

**COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT WITH LOCAL
ASSOCIATIONS AND IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
TOURISM: A CASE STUDY OF RESIDENTS OF THREE
PARISHES IN THE PENEDA GERÊS NATIONAL PARK**

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Community engagement with local associations and in the development of
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Peneda Gerês National Park

ABSTRACT

The Peneda Gerês National Park situated in northern Portugal has many characteristics associated with remote locations: rural depopulation, low population density, homogeneous lifestyles, little economic diversity, high quality natural environment, and communities structured on a feudal or hierarchical set-up, with the church, traditionally, as the centre of influence. Traditionally, cooperation within and between communities revolved around agricultural activities that required a joint effort. Agricultural activities that required a high level of coordination resulted in the practically single form of association between residents. Residents still have strong cultural ties to nature, partially because of their reliance on sources of food and some income.

There is evidence to suggest that community development with a significant emphasis on tourism may be an important element in the survival and revival of the economy of this region as traditional subsistence agriculture continues to decline. The promotion of small-scale tourism is intuitively perceived as a suitable form of economic development for rural areas. However, as communities turn to tourism as the means to raising income, employment and living standards the diverse impacts from tourism and its associated development affect the local population. A lack of community capacity and a lack of community understanding of tourism and its impacts have been identified as barriers to effective tourism development in this remote rural region.

The overall purpose of this study is twofold. First, to critically examine and compare the attitudes to involvement, in and perceptions of, local associations of the residents of selected rural communities in the Peneda Geres National Park. Secondly, to determine resident perceptions of the contribution of local associations and the National Park Authority to the tourism development process.

A survey in the form of a structured face-to-face interview was undertaken to analyse the perceptions of members of the communities toward tourism development by identifying the obstacles and impediments to community participation. A total of 346 usable questionnaires were collected using a randomly selected sample of residents in the parishes of Castro de Laboreiro, Entre-Ambos-Rios and Vilar da Veiga. These three selected parishes illustrate the variety of experiences faced by communities involved with tourism.

Findings from the interviews were identified which serve to illustrate participatory development as a complex and difficult though essential for community development in remote rural areas. Based on the findings, several recommendations on structural policies and advice on approach and issues in terms of research are made.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The northwest of Portugal may be viewed as peripheral in European terms not least because of its perceived distance from the 'centre' of Europe in economic and political decision making terms. It has many characteristics associated with remote locations: rural depopulation, marginal economies, a high quality natural environment, and cultures in transition from traditional to modern (Sofield, 2003). Communities in the rural north-west of Portugal are struggling with increasing unemployment, out-migration and diminishing services. To reverse this trend, it becomes necessary to consider new strategies for generating income and employment, the adoption of initiatives that will sustain rural progress and a need to rethink and reshape the design and direction of communities. Increasingly, tourism is seen as an effective means of community development to diversify the local economy as traditional agriculture continues to decline. However, communities often have difficulty in pursuing its development objectives, possibly due to a lack of community engagement in the tourism development process. There is evidence to suggest that residents' attitudes are key to determining local support to tourism development (Ryan *et al*, 1998). Given this context the focus of this research is the determination of the possible roles and potential of community based associations present in communities in remote rural areas to facilitate the development of tourism.

In order to understand the contexts of community development in Northern Portugal, a review was undertaken of the literature concerning tourism development in remote rural areas. The choice of region of study, the selection of research objectives, and the methods employed were informed by personal experiences as someone who returned from industrial northeast USA to rural northern Portugal.

This chapter begins by providing an overview of the subject, the reason and motivation for this research. This is followed by an introduction to the theoretical background regarding the issues of tourism as a development strategy and reviews the origins of the concepts, approaches and definitions relating to community

development and the link to participation, community organising and empowerment and social capital. The following section describes how in a community, the presence of networks, such as associations, reflects an intense horizontal interaction. According to Putnam (1993), the more prevalent these networks are in a given community, the more its residents are able to work together for the good of the community. This review is followed by the presentation of the aims and objectives and the research method is explained. Finally, the chapter is concluded by a description of the structure of the study.

1.1 REASONS FOR AND MOTIVATION FOR THE RESEARCH

In the north-west of Portugal is located the only national park of Portugal, the Peneda Gerês. Characterised by low population density, homogeneous lifestyles and little economic diversity, the villages in and adjacent to the Park are structured on the medieval community system, with the church, traditionally, as the centre of influence. These communities have experienced many of the socio-economic trends that have characterised the northern region of Portugal over the years, most noticeably subsistence agriculture dependent upon traditional patterns and practices of land ownership together with out-migration to other regions of Portugal and to other countries (ADERE-PG, 1999). Equally, these communities have witnessed the phenomena of a relatively high incidence of return migration. These socio-economic factors are shown as continuing to influence both local and regional approaches to development which currently have a significant emphasis on tourism (Fernandes *et al*, 2001). This study will take as a case study three mountain communities in the Peneda Gerês National Park.

Presently, the communities of the Peneda Gerês National Park are ageing and depopulating. Since there are insufficient employment opportunities, few facilities, together with the fact that most young people do not want to work in agriculture anymore, people go to work in other parts of the country or in other countries. As a consequence of the young people leaving, the agricultural land is abandoned. Because there is not much interest or capital to invest, the older buildings are falling into ruin and others are not restored in a traditional manner. Partly as a result

of these factors local ethnicity and the authentic character of these communities are threatened (ADERE-PG, 1999).

It has been proposed that, as with other rural areas in Europe (Liu, 2003), the development of tourism could stem or even reverse this depopulation pattern by serving as a revitalisation process that could contribute to the survival of the communities thereby improving the quality of life of the residents. It is argued in later chapters that traditional activities, such as agriculture, can be used as a basis for low-impact tourism and that tourism activities can have a positive influence on the economic development of remote rural regions which have experienced sharp declines in their agricultural activities, but possess attractive rural scenery. Tourists, *it is argued*, are keen to visit areas of unspoilt natural beauty and authentic cultural heritage. Many communities are interested in developing tourism, for when successfully developed tourism yields many coveted socio-economic benefits (Brown, 2004).

However, developing tourism in small rural communities located in a national park can have negative consequences for the local natural and cultural environment when not developed sympathetically (Brasser and Font, 2002; Dewar, 2004). This implies that the development of tourism will be small scale and will take a long term perspective and seek not to damage or deplete the natural, built and cultural resources. The unique sense of place and the natural, social and cultural authenticity of the communities have to be respected (Bestard and Nadal, 2007). It is proposed that the local people will benefit directly from the increase in the number of visitors by owning and managing the facilities and develop attractions and activities (Sharpley and Vass, 2006).

1.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1.2.1 TOURISM AS A DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

The development of tourism can increase the quality of life and create employment opportunities (Buckley, 2000). As a result of tourism, local people may stay in their communities and the uses, customs, traditions and the traditional agro-pastoral way

of life may be preserved (Uysal and Jurowski, 1994). The income from rural tourism can be just sufficient, to prevent people from moving to cities in search of work to keep local shops going and to maintain buildings in a reasonable state (Ko and Stewart, 2002; Fleischer and Tchetchik, 2005; Sharpley and Vass, 2006).

Many communities in remote areas have compromised the needs of the resident community to achieve tourism development goals. While in the short term, such compromises at the expense of local interests may seem appropriate courses of action, there may be negative repercussions at a later date (Gill and Williams, 1994). The effect of these changes is the decline and erosion of traditional communities and life styles and an alteration of the whole economic and social system in the rural areas. Communities are no longer cohesive entities, cultural and social solidarity has weakened and this in turn has an effect on both the viability of and participation in community life (Arnott and Duffield, 1979).

The development of tourism should, it is argued (Wahab and Pigram, 1997), be driven by the needs, wishes and aspirations of the community. Involving local people in the development process is extremely important; users who have a personal stake in the development of the community are more willing to accept decisions understood and recommended by themselves.

The fundamental economic problems of local development are primarily the socioeconomic and behavioural characteristics of people living in these communities which may be due, in part to rapid changes occurring in response to external influences. As such, it is argued that appropriate social behaviour, in the form of participation, may promote local development strategies. Community engagement and participatory bottom-up strategies are essential for pursuing community development. Such community approaches need to provide direction, support and guidance so to encourage and facilitate cooperation as appropriate for local development (Warner *et al*, 1997). Conversely, the absence of community empowerment and capability may impair local initiatives.

Encouraging participation characterises diverse approaches to development including sustainable and community-based approaches. Despite sustainable

development being a vague concept that is difficult to operationalise (McKercher, 1993; Ahn *et al*, 2002), evidence shows that the pursuit of sustainability seeks to reconcile economic aspirations of a community with social and environmental issues. While promoting and supporting the investment and infrastructure required for sustainable economic growth and diversification, communities must also safeguard the social and environmental systems that make it possible. Natural resources cannot be sustainably managed unless those who have the resources perceive it to be in their interests and are involved in the development process (Reid *et al*, 2004).

Sustainable development may actually be the outcome of a specific policy meant to ensure that on-going benefits are realised. Even though sustainable development is not the focus of this thesis, in the case of tourism development many researchers argue that tourism must contribute to sustainable development (Ko, 2005). Community approaches including the links and the roles of local associations in “influencing” development may be perceived as an approach to achieving sustainable development.

As tourism is essentially a resource-dependent industry (Boyd and Butler, 1996; Fyall and Garrod, 1996?; Kiss, 2004; Che, 2006), it is very important to manage these resources properly and take care of them. Otherwise they might be destroyed or degraded with the consequence that the destination is no longer attractive to tourists and as a result tourists might avoid the destination in the future. Thus, the resource base of tourism should be sustained because the vitality of tourism as an economic activity relies almost entirely on the attractions it has to offer (Stabler, 1997). The natural environment is crucial to the attractiveness of almost all travel destinations and recreation areas. Scenery, a term doing minimal justice to the features it denotes (...) colours the intensity of any tourist experience (Hunter and Green, 1995; Ioannides, 1995; Priestly *et al*, 1996; van der Straaten, 1997; Ap and Crompton, 1998; Sharpley, 2000; Williams, 2001; Coccossis and Mexa, 2002; Marsden *et al*, 2002; Liu, 2003; Stem *et al*, 2003; Shafer and Choi, 2006).

Moreover, the physical environment is not the only resource of tourism (Wahab and Pigram, 1997). The initial force motivating tourists is the landscape, encompassing attributes of both the physical and social environment. Tourism also depends on human resources such as customs, culture and language (Razak, 2007) and not only the environment but also culture is an important resource of tourism. Culture, traditions, heritage and nature are the reasons for tourists to visit an area. Therefore, tourism depends on these natural and cultural resources.

The growing shift towards sustainable tourism development has led to a renewed interest in the impacts of tourism on the host community (Prentice, 2007) and the attitude of residents as they increasingly interact with tourists (Ryan *et al*, 1998). Research on residents' attitudes towards tourism continues to be a topic of considerable interest (Gursoy *et al*, 2002; Prentice, 2007).

But what are attitudes? There is no universally accepted definition of attitude, and there is considerable debate regarding basic conceptualization (Williams and Lawson, 2001). Probably the most quoted definition of attitude is that of Allport (1935): "an attitude is a mental and neutral state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive and dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related". More recent definitions show that Allport's approach continues to be influential. For example, the following definitions have been put forward: "A personal disposition common to individuals, but possessed to different degrees, which impels them to react to objects, situations or propositions in ways that can be called favourable, or unfavourable" (Guilford, 1954: 456-457); "state of readiness, a tendency to act or react in a certain manner when confronted with certain stimuli" (Oppenheim, 1966: 105); "positive or negative dispositions which dispose a person to behave favourably (positively) or unfavourably (negatively) toward particular foci" (MacGréil, 1977: 11); and finally, and rather simply, "feelings about particular social objects" (Nunnally, 1967: 515). However, it was Eagly and Chaiken (1993: 1, in Williams and Lawson, 2001) who probably came closest to a definition that would satisfy the greatest number of researchers: "attitude is psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degrees of

favour or disfavour...evaluating refers to all classes of evaluative responding, whether overt or covert, cognitive, affective, or behavioural”.

1.2.2 THE NATURE OF PARTICIPATION

In chapter two community is defined as a group of people whose relationships are tied to a common territory or locale, have a common history and shared values, participate together in various activities, have a high degree of solidarity and whose members need to be involved in discussions and decisions about the most desirable form of collective life for themselves. Community involvement and participation in tourism development is regarded as a prerequisite to sustainability (Murphy, 1985; Inskoop, 1991; Ryan and Montgomery, 1994; Gunn, 1997; Ahn *et al*, 2002; Ko, 2005). Ryan (2002) noted the importance of community participation in the process of tourism development. Tourism relies heavily upon the goodwill of local residents; their support is necessary for the development, successful operation and sustainability of tourism (Saveriades, 2000; Yoon *et al*, 2001; Reid *et al*, 2004). Fostering a strong sense of community and building partnerships and consensus among key stakeholders are important elements of sustainable community efforts to developing and achieving a healthy community by jointly addressing economic, environmental, and social issues. Increased stakeholder participation [must be] encouraged, empowering the community to take responsibility for maintaining a project's outputs (Gonzales, 1998) and allow the individual to recover a sense of control over his own life, and to develop his self-esteem and social awareness (Moseley, 1982; Lindberg *et al*, 2001; Cole, 2007).

Local institution strengthening, capacity-building and greater involvement of local institutions as development mechanisms is crucial for overcoming the many obstacles to achieving community development (Richardson, 2000; Andereck *et al*, 2005). Local organisations need to promote new opportunities for change and structure partnerships that help each actor to strengthen their own capacities. According to Honadle (1985), “capacity building is the guts of development”. Honadle states that an evolving process is necessary for building within the

community the ability for critical thinking with an increased capacity to meet future needs.

A fundamental prerequisite of successful participatory programs at the community level is the reversal of control and accountability from central authorities to the community level; and, when the success of projects depends heavily on changes in behaviour at the community level, promoting participation in community-based programs may be the only means of meeting objectives (World Bank, 1998). It is up to individual communities to determine how they want to balance the status quo with the benefits of growth, and how effective they are going to be in mitigating the negative effects they want to avoid. In order to achieve these ends, new techniques to supplement and in some cases replace the traditional methods of social control are required (Scott *et al*, 1975). There needs to be a willingness to share power and information, trust the motives by other members of the community and discontinue historically unequal power relationships. To address the special needs of the community, residents need to recognise the importance of collective efforts which would require community organizing, capacity building, networking with outside organisations, and the principle of community involvement in the planning stages of development projects.

1.2.3 COMMUNITY ORGANISATION AND EMPOWERMENT

Participatory institutions and empowerment are closely linked. As such, institution building is one means through which local community members can empower themselves and generate the knowledge base and enthusiasm necessary for conservation and for involvement in community development. Institution building facilitates participation and is a key element in empowerment (Edwards *et al*, 2003). Empowerment is about people taking control over their lives: setting their agenda, gaining skills, increasing confidence, solving problems, and developing self-reliance. Empowerment is a term generally used to describe a process by which poor people become conscious of their own situation and organize collectively to gain greater access to public services or to the benefits of economic growth.

Once a community fully understands the status of its resources and begins to feel confident to act through its own institutions, meaningful and lasting achievements can be made. The process is slow since new resource management traditions are in essence being developed (Steel *et al*, 1994). Drawing on their extensive research, Chrislip and Larson (1994) argued that if you bring the appropriate people together (being broadly inclusive) in constructive ways (creating a credible, open process) with good information (bringing about a shared understanding of problems and concerns), they will create authentic visions and strategies for addressing the shared concerns of the community.

