアナの先住民アラワク人の村落（サンタ・ミッション）で実践されているエコツーリズムに関係するいくつかの主体間の関係を分析し、自然保護がどの主体にとって意味があるのかを考えることを目的としている。ガイアナは近年エコツーリズムを推進してきた。しかし、エコツーリズムという新たな観光形態は、先住民、観光客、観光代理店、リゾート会社、そして国家のような様々な主体の間で異なって利用されてきた。先住民は、それがエコツーリズムであろうとなかろうと構わない。かれらは現金が必要なのだ。収支を合わせるために、かれらは村落の領域内の森林伐採を行い、自然環境を破壊している。国家と観光関連産業はそれを規制する権威を有していず、事実、先住民居住区内の自然の破壊には関心を持っていない。外部者は、自然環境の美しさや重要性を強調しながら観光客を誘致する一方で、森林伐採によって引き起こさ

れる破壊には注意をほとんど払ってこなかった。本稿では、先住民の居住区でエコツーリズムの理想型を実践する困難さが示されている。

**Key words** : nature, Guyana, ecotourism, Arawak

**キーワード** : 自然、ガイアナ、エコツーリズム、アラワク人

---

## Introduction

There exist various actors concerning to tourism such as tourists, indigenous people, the state, and tourism-related industries which aim to get profit through tourism. There often exist some organizations such as NGOs which aim to help local societies. And, the tourist receiving state can gain tax through the promotion of tourism. She tends to facilitate the infrastructure relating to the tourism. However, the socially vulnerable groups such as ethnic minorities have been suffering from deprivation of economic profits, cultures, and their prides, or even their privacies through the promotion of tourism.<sup>1)</sup> Thus, tourism often premises uneven power as Ota pointed out (Ota 1996: 208). While tourism seems to be practiced properly through a well organized cooperation between the hosts and the outsiders (tourists, tourism-related industries, and state) in a short run, it often stands on an fragile balance in a long run. Especially, it happens when there is difference in aims to promote tourism between the hosts and the outsiders. Through a Fijian case study, Hashimoto argues that ecotourism has been promoted on a gap in logics between the western value orientation such as “spirit of nature-preservation” and local logic (Hashimoto 1999). Natural environment has been transformed by the local people. who have had to depend their livelihood upon it. As a result, environmental degradation goes on gradually through the local activities such as logging, gardening, raising animals and so on as more

they are involved in the market economy. Those activities are usually practiced at the back stages where tourists' gaze don't reach. Using part of the local environment, ecotourism has been promoted by the outsiders. The outsiders usually do not claim toward the local activities against the preservation of nature as far as their space for ecotourism is secured. When the degradation of nature extends to the tourist space, tourists must stop coming and the indigenous community loses both precious resource from the natural environment and the profits from tourism.

This paper aims to discuss the following points concerning to ecotourism promoted by the outsiders at an Amerindian village in Guyana: firstly, whether there are any differences in views toward nature between the residents of the village and outsiders such as tourists, tourism-relating industries, and the state; secondly, whether tourism contributes to the sustainability of lives of the ethnic minority; and thirdly, if the law created to protect the ethnic minority can be really useful for their sustainable development<sup>2)</sup>.

## **Guyana and the Amerindians**

### **General Background of Guyana**

Guyana is located at the northern part of South America and sandwiched between Venezuela in the west, Surinam in the east, and Brazil in the south. It has 215,000km<sup>2</sup> in area, which is a little less than the Honshu Island, Japan. Main industries of Guyana are agriculture (sugarcane cultivation and its processing) along the coast and mining such as bauxite, gold, and diamond in the interior. The area close to Brazil has been deforested and transformed into meadows for cattle ranching. Forest land close to the Atlantic Ocean has been developed for logging and plywood industries. The importance of tourism has been emphasized

in Guyana recently, and the number of tourist arrivals has been slowly increasing.

Guyana was colonized by the Dutch West Indian company in 1621 for the first time, and the Dutch built the great bank along the Atlantic Ocean. Inside of this bank, there numerous ditches and canals were built tessellately., and thus, the vast area was transformed into the agricultural land. And, Guyana became under the British administration after 1814, and after the abolition of slavery in 1838, many Chinese and Indian laborers migrated into this country as indentured laborers on the sugarcane plantation. In addition, many Portuguese families migrated into Guyana from the Madeira Islands of Portugal, mainly due to drought for a few successive years in Madeira in the 19th century. Guyana became independent in 1970. Official language is English, but the Creole language is widely used among the urban Africans. There are 767,000 people, among which 51% are Indians, 43% are Africans, and the remaining 6% are Chinese, Portuguese and the Amerindians and the like (2004). Africans and Indians are almost equal in number, but there has been tension between them. There often happened riots between them, and communities where both people used to coexist were destroyed and spontaneous segregation occurred (Peake 1997: 129). In order to lessen such a racial tension, the importance of the Amerindian as softening tool became very important politically.

### **History of the Amerindians of Guyana**

The term Amerindian refers to those of the indigenous population of both North, Central, and South Americas to distinguish from East Indians of India and the West Indians of the Caribbean Islands. The Amerindians in the Caribbean have been classified as outcaste minorities (Lowenthal 1972). This term means that those people are regarded as the lowest class. It connotes they are the least

“civilized” and, thus, the “backward” and “primitive. Therefore, they have been socially discriminated by the rest of the population until recently. After the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century, new ethnic groups such as Chinese, Indians, and the others migrated into this land to fill up the gap after the many of European colonists had migrated out. Because of this, those immigrants were termed as status gap minorities (Lowenthal 1972). The Amerindians could not

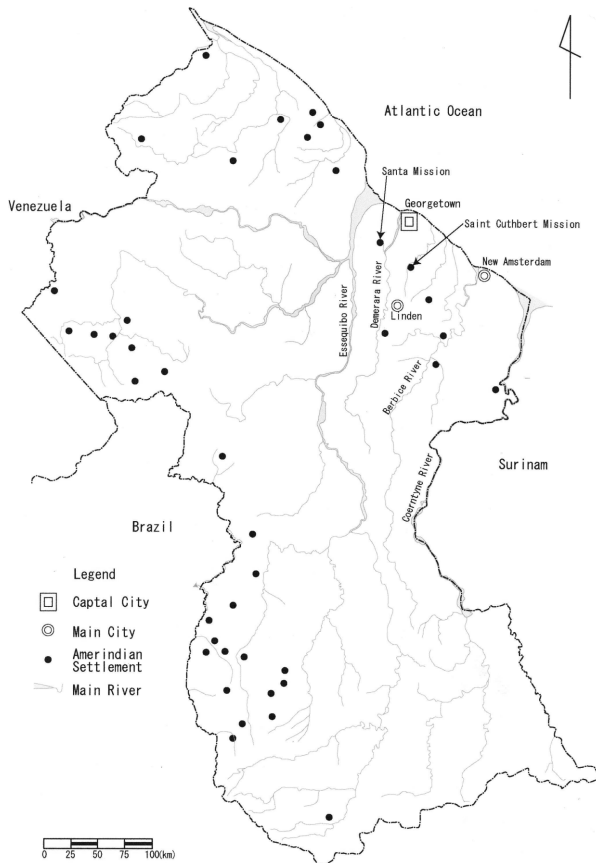


Figure 1 Amerindian Settlements in Guyana

play any important roles as those migrants did, and they remained mostly in the interiors, spending relatively traditional lives. While many outsiders penetrated into the interiors to seek for gold and diamonds, the Amerindians have been steadily deprived from their living spaces and cultures thereafter.

There are nine ethnic groups such as the Arawaks, Caribs, Akowias, Patomonias, Macushis, WaiWais, Arucunas, Waipishianas, and Warraus in Guyana, and their total number is approximately 55,000. The Arawaks and Warraus live mostly along the Atlantic interior, the Caribs in the northwestern interior, and the rest of those groups along the border between Guyana and Brazil. There are 15 settlements in the eastern Atlantic side and 25 settlements in the western side of the country. All of them are located in the remote areas not easy to access from the capital, Georgetown (Figure 1). These 40 settlements were 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 the country, and population of each community ranges from 120 to 6,000. Most of those people practice agriculture, fishing and hunting. Of course, there are some people employed as miners, fishermen, and artisans (*Guyana Chronicle*, April 13, 2004).

### **Year of the Ethnic Minorities and the 5th Centennial Anniversary since the Arrival of Columbus**

The Amerindians of Guyana are no more the outcaste minority and play important roles economically and politically. One of the important reasons in the change of status derives from the tension between the African and Indian Guyanese. In addition to that, there were some prominent events in the 1990's. One of them was the 5<sup>th</sup> centennial anniversary to commemorate the arrival of

Columbus to the Caribbean in 1492. It was widely argued what Columbus and other European colonists did in this region, while the indigenous people were paid attention. In Brazil the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development was held in June 1992, and many people paid attention to the destruction of the Amerindians' world and environmental degradation especially in the Amazon region. The United Nations set the year 1993 as the Year of the ethnic minorities, and human rights of the ethnic minorities in the world were intensively argued. In this year, ethnic minorities in the Caribbean region had their first conference by themselves. The issue on the ethnic minorities became a very important political agenda in the developing countries. In the year 2000, UNHRC issued a statement that the Guyanese government did not secure their human rights. The biggest problem UNHRC pointed out was the *Amerindian Act 1976*. Even before 2000, the defective nature of this Act was argued at the House of Representatives, and they unanimously accorded to amend this Act swiftly. It was a rare occasion for the Africans and the Indians to agree unanimously at the House (*Starbroek News*, April 23, 2000). It must be true that the Amerindian issue was very important as a cushion to lessen the tension between the Africans and the Indians in Guyana today.