Communities need to address their weakness by building on their strengths, such as a strong spirit of entrepreneurship. The absence of effective co-operation in the communities contributes to a lack of equitable development, a necessary foundation for achieving local development. As Dudley (1993: 265) pointed out “development is not just about increased wealth. It means change; changes in behaviour, aspirations, and in the way in which one understands the world around one. Without an understanding of how and why people change, knowledge of the mechanisms and finance of technical aid will be of little use.

It becomes necessary to instill confidence and create institutional capabilities that fosters the empowerment of the local people and does not turn them into mere receivers of “gifts” coming from the outside. Empowerment is a process through which people and communities grow toward more equitable, respectful interrelationships with themselves, and their environment. Empowerment requires a shift from “power over” to “power with”, recognizing the interdependence of individuals, family members, communities, society, and the natural environment (Dean, 1991; Kadushin, 2002; Edwards *et al*, 2003; Clark *et al*, 2007). Berger and Neuhaus made the case for “mediating structures”---organizations and associations that “mediate” between “the individual in his private life and the large institutions of public life”. The mediating structures they had in mind were church, family neighborhood, and voluntary associations (Dionne, 1998). Clark *et al* (2007: 254) suggested that a “development trust effect” may result due to a capacity to stimulate new forms of community empowerment.

1.2.4 SOCIAL CAPITAL

Sustainable development and sustainable livelihoods have been seen as being dependent on appropriate levels and mixes of four types of capital: human-made capital (financial resources, infrastructure, etc.), human capital (skills, knowledge, etc.), natural capital (natural resources) and social capital (social relationships) (Serageldin and Steer, 1994; World Bank, 1996). The tendency has been to suggest that social capital is the most important of the four, for it has the most significant influence on the efficiency and equity with which the other types of capital are combined at the household, local or national level. Social capital is defined variously in two increasingly broad contexts. The first and most narrow definition is that it is a set of “horizontal associations” between people. In this context, social capital consists of social networks and associated norms that have an effect on the productivity of the community (Putnam, 1993). Recent social capital theory distinguishes between “bonding”, “bridging” and “linking” forms of social capital (Putnam, 2000). Bonding social capital involves trust and reciprocity in closed networks (in which members of networks know other members) and helps the process of “getting by” in life on a daily basis. Bridging social capital involves overlapping networks (in which a member of one group can gain access to the resources of another group because of overlapping membership). Linking social capital involves social relations with those in authority, which might be used to garner resources of power. Each of these three forms of social capital is arguably essential to a strong community (Stone and Hughes, 2001). While there is a good idea on how to accumulate other forms of capital how to accumulate and build social capital is still a learning process (Flora *et al*, 1999).

Dialogue, information, communication and interaction between key actors to solve community problems, take decisions and resolve controversies is not just a good idea, but an essential part of any development intervention. Consequently, there must be an institutional commitment to change. While nearly all resources suggest that community development programs build social capital by being broad based, integrated, flexible, responsive to local need, and outcome driven, actual studies outlining how to motivate communities in the first place are scarce (Coleman,

1993; Flora and Flora, 1993; Putnam, 1993; Bardwick, 1995; McKnight, 1995). Some researchers maintain that social capital should be assessed at the national level (Fukuyama, 1995), but the prevailing perspective adopts the region or community as a unit of observation and analysis (Putnam, 1993). Organizational factors and community involvement/cooperation are the most frequently cited elements of social capital; others were leadership, volunteerism, and community spirit (Putnam, 2000). Shucksmith (2000) and Shortfall (2004) go further and point out that the decision to invest in social capital is made by individuals, not communities. In this sense, to gain a broader understanding of its formation, social capital should be defined at the individual level.

So, if we accept for the moment that there is a link between social capital and development, then critical questions for public policy makers are (1) what causes levels of social capital to vary between different groups of people and (2) what can be done to increase social capital? (Killerby, 2001). Declining participation over the years in traditional village meetings (network), suggests a need for alternative forms of building bridging social capital. It is argued that bridging ties in particular lead to “generalised” trust. It is this form of trust that is argued to enable public good outcomes—including community sustainability (Uslaner and Dekker, 2001). In addition, it is argued that “too much” bonding or inward looking social capital may undermine the development and maintenance of cross-cutting ties (Stone and Hughes, 2001).

A community-based association may serve to motivate and introduce voluntary systems in making concerted efforts to attract greater involvement and participation of the members of the community. In this study, social capital was measured first by the density of associations in the community (Putnam, 1993), followed by the number of active members of associations, the role played by members of associations and the sense of belonging and participation of community members. The sense of belonging was determined during the interview as residents were asked several questions to determine the place attachment that residents have for the village and the parish. It is important to study people’s place attachment as it has been acknowledged that people’s attachment of feelings of community may affect their perceptions about tourism development (Um and Crompton, 1987;

Sheldon and Var, 1994), tourism development influences feelings of community attachment (McCool and Martin, 1994) and that people may have different attitudes toward tourism development, depending upon their source or degree of community or place attachment (Williams *et al*, 1995; Fraser *et al*, 2005).

1.2.5 COMMUNITY-BASED ASSOCIATIONS

Given the weakening of traditional local institutions and restraints, human beings even the most rugged individualists---require a web of relations; they need to be supported by organizations and institutions in order to thrive (Dionne, 1998). Strong local organisations serve as social institutions that rise to meet social needs and pressures and are essential to successful community development. Action-based organisational structures, such as a local association, can be a key player in the local implementation of tourism development (Kneafsey, 2001). By taking into account the views of all the major groups in the community and accepting them as equal partners in the development process, it may be possible to bring the community together to identify balanced approaches to community development (Warner *et al*, 1997).

In a community, membership or participation in local organisations reflects an intense horizontal interaction. Sharp *et al* (2002) argued that the presence of an organization linking together the whole community is likely to facilitate communication across diverse sectors of the community and create awareness of the larger community interest. The primary objectives of community associations should be to involve the low-income and other disenfranchised people in the affairs of the community, develop and/or strengthen local partnerships, develop and seek funding for local development initiatives, participate fully in community affairs, provide social services, mobilise local people and increase communication between local residents (NACAA, 2000). That organisations are voluntary indicates that trust exists. People tend to trust such voluntary associations / institutions as they emphasise civic engagement. The process of institution building is related to that of social capital building (Paldam and Svendsen, 1998).

1.3 THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

This study examines the attitudes, perceptions and involvement of residents of three communities to determine whether there is an association between social capital and tourism development and to what extent local networking through community based associations plays a role. Research associating social capital with local development suggests that the higher the level of social capital in a community, the more satisfied are residents with the development process, as benefits are distributed more equally (Putnam, 1993; Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998; Falk and Kilkpatrick, 2000; Tura and Harmaakorpi, 2003; Jones, 2005; Saxena, 2005 and 2006)

The aim of this study is twofold, firstly to critically examine and compare the attitudes to involvement in and perceptions of local associations of the residents of selected rural communities in the Peneda Geres National Park. Second, to determine residents perceptions of the contribution of local associations and the National Park Authority to the tourism development process.

In order to reach this aim, objectives have been defined as follows.

Objective 1: To analyse and evaluate the characteristics of, attitudes towards, and involvement in local associations by the local community.

Objective 2: To analyse and evaluate the perceptions of the local community of the influence of local associations on tourism development, and the reasons for those perceptions.

Objective 3: Critically evaluate if the local community perceives that external agents, in particular the Peneda Gerês National Park Administration, have encouraged and facilitated community involvement in local development efforts.

Objective 4: To provide recommendations for future rural/protected area and structural policies in specific context and to guide on future research. Such recommendations may help other communities understand why and how to go

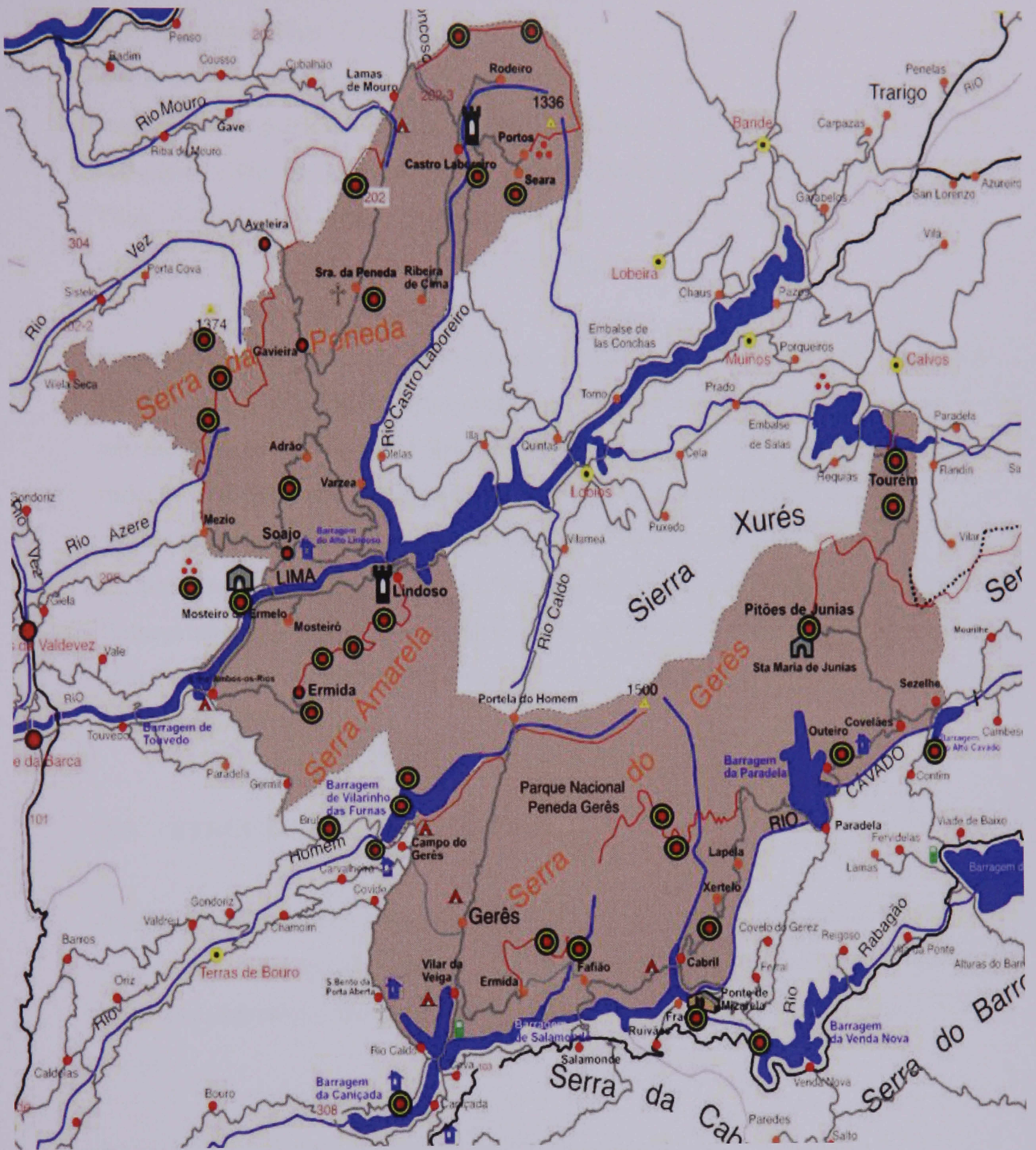
about introducing tourism development that are consistent with their accustomed practices.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Choosing appropriate research methods or techniques is clearly vital (Veal, 1997). The overall perspective adopted by this study is to recognize that the development process takes place within a particular context and is designed to achieve particular outputs and outcomes. This research will adopt a case study approach of parishes/village communities in the Peneda Gerês National Park in northern Portugal. Yin (1984: 23) defined the case study research method as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real- life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. Within the case study a quantitative methodological approach was used based on face-to-face structured interviews.

In Portugal, villages or towns may come under the control of various local or regional administrative units or levels. The basic level is the *freguesia*. The villages are grouped into a *freguesia* (administrative/political organisation) and *paroquia* (religious/ecclesiastical organisation). Generally, the two coincide and are referred to in this research as a “parish”. In terms of listening to the community, “empowering” it, or even attempting to assess economic or other benefits to the local economy, the administrative unit of the “parish” is the one sanctioned by the state, nevertheless it is just one social construction of the local community and it is argued that it is useful to retain the village level classification for the purposes of this research (Hampton, 2005). Whereas the *freguesia* (parish) leader serves as the representative of the local authorities, in economic terms, the leadership of the local community (if for sake of argument, the rural village represents the local economy) is often the farmer with the most land or a businessman (Chambers, 1997).

Figure 1: Map 1 of the Peneda Gerês National Park



Source: Peneda Gerês National Park

There are 24 such parishes in the National Park, 15 of which have more than 50% of its villages or population within its boundaries (PNPG, 1991: 10). Accepting Putnam's theory that the higher the density of voluntary organisations the higher the level of social capital, and that social capital in terms of associational membership is positively related to regional economic growth (Putnam, 1993), the selection of the parishes is based on the different levels of association activity. Thus, the selection of the research locations is based on the need to compare parishes with different numbers of associations.

Five associations was the most in any parish (and the only parish with five associations was Vilar da Veiga) and one was the minimum. To determine the parishes to research the parish must be comprised of a minimum of three villages in order to test the place attachment theory. This was followed by a ranking of the total number of associations and the number of active associations. The result was the parishes of Castro de Laboreiro (1 association) in the municipality of Melgaço, Entre-Ambos-os-Rios (3 associations) in the municipality of Ponte da Barca, and Vilar da Veiga (5 associations) in the municipality of Terras de Bouro were selected for further study.

1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is presented in eight chapters. The first chapter is a general introduction to the main topic of this research, describing the theoretical background, research aims and objectives, the steps in the research process and the organization of the thesis.

Chapter two presents a literature review on why tourism is considered a viable strategy for the development of remote rural areas—the advantages and disadvantages of tourism development—and the role of local residents and agents, paying particular attention to the principle of sustainability and the implications of sustainable development when developing tourism.

The third chapter continues with a literature review explaining the link between community participation and tourism development. The concept of “community” is defined as it relates to community-based development, and the objectives of a “community based association” are analysed.

The fourth chapter presents the general characteristics of Portugal, the North of Portugal region and the Peneda Gerês National Park. This chapter also presents a historical background of the communities in the National Park. The traditional agro-pastoral economy is reviewed, as are patterns of depopulation and emigration. It is argued that the behaviour of local residents reflects that of traditional rural agriculturally based communities, i.e. a behaviour demonstrating patriarchal characteristics.

Chapter five explains the methodology employed to collect the data for this study and a description of the research design and survey instruments are presented. To organize the definitions, concepts and theories being studied and in order to structure the research objectives, a conceptual framework was developed in the form of a mind map. Attention is paid to the operationalisation of the research, including details about the study population and means of data collection and analysis, procedures for conducting the interviews, period of the fieldwork and information about the fieldwork in general. The chapter ends with a profile of the populations of the study area in terms of its socio-demographic characteristics.

The sixth chapter comprises the analytical part of this research. The analysis discusses the respondents’ levels of identification with and attachment to the local community and their perception of community participation and who needs to be involved in community development. Local associations and the residents’ attitudes towards them are also discussed. The role of migration upon community life and its influence on participation and attachment is examined. The residents’ perceptions of the role of the Peneda Gerês National Park in community development are examined. The different stakeholders involved in tourism development are identified. Respondents’ frequency of interaction with tourists, their involvement with the tourism industry and their general perception of tourism in the community are discussed. Finally, it reports on the possible advantages and disadvantages of

the economic, social and environmental impacts that result from tourism development.