### ***Amerindian Act 2006***

April 12, 2000 was a memorable day for the Amerindians in Guyana. Carolyn Rodrigues was appointed as the Minister of the Amerindian Affairs. This administrative agency was promoted as one of the Ministries in 2005, and Ms. Rodriguez also became the Minister. She herself is a native Amerindian. Before she joined to the politics, she had worked as an assistant coordinator of a NGO, SIMAP (Social Impact Amelioration Programme) and contributed to the improvement of the lives of the poor and the Amerindians in Guyana. She knows quite well about

the conditions of the Amerindians and how the outsiders should approach to these population. She was reelected at the national election in the end of August, 2006 and reappointed as the Minister of the same Ministry. *Amerindian Act 1976* was fundamentally amended under her leadership, and the new act, *Amerindian Act 2006* came into effect in 2006. This act secures the natives' rights and duties and defines the relationships between the Amerindians and the outsiders.

Those who wish to enter the village lands have to apply for and gain the permission of the village council. The village council has the right and duty to make rules governing: (a) qualification as a resident; (b) the occupation and use of village lands; (c) access to sites of sacred or cultural significance; (d) the management, use, preservation, protection and conservation of village lands and resources or any part thereof; (e) the protection and sustainable management of wildlife including restrictions on hunting, fishing, trapping, poisoning, setting fires and other interference with wildlife; (f) the development and regulation of agriculture; (g) the control, maintenance, protection and use of water supplies including the construction and regulation of wells which are owned by the village or for which the village is responsible; (h) the construction and maintenance of roads, bridges, ditches, fences and other local works; (i) the construction and maintenance of sewage systems and other sanitary facilities; (j) the regulation of the conduct of non-residents when within village lands; (k) maintaining discipline, good order, the prevention of disorderly conduct and nuisance; (l) the granting of permission for business or trade on village lands; (m) access to research into and recording and publication of intellectual property and traditional knowledge which belongs to the village; (n) the certification of products made by residents using traditional methods; (o) the voting procedure in a village general meeting; (p) planning and development of the village; (q) any other mat-



ter which falls within the function of the village council (Section 14(1) Powers of village council to make rule, *Amerindian Act 2006*). As this list shows, we can see a great resolution of the Guyanese government not to repeat what the Amerindians suffered in the past. Tourists are also regulated to enter the native territory, where those tourists permitted to enter become the target to be observed by the residents.

There are abundant mineral resources such as bauxite, gold, and diamonds and the rich tropical forest in the interior. The village council has power to develop and utilize those resources within the settlement. Thus, how to receive tourists, how to develop and utilize the resources within the settlement and how to operate the welfare utilizing those resources are left to the decision by the indigenous people themselves.

### **Tourism and the Amerindians of Guyana**

Guyana has not been paid much attention as the destination of the American and European tourists until recently. One of the reasons owes to her social unrest and insecurity deriving from her economic stagnation. The other owes to the undevelopment of tourists' spots and tourism-related facilities. However, tourists have been increasing slowly since the 1990's when ecotourism began popular (Table 1). They have visited those eco-spots such as *Kaieteur* Falls and the like.

The underdeveloped condition functions advantageously, and the importance of ecotourism has been emphasized in Guyana. There is Guyana Tourism Authority which is responsible to the tourism policy of Guyana. This Authority was established to promote a sustainable tourism development in 2002. *Explore Guyana – The Official Tourist Guide of Guyana 2006* published by the Authority is a letter-size magazine being composed of colorful 80 pages.

**Table 1 Tourist Arrivals by Country of Origin for 1996~2005**

Country and Region of Origin	1996	2000	2005
United States of America	35,833	46,177	60,071
Canada	14,585	15,948	15,876
Europe	6,063	7,229	8,704
Caribbean	31,039	29,993	26,810
South & Central America	3,072	4,007	2,711
Other/Not States	1,380	1,688	2,424
Total	91,972	105,042	116,596

Source: 1996, 2000, 2005 figures are from Guyana Tourism Authority.

Description includes tourist maps, historical buildings, history of Guyana, business environment, falls, rich fauna and flora, shopping in Georgetown, histories of local towns, fishing, annual calendar of events, accommodation, tourist agencies and so on. The magazines are distributed at the Guyanese embassies, and legations abroad and travel agents abroad, too. The Authority also publishes a 10 page booklet titled *Guyana Birds to Watch* for birdwatchers.

However, the description on the Amerindians are only briefly found as a part of the history section of the magazine. Other than that section the Amerindians never appear in the magazine at all. Besides this magazine, it is briefly mentioned on the travel agents' homepages and some pamphlets of the tours organized by some travel agents which visit the Amerindian settlements and the resorts built within the village. As mentioned already, the *Amerindian Act 2006* allows the native autonomy, and thus, it is the indigenous people who choose either to promote tourism or to refuse it and how to receive the tourists in their territories.

Let's see how the natives manage their village community toward tourism through the case of Santa Mission where many tourists have visited since the

early 1990's.

## **Santa Mission Village<sup>3)</sup>**

### **Location and Village Community of Santa Mission**

Santa Mission is located about 30 kilometers south of Georgetown. We cross the Demerara river to the west by a boat with outboard motor from a small dock and, then, move to the northwest for 30 minutes, enter into the Kamuni Creek<sup>4)</sup> and move for 20 minutes to the north (Figure 1). The residents of Santa Mission is the Arawak people.

Santa mission was established by the missionaries in the early 19th century to attract displaced Amerindians. The settlement was legally established in 1992. It has the territory of 7 square miles (17.92 square kilometers). This is the closest Amerindian settlement from Georgetown. There are 54 households and approximately 350 residents in August, 2006.

There are primary school, health center, library, and a big community house covered with *tuli* palm in the village. And, there is a craft center at the middle of the village. This was built with the cooperation of a Government project, PRCSP (Poor Rural Community Service Projects) in 1992 and exhibits and sells handicrafts produced by the women of the village (this will be explained later).

As far as a wife is a villager and the Arawak, her husband has qualification for acquiring land within the village traditionally. That is to say, membership is gained matrilineally, through the female of the society. If he applies for land to the village council and is approved, 1 acre of land at maximum is given to the wife. This is handed down to her children. According to the residents, traditional culture has been disappearing. There are two protestant churches in the village.

## **Autonomy and Economy of the Village**

### **(1) Village council**

This village community is governed by the village council. The village council is composed of a *Tashao* (“captain” in English) who is the president, vice *Tashao*, secretary, treasurer, and 3 other councilors. According to the *Amerindian Act 2006*, the number of councilors are at least 6 to 12 at maximum if the village population is less than 600. Santa Mission has the minimum number of councilors. Councilors were used to be elected every two years, but the rule was changed in 2006. Now they are reelected every three years. They are awarded monthly allowances by the government. Thus, the status of councilors is not simple honorary one. They have vast responsibilities. The future of village depends on the village council literally.

Such a modern system came into effect after the establishment of settlement in 1992. The council meets once a month, and the general meeting with all the villagers must be held whenever they have to make important decisions.

### **(2) Occupation of the Villagers**

Main occupations among the villagers are agriculture, fishing, hunting, logging and handicraft production. Some members go for sugarcane harvest and mining outside as laborers. Fishing is practiced almost every day for home use on a small boat, using a hook and line. It is their unwritten rule to fish only what they eat at one time (Figure 2). They are not required to own a hunting permit. They hunt agouti, tapier, deer and the like only during the hunting season. They grow cassava, yams, bananas and so on for their home use. Within the village, drinking and selling beer, rum and other alcoholic beverages produced outside are forbidden. But, *paiwali* made of cassava is produced at home and consumed in the village. This contains alcohol which is almost same strength as beer. It is allowed



**Figure 2 Fishing on a boat at Kamuni Creek, Santa Mission, Guyana  
(August 17, 2006)**

for the villagers to make *paiwali* and drink it in the village..

Six villagers work for two resorts (Timberhead and Arrowpoint) which are operated within the village boundary. Vice *Tashao* lives at one of the resorts, Timberhead Resort and works as a manager with his wife and a daughter.

### **(3) Revenues of the Village Council**

One source of the revenues of the village council is from tax imposed on the logging business carried out by the villagers themselves. Silk-cotton trees (*Ceiba pentandra* (L.) Gaertn.) which is called Kapok in Asia are usually cut. The height of this tree is sometimes more than 25 meters and its diameter is 1.5~2 meter. When a villager cuts trees in the village forest, he has to get a permission from the village council and pays 3 kinds of cutting fees to the council. In Santa Mission, (1)3 dollars<sup>5)</sup> for each 1 BM(1 foot×1 foot), (2)1,000 dollars for use of a

tractor to transport and 8 dollars for each 1 BM of wood to carry, and 3)1,500 dollars a year for a use of chainsaw are collected.

Then additional revenues come from other sources, too. They collect 1,000 dollars of landing tax from a boat of outsider and 200 dollars from each visitor. Thus, if a tourist doesn't pay this landing tax, this person is not permitted to land. Moreover, another revenue comes from the rent paid by two resort companies who run resorts within the village boundary. It is 500,000 dollars annually (2,500 U.S. dollars). The rent changes according to the fluctuation of the Guyanese economy.

#### **(4) J.S.'s Household Budget**

Let's see an example of households in the village. J. S.'s household head is a male East Indian, and his wife is an Arawak. They have two children living together. While growing cassava and other crops for their home use, he produces handicrafts at home. He sells the products such as wooden spoons and forks to the handicraft shops in Georgetown. A set of fork and spoon is sold for 350 dollars. Thus, he earns 35,000 dollars for 10 sets monthly, but he has to pay 1,000 dollar for a round trip by boat and 500 dollars for bus transport. That is to say, he has to pay 1,500 dollars for every round trip between the village and Georgetown. His wife boils *ete* palm and dries it for a day, and then, produces crafts such as fans and baskets for the craft center. During the peak season, she earns 10,000~12,000 dollars per week. They have to buy 15,000 dollars worth of food every month and buy clothes almost for 30,000 dollars yearly the life has been improving, comparing to the days before early 1990's.

## **Arrowpoint Resort**

### **(1) Its Formation Process and Structure**

Arrowpoint resort is located about ten minutes ride of boat along Kamni Creek to the north of the village (Figure 3). A Guyanese family of an airline pilot rented the land of the village and built an Amerindian type of house as their second home, and spent on weekends in the early 1990's. In 1992 he and his travel company remodeled the house, added some cabins and other facilities and formed the present setting as resort. It was the same year when the settlement was established legally. The owner of the resort runs a sightseeing flight company, tour company, and a hotel in Georgetown. He is quite well known entrepreneur in Guyana. His wife is also a pilot. In 2004 they built a quite gorgeous hotel in Georgetown.