Chapter seven summarises the findings, analyses the objective of the research and establishes the relationship between the variables. Finally, an evaluation is made of the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted for this study.

Chapter eight contains the contribution of this study, policy proposals and recommendations for future research.

1.6 SUMMARY

In this introductory chapter attention has been paid to what is going to be researched and why this is being done. A brief theoretical review suggested that sustainable tourism is a strategy increasingly being implemented to create employment and revenue by using local resources that will be sustained and will not compromise the future of the community. In remote rural areas with limited options for economic development, tourism is seen as an option to provide an improved rural lifestyle, through the provision of increased income and employment. Tourism helps to stimulate the rural economy and, in particular, plays an important role in creating a value-added commercial channel for traditional local products.

Efforts to implement tourism development involve participation, possibly even control, by the local people in a community. Community empowerment is central to community participation and to the process for tourism development. These concepts are explored in the literature review that follows.

Chapter two is the first stage of this research and will comprise a thorough review of the considerable body of literature on the subjects of community based development with particular reference to tourism.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW ON LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided an overview of the subject, the reason and motivation for this study and a summary of key theoretical themes provided a guiding principle for the review of literature that follows in chapters 2 and 3.

Chapter two demonstrates how the changing meaning of the concept of community is renewing interest in communities as the basic units of local tourism development. As such, the chapter starts by examining the concept of community-based tourism. Because the pursuit of this development process depends on the involvement of community residents, this chapter analyses the existing theories and discusses the definitions used in literature on the changing meaning of the concept of community, community participation and community attachment as they apply to the practice of community based tourism development. The next section examines community organising as a form of empowering that promotes trust and feelings of involvement (network) in the development of the community.

Trust and networks are identified by the OECD (2001) as the means for enhancing social capital and Lundvall (1999) has linked the superior economic performance of certain regions to high levels of social capital. It will be shown that where residents work together rather than individually builds and facilitates social capital. Consequently, the final part of this chapter seeks to contextualise social capital, in regard to participation, a sense of reciprocity and sustainability for building the capacity of problem-solving by communities. Because such networks are operationalised when the diverse range of residents interact in the community, the final section will show how local institutions, such as community-based associations, can be key facilitators of interactional infrastructure and social capital (Kilpatrick *et al*, 2002). The purpose of reviewing the experiences of community-based associations is to demonstrate not necessarily what contributions such associations have made to physical development but to people

development, as social capital is argued to contribute to tourism development (e.g. Jones, 2005).

2.1 COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The recognition that communities can have some influence over the development of tourism has created a growing stream of literature on community-based tourism and community based development of tourism (Richards and Hall, 2000: 4). The emphasis is increasingly on the adoption of an endogenous approach to development that implies a process of local social mobilisation and requires an organisational structure which brings together varied community interests to pursue agreed objectives with the specific purpose of developing local capacity in terms of skills and competencies (Barke and Newton, 1997; Cattell, 2001; Marsden *et al*, 2002; Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Goodman, 2004; Cleaver, 2005; Dredge, 2006; Garrod *et al*, 2006; Liu, 2006). “Community-based tourism” and “community tourism” are generally used interchangeably to describe the same phenomena and fall under the umbrella of the leading paradigms of sustainable tourism. Community-based tourism emphasises the active participation and empowerment of local people in the pursuit of the tourism opportunity that brings benefits to the community (Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000; Rudd, 2000; Cattell, 2001; Duffy, 2002; Hardy *et al*, 2002; Cleaver, 2005; Saxena, 2005 and 2006; Jones, 2005).

In its ideal form, community-based tourism is initiated and operated by local communities in harmony with their traditional culture and responsible stewardship of the land (Mountain Forum, 1999). It is based on the premise that each community offers unique attractions, whether it be the people, the heritage, special events or natural resources (Hampton, 2005). Equally the local population going about their everyday lives are as much a manifestation of the culture as the ‘special event’ displays of folk dancing or handicraft sales. In so doing they act effectively as the unpaid attractions and workforce of the tourism industry (Edwards *et al*, 2000). The local population needs to be encouraged to engage in local tourism initiatives in order to increase their perceived quality of life, thus

maintaining a positive attitude and support for tourism development (Burr, 1995; Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000; Rudd, 2000, Cattell, 2001; Duffy, 2002; Hardy *et al*, 2002; Cleaver, 2005; Saxena, 2005 and 2006; Jones, 2005). On the other hand, signals of frustration and perceived negative tourism impacts could lead to resentment of the community towards tourism, thereby impeding its development.

Community-based tourism places strong emphasis on the participation of local communities in the planning and provision of tourist activities (Saxena, 2005). It works toward balancing power within communities so that conservation and communal well-being, not individual profit, are emphasized, improving the socio-economic situation of a community and allowing for greater focus on improving overall welfare and standards of living. Participation in community-based development depends on taking control and accountability from central authorities and giving it to community organisations. However, do community organisations and/or institutions possess the necessary power and/or authority and the capacity for taking the lead in influencing changes warranted for promoting community action and development?

One of the best ways to strengthen communities is to ensure that people have greater power over, and responsibility for, the decisions that shape their communities (Paul, 1987; Rubin and Rubin, 1992; Schuler, 1996; Scheyvens, 1999). A fundamental component of implementing sustainable development locally is having people come together to identify a community's needs and then work toward collaborative solutions (Richardson, 2000; Page and Dowling, 2002; Boyd and Singh, 2003). Reid *et al* (2004) suggested that communities should be involved in decision making to ensure social capital is recognised and that planning becomes a part of the social consciousness of the destination. Simpson (2001) concluded that residents who concur with tourism goals and objectives set for their region will be equally happy with the outcomes that ensue, which in turn helps to achieve sustainable tourism. As a tool that brings empowerment to a community and sets a basis for sustainable development, community-based tourism, then, suggests a highly responsible form of tourism through which the tourist experience, environment and community are all mutually benefited.

The core issue for understanding the community-tourism relationship centres on how community members communicate and interact, how they are influenced in their opinions and how this dynamic process of influence might be successfully managed for sustainable tourism enterprises (Pearce *et al*, 1996). Nevertheless, the literature on community tourism planning is still not quite clear as to the definition of community. The fact that a group of people live in the same geographic area does not mean that they belong to the same community (Williams and Lawson, 2001) in any given geographic region, there may be any number of communities (Fallon and Kriwoken, 2003). So the next question that needs to be answered is what is meant by “community” and how attached are residents to it.

2.2 LOCAL COMMUNITY DEFINED

If, as Richards and Hall (2000) point out, community as an ideology has certainly permeated the sustainability literature and there are few sustainable tourism policies which do not refer to the importance of long-term benefits for the “community”, two particular questions need to be raised, then, about current discussions of community—what is a local community and who forms it.

A survey of the literature indicates that beyond the common basis that community deals with people, there is little agreement on a definition. It may be geographical in nature or a community of interest, built on heritage and cultural values shared among community members. In some cases, communities may cluster together beyond their administrative boundaries, based on their assessment of the values in working together (Joppe, 1996). For Smit (1990), a community implies a coherent entity with a clear identity and a commonality of purpose. Green and Haines (2007) defined community as including three elements: (1) territory or place; (2) social organizations or institutions that provide regular interaction among residents, and (3) social interaction on matters concerning a common interest. Although there may be varied definitions of community, this study focuses on communities of place. This approach, however, is problematic because people are becoming less attached to their place and more linked to communities of interest. Many issues that concern residents, however, are place based. So, although there

are social and economic forces changing the nature of community, place-based issues continue to influence the quality of life of most people (Gunn and Gunn, 1991).

For almost everyone, the word *community* has a very positive connotation indeed. It evokes images of personal relationships characterised by warmth, care and understanding: of shared values and more commitments; of social cohesion and solidarity; of continuity in time and place. In many spheres of thought, the ties of community—real or imagined, traditional or contrived—come to form the image of the good society (Nisbet, 1971). Humans need communities—and a sense of community (Gardner, 1995). Healthy communities need caring individuals (McKnight, 1995; Benson, 1997; Schorr, 1997). There is a sense of belonging and identity, a spirit of mutual responsibility (Gardner, 1995). According to Benson (1997: 2), “the vision of a healthy community focuses on creating a normative culture in which adults, organizations, and community institutions unite to take action guided by a shared vision”. Similarly, Gardner (1995) suggested that of all the ingredients of community, a core of shared values is possibly the most important.

A community is a group of people who are socially interdependent (Etzioni, 1995). This implies that in their involvement with one another, people have some of their important needs and interests met by other group members, and that their actions have direct consequences for those with whom they regularly interact (Bellah *et al*, 1985). Community involves people sharing certain practices. These practices are defined as shared activities that are not undertaken as a means to an end but are ethically good in themselves (Bender, 1982). These practices help establish a web of interconnection by creating trust, joining people together, and making each individual aware of his or her reliance on the community (MacIntyre, 1981; Sandel, 1984; Bellah *et al*, 1985). Responsive communities provide social webs “that bind individuals, who would otherwise be on their own, into groups of people who care for one another and who help maintain a civic, social, and moral order” (Etzioni, 1995: 248).

Smith (1976) affirmed that when considering local level social organisation, one must distinguish between a “settlement” (small village) and a community. A “settlement” includes the residential group and the local descent group (in the study area it may be defined as a segment of the parish or the village), which are completely distinct concepts that never completely overlap in membership. When discussing all the inhabitants of a settlement, one is speaking of the residential group. To the descent group the settlement represents a community, the most important unit in their social system. The community is an isolated and autonomous unit in many economic, political, inter-actional, and psychological respects. Values, beliefs, skills, attitudes and practices are owned and shared within the community. Between settlements, there is “need only” co-operation arrangement, and the few times that interaction with people from other settlements is necessary is when they need to accomplish ceremonial activities that still characterise the region. This description associates settlements with villages. But if we take the argument presented by Ellen (1987) relative to the division of the community in that it is becoming more and more widely accepted that the “village community” is a myth, then the village as a community would be limited, or even non-existent. This is not, of course, to say that villages do not exist: of course they do, but rarely if ever as isolated, self-contained entities. In fact, they exist as part of a wider society with links (political, economic and social) with other villages and with the larger locality, the district, even the whole nation state. Nisbet (1971: 53) supports this argument when he suggested “the vanished solidarities of village community”. According to this argument, the grouping of villages into a parish (as is the case in the Peneda Gerês National Park) comprises the community.

A number of scholars agree with Ellen and suggest the disappearance, decline, erosion, and eclipse of community (Hummon, 1990; Wilkinson, 1991; Etzioni and Etzioni, 1997), in what Booth (1999) claims is tied to a “community of memory perspective”. Other scholars argue for the “community of common interest” perspective, which focuses on the ways people express how they feel they belong to a community, in particular how they see themselves as differing from other places (Cohen, 1985). In fact, the longing for community is today widespread and a return to community is often seen as a solution for the ills of modern society:

relationships that are transitory, impersonal, and segmented; the loss of feelings of attachment and belonging; the absence of meaning and unity in our lives; the sharp dichotomy between public and private life; the isolation and alienation of the individual (Phillips, 1993).

In his classic study, Hillery (1959) reviewed 94 definitions of community and reached the conclusion that “all of the definitions deal with people”. Phillips (1993:14) follows Hillery’s argument and suggests that “a community is a group of people who live in a common territory, have a common history and shared values, participate together in various activities, and have a high degree of solidarity”. Bender (1982) speaks of community as involving a limited number of people in a somewhat restricted social space or network held together by shared understandings and a sense of obligations; thus, for community to exist there must pre-exist “a network of social relations marked by mutuality and emotional bonds”. Burr (1991) also observed that the concept of what constitutes a community has not been considered carefully by researchers. Urry (1995) extended the Bell and Newby (1976) analysis of the concept to include four different uses of the term: first, the idea of community as belonging to a specific topographical location; second, as defining a particular local social system; third, in terms of a feeling of “*communitas*” or togetherness; and fourth as an ideology, often hiding the power relations which inevitably underlie communities.

Schuler (1996: 9-11) differentiated between the old or “traditional” community, as being often exclusive, inflexible, isolated, unchanging, monolithic and homogeneous and the *new community*, one that is fundamentally devoted to democratic problem-solving, needing to be fashioned from the remnants of the old. Development then depends on “traditional”, “primitive” values being displaced by modern ones. In a “traditional” society, three crucial features are noted (Webster, 1990: 49-50):

- The value of traditionalism itself is dominant: that is, people are oriented to the past and they lack the cultural ability to adjust to new circumstances;
- The kinship system is the decisive reference point for all social practices, being the primary means through which economic, political and legal relationships are controlled. Ones’ position in the kinship system and hence in the society is

ascribed, not achieved—that is, it is a reflection of the status or standing of the family, clan or tribe into which one is born; ones' position only changes as one moves up the family hierarchy. Status is then, not earned or achieved, but conferred by the virtue of kinship relationships;

- Members of the traditional society have an emotional, superstitious and fatalistic approach to the world: “what will be, will be; “things have always been this way”.

In contrast, “modern society is made up of completely opposite characteristics:

- People may still have traditions but they are not slaves to them and will challenge any that seem unnecessary or get in the way of continued cultural progress (that is they do not suffer from “traditionalism”);
- Kinship has a very much less important role in all areas of society (even within the family) because of the need for geographical and social mobility which weakens family ties; moreover, one's position in the economy, polity, etc., is earned through hard work and high achievement—motivation and not determined by kinship;
- Members of modern society are not fatalistic but forward-looking and innovative, ready to overcome the obstacles they find in their way, particularly in business affairs, reflecting a strong entrepreneurial spirit and rational, scientific approach to the world.

Webster (1990) argued that the new community needs to contain elements of the old community. At the same time, many elements of the old society have outlived their usefulness. Modern circumstances have made change constant and new communities must learn to adapt. Modern circumstances have also made conflict likely so the new community must learn to discuss issues effectively.

According to the various perspectives, a community includes people who share a place and an interdependent relationship. These relationships occur in the context of a continuously changing community affected by global forces, which tend to make people feel isolated, disconnected and alone. But, if community is a group of people whose relationships are tied to a common territory or locale, have a common history and shared values, participate together in various activities, and have a high degree of solidarity, then community members need to be involved in discussions and decisions about the most desirable form of collective life for themselves. Community, from this perspective, involves the idea of collective, participatory engagement of people in the determination of the affairs that directly concern them. In a community that is culturally rich and diverse, people can come together and determine their future in concert with community leaders. It is

imperative that community members be brought in as equal partners in the renewal and development process. Residents should act as partners in the community vision, values and goals to further the capacity of communities to obtain sustainable development. Community grows out of participation and at the same time makes participation possible; civic activity educates individuals how to think publicly as citizens even as citizens informs civic activity with the required sense of publicness and justice. Community requires, then, that people be actively involved in common talk, common decision-making, and common action (Barber, 1984; Bellah *et al*, 1985). Thus, it becomes necessary to inspire residents to care for their community.

The sustainability of the community requires support from below—from its residents (Gursoy and Rutherford, 2003). Experience has shown that sustainable development requires a commitment to sound management, effective leadership, the integration of environmental concerns into decision-making and full participation of all parties concerned, through the use of collaborative and/or consensus groups that include members of local communities to try to influence or resolve issues of mostly local concern (Borda, 1985). It is argued that when there is true community participation, when local people carry out the project—then resistance and suspicion in the community disappear (Borda, 1985; Akis *et al*, 1996; Gursoy and Rutherford, 2003). The more people participate in community action, the greater the future capacity to solve community problems (Rubin and Rubin, 1992). As such, community theory acknowledges that both individual members of local communities and local communities as a whole (possibly represented by the local authorities) are very important stakeholders in sustainable tourism development (Beeton, 2006; Tosun, 2006; Hawkins and Mann, 2007).

2.3 COMMUNITY ORGANIZING

According to Rubin and Rubin (1992: 3-6), community organizing:

- means bringing people together to combat shared problems and to increase their say about decisions that affect their lives;

- helps people overcome the feeling that they face problems alone or that they are to blame for problems;
- combats the sense of helplessness people feel in dealing with the problems that confront them;
- increases people's capacity to solve problems, by building democratic organizations that focus and multiply the power of many individuals;
- increases people's capacity to solve problems, by building democratic organizations that focus and multiply the power of many individuals; and,
- resolves many of the sources of powerlessness. Each successful group activity makes community members feel more confident and competent about solving their problems.

Determining needs and setting priorities within the community is critical for cultural survival and results in a proactive stance toward development. Otherwise, needs are likely to be determined by those outside of the community who have a different set of cultural values (Guyette, 1996). This would require that people who live and work in the community engage in local initiatives. The more people, the more they build up networks, contacts, trust and other means and methods for institutional building will be argued later in this chapter as contributing to social capital.

However, institutional building in "traditional societies" and collective action in rural areas sometimes lacks authoritative means to mobilize resources above and beyond what can be obtained on a voluntary basis (Streeck and Schmitter, 1991). For example, voluntary associations will not possess authority to represent the community in the development process. In many of these small Portuguese rural communities, power and authority are limited, and leaders of traditional institutions may find it devastating if they give up or share power with emerging non-traditional institutional leaders. The reason is that people have been taught that those in authority must be right and questioning authority is wrong. Those in charge, whether government officials or business leaders, maintain their positions by claiming they represent legitimate authority and cannot and should not be challenged (Rubin and Rubin, 1992). Probably the most frequent and powerful social obstacle to the participation of local people in the development process is a mentality of dependence which is deeply and historically ingrained in their lives. Local populations in the Peneda Gerês National Park have for generations been

dominated by and dependent upon local elite groups (Silva, 1994). The lack of leadership and organisational skills, and consequent inexperience in running projects or organisations, leaves most rural people incapable of responding to the demands of participation (Oakley, 1991). Those who are powerless are alienated and marginalised (Sofield, 2003). The nonparticipation of people often leaves decisions to established leaders who do not always work in the best interest of their communities (Silva, 1994). In local communities, there often are people who are better educated and wealthier rendering the remaining members of the community as powerless.

Lerner, in his book *Surplus Powerlessness* (1986) concluded that when people lose the right creatively to address their own needs, they become fragmented, passive consumers, acting individually or fighting each other. Lerner further argued that lack of democratic participation in economic decisions becomes a factor in the destruction of communities and the economic crisis. People believe that nothing can be changed: “There is nothing we can do about it. We are powerless.” This deep belief or conviction that nothing can or will change is a major reason things stay the way they are. Lerner believed that people often see themselves as more powerless than they really are. This is what he calls “surplus powerlessness”. So, community may exist but the local population may still be individualistic due to the feeling that they are fundamentally incapable of getting anything that they really want and accept the way things are because they do not believe that they could possibly make things different. They either believe that they do not know enough to make suggestions or do not believe anyone would pay attention to what they want anyway. Freire (1972) wrote of the “culture of silence” and said that the rural poor had “no voice, no access and no participation” in development activities. People feel helpless when they lack the power to wipe out the discrepancy between *what is* and *what ought to be* (Sofield, 2003: 55). Although they perceive injustice and seethe with resentment, people may feel so powerless they don’t think about coming together to solve shared problems (Rubin and Rubin, 1992). People feel powerless because their problems are complex and require knowledge they often lack. The result is an apparent sense of “a collective inferiority complex”.

This dependent mentality is further reinforced by the fact that mere “survival” is for most rural people their greatest challenge and consumes much of their energies, leaving them precious little time to “participate”. Many rural people, therefore, tend to accept the status quo and their position in a framework in which economic and social arrangements maintain the control of the few and the exclusion of the majority. In this context, therefore, the very notion of participation is far removed from reality and is almost unintelligible to rural people who have never been seen invited to share in the activities and benefits previously dominated by others (UN, 1987). Thus, although community members may feel powerless when it comes to making decisions that directly affect their lives they may nevertheless not trust others in the community to do so.

When old systems break down or become “dysfunctional”, locally-based intermediaries need to build strong relationships based on mutual trust and respect, dependent on community values and cohesion. They must build the capacity of the community to solve its own problems. Effective community organizing requires that community-based associations be able to provide the assistance and connections to political clout and influence and that outsiders be able to draw on information, expertise, and wisdom that only can come from the community itself (Wolleback and Selle, 2002).

Being community-based means more than simply being located in the community, development schemes are not just *in* but *of* the community. The building up of local-level organisations which, for the first time represent the interests of the rural poor and which can serve as a basis for their increasing involvement in development activities (Oakley, 1991), increases the confidence of the people, and may begin to see the role of external change agents as facilitators—helping but not dominating. Such an approach of collective action enables people who have little or no experience of participation, or who are disillusioned with what they have experienced, to become involved in activity, debate and decision-making (Henderson, 1997). However, it is possible that time and patience are needed to break down the tradition of mistrust and oppression before local people can be ready to get involved.

An organised community could motivate and encourage the private sector, foster entrepreneurship by improving institutional facilities for enterprise creation, address the lack of public and private investment and simplify local formalities which sometimes make local investment more complicated, costly and time consuming. Income generation, increased local control of resources, local institution-strengthening, capacity-building and greater involvement of local organisations and local levels of government, as development mechanisms, are crucial for overcoming the many obstacles to attaining community development objectives (Long and Nuckolls, 1994; Schumaker, 1996; Kiviniemi, 2004). To achieve such objectives, communities need to involve their citizens in meaningful ways in improving whole systems for their communities. This leads to the question of how the concept of encouraging local participation may be implemented in a given culture and society (Hampton, 2005).

2.4 EMPOWERMENT IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In recent years, there has been an increasing amount of literature on reconceptualizing community development that focuses on community assets—not deficits—and of developing community capacity. Developing a community's capacity means building skill and knowledge bases, local institutions, local resources, and programs that empower a community to deal effectively with its own circumstances. In fact, empowering has become an accepted term in development vocabulary. It is, however, a term difficult to define and gives rise to alternative explanations (Oakley, 1991).

Sofield (2003: 50) defines empowerment as “the taking on of power at both individual and social levels” and when it “is located within the discourse of community development [it is] connected to concepts of self-help, participation, networking and equity”. They consider participation is a vital part of empowerment since such involvement in decision-making affecting people's lives opens the door to “confidence, self-esteem, knowledge and [the development of] new skills. These new skills and abilities enable rural people to manage better, have a say in or negotiate with existing development delivery systems; others see

it as more fundamental and essentially concerned with enabling rural people to decide upon and to take the actions which they believe are essential to their development (Bhasin, 1985; Kronenbourg, 1986; Wahab and Pilgram, 1997; Stem *et al*, 2003; Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Goodman, 2004; Jones, 2005; Dredge, 2006).

Empowerment transforms the dependent mentality into the feeling that they can succeed that occurs when people *control* their everyday environment, the process of gaining control over different forms of social power and the sense of efficacy that occurs when people realize they can solve the problems they face and have the right to contest unjust conditions (Rubin and Rubin, 1992; Pretty, 1995).

Subsequently, community development involves local empowerment through organized groups of people acting collectively to control decisions, projects, programs and policies that affect them as a community and occurs when people form their own organizations to provide a long-term capacity for problem solving (Rubin and Rubin, 1992; Pretty, 1995). Community-based, grass-roots groups are the main agents of community organizing, community development and social action (Gaventa and Lewis, 1989).

From these community-based efforts, community-based development advocates have begun to recognize and articulate a new type of infrastructure necessary for development. Whereas traditional development policy emphasizes the need for infrastructure development in physical terms, the new community development model sees the need for human development. With this investment, people can become better equipped to rebuild their own communities and economies (Gaventa and Lewis, 1989).

While participation is basic to a functioning and vital community, citizen action is in some ways more important, for action implies leadership, and any sustained citizen movement necessarily includes the development and nurturing of leadership capabilities within its membership (Schuler, 1996). But action alone is also not enough. There are clearly a number of ways in which an individual may find his own solution to a problem without recourse to others, and in doing so may

be seen to be fully involved in it. But participation as used here entails more than taking individual responsibility for some action. It implies sharing in an activity, undertaking activities with other people (Richardson, 1983). The historical evidence is overwhelming in demonstrating that dialogue and interaction between key actors to solve a particular problem is not just a good idea, but an essential part of any development intervention; isolated efforts have not been conducive to sustainability and have not been effective or even efficient in project implementation and local development. The focus is on partnership orientation.

Local partnerships are the constitution at a local level of a structure (formal or informal) grouping the largest and the most diversified number of actors possible and playing the role of an association or local development agent. The creation of such a structure, allows one to systematize the work of confrontation and also of the objective consensus. In other words, it establishes a bridge between public and private actors, between associations and businesses, between those who possess the means and those who have the competencies and creates the conditions to integrate the poorest populations in the development process (Pretty, 1995; Wahab and Pilgram, 1997; Rudd, 2000, Cattell, 2001; Kneafsey, 2001; Cleaver, 2005).

2.5 THE NATURE OF PARTICIPATION

Participation has become an increasingly fashionable word to convey a more passionately desired change in the planning process. In effect, participation has been taken to mean some kind of involvement of the people who had earlier been regarded as passive, planned-for publics, in the definition and solution of planning problems, and in the implementation of measures (Bailey, 1975). It is only by participating that men can ensure that their interests are defended and promoted (Pretty, 1995). Participation is thus not so much a relationship between an individual and a group, as it is a mode of being together with others in such a way that something entirely new is engendered (Deutsch, 1991; Tosun, 2005) and emphasises the insertion of an “agent” who aims to involve people in defining and solving community problems (Kilpatrick *et al*, 2002).

There is considerable literature that addresses the definition and the potential value of community participation. Gonzales (1998) compiled the following list of community participation definitions, from the 1973-1989 rural development literature:

- Community participation is considered a *voluntary contribution* by the people to one or another of the Public programmes supposed to contribute to national Development but the people are not expected to take part in shaping the programme or criticising its contents (Economic Commission for Latin America, 1973: 63).
- Community participation means to sensitise the people and, thus, to *increase the receptivity and ability of rural people to respond to development programmes*, as well as to encourage local initiatives (Lele, 1975: 9).
- Community participation is the organised efforts to *increase control over resources and regulative institutions* in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements of those hitherto excluded from such control (Pearse and Stiefel, 1979: 8).
- Popular participation in development should be broadly understood as the *active involvement of people in the decision-making process* in so far as it affects them Uphoff and Cohen, 1979: 47).
- Participation includes people's *involvement in decision-making processes, in implementing programmes...their sharing in the benefits of development programmes, and their involvement in efforts to evaluate such programs* (Lisk, 1981: 3).
- Participation is considered to be an active process, meaning that the person or group in question *takes initiatives and asserts his/her or its autonomy* to do so (Rahman, 1981: 146).
- Community involvement means that people, who have both the right and the duty to participate in solving their own health problems, have *greater responsibilities in assessing* the health needs, mobilising local resources and suggesting new solutions, as well as creating and maintaining local organisation (WHO, 1982: 35).
- In a review of World Bank development projects, Samuel Paul inferred that community participation is a process by which beneficiary groups (people whom the project is expected to serve) *actively influence the direction and execution* of projects with a view to enhancing their own well being (Paul, 1987: 20).
- Participation means the *contribution of beneficiaries to the decisions or work involved* in the projects (Finsterbusch and Van Wicklin, 1989: 575).

The literature (e.g. Paul, 1987) suggests that through awareness, innovation, and participation, communities can shape the direction that they wish to take. Ideally in such an approach the community residents discuss, propose and implement actions designed to transform their community and improve the lives of

individuals. It can be argued that there is a threefold requirement for participation: first the individual must believe that the issue affects him; second he/she has to be aware of the opportunities to participate; and third he/she must believe that their presence and participation will have an effect. A fourth condition for participation should be added, not only must the person perceive the relevance of the issue, an opportunity to participate and a feeling that it might be worthwhile, but he/she must also feel some sort of need or obligation to do so (Moseley, 1982).

It is suggested that participation not only enhances the individual's ability to cope intelligently with a new range of issues but also increases his self-confidence to tackle problems in other spheres. "Through discussion and consideration of varying types of issues, people are given a chance to learn about new problems and solutions to them; if they make a few mistakes, they will also learn from them. Participation is not only about making the participants more fulfilled; it is also about making them more fully developed human beings" (Richardson, 1983: 55). Liu (2006) goes further in arguing that active local participation in decision-making is a precondition for benefits reaching communities and demonstrates that despite weak participation in decision-making processes, the local community can benefit sufficiently from tourism.

Another main cause for difficulties in obtaining local community participation is the conflicting interests in a community. As suggested earlier in this chapter, the community is often a myth. Communities are often divided between groups with divergent interests, such as employers and workers, the old and the young. The interests of one may not coincide with, or may be completely opposed to, the interests of another (Butcher, 1997). Localities are complex in character. This means that different individuals and social groups have different views and interests in a place, as well as in tourism development. The interests of individuals and groups are therefore heterogeneous (Verbole, 1999).

Local patterns of power and domination (Verbole, 1999) make the obtaining of community participation difficult as well. Bramwell and Sharman (1999) note that the resource allocation, policy ideas and institutional practices embedded within society may often limit how much influence some individuals and groups will

have on the planning process. There are inequalities in the power of different stakeholders in the community and also in the power of local communities within wider society.

2.5.1 DEFINING PLACE ATTACHMENT

Um and Crompton (1987); Lankford,(1994); Sheldon and Var (1994) are among those who have argued that people's attachment of feelings to a community may affect their perceptions about tourism development. Conversely it has been argued that tourism development influences feelings of community attachment (McCool and Martin, 1994) and people may have different attitudes toward tourism development, depending upon their source or degree of community or place attachment (Williams *et al*, 1995).

Milligan (1998) defined place attachment as the emotional link formed by an individual to a setting that has been given meaning through interaction, comprised of two interwoven components: the "interactional past" and the "interactional potential" of the setting. Interactional past refers to past experiences or memories associated with a setting. Interactional potential refers to the future expectations or experiences imagined and anticipated to be possible in a given setting. Much in the same way Tuan (1991: 164-165) argued that "to know a place is to know the past" and "to live in a place is to experience it". Tuan further argued that spaces become meaningful when they are transformed into places. This metaphysical outlook regards place as "cultured" space, when past, present, stability and achievement co-exist. A particular setting becomes place to an individual specifically because of the activities that have occurred within its boundaries over time, creating a history tied to the experiences of people that have occurred within the setting (Cunningham, 2006).

People's attachment to place can be considered as enduring psychological attitudes and behaviour tendencies that can enable an understanding of the identity of a person based upon a geographical place (Feldman, 1990). Place attachment often refers to one's sense of place and includes symbolic and emotional

expressions (Hwang and Huei-Ju Chen, 2005). This expression of connectedness between people and places creates what Giddens (1979) refers to as an *environment of trust* in kin relations, local communities, cosmology, and tradition, which is place-based.