The resort is composed of the main cabin with dining, kitchen and the like and



**Figure 3 Arrowpoint Resort, Santa Mission, Guyana (August 17, 2006)**

5 other cabins which have 8 rooms altogether. Besides bed mattresses, sheets, and towels which were imported from the U.S.A., all other necessary goods for the resort are Guyanese products.

This resort emphasizes how they are orienting toward the environmental protection on site. Water is pumped up from the creek, filtered and is used for cooking, washing, shower, watering and so on. Hot water is provided by the solar collector. Three large septic tanks buried under ground are used for sewage system. Garbage is sorted into raw garbage and bottle and cans. Raw garbage is burnt and the latter are buried underground. There is an electric generator, but guests can use the electricity only between 18:00-24:00. There are no television sets, radios, and even telephone sets for guests. There is only one radio which is used to communicate between the resort manager and the company employees in town. Without reservations in town, tourists cannot land on the resort. Only a small number of people can stay overnight here due to the limited number of beds.

A couple of manager are hired from the village. Two other villagers are hired as janitors. A cook is hired from Georgetown. Specialists such as plumbers are hired from town whenever necessary. On the resort, there are 3 plastic pedal boats, 5 plastic canoes, one wooden canoes and several mountain bikes reserved for the tourists. There is a volleyball net on the beach.

## **(2) Relationship to the Santa Mission Village**

The resort company rents ten acres of land from the village council and pays 300,000 dollars for the land and 3,800 dollars per square feet of all the cabins annually. They pay 45,000 dollars of basic monthly salary to each of the employee on the resort and 1,000 dollars special bonus a day whenever those employees engage as tour guides. If they use boat for tour, another bonus is paid to each



guide. Thus, employees here are guaranteed stable income.

The resort purchases cassavas when they demonstrate how to make cassava breads to the guests and fruits from the villagers. Most of the guests visit the village and purchase handicrafts at the craft center.

The resort has adopted the primary school in the village and contributed to build the library with SIMAP (NGO). The resort not only contributed for building it, but purchased variety of books and donated them to the library. Once a month they bring videos and show to the students at school. When the school holds swimming competition, the resort provides gifts to the students.

On the other hand, the villagers have cooperated to the resort in many ways not only providing agricultural products and the like but informing the resort whenever they hear strange boat coming close to the resort and the like. A reciprocal relationship has been observed between them. This relationship is explained on the resort's homepage under the title "Resort that benefits a Community". This home page emphasizes that the resort is supervised by the Amerindians. The resort company must have intended to appeal to the guests that they could enjoy the Amerindians and their culture, while staying at the resort.

### **(3) Tourists and the Villagers of Santa Mission**

This resort is all-inclusive type and, thus, is not so cheap. It includes meals, snacks, facilities, and guides. One night per person is charged 161.00 U.S. dollars, and 230 U.S. dollars per 2 persons. Four persons at most can stay in a cabin. Additional fee per person is 99 U.S. dollars. In addition, 54 U.S. dollars are charged for round trip between Georgetown and the resort. Thus, if a tourist stays one night, 215 U.S. dollars are charged at least including the transport fee.

The resort has been advertised through their own pamphlets, magazines, website, travel exhibitions abroad. Guests are mainly from the U.S.A., Canada, United

Kingdom, Guyana, the Caribbean and the like. Some guests have repeatedly come back. The table 2 shows the number of visitors per country of origin between 2001 and August 15, 2006. They were picked up from the guest books of the resort. 184 guests left their names on the guest books, and some of them left their home addresses, e-mail addresses, and impressions. Thirty five percent of the 184 guests are from U.S.A. and Canada, and the Guyanese come next. But, some people counted as Guyana may be foreigners staying in Guyana as officials of international organizations, foreign businessmen, or family members visiting their folks stationing in Georgetown. 10 per cent of the guests came from Europe, 9 per cent came from the Caribbean.

**Table 2 Country and Region of The Origin of the Visitors to Arrowpoint Resort in Santa Mission from 2001 to August 15, 2006**

Country /Region	Guyana	Caribbean	South America	North America	Europe	Africa	Asia	Oceania	Not Stated	Total
Person	51	17	1	65	20	2	4	2	22	184

Source: Those who left signatures on the guest books at the resort are counted. Over-nighters and day visitors are mixed. In case of family visitors, one person wrote his or her sign on behalf of the other members. This was counted as one person.

Impressions expressed by those guests are mostly favorable. They enjoyed quietness, tranquility, meals, good and friendly staffs, relaxing atmosphere, swimming in black creek water and so on. Only two out of 184 guests described here as “heaven” or “paradise.” One of them came from Toronto, Canada and described here as “This was a truly wonderful holiday. I loved the people, the place and at every meal, I needed to pinch myself to determine whether or not I was in Heaven or still on earth.” The other was from Yellowknife, NT, Canada. She wrote as: “Truly a wonderful experience! Very friendly & knowledgeable staffs & guides. Thank you to all for sharing your mini-paradise!” The common

feature among the guests is that they never described about the Amerindian villagers, their crafts, and their culture. It is obvious that many of them visited the village and purchased the crafts. The reason why they hardly described about the villagers and their culture may be due to the fact they had few contact with the villagers and had no impressions at all. And, the purpose of the tourists were not intended to contact with the native people but to spend relaxing time and spend jungle walk, or so.