As such, place attachment has been assessed by at least two conceptual domains, including place identity and place dependence (Bricker and Kerstetter, 2000; Lee and Allen, 2000). Place identity is associated with “those dimensions of self that define the individual’s personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals and behavioural tendencies and skills relevant to this environment” (Proshansky, 1978). Place identity represents people’s symbolic/emotional relationship with their natural surroundings and environments and places (Proshansky *et al*, 1995). Place is the primary focus because it provides the central, complex and indispensable means by which humans make it into a home (Tuan, 1991; Sack, 1997). Place dependence can be considered as an “occupant’s perceived strength of association between him or herself and specific places” (Stokols and Shumaker, 1981: 457). Thus, place dependence has to do with a person’s perception of alternative existing places and the attachment that is made to a particular level or place and the past experiences that contribute to elements with which people associate with a community.

2.6 THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

As Phillips (1993) argued, locality alone is not sufficient to turn a population into a community. The various definitions of community presented above suggested that a community comprises a group of people, who are socially interdependent and marked by mutuality and emotional bonds (shared purpose and common goals), endured for a considerable period of time (tradition), unified by common residence in a geographical location. But living in a place with local institutions does not necessarily lead to a sense of community. Community also implies civic institution—social capital and social cohesion. For example, a group within which there is extensive trustworthiness and extensive trust is able to accomplish much

more than a comparable group without that trustworthiness and trust (Coleman, 1988; Fukuyama, 1995; Locke, 1995; World Bank, 1996; Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000; Rudd, 2000; Cattell, 2001; Cleaver, 2005; Jones, 2005; Saxena, 2005 and 2006). In communities in transition, the existing institutional structure undermines the viability of most communities. Institutional change is required to improve the quality of life and to capture the resources leaving the community. In other words, community-based strategies frequently generate demand among extra-local actors that produces benefits and returns the created surplus to the community (Gunn and Gunn, 1991).

[Similar to] the notions of physical and human capital, the term “social capital” refers to features of social organisation—such as networks of formal and informal groups that have developed (and may develop) norms of mutual trust and reciprocity (Ellickson, 1991; Putnam, 1993; Rudd, 2000; Cattell, 2001; Cleaver, 2005; Jones, 2005; Saxena, 2005 and 2006), i.e. “mutually obliging relationships between individuals and different groups of a society” (Gunnar and Svendsen, 1999: 4).

Trust is the expectation that arises within a community of regular, cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms (Gunner and Svendsen, 1999). It is precisely the reciprocity observed in the innumerable exchanges of goods in a society that—at an overall level—knits this society together in every aspect, producing common norms, common identity, trust and solidarity on the one hand, and strong economic ties on the other (Mauss, 1969; Rudd, 2000; Cattell, 2001). Reciprocity in the sense of the ability of people to work together for common purposes in groups and organisations has been defined more specifically as “social capital” (Coleman, 1988; Cleaver, 2005; Jones, 2005; Saxena, 2005 and 2006).

Social capital is defined variously in two increasingly broad contexts. The first and most narrow definition is that it is a set of “horizontal associations” between people. In this context, social capital consists of social networks and associated norms that have an effect on the productivity of the community (Putnam, 1993; Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998; Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000; Tura and Harmaakorpi,

2003; Jones, 2005; Saxena, 2005 and 2006). The second and broader concept of social capital defines it as a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of actors—whether personal or corporate actors—within the structure...and, social capital is the ability of people to work together for common purposes in groups and organisations (Coleman, 1988). Thus, social capital is the resource that is found in the structure of social relationships (Stone, 2001).

Social capital is productive because it increases the level of trust in a society and allows more transactions to take place without third party enforcement. Cooperation is seen as something voluntary—“enforced” by themselves. This is contrary to “involuntary cooperation”—enforced by outsiders. The ability to cooperate voluntarily depends, in turn, on the degree to which communities share norms and values and are able to subordinate individual interests to those of larger groups (Paldam and Svendsen, 1998; Stewart-Weeks and Richardson, 1998; Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000; Rudd, 2000; Ashley *et al*, 2001; Cattell, 2001; Marsden *et al*, 2002; Stone and Hughes, 2002; Mattsson and Stenbacka, 2003; Cleaver, 2005; Jones, 2005; Dredge, 2006; Saxena, 2005 and 2006).

Social capital is produced by trust, interaction and validation (Putnam, 1993) and the mutual expectation that arises within a community of regular, cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms (Paldam and Svendsen, 1998). According to both Coleman (1993) and Putnam (1993) overtime, these conditions have ceased to be met. The social capital needed for primordial institutions, such as families and communities has been undermined by the decline of social networks. Social circles have expanded, but without any depth of social relations. The majority of the newest generation of adults that make up our communities have learned more of their values and behaviours from watching television than from direct human contact.

Throughout history, when primordial social organizations such as families were strong, it was so because the social capital upon which it depended was abundant (Coleman, 1993). However, the persistence of accentuating the importance of the individual releases us from the obligation of consideration and responsibility to

others in group weakening the bonds of community. The erosion of social controls opens space for expanded individual autonomy (Inglehart, 1997) and the seeds for the rebirth of entrepreneurship and self-awareness are being sown. Individualism becomes powerful and profitable (Seligman, 1990). Individual behaviour changes and becomes increasingly competitive. The problem of mankind today is there is not meaning in the group; all is in the individual (Campbell, 1949). Once emotionally and cognitively relieved from much of their responsibility to others, and liberated by the anonymity that disengagement from community offers, people become comfortable competing aggressively and increasingly anxious to establish identity. The circumstances that produce conservatism lead to the breakdown or disorganization of traditional forms of association (Nisbet, 1971).

By abdicating responsibility to outside agents and agencies, over time, people lose much of the knowledge that was once an integral part of a thriving community. Unlike the interdependence practiced before, based upon personal relationships and measures of reciprocal service, this modern dependence is usually upon a previously unfamiliar individual or group. This is significant not only because those outside a community are rarely stakeholders with a vested interest in that community's well-being, but because those inside the community feel they are no longer part of their community's dynamic (Sowell, 1995). The wellness of a community and a commitment to improve the quality of life of inhabitants is now generally seen as the responsibility of someone else. Seligman (1990) discovered in his research on learned helplessness that most humans give up when they learn that their actions don't matter (i.e. would not change a given outcome).

People manifest passive behaviours when they discover that the result of a particular choice will cause them to continue to be taken care of by others. There is uncertainty in these radically changing times; we feel victimised, helpless, and resigned. Without realizing it, individuals and communities have given up control by accepting what is offered, and by competing with one another for what is made available rather than seeking viable alternatives. This fact has affected our culture and our communities (Flora and Flora, 1993). When responsibility is removed from the individual and the community is seen at the bottom of a hierarchical organization where power comes from the top down; people look up and wait for

orders rather than risk, rather than try, rather than innovate (Bardwick, 1995). Ordinary people and leaders are not interacting socially and do not build social capital. Social ties are being lost as ordinary people and leaders are not interacting socially, preventing social capital from being built and whatever social capital exists is being eroded. The historical dependence on “others” in and out of the community cuts through the social fabric of community and sown “clienthood” where solidarity may once have grown (McKnight, 1995). Clients are people who are dependent upon and controlled by their helpers; clients understand themselves in terms of their deficiencies. The powerlessness suggested by Lerner (1987) is confirmed as dependent, enabled individuals that are emotionally and responsibly disconnected from the needs and resources of their local environment constitute weak communities (McKnight, 1995). Solutions must come from within the “associations of community: the family, the neighbourhood, the church, the voluntary organization” because it is the community that has commitment to its members and understands its problems (Somers, 1993). Instead of strength, courage and confidence, people are cautious and avoid risk. These people have grown to search for protection over solution (McKnight, 1995).

Community members’ experience of not being asked or listened to tell them that they are not capable and that they cannot rely on their own judgement (Bardwick, 1995). It is poor self-esteem that places us in an adversarial relationship to our well being (Branden, 1994). Participation in group activities is least frequent in those with poor self-esteem. Lack of self-esteem is perhaps the single greatest obstacle to the self-fulfilment and well-being (Mruk, 1995). Improving self-view involves changing behaviours. Motivating people to change behaviours or accept new ideas is difficult, even when the change has obvious advantages (Rogers, 1981).

Cooke and Morgan (1998) found that regions that are restructuring (for example, rebuilding the community) do so more effectively if they engage in adaptation processes through networking. Such networks are operationalised when people interact promoting “empowerment through involvement” (Kilpatrick, 2003). Interactional infrastructure brings together the diverse range of stakeholders and helps communities to engage in the development process. In addition to the

development of interactional infrastructure, another equally important task is the development of community's values and attitudinal infrastructure of trust, reciprocity, shared vision, shared values, norms, and attitudes and commitment of community that are conducive to social capital building (Rifkin, 1999; Kilpatrick and Falk, 2002). More importantly, a collaborative approach to planning for tourism development in rural communities will build the capacity of communities to develop and change by building the community's social capital resources (Kilpatrick, 2003). That can happen through bonding ("strong") ties or bridging ("weak") ties and linking ties between groups within a community or region and between communities and regions (Woolcock, 1999). Bridging ties are "constructible" since they constitute social relations that are facilitated by institutional arrangements rather than affective bonds (Krishna, 2004). Strong bonding social capital unbalanced by the other kinds of ties can act as a constraint to innovation by discouraging openness to new contacts and new ideas (Schuller, 2001).

Formal and informal social networks are the basis of social infrastructure, which can be likened to social capital (Flora *et al*, 1999). All social relations and social structures facilitate some forms of social capital; actors establish relations purposefully and continue them when they continue to provide benefits. Certain kinds of social structures however are especially important in facilitating some forms of social capital (Coleman, 1988). But if communities are to play a vital role in the development of tourism, communal transformation may be necessary and that implies a change in internal social relationship (Sommerland *et al*, 1998). Social mobilization involves changes in the aspirations of individuals, groups, and societies; economic development involves changes in their capabilities. Modernization requires both (Huntington, 1968).

Wilkinson (1986) suggested that community is the relations among people, the social bond, the integrative component of all social life, so when the behaviour of the individual changes so does the behaviour of the community. In this context, Reed (1997) concluded that power relations are endemic features of emergent tourism settings. As such, it is unlikely that independent agencies can be identified to convene differences in power across stakeholder groups. Therefore, research

should focus on explaining the impacts of power relations on community-based tourism rather than identifying mechanisms to disperse power.

While nearly all resources suggest that community development programs build social capital by being broad based, integrated, flexible, responsive to local need, and outcome driven, actual studies outlining how to motivate communities in the first place are scarce (Paldam and Svendsen, 1998; Stewart-Weeks and Richardson, 1998; Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000; Rudd, 2000; Ashley *et al*, 2001; Cattell, 2001; Cleaver, 2005; Dredge, 2006). Communities with low levels of social capital have lower levels of group participation, lower government efficiency, and slower economic development rates (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1993; Flora *et al*, 1997; Lundvall, 1999). The World Bank's "Social Capital Initiative" even suggested that social capital could be the "missing link" between natural, physical, and human capital and economic growth and development (Grootaert and van Bastelaer, 2001). Communities with higher level of social capital are more effective in addressing internal problems and external constraints (Flora and Flora, 1993). Organizational factors and community involvement/cooperation were the most frequently cited elements of social capital; others were leadership, volunteerism, and community spirit (Putnam, 1993).

Crucial questions arise such as "can this social capital be built, and how?" and "does social capital facilitate community based action [endogenous] in detriment of external influenced [exogenous] change?" Putnam's (1993) study gives no guidance on this. If the individual does not see the purpose or is incapable of participating in community development; there is no chance of its realization. Improvement must be seen as necessary at the micro (individual) to hold any promise for success in the macro (community). The solutions needed to meet the needs of communities can only be addressed from within internal, secondary systems that make use of the latent ability and capacity by contributing to individual and group learning. As group learning continues, cohesiveness increases and members accept tasks more readily and conform to group rules more frequently. They are more loyal to the group, and more willing to work toward common goals. Their interaction is more friendly, cooperative and

democratic. “They are more likely to influence one another in making decisions, more likely to listen to other members, more willing to accept the opinion of others and more satisfied with the group (Woldkowski, 1993). Social capital is being produced. People are engaged in building a community together. They are well-informed and actively involved in making decisions. They make decisions for the long term that benefit future generations as well as themselves. They understand that successful long-term solutions require partnerships and a process that allows for representatives of a community’s diverse sectors to be involved in discussions, planning, and decisions that respond directly to unique local needs. They also recognize that some problems cannot be solved within the confines of their community and that working in partnership with others in the region is necessary.

2.7 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND INSTITUTIONAL BUILDING

Strengthening communities requires the need to instil confidence and create institutional capabilities to foster the empowerment of the local people and not to turn them into mere receivers of “gifts” coming from the outside (Kronenbourg, 1986). As described earlier, empowerment does not so much mean granting or transferring power as it does increasing civic awareness of the efficacy of democratic involvement, through self-respect, mutual esteem, capacity-building, genuine responsiveness and open accountability (Schwerin, 1995). Instead, empowerment is a process through which people and communities grow toward more equitable, respectful interrelationships with themselves, and their environment. Empowerment requires a shift from “power over” to “power with”, recognizing the interdependence of individuals, family members, communities, society, and the natural environment (Dean, 1991). “Empowerment in communities will usually require institutional change to allow a genuine reallocation of power to ensure appropriate changes in the asymmetrical relationship of the community to the wider society” (Sofield, 2003: 9).

“Institutional building is one means through which local community members can empower themselves and generate the knowledge base and enthusiasm necessary

for conservation and for involvement in community-based tourism. The process of institutional building is related to the one of social capital building and involves a change in attitudes of individuals, a change that says people can be important and powerful and effective as members of an organized community” (Rubin and Rubin, 1992: 14) by developing new approaches to economic development, concentrating particularly on ways to develop people and to rebuild communities holistically (Lewis, 1986). Through the building community institutions and social networks people develop a sense of their own capacity as part of a broader community willing to act collectively (Rubin and Rubin, 1992; Mladovsky and Mossialos, 2006), also emphasized by Putnam (2000: 323) as “self-help collective action”. As group heterogeneity increases, so too does the potential for collective action (Heckathorn and Rosenstein, 2002). Social capital is formed by such things as associational involvement and participatory behaviour in a community (Portes, 1998). Thus, grassroots institutional building facilitates participation and is a key element in empowerment (Heckathorn and Rosenstein, 2002).

In “To Empower People”, by Berger and Neuhaus, (in Dionne, 1998: 3), the case is made for “mediating structures”—organizations and associations that “mediated” between “the individual in his private life and the large institutions of public life”. The mediating structures they had in mind were church, family, neighbourhood, and voluntary associations. Their point was that, at a minimum, government should not undercut mediating structures and, better yet, where possible try to strengthen and support them. It is suggested that the presence of actors with diverse characteristics facilitates collective action because it increases the likelihood that a “critical mass” of highly motivated contributors will emerge to initiate action (Onyx and Bullen, 2000).

While there is a good idea on how to accumulate other forms of capital, how to accumulate and build social capital is still a learning process. For example, Wong (1988) and Margavio and Mann (1989) argued that the family unit [as a traditional institution] can contribute to economic success by pooling resources, mobilizing labour, and activating extra-market mechanisms for wealth accumulation. From this perspective, traditional institutions are assets in that they create social capital

that can promote development. However, it is a closed system, limited to the extended family and not the community. It does not follow the social capital perspective suggesting that it is an “engine” insofar as it permits individuals to activate networks and pool resources beyond their own (Sofranko and Idris, 1999: 464). In this sense, the extended family is, arguably, an obstacle to development (Hirschman, 1965; Harden, 1990) and has been singled out as one of the traditional institutions impeding development.

The high value its adherents place on family continuity and custom, and on a commitment to support and assist family members, is said to impede initiative and the personal acquisition of wealth. Individual efforts are blunted by the claims of family members on the resources of successful members. Beyond this redistributive aspect, the extended family imposes psychological obligations on members: deference to elders in decision making, the ascendance of family needs over individual needs, and an implicit expectation that members will defend the family against outsiders and avoid actions the family disfavours (Bardis, 1959). The family is not the only institution considered by modernization theory, but it has assumed a central focus because, in traditional society, the family is the focal point of economic production, child-rearing, and personal relations, and according to modernization theory, modern society emerges out of the transformation of the institutional structures of traditional societies (Levy, 1966; Parsons, 1966) and of individual attitudes and values (Stockwell and Laidlaw, 1983).

Given the weakening of traditional local institutions and restraints, human beings even the most rugged individualists—require a web of relations; they need to be supported by organizations and institutions in order to thrive (Dionne, 1998). A voluntary system of collective action is required so that social relationships be established and increased at the micro-level, in the form of voluntary organisations, where individuals are empowered, enabling them to overcome their individual weaknesses and feelings of powerlessness. Moreover, there is a growing body of research on the contribution of associations to social order (Narayan, 1999). The interest which this concept has stimulated among social scientists, by itself, is an indication that the associative mode of social order has gained, or is gaining, in importance. The primary motive for collective action is

the shared interest in the public good that is the explicit objective of the group (Macy *et al*, 2007). Engagement in voluntary work is [thus] commonly considered to be positive, influencing community building and economic life in favourable ways (Mattsson and Stenbacka, 2003) and follows the claim that there is a correlation on an aggregated level between a lively participation in voluntary organisations and a flourishing economy (Putnam, 1993 and 2000; Killerby, 2001; Beugelsdijk and van Schaik, 2003).

2.8 THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY-BASED ASSOCIATIONS

Benefits of high social capital include improved participation in voluntary organisations (Rotolo, 1999) and promotion of economic growth (Flora *et al*, 1997). Strong local organisations serve as social institutions that rise to meet social needs and pressures and are essential to successful community development. Thus, organisational structures, such a community-based association, may be a key player in the local implementation of community tourism development (Schuler, 1996; Stolle and Rochon, 1998; Kiviniemi, 2004).

Following Huntington's (1968) argument that "if social and economic change undermine or destroy traditional basis of association, the achievement of a high level of political development depends upon the capacity of the people to develop new forms of association", in the absence of third party enforcement, a [community] without social capital will collapse dramatically if the enforcement system weakens and it will be slow to build new institutions (Paldam and Svendsen, 1998).

The aim of a community-based association should be to build social capital to give people a greater sense of belonging and participation. Community based associations can facilitate the mobilisation of residents for engaging in sustained public life. Intermediary institutions, at their best, are instigators, creators, and protectors. They defend the interests of their members and surrounding communities, helping to create social, economic, spiritual, political, and economic capital to benefit their community (Dionne, 1998). Trust is built through

association and increased association leads to communication and greater levels of trust (Woolcok, 1999; Falk and Kilkpatrick, 2000; Killerby, 2001; Jones, 2005; Saxena, 2006).

Locally rooted, often small, voluntary organisations have strong links to local populations and communities, and strong records of meeting the needs of disadvantaged groups and communities....Locally based voluntary organisations and associations with close informal links to local communities are at the heart of the partnership framework (European Commission, 1997: 103) as newer social relations are layered over, building relationships with other networks in the region (Kneafsey, 2001). For Esman and Uphoff (1984), implicit in these kinds of organisations is the assumption that they serve as a bridge, a vehicle or a receiving mechanism whereby rural people can participate in development. Essentially, [local associations] seek to work with rural people and not for them, which is a major reversal of conventional practice. Similarly, they seek to support as opposed to direct rural people and their activities; and critically they seek to make themselves dispensable and encourage rural people fully to assume active responsibility (Oakley, 1991: 182). They step in to fill the vacuum between what residents need and the community's limited capacity to meet those needs. Community associations may serve to convene stakeholders, providing local capacity and reform, as well as establish channels of communication among the various stakeholders (Aas *et al*, 2005).

An improved understanding of the actual and potential role of associations may significantly increase the range of strategic alternatives for the solution of public policy problems (Streeck and Schmitter, 1991). According to a study by the European Commission (1997: 104), local voluntary associations often play an important role in representing "community" interests. These local partnerships have open, egalitarian and "democratic" structures and working processes of "horizontal partnership" at the local level, and have also developed effective "vertical partnership" with national actors....In instances such as these, partnership offers excluded groups and communities an institutional framework around which local solidarity can be organised, and external support and resources can be acquired in the struggle for local development against poverty and

exclusion. The role of the local agent is essentially both to create the conditions whereby people can begin to get involved in development and also to relate to and have some influence on the activities before they begin. According to Oakley (1991: 181-182), the major dimensions of the agent's role include:

Animation	The process of assisting rural people to develop their own intellectual capacities, that is, to stimulate their critical awareness; this critical awareness enables rural people to examine and explain issues in their own words and, as a result, to realise what they can do to bring about change.
Structuring	The development of internal cohesion and solidarity among rural people, and of some form of structure or organisation which can help bring the people together and serve as the forum for their continued involvement.
Facilitation	A service role which assists rural people to undertake specific actions designed to strengthen their participation; these actions can include the acquiring of particular technical skills, gaining access to available resources or translating their own ideas into feasible projects.
Intermediary	To serve, in the initial stages, as a go-between in relation to other external services or forces; to help establish contacts with existing services and introduce rural people to the procedures and mechanisms for dealing with these services.
Linking	To help develop links between rural people in similar contexts and facing similar problems; this linking at district and regional level creates a wider base of support for participation.
Withdrawal	A progressive redundancy, whereby the agent consciously withdraws from a direct role with the people and increasingly encourages them to undertake and manage the projects in which they are involved.

Community-based associations create interactions between members [of the association and community] and increase the chance that trust between members will be developed (Stolle and Rochon, 1998). People interact as trustors and as trustees, building on mutual experience and knowledge (Yamagishi and Yamagishi, 1994). The result is increased capacity for collective action, cooperation, and trust within the group, enabling the collective purposes of the group to be achieved more easily (Stolle and Rochon, 1998). Having a formal meeting place may enable an association to facilitate social interaction, bringing

together the most varied interests and common concerns. The participatory process of organizing effective community-based groups turns local initiatives into establishing local “community development actors” or “community change actors”.

In other studies of community action, Howe *et al* (2004), for example, proposed two important well springs of social capital—community attachment and entrepreneurial spirit or what might alternatively be termed a self-help disposition—to understand processes of social capital formation and erosion. Entrepreneurialism and community attachment play a critical role in establishing the “self-help” qualities necessary to foster important cultural determinants—trust, bolstered by associational involvement influencing economic prosperity.

To achieve such goals, community-based associations need to place their community strategies in a regional context, understanding how government policies interact with the larger economy and engaging, where appropriate, on regional issues and decision-making. Community-based associations need to work with citizens, policymakers, and other non-profit organisations at all levels to achieve its immediate goals. A primary objective should be to involve the low-income and other disenfranchised people in the affairs of the community, develop and/or strengthen local partnerships, develop and seek funding for local development initiatives, participate fully in community affairs, provide social services, mobilise local people and increase communication between local residents (NACAA, 2000). The presence of an organization linking together the whole community is likely to facilitate communication across diverse sectors of the community and create awareness of the larger community interest (Sharp *et al*, 2002).

2.8.1 MEASURING SOCIAL CAPITAL THROUGH COMMUNITY-BASED ASSOCIATIONS

The factors that enhance the effectiveness of community participation are the elements of social capital: networks, shared values and trust and enabling leadership (Kilpatrick, 2003). Putnam (1993) argued that differences in social

capital are the key factor for measuring the level of community solidarity and trust and the role that community-based associations play. It is argued that everything where citizens voluntarily get together in some kind of organisation should be included in any measurement of social capital and that the density of voluntary organisations is one way in which social capital may be measured (Putnam, 1993). The idea is that if people can work together in one field, maybe they also can in another. That organisations are voluntary indicates that trust exists—either because individuals cooperate for their own reasons or because of some kind of group pressures.

Stolle and Rochon (1998) examined the effects of different types of associations on a range of indicators related to public social capital and suggest two hypothesis with regard to the connection of associations to public forms of social capital:

- The impact of the type of associational activity, the purposes to which the organization is dedicated,...with the expectation that associations directed to different purposes will have different effects on the development of public social capital; and,
- the effect of associations on public social capital will vary depending on the inclusiveness of the particular association, with member interactions bringing them into contact with a broad sampling of members of society and not only be narrowly constituted but may also have as its purpose the denial of equal rights or opportunities to others.

The purpose is to identify which traits or dimensions of associations are connected to those public forms of social capital. Associations may produce high level of personalized social capital but fail to produce public social capital. “We do not automatically see virtue in an association that establishes trust, cooperation, and norms of reciprocity among its members if it does not do so in a more generalized sense (Stolle and Rochon, 1998). The idea of social capital encompasses the claim that the circle of trust is extended beyond the boundaries of face-to-face interaction to incorporate people not personally known (Yamagishei and Yamagishei, 1994; Rochon, 1998; Stolle, 2000).

2.9 SUMMARY

In this chapter, it has been argued that locality is not sufficient to turn a population into a community. Community goes far beyond mere settlement and encompasses all forms of relationship which are characterized by a high degree of personal intimacy (religion, work, family, and culture), emotional depth, moral commitment, social cohesion, and continuity in time. In this context, the strength of the community lies in its ability to provide both for its current residents and for their children. Such a situation is defined by the value that is placed upon the residents of the community and their vision of what their community is and how it should evolve.

However, at the community level it is all well and good to talk about partnership, but unless people are made to feel part of the process (identification of their own needs, involvement in activities, supervision of works, resolution of conflicts, etc.) they are just “receivers” of assistance. Local people are sceptical of the interest of outside organisations in having them as partners. Local people must witness for themselves the process of dialogue throughout the development process, or project intervention.

It was also argued that participation by residents in the development process is fundamental. When local people are involved, they transform the lives of other people and local organisations, often in unanticipated ways and with surprising speed. A lack of co-operation could stifle entrepreneurship and prevent the kind of activities that could lead to local development. When people work together, they form a vastly powerful force than individuals alone. People become empowered. Central to empowerment is the creation of an ability to accomplish and succeed through one’s own actions and the willingness to challenge formal authority and to escape dependency on those in power. Empowerment is about people taking control over their lives: setting their agenda, gaining skills, increasing confidence, solving problems, and developing self-reliance. Empowerment is a term generally used to describe a process by which poor people become conscious of their own situation and organise collectively to gain greater access to public services or to the benefits of economic growth.

Finally, as decentralisation unfolds, the largely abstract analytical concept of “social capital” may become useful both to rural communities and policymakers in igniting a new drive towards development that values local institutions, i.e. community-based associations. By using both, the number of associations and the degree of active participation, certain empirical findings on different types of civil societies is possible. The number of associations and groups in a society indicates a certain potential of social activism (Kiviniemi, 2004).

The following chapter initiates a literature review on the tourism-led approach to community development in remote rural areas. Experience has shown that encouraging economic policies conducive to community development can strengthen local institutions and develop the community’s capacity to provide and ensure equitable distribution of benefits to the lowest community level (Cernea, 1985; Gonzales, 1998; Hoff, 1998). As such, the next chapter will focus on the involvement of local communities in local development, the need for empowering local communities and alternative means of achieving it, including new forms of engagement and networks, such as community-based associations.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW ON THE ROLE OF TOURISM IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided a review of the literature which argues how empowering communities may enhance participation, facilitate leadership, improve the quality of life, and enable effective implementation of community development initiatives. People, it is argued, develop a sense of their own capacity as part of a broader community willing to act collectively. The literature suggests that the strengthening of social capital is critical for communities to prosper economically and for development to be sustainable. Thus, high levels of social capital in a community may mean that more residents are satisfied with tourism development as benefits are distributed more equally in the community. Voluntary associations, it was argued, may play an important role as change will occur from the bottom up as small communities begin to understand, take charge, and work together to make economic changes (Hinsdale *et al*, 1995).

This chapter describes how tourism, when successfully developed, tends to result in sought after socio-economic benefits, such as employment and improved infrastructure, leading to improved quality of life. A short overview is provided of tourism as practiced in protected areas. Because communities often focus the development effort only on economic factors and pay little attention to other essential factors, such as cultural, social and environmental impacts, tourism may represent negative consequences on the host community. Consequently, particular attention should be paid to residents' attitudes on how tourism has been developed and if it should be developed further. A review of the literature shows that residents' attitudes toward tourism development are usually based on a process of exchange in which residents consider the negative impacts as acceptable costs as long as the benefits outweigh those costs.

3.1 TOURISM AS AN AGENT OF DEVELOPMENT

Tourism is regarded as one of the most promising sectors for employment creation and regional economic development in many rural areas (Gudgin and Fotherrill, 1984; O'Farrell and Crouchley, 1984; Fly, 1986; Liu and Var, 1986; Gripaios and Herbert, 1986; Getz, 1986; Gunn, 1988; Keeble 1990; Long *et al*, 1990; Klejdzinski, 1991; Loyacono, 1991; Watts and Kirkham, 1992; Bateman and Ray 1994; Hart and Gudgin, 1994; Keeble and Walker, 1994; Smith *et al*, 1997; Sorensen, 1999; Ko and Stewart, 2002; Fleischer and Tchetchik, 2005; Sharpley and Vass, 2006). Tourism has in many cases assumed the role of the pivotal activity in order to achieve the socio-economic revitalisation of a range of less advanced rural regions searching for ways to escape from the negative spiral of declining industries on which they were dependent on (Gilbert, 1989; Lobao, 1990; Boudy, 1991; Frederick, 1992 in Brown, 2004; Carlin and Saupe, 1993; Hobbs and Weagley, 1995; Slee *et al*, 1996; Butler *et al*, 1998; Ribeiro and Marques, 1999; Petrzelka and Bell, 2000; Harris *et al*, 2001; Puijk, 2001; Brown, 2004; Andereck *et al*, 2005; Fleischer and Tchetchik, 2005; Liu, 2006).

It is argued that tourism has many potential benefits for rural areas as it provides the rural communities with an opportunity to exploit idyllic landscapes, agricultural products, local customs and traditions, and cultural heritage to cater to the needs of the visitors, outsiders and tourists for economic benefits (Xiao and Li, 2004), creating employment through small-scale enterprises and support for local facilities such as shops, leisure facilities, catering outlets and transport services (Murphy, 1985; Liu and Var, 1986; Allen *et al*, 1988; McCool and Martin, 1994; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Ap and Crompton, 1998; Saveriades, 2000; Mitchell and Reid, 2001; Andriotis, 2002; Marsden *et al*, 2002; Liu, 2003; Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004), improving the well-being of local people (van der Straaten, 1997; Ross and Wall, 1999; Wunder, 2000).