### **Timberhead Resort**

#### **(1) Its Formation Process and Structure**

This resort is also located in the north of the creek, but is closer to the village (Figure 4). Like Arrowpoint, before the resort was established, the present owner's family had rented the land and used as a second house on weekend. In



**Figure 4 Timberhead Resort, Santa Mission, Guyana (August 17, 2006)**

1992 a company in town began to rent 26 acres of land from the village council and built 3 lodges. Each lodge is wooden and covered with grass on the roof. Each room has toilet, shower room, and bed. There is a fly net on each of the bed. There is no electricity at all. During night time, guests have to use candles and hurricane lamps. Besides drinking water, all the water comes from the creek which is not filtered. Thus, they emphasize their strong orientation of environmental conservation, too. Two people work here. A couple of vice-*Tashao* and their daughter are living here on site. The vice-*Tashao* works as a manager here. They cook and do almost all the service to the guests.

## **(2) Relationship to the Village Community**

According to the manager here, villagers sometimes show the guests traditional dances. Guests visit the village by boat and purchase the handicrafts at the craft center. The resort has also offered books to the library and some medicines to the health center in the village. During the Christmas time, the resort staffs sometimes presented gifts to the school children as Santa Claus. The resort has paid the rent and purchased agricultural products from the villagers as Arrowpoint resort has been doing.

## **(3) Tourists and the Villagers of Santa Mission**

Timberhead resort used to adopt some tactics to advertise. The best hotel in Georgetown, Le Meridien Pegasus formerly known as Guyana Pegasus acted as a travel agent for the Timberhead resort. There were pamphlets at the hotel. They organized day tours to the resort, but they discontinued to act as an agent in 2005. Timberhead resort company puts advertisements on the in-flight magazine of BIWI and other airlines in the Caribbean, and leaves pamphlets at travel agents, cruiseship companies and the like. Or, tourist themselves call the mother

company of the resort in Georgetown, Tropical Adventures Limited or send them e-mail for reservation. It is all-inclusive style, too. The price includes facilities, meals, guides, transport, beverages and the like. They accept only a group of 4 people at minimum. The price depends upon the size of group, number of nights, activities of tourists and so on.

On the guest books we can find 318 names written between June 28, 2001 and August 15, 2006 (Table 3). Overnight guests and daytrippers are mixed together. Different from Arrowpoint, 25 percent of these guests were from Europe, mainly from UK, 22 percent were from North America, and 11 percent from the Caribbean. Comments these guests left are quite similar to those at Arrowpoint. Peaceful atmosphere, tranquility, relaxing condition, enjoyment of swimming in black water, wonderful meals, friendly staffs are among the most appreciated. Only one of the guests from Florida described here as: "This is a paradise in Paradise." The most appreciation was given to the staffs' hospitality. There were no comments on the Arawak villagers and their culture at all. They were sure to have visited the village and had contact with the villagers, but no mentions about that. Presumably the purpose to visit the resort was to experience the paradise without electricity, and air-conditioner. Native people who did not exist when only Adam and Eve resided in the Garden of Eden, Paradise were ignored.

**Table 3 Country and Region of The Origin of the Visitors to Timberhead Resort in Santa Mission from June 28, 2001 to August 15, 2006**

Country /Region	Guyana	Caribbean	South America	North America	Europe	Africa	Asia	Oceania	Not Stated	Total
Person	37	37	3	72	80	2	2	3	82	318

Source: Those who left signatures on the guest books at the resort were counted.

Overnighters and day trippers are mixed. In case of family visitors, one person wrote his or her signature on behalf of the other members. It was counted as one person.

## Santa Mission and the Effect of Tourism

### Craft Center and Women's Activity

#### (1) Building the Craft Center and Membership Fees

The craft center is located at the center of the village (Figure 5). This building with traditional structure covered with grass was built in 1992. Fifty percent of the cost was provided by PRCSP and the rest was provided by the women in the village. There are 38 members of the craft center. Formal name of the group is the Kamuni Women's Handicraft and Sewing Development Association. Each member paid 1,000 dollars for the construction and 100 dollars for membership registration fee. Every member has to pay 30 dollars to the center monthly. Crafts produced by the members are exhibited at the center. A tag of paper car-



Figure 5 Craft center of Santa Mission, Guyana (August 17, 2006)

rying producer's signature is tied to each craft. Whenever those crafts are sold, 10 percent of the sale goes to the center. It becomes a part of the center's fund.

## **(2) Committee Members**

Besides the village councilors, the center has own committee members. Entire members are females. There are a president, secretary, treasurer, and 4 other committee members. Election is held every year. Membership is limited for the village residents only, but 1 African woman nearby is also a member of the center (The reason is not known by the author presently). The fund is used for the maintenance of the center, for the micro finance, and for health care of the members.