Various reasons are suggested as to why tourists take a holiday in the countryside: the belief that rural areas represent slower paced and simpler lifestyles; nostalgia for traditional cultures and ways of life. Also, it is suggested that tourists want to temporarily become part of the local community and learn more about the area's

past and present life (Oppermann, 1996; Swarbrooke, 1996; Deegan and Dineen, 1997). Tourists, it is argued seek to escape the more and more personal and stressful life in cities, and are able to do this due to the increase of their leisure time as well as increases in their disposable incomes (Klejdzinski, 1991; Cavaco, 1995). The growing interest in heritage, the search for peace and solitude, increasing interest in the outdoors (Edwards, 1991; OECD, 1994; van den Berg and Wintjes (2000) and the lack of congestion and the accessibility of open undeveloped space (Cox and Fox, 1991; MacDonald and Jolliffe, 2003) have also been identified as important motivators. Rural areas are seen as affordable, in tune with the traditional appeal of the countryside and as emphasising healthier lifestyles (Molera and Albaladejo, 2007). Here, rurality is closely related to the traditional and romantic idea of “the good old days”, pure and simple lifestyle, intact nature and perfect integration with Man in his natural environment. Thus, nostalgia for their origins, the need for recuperation of the lost link with nature, and the “basics” of life, in an increasingly complex, highly organized, anonymous, congested, stressful urban and “inhuman” environment (Kastenholz *et al*, 1999).

According to the features, characteristics and motivations reviewed above, tourism in rural areas seeks to provide visitors with personalised contact with both the physical and human environment of the countryside, in search of unspoilt surroundings and authenticity (Davidson, 1992) by participating in activities, traditions and lifestyles of local people. The challenge relates to structuring the past in the present through interpretation (Nuryanti, 1996). The direct enjoyment of some relatively undisturbed phenomenon of nature provided by a high quality tourist experience is argued to be an appropriate vehicle for achieving deeper understanding of the environment (Newsome *et al*, 2002). Tourists seek authentic experiences which they can no longer find in their everyday lives and are willing to spend a lot of money for such experiences (Frochot, 2005). As such, the natural [and cultural] environment is an integrated component of the tourist attraction in most destination areas (Saremba and Gill, 1991).

3.1.1 TOURISM IN PROTECTED AREAS

With respect to tourism in national parks and reserves, which are often located in rural areas, two approaches are generally found. On the one hand, the opinion is articulated that national parks have been established to protect landscapes of outstanding beauty, including the organisms living in them. These conservation practices frequently include a certain level of recreational and tourist activities. Nature was protected to give people the opportunity to view and admire it. On the other hand, in a number of European countries the idea has recently been advanced that tourism could be a threat to nature, including nature in national parks (van der Straaten, 1997). If the level of funding is not sufficient as is currently often the case, tourism is then propagated as an instrument for solving these financial problems (ibid). Thus, tourism development in protected areas may mean “no development” and any tourism in protected areas should be carefully evaluated and, where permitted, carefully regulated and monitored (Brasser and Font, 2002; Dewar, 2004).

3.1.2 THE NATURAL AND CULTURAL HERITAGE AS RESOURCES

A region's heritage and culture can and often does form the basis of tourism development. Visiting historic sites or participating in historic activities lets visitors to an area learn about the past, experience a variety of recreational opportunities, and enjoy the natural environment of an area (Swarbrooke, 1996; Sharpley, 2000; Williams, 2001; McCain and Ray, 2003).

But what do we mean by heritage? The word “heritage” is applied in a wide variety of contexts (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996). Heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. Our cultural and natural heritage represents irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration. Heritage is our touchstone, our point of reference, our identity (WHC, 1996). Heritage “means everything and it means nothing, and yet it has developed into a whole industry” (Hewison in Yale, 1991: 21). Heritage in its

broader meaning is “something transferred from one generation to another” (Nuryanti, 1996: 249). Heritage includes both cultural and natural elements.

According to the definition of the World Heritage Convention, cultural heritage includes monuments (architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of historic, artistic or scientific features), groups of buildings and sites. Cultural heritage describes both material and immaterial forms, e.g. artifacts, monuments, historical remains, buildings, architecture, philosophy, traditions, celebrations, historic events, distinctive ways of life, literature, folklore or education (Nuryanti, 1996).

Natural heritage includes natural features (physical and biological formations and groups of such formations), geological and physiographic formations and areas constituting the habitat of endangered species, and natural sites (WHC, 1972), such as landscapes, gardens, parks, wilderness, mountains, rivers, islands, flora and fauna (Nuryanti, 1996).

Chapter four will provide a thorough review of the Peneda Gerês National Park, including a description of its natural and cultural features.

3.1.3 ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The degree of support for tourism development has been associated with the perceived economic benefits that residents will derive from it (Pizam, 1978; Getz, 1986; Liu *et al*, 1987; Milman and Pizam, 1987; Ritchie, 1988; Long *et al*, 1990; King *et al*, 1993; Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996; Gilbert and Clarke, 1997; Jurowski *et al*, 1997; Ko and Stewart, 2002; Tosun, 2002; Brown, 2004; Andereck *et al*, 2005; Fleischer and Tchetchik, 2005; Liu and Wall, 2006; Sharpley and Vass, 2006). Due to the increased demand for goods and services, such as farm foods and arts and handicrafts, stimulated by the pressure of tourists, tourism is seen to generate economic impacts, such as employment, income, improved living standards, economic diversification, widening economic opportunities and

stimulating investment. There might be direct economic benefits from tourism for residents that hire out accommodation and for local people that own cafes, shops, restaurants or other commercial establishments.

But jobs are not only created in facilities directly servicing tourists (Davidson, 1992). Tourism also generates local employment in various support and resource managed sectors. Cavaco (1995) noted that a revitalization of local trade and restoration businesses might occur, tourism may help to retain local businesses and entail new markets for local products. Tourism permits diversification of agriculture by providing outlets for local products (Zarza, 1996). Tourism helps to diversify the rural economy and may improve the communities' economic situation and the quality of life.

The literature shows that one of the greatest advantages tourism can bring to local communities is increased income and employment (FNNPE, 1993). As such, economic benefits are often the primary reasons to develop tourism. Tourism development will lead to more investment and spending, creating new jobs and businesses. Consequently, an increase in income will lead to an increased standard of living. With most residents seeing tourism as an economic development tool (Keogh, 1990), it is not surprising that the findings of most of the studies suggest that, overall, locals have positive attitudes toward tourism (Andereck *et al*, 2005).

3.1.4 ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

There is no doubt that tourism has an impact on the environment, both natural and man-made (Sharpley, 2000; Williams, 2001; Hardy *et al*, 2002; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002; Liu, 2003; Shafer and Choi, 2006; Bestard and Nadal, 2007). Those impacts might bring environmental advantages. It may lead to the preservation of the natural and cultural patrimony which might fall into decline otherwise. As a result of tourism there may be an incentive to conserve important natural areas which might improve the environmental quality of an area. Tourism can be a significant factor in conserving the environment. An environment of

scenic beauty and interesting features— vegetation, wildlife and clean air and water offers many of the resources that attract tourists.

The more the community residents benefit from tourism the more, it is argued, they will be motivated to protect the area's natural environment and support tourism activities (McIntyre, 1993). Also, the presence of supplementary sources of income from tourism will encourage residents to become stewards of their environment (Ross and Wall, 1999). Thus, it is suggested that as a consequence of tourism development the environmental awareness of the local people may increase. They become aware of tourists' interests and the role that they must play in the conservation of landscapes and the quality of the environment. Their involvement in tourism makes local people agents in the conservation of the traditional, agricultural and scenic landscapes (Garcia-Ramon *et al*, 1995). The increased concern with public image stemming from involvement with tourists may encourage enterprises and organisations to undertake landscaping and litter removal, thereby rendering sites more attractive to both locals and visitors (Kelly and Dixon, 1991).

Some environmental disadvantages of the development of tourism have been identified (Buckley, 2000; Williams, 2001; Duffy, 2002; Hardy *et al*, 2002; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002; Liu, 2003; Stem *et al*, 2003; Andereck *et al*, 2005; Shafer and Choi, 2006). Page and Getz (1997: 14) argue that “tourism is destructive of the qualities that attract tourists”. Negative impacts on the natural environment include erosion resulting from overuse of hiking and riding trails, clashing and unfitting architectural styles, disturbance of animal behavioural patterns, disruption of breeding animals and birds, loss of natural plant cover, loss of soil and rocks, trampling and damage of vegetation, picking of flowers, disturbance to wildlife, loss of quietness, disruption of natural processes, overcrowding, interference with natural sounds, loss of wilderness, pressures and visual impacts of visitor numbers, litter, as well as water, air and noise pollution and traffic congestion (Hardy *et al*, 2002; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002; Liu, 2003; Andereck *et al*, 2005).

3.1.5 SOCIO-CULTURAL IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

There are various socio-cultural advantages of the development of tourism (McManus *et al*, 1995). A first advantage might be a heightened local awareness, a better understanding and appreciation of the community culture and lifestyle. The interest of tourists in local culture can result in the conservation and sometimes revitalisation of traditional arts, traditional festivals, handicrafts, folklore, customs, ceremonies and certain aspects of traditional lifestyles (Grahn, 1991; Kelly and Dixon, 1991; FNNPE, 1993; Unwin, 1996; Richards *et al*, 2000; Cohen, 2001; Lindberg *et al*, 2001; Besculides *et al*, 2002; Richards, 2005). “The fact that outsiders come and appreciate the local customs and environment and share the life of the villagers can re-value in local people's eyes their own traditions” (Davidson, 1992: 126). Traditional ways of making crafts will not be lost; the making of crafts is stimulated and preserved if tourists buy these products. So interest from tourists may sustain or revive local handicraft traditions (FNNPE, 1993; Healy, 1994; Fernandes and Sousa, 1999; Richards *et al*, 2000; Cohen, 2001; Besculides *et al*, 2002; Richards, 2005). Both Inskip (1987) and Jurowski (2007), with twenty years apart, assert that the development of tourism might lead to a renewal of a sense of cultural pride by residents in their culture and this renewal can be strengthened when local people observe tourists appreciating it.

Tourism is one of many forms of development that encourages social contact between people of different backgrounds (Cavaco 1995; Yueh-Huang and Stewart, 1996; Ross and Wall, 1999; Jurowski, 2007) especially for the local people that live in a rather isolated rural area and may overcome social isolation. Receiving visitors, for some older people, fulfils a social need and it may provide valuable assistance in their struggle against solitude and an unchanging future (Ostrowski, 1987).

Finally, local people may benefit from better community infrastructure facilities and services and from using recreational facilities built for tourists (Perdue *et al*, 1990). Tourism can support the development and maintenance of public transportation, roads, health care, goods and services, telephones, mail delivery,

electricity supply and other services in rural areas where the standards of such facilities may otherwise decline (Pizam, 1978; Inskeep, 1987; FNNPE 1993; Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Ross and Wall, 1999; Marsden *et al*, 2002; Liu, 2003).

However, socio-cultural disadvantages may also result from the development of tourism (Liu *et al*, 1987; Inskeep, 1994; Fagence, 2003). Tourism might have effects on the way of life of the community's residents and lead to changes in traditional culture (Bramwell *et al*, 1986; Cronin, 1990; Davidson, 1992; FNNPE, 1993; Akis *et al*, 1996; Ap and Crompton, 1998; Jackson and Morpeth, 1999; Richards and Hall, 2000; Sharpley, 2000; Ashley *et al*, 2001; Hardy *et al*, 2002; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Liu, 2003; Dredge, 2006) including its cultural character, self-respect and overall social identity. The changes have to do with the submergence of the local community by the outside cultural patterns of seemingly more affluent and successful tourists (Yueh-Huang and Stewart, 1996; Duffy, 2002; Hardy *et al*, 2002; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Liu, 2003; Prentice, 2007).

Not only is local culture open to be exploited as it becomes divorced from the community residents' everyday life-style, but it can also be degraded and devalued in the process. Tourists can behave in irresponsible or thoughtless ways which can irrevocably damage local culture (FNNPE, 1993). "There is a tendency of tourists to become concentrated in relatively small geographical areas, leading to a situation where the indigenous culture can become swamped and overwhelmed by outside influences" (Swarbrooke, 1996: 455), such as crowding, disturbance and alienation (Butler, 1992), as community residents try to get on with their everyday life (FNNPE, 1993; Gilbert and Clarke, 1997; Lindberg and Johnson, 1997; Brunt and Courtney, 1999). Consequently changes in local attitudes and behaviour may a result. The constant pressure of demanding tourists can create an unhealthy mixture of resentment, envy and dissatisfaction, particularly among the young members of the host population, causing the counterbalancing of the feeling, common among the local youth in particular, that "real-life" lies elsewhere (Davidson, 1992; Smith, 1999).

On the one hand, tourism can also dramatically change the socio-economic balance of local communities, when more money can be made from tourists

compared to lesser financial rewards from traditional occupations. Healy (1994: 148-149) states that “social tensions might be brought on when some members of the community benefit more than others from tourism”. “Other socio-economic impacts may include the over-commercialisation, alteration or even loss of authenticity of traditional arts, crafts and ceremonies and increased standardisation of culture (to suit tourist demands), overcrowding and loss of amenities for residents, reinforcement to social inequalities as those with capital and education benefit most from tourism, and local social problems of drugs, prostitution, alcoholism and crime may be exacerbated by tourism” (Whelan, 1991: 106).

3.1.5.1 SOCIAL EXCHANGE THEORY

In developing and attracting tourism to a community, the goal is to achieve outcomes that obtain the best balance of benefits and costs for both residents and tourism actors (Ap, 1992; Moore and Cunningham, 1999). But while many studies have addressed the social interface between residents and tourists (Cooke, 1982; Liu and Var, 1986; Allen *et al*, 1988; Davies *et al*, 1988; Sharpley, 2000; Sirakaya *et al*, 2002; Liu, 2003; Stem *et al*, 2003; Tosun, 2006, Prentice, 2007), there appears to be little research that specifically addresses the needs of residents in tourist area.

It is suggested that residents evaluate tourism in terms of social exchange, that is, they evaluate it in terms of expected benefits or costs obtained in return for the service they supply. The principles of social exchange theory suggests that individuals will engage in exchanges if (1) the resulting rewards are valued, (2) the exchange is likely to produce valued rewards, and (3) perceived costs do not exceed perceived rewards (Skidmore, 1975). It is assumed that host resident actors seek tourism development for their community in order to satisfy their economic, social, and psychological needs and to improve the community’s well-being (Ap, 1992; Moore and Cunningham, 1999).

Jurowski *et al* (1997) explained how and why residents of the same community have different views of tourism development by using the principles of social

exchange theory. Residents are willing to be involved in exchanges with tourists if they can receive benefits, rather than incurring unacceptable costs (Tyrell and Spaulding, 1984; Turner, 1986; Allen *et al*, 1988; Ap, 1992; Madrigal, 1993; Jurowski *et al*, 1997; Yoon *et al*, 2001; Gursoy *et al*, 2002; Andriotis and Vaughan, 2003; McGehee and Andereck, 2004).

Many studies have supported a causal relationship between “personal benefits from tourism development” and the “perception of tourism impacts” (Perdue *et al*, 1990; Madrigal, 1993; McCool and Martin, 1994; Lindberg and Johnson, 1997; Ap and Crompton, 1998; Coccossis and Mexa, 2002; Liu, 2003). Support for this relationship aligns with the common sense view that residents (or their relatives, friends and neighbours) who depend upon tourism-based employment would be more favourable toward tourism (Pizam, 1978; Tyrell and Spaulding, 1984; Murphy, 1985; Liu and Var, 1986; Milman and Pizam, 1987; Ap and Crompton, 1998; Coccossis and Mexa, 2002; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Liu, 2003). However, evidence suggests that in economically depressed regions, locals underestimate the cost of tourism development and over-estimate the economic gains (Liu and Var, 1986; Sharpley, 2000; Hardy *et al*, 2002). They are willing to “put up with some inconvenience in exchange for tourist money” (Var *et al*, 1985: 654).