## **(3) Redistribution of the Profits to the Members and Micro Finance**

The fund of the center is utilized not only for the maintenance of the center and welfare, but for micro finance among the members. Since the establishment of the center, this system has been maintained. People use the leaves of *ete* palm as main materials for crafts traditionally. Some women started to use artificial strings, beads, dyes and so on. This is relatively new trend. They need to purchase those new materials in town. For this and for their lives, members can borrow 10,000 dollars at maximum at one time as far as they don't have any debt to the center when they borrow. When they pay back within a month, they have to pay 10 percent of interest. When it passes over 1 month, they have to pay 20 percent of interest. Many members have borrowed and used them for purchasing materials of crafts and households. These interests collected go to the fund of the center.

Each member is awarded 4,000 dollars for health care annually from the fund. It is used for family's medicinal expenditure and the other purposes. It is free to

use for anything basically. Comparing to the pre-1992 days when women had few means to earn cash, women's self-reliance has been improved tremendously through the craft center's new system.

During the tourism season, the fund increases immensely. And, during the off season the number of borrowers from the fund increase. They use the loans chiefly for their livelihood. Otherwise they have to depend on their husbands or men's logging business or employment for sugarcane harvests and mining outside of the settlement.

#### **(4) Demonstration of Copyright of the Crafts**

The *Amerindian Act 2006* also defines the copyright among the Amerindians. In Santa Mission, a tag of paper attached to each of the craft. On the tag, producer's signature is written with the printed words: "K.W.E. & S.D. Ass. Santa Mission Guyana." As far as this tag is attached to the craft, it means this is an authentic product by an Amerindian. It gives an additional value to the craft. There is also code number and price on each tag. By practicing such a thing, each producer retains a pride as a member of the Arawak.

#### **(5) A Source of Disintegration of the Community**

As far as someone's craft is sold at the craft center, 10 percent of the sale goes automatically to the center. It will be redistributed to all the members later. However, not all the members sell their handicrafts at the center. Instead, they sometimes sell their products at their homes. If tourists happen to pass by those villagers, they may sell their products at cheaper price than those exhibited at the center, because they don't need to give 10 percent out of what they sold. Both tourists and the producers are happy for it. This sort of anti-communal activity might crack the integrity of the village community in a long run. The



more this village becomes tourist-destination, the worse it might become in a sense of community integration.

## Conclusion

### —Difference in Logics among the Different Subjects and the Problems of Sustainability of Community—

The Arawaks of Santa Mission as an ethnic minority have practiced their relatively autonomous life centered on the village, selling their handicrafts and collecting tax from the tourists. Two resorts renting the village land are located on the appropriate locations not too close and not too far from the village community. Because of these locations, the Arawaks of Santa Mission could live relatively freely without experiencing deprivation of privacy by the tourists. Thus, they didn't need to prepare staged space for the tourists in order to avoid the tourists' intrusion into their privacies (MacCanell 1976).

Moreover, tourism has contributed to the economy of the community through the rents from two resorts, employment of some members of the community by the resorts, purchasing of the villagers' food products by the resorts. And the 90 per cent of the sale paid for the crafts by tourists go to the producers and the rest go to the fund of the center. Part of the fund is later redistributed to all the members as a medicinal use or lend out through micro finance system.

In addition, the prides of the craft producers have been fostered through the tags signed by the producers themselves, and their identities as the Arawaks of Santa Mission have been strengthened. Tourism seems to have played a significant role as a sort of hen laying golden eggs to the people of Santa Mission. But, today's success has been realized only through the outsiders' support such as PRCS, SIMAP, resort companies and so on.<sup>7)</sup>

Ecotourism has been brought into the settlement from the outside. This has contributed not only to the Arawaks but to the resort companies, cruiseships, tourist agents, and the state. Purposes of ecotourists are simply to spend relaxing time at the resorts, to walk in the rich nature, to learn how to bake cassava breads, to observe rich fauna and flora, to swim in the black water which rotten leaves mixed in, and to sleep listening to the orchestra played by insects. They land on the Santa Mission village, paying the tax and purchasing handicrafts. Guyanese government takes a stance to protect the Amerindians by establishing the *Amerindian Act 2006* and makes the natives themselves plan their own sustainable development.

Ecotourism seems to satisfy all the actors – tourists, natives, and natural environment. But there is a pitfall on the local side. It is an issue of environmental degradation. That is caused by the logging within the settlement. To those who prefer to be civilized<sup>8)</sup>, various convenient stuffs produced outside seem to be quite attractive. They need more money to make ends meet. There are limited opportunities to earn money for them. Thus, they have to engage in the logging business more than ever. Resort companies, tourist agents, and the state have been promoting ecotourism as the most suitable form of tourism to the natural environment. However, logging industry within the settlement destroys the natural environment gradually and spoils the tranquility, peacefulness, and beauty of nature in the very near future. Those problems within the settlement should be responsible for the village council. Logging business within the village territory is also dealt by the council according to the *Amerindian Act 2006*. The central government has no authority on it. Villagers have to maintain their families. The earnings from the sale of crafts and rents cannot make their ends meet. That's why they have to go for logging. They don't care whether it is ecotourism or not.

In terms of sustainable tourism for the Amerindians, it is necessary for them to

make a plan based on their long-term future. Since tourism involves various actors, state should not leave the matter solely to the Amerindians. The resort companies should not attract tourists only by chanting the importance of eco-tourism and the preservation of nature, but they should cooperate to make a long-term plan to sustain the natural environment of the community properly with the villagers<sup>9)</sup>. Because once the natural environment is devastated through logging business, all the actors concerning to tourism must lose their interests. Thus, more community-conscious tourism should be considered.

### Notes

*Acknowledgement.* The author is grateful to Mathrin and Denise Robinson for their support in Guyana over two years. Thanks also go to Ms. Jonny Wishart of the Amerindian Research Unit, University of Guyana for lecturing me on the indigenous people of Guyana and let me allow some copies of articles. I like to thank the Arawakan people both at Santa Mission and Saint Cuthbert Mission for their kind cooperation. People of Roraima Tour and Tropical Tours were so kind to spend some time with me explaining their business of resorts. Final thank goes to Mr. Naoya Amemori for creating Figure 1.

Data used in the article were collected during the fieldwork done in Guyana between August 6 and 22, 2006. The fieldwork was backed by a Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research (A), Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan: Project Number 18251005 (April 2006~March 2007). Research project is "Comparative Study on the Self-reliance of Socially Disadvantaged People and the Globalization of Tourism." This study was also supported by the Institute of Humanities, Human and Social Sciences, Ritsumeikan University.

The author didn't deal with St.Cuthbert Mission in this paper. This village community (same Arawak settlement) seemed to be less integrated and the economy was weaker than in Santa Mission. The author will carry out more detailed fieldwork among the Arawaks, and will attempt to attain the original aims.

1. The similar cases of ethnic minorities are often carried on *Journal of Cultural Survival*.

2.This article is a sort of interim report. And, the author does not grasp the whole image of the village community of Santa Mission, yet. Thus, he has to carry out a comprehensive research on the same site in 2007.

3.Santa Mission-Aratak is the official name of the settlement. But, it is commonly known

as Santa Mission.

4. Along the Kamni Creek there are bamboo forests here and there. It is known that the early Chinese settlers planted them. There is a big tomb stone in the area. Many Chinese descendants visit here for worshipping their ancestors from Guyana and Trinidad (*Guyana Chronicle*, July 18, 2004). Today, there are no Chinese residents along the Kamni Creek.

5. In Guyana, Guyanese dollars are called just as dollars. In the article, when the author writes simply as dollar, it refers to the Guyanese dollars. When he refers to the American money, he writes as U.S. dollars. The exchange rate of 1 U.S. dollar was almost equal to 200 Guyanese dollars in August 2006.

6. The author plans to carry out a questionnaire survey on the motivations of visitors to the resorts and the impressions on the Arawaks at the village by e-mail. Some of the guests to these two resorts left their e-mail addresses on the guest books.

7. The author visited two Amerindian settlements in August, 2006. One of them is Saint Cuthburt Mission, which is also the Arawak village. This village community may be introduced in another article.

8. Edwards describes how the Arawaks were assimilated to the civilized world as follows: "Many Arawaks take pride in the fact that most of them cannot speak their native language. They see this as an indication of a high degree of civilization" (Edwards 1980: 7). However, the present author witnessed that *Tashao* and his followers at Santa Mission were quite eager to teach him Arawakan glossaries. Same thing happened in Saint Cuthburt Mission. They appeared to have pride as the Arawaks with tradition.

9. 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\\_what\\_.htm](http://www.tourismconcern.org.uk/resources/community_what_.htm) November 30, 2000).

### Reference Cited

Edwards, Walter F.

1980 *A Brief Introduction to Some Aspects of the Language and Culture of the Guyana Arawak*. Georgetown: The Amerindian Language Project, University of Guyana.

Ota, Yoshinobu

1996 "Ekoroji ishiki no kankou-jinruigaku – Berizu no eko-tsurizumu wo chushin ni – (Anthropology of tourism on Ecological Mind – through the Ecotourism in Belize – "in

Shuzo Ishimori, ed., *Kankou no Nijusseiki (Twentieth Century of Tourism)*.  
Tokyo: Domesu Publishing Company (in Japanese).

Hashimoto, Kazuya

1999 *Kankou-jinruigaku no Senryaku (Tactics of Anthropology of Tourism)*.  
Kyoto: Sekai-shisou-sha (in Japanese).

Lowenthal, David

1972 *West Indian Societies*. London: Oxford University Press.

Peake, Linda

1997 "From Cooperative Socialism to a Social Housing Policy? Declines and Revivals in  
Housing Policy in Guyana," Robert B. Potter and Dennis Conway, eds., *Self-Help  
Housing, the Poor, and the State in the Caribbean*. Knoxville: The University of  
Tennessee Press: 120-140.

Renshaw, Jonathan

2001 *Social Investment Funds and Indigenous Peoples*. Washington, D.C.: Inter-  
American Development Bank.