3.2 DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

Everywhere in the world today is not whether or not to develop, but which policies are presumed to offer most hope that this objective is achieved. We are told that socialism is the road to development. We are told that *laissez-faire* is the road to development. We are told that a break with tradition is the road to development. We are told that a revitalised tradition is the road to development. We are told that industrialization is the road to development. We are told that increased agricultural productivity is the road to development. We are told that an increased opening to the world market (export-oriented growth) is the road to development. Above all, we are told that development is possible, if only we do the right thing (Sklair, 1994).

But what is the right thing? Much of past thinking about development involved pragmatic solutions (conventional) that started with a traditional low-income rural agricultural economy losing its workforce to higher-paying jobs in the new, modern industrial sector. This conventional approach to development is centrally planned and imposed upon local communities. The communities themselves are viewed as *objects* of development and are reduced to empirical indicators rather than subjective participants in their own development process. From the conventional arose an alternative development paradigm, also known as new local development approaches based on endogenous factors (Casanova, 2004), that embraces participatory partnerships that foster empowerment and sustainability. Such an approach allows the community to engage in development in ways that conform to local traditions and ways of thinking avoiding further feelings of helplessness and disempowerment and increase the community's belief in their ability to sustain change. From the endogenous development perspective, social development is integrated into the economic dimension (Casanova, 2004).

The new local development approaches to development are an innovative alternative to conventional needs-based approaches. In this participatory approach, communities are the key participants in local development that should aim for the type of change desired by the local community. The contribution of community participation can be especially helpful in understanding a more sustainable approach to tourism development, the roles played by the community and the attitudes of residents to such development.

3.3 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The widespread popularisation of the term sustainable development started with 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development's report entitled "Our Common Future", also known as the Brundtland Report. This Commission, established by the United Nations General Assembly in 1984, was asked to examine the connections between the issues of environment and development. Hence, the term was first used to bring together the apparently disparate concepts of economic development and environmental conservation. The document became well known because of the usage of the concept of sustainable development. The

Brundtland Report 'Our Common Future' (UN, 1987b: 43) defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". In a short time, the concept was embraced and used in every possible instance, possibly because the meaning of the concept appealed to everyone. Since 1987 sustainable development has become a phrase in everyday use (Barrow, 1995). The Brundtland Report established a systematic relationship between environmental and development issues for the very first time. It urged a marriage of economics, society and ecology. It stated that sustainable development is not a fixed state of harmony, but rather a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs (Nelissen *et al*, 1997). We have to live, in other words, within our environmental means (Jacobs, 1995). Environmental protection and economic development need to be promoted as a complementary rather than antagonistic process. Thus, sustainability signifies that the demands placed upon the environment need to be met without reducing the capacity of the environment to provide for future generations. In this sense, economic growth must be based on policies that sustain and expand the environmental resource base. Meeting the needs of all today without compromising the ability of future generations involves the equitable sharing of resources within and between generations. Greater distributional equity is key to the achievement of sustainability and a test of whether or not development is sustainable (Ko, 2005).

3.3.1 SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

There has been considerable debate within the tourism field about what "sustainable development" is and how it applies to tourism development (Butler, 1992; Hunter, 1997). It is widely accepted that sustainable tourism attempts to mirror the more extant framework of sustainable development (Hunter, 1995; Pearce, 1995; Fyall and Garrod, 1996; Stabler, 1997; Wheeller, 1997; Garrod and Fyall, 1998; Bramwell and Lane, 1999; Briassoulis, 2002; Wheeller, 2004; Ko, 2005). But a review of the literature shows that sustainable tourism is "elusive"

and no easier to define and operationalise than the broader concept of sustainable development. There is not a universal approach to sustainable tourism but a variation and flexibility in interpretations (McKercher, 1993; Priestly *et al*, 1996; Bramwell and Sharman, 2000; Sharpley, 2000; Paskaleva-Shapira, 2001; Williams, 2001; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002; Liu, 2003; Jones, 2005; Saarinen, 2006; Prentice, 2007).

As such, sustainable tourism development entails looking to achieve a situation which provides a high quality experience for the visitor and maintains the quality of the environment and benefits the host community (Wahab and Pigram, 1997; Wight, 1998; Paskaleva-Shapira, 2001; Font and Harris, 2004). More recent literature on community development through tourism (e.g. Dredge, 2007; Prentice, 2007; Sirakaya, 2007; Jurowski, 2008) does not differ in its approach to ameliorating the quality of life of the host community particularly in areas in need, assuring a better quality of tourist services and guaranteeing a higher level of tourism development that is compatible with the environment and fulfils the aspirations of the citizens economically, culturally, socially, psychologically and politically.

3.3.2 COMMUNITARIANISM TO SUPPORT SUSTAINABILITY

The expression “sustainable human development” used in UNESCO documents places the human dimension at the centre of sustainable development. In fact, sustainable development and sustainable livelihoods have been seen as being dependent on appropriate levels and mixes of four types of capital: human-made capital (financial resources, infrastructure, etc.), human capital (skills, knowledge, etc.), natural capital (natural resources) and social capital (social relationships) (Serageldin and Steer, 1994; World Bank, 1996; Rudd, 2000; Ashley *et al*, 2001; Cattell, 2001; Marsden *et al*, 2002; Cleaver, 2005; Jones, 2005; Saxena, 2005 and 2006; Choi and Sirakaya, 2006; Dredge, 2006). The tendency has been to suggest (Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000) that social capital (or “social glue”) is the most important of the four, for it has the most significant influence on the efficiency and equity with which the other types of capital are combined at the household,

local or national level. Just as physical capital and human capital facilitate productive activity, social capital does as well.

Uphoff (1986) argues that there are two determinants of sustainable development: (1) local institution building and (2) local control of programmes. Both of these translate to strong stakeholder involvement. Essentially, sustainable tourism cannot be successfully implemented without the direct support and involvement of those who are affected by it—the different stakeholders (FNNPE, 1993; Butcher, 1997; Wight, 1998; World Bank, 1998; Paskaleva-Shapira, 2001; Ryan, 2002; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Tosun and Timothy, 2003; Dredge, 2006; Tosun, 2006). Inskip (1991) reiterated Murphy's (1985) assertion that sustainable tourism development can be achieved through a community approach in which there is maximum involvement of the local community in the planning and decision making process of tourism and in the actual development and management of tourism and its socio-economic benefits. To achieve this objective, all stakeholders need to be consulted and empowered in tourism decision-making (Bramwell *et al*, 1986; Halme, 2001; Vernon *et al*, 2005) and particularly the host community must be fully involved in all stages of tourism's development (Ioannides, 1995; Hassan, 2000).

Timothy (1998) and Paskaleva-Shapira (2001) argued that participation in tourism planning by many stakeholders can help to promote sustainable development by increasing efficiency, equity and harmony. Stakeholders are defined as “any person, group, or organization that is affected by the causes or consequences of an issue” (Gray, 1989; Bryson and Crosby, 1992; Guyette, 1996). Finn (1996) also suggests that problems can arise if some stakeholders are excluded from the early stages of the collaboration process. It is suggested that once community members are informed of the development intent and agree to participate, they sense a stake in the outcome (Guyette, 1996). Therefore, residents must be involved in the planning and their attitudes toward tourism and perceptions of its impact on community life must be continually assessed (Allen *et al*, 1988).

Paul (1987) argued that the single most important determinant of sustainable development was participation. Given the scale of resource management decisions

involved in tourism development, where the physical and social environment can experience substantial change (impacts), it would seem to make good sense to work with the communities likely to be affected by such decisions (Murphy, 1985; Keogh, 1990; Simmons, 1994; Pretty, 1995; Lewis, 1998; Rudd, 2000; Falk and Kilpatrick, 2000; Marsden *et al*, 2002; Stem *et al*, 2003; Goodman, 2004). To achieve success, development strategies must be consistent with local goals and be sensitive to sustaining a community character and traditions (Brown, 2004) which will require direct participation and involvement of local residents.

Agenda 21 also suggests that we will only achieve sustainable development through planned, democratic, co-operative means, including community involvement in decisions about the environment and development (Jackson and Morpeth, 1999). Attention to matters such as protection of natural and cultural assets, the fair spreading of the benefits of tourism among various regions, and that local people should be encouraged to assume leadership roles in planning and development, with the necessary assistance (Ioannides, 1995). Similarly, Marien and Pizam (1997) stated that devising effective means for allowing citizens' involvement in the tourism planning process and encouraging citizens to participate actively in the process is of primary importance for sustainable tourism development. An active community thrives on the ideas of its residents. It sets clear visions of its priorities and needs as well as agreement on things that need to be done. Local residents have to act as concerned people interested in working together to improve their communities. Ideas and plans need to be developed by local people, possibly with technical assistance from outside the community. A wealth of literature (e.g. Long and Nuckolls, 1994) suggests that forging local ties could lead to improved living standards which, in turn, could determine the success of community development. Creating a mentality of partnership in the local residents and organisations, public agencies and planning officials becomes necessary in order to generate sufficient social capital so that efforts made will be sustainable (Knack and Keefer, 1997; Jones, 2005).

But there are other reasons for people's participation in sustainable tourism development. First of all "residents are more likely to identify threats to sustainable development than outsiders" (Page and Getz, 1997: 26). The vast

traditional knowledge that communities possess from their experience in close interaction with the land is an essential source of information about the natural environment and conservation methods. Farmers in mountain regions have developed traditional methods and knowledge for maintaining agricultural productivity and for preventing environmental damage. Representing a rich heritage of local environmental wisdom collected and refined over the centuries through a process of trial and error, these practices are passed down from one generation to the next (Selman, 1996). These authors emphasise that the recognition and respect for local experience, practices and knowledge, not separating it from the cultural context within which it operates can be used to increase the involvement of the local community and a driving force for achieving tourism development.

So, why is local participation in planning, implementing and monitoring programs, policies and projects so important in the development of sustainable tourism? What are the reasons for the participation of residents in sustainable tourism development? A first reason is that the impacts of tourism are felt most keenly at the local destination area (Simmons, 1994; Ioannides, 1995). Residents are the ones that suffer most from tourism's effects because the impacts of policy are felt at the local level, by local people and their cultural and physical environments. Tourism will have a big impact on their life that is why they should have something to say in the decision-making process. A second reason is the safeguarding of the sustainability of the development. Community participation in the decision-making process of tourism development is a key issue in ensuring acceptability of tourism, thus contributing to its sustainability (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Sharpley, 2000; Hardy *et al*, 2002; Liu, 2003 and 2006; Tosun, 2006). Participation raises the level of commitment by the beneficiaries thus encouraging them to seek ways and means to sustain the project (Gonzalez, 1998).

Furthermore, community participation is essential for the long-term success of tourism because the risk of future conflict is minimised by committing the residents to the development of sustainable tourism. It is seen as increasingly important for tourism planning in destinations to involve the stakeholders affected by tourism, including environmental groups, business interests, public authorities

and community groups (Gartner, 1996; Reed, 1997; Williams *et al*, 1998; Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Tosun, 2000 and 2006; Liu, 2003; Shafer and Choi, 2006) and that it should be a part of the early stages of development (Jamal and Getz, 1995). When residents are involved in the planning process, then tourism developments will be socially responsible and social impacts will be perceived as appropriate by the host community (Robson and Robson, 1996).

But community participation in sustainable tourism development can be rather difficult to obtain. First of all “some communities may be relatively unconcerned about the long-term ecological and social sustainability of their decisions” (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999: 26). Secondly, local experience with tourism is wholly lacking, and people are largely at the mercy of the opinions of those who are presented to them, or who present themselves as “experts” (de Kadt, 1979). Ordinary people are often found to be sceptical of the participative processes in planning (Jackson and Morpeth, 1999). Furthermore, some studies have demonstrated that those who are locally influential and wealthy will become the spokespersons for communities unless specific measures are taken to counter this pattern (de Kadt, 1979. Power often sits with an established local elite and/or those most “vocal”; the silent majority and any local minorities may often be superseded (Hall, 1999; Taylor, 2000; Tosun, 1998, 2000 and 2006). Encouragement of community members to participate in tourism development requires the opening of power distribution channels and legitimising issues so local people will have an equal opportunity to participate (Wahab and Pigram, 1997). Without empowerment, sustainable tourism development by communities is difficult to attain (Sofield, 2003).

With the decline in functional and psychological significance of traditional relationships that have immemorially mediated between the individual and society (Nisbet, 1971), other forms of association need to emerge for encouraging the active involvement of communities by giving them a large say in the decision of the future of their region. In the previous chapter it was argued that community-based associations could be an alternative strategy for empowerment and building the capacity for residents to engage in citizenship behavior (i.e. built on trust, reciprocity and shared values) in the community. Empowerment, it is argued,

increases the community's performance and effectiveness in local development initiatives, thus facilitating sustainable development. But empowerment ultimately depends on residents' attitudes toward their surrounding environment and the impacts of tourism development on community quality of life (i.e. the acceptable level of social exchange) and further tourism development. But other attitudes also need to be studied, including the influence of traditional structures and social controls, implications of living in a National Park and support for alternative change agents such as community-based associations.

3.4 RESIDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Research on residents' reactions to tourism continues to be a topic of considerable interest (Bystrzanowski, 1989; Ap, 1992; Ap and Crompton, 1998; Carmichael, 2000; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Lindberg *et al*, 2001; Weaver and Lawton, 2001; Williams and Lawson, 2001; Cocossis and Mexa, 2002; Gursoy *et al*, 2002; Ko and Stewart, 2002; Teye *et al*, 2002; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002; Uriely *et al*, 2002; Andriotis and Vaughan, 2003; Kuvan and Akan, 2004; Prentice, 2007). Each destination is socio-economically unique and each type of tourism has its own characteristics, making it difficult to conceptualise the ways that tourism produces various social-cultural, economic and environmental impacts (Oppermann, 1996; Ap and Crompton, 1998; Lewis, 1998; Fleisher and Felsenstein, 2000; Williams and Lawson, 2001; Ko and Stewart, 2002; Besculides *et al*, 2002; Tosun, 2002; Reid *et al*, 2004; Northcote and Macbeth, 2006). The growing shift towards sustainable tourism development has led to a renewed interest in the impacts of tourism on the environment, society, and culture and the term "tourism impact" has been gaining increasing attention in the tourism literature (Ap and Crompton, 1998; Sharpley, 2000; Ashley *et al*, 2001; Paskaleva-Shapira, 2001; Williams, 2001; Cocossis and Mexa, 2002; Duffy, 2002; Hardy *et al*, 2002; Ko and Stewart, 2002; Marsden *et al*, 2002; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Twining-Ward and Butler, 2002; Liu, 2003; Stem *et al*, 2003; Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Goodman, 2004; Saxena, 2006; Prentice, 2007). It is often maintained that the attitudes of residents is important because they

themselves are potentially part of the tourists' experiences if the tourists interact with local people (Edwards, 1991; Ryan *et al*, 1998) and local residents' support for tourism development is critical because successful operation and sustainability depend heavily on their goodwill (Jurowski *et al*, 1997; Garrod and Fyall, 1998; Sharpley, 2000; Tosun, 2000; Sheldon and Abenoja, 2001; Duffy, 2002; Gursoy *et al*, 2002; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Liu, 2003; Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Dredge, 2006; Tosun, 2006).

When analysing the attitudes of residents within destination communities we are seeking to identify psychological states, dispositions, evaluative orientations, or feelings towards the object in question. The attitudes are generally heterogeneous, both with respect to tourism generally and with respect to specific development projects or paths (Pearce *et al*, 1996; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Tomljenovic and Faulkner, 2000). Various studies have demonstrated that tourism development leads not only to positive, but also to negative attitudes and outcomes at the local level (Cronin, 1990; Madrigal, 1993; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Paskaleva-Shapira, 2001; Ko and Stewart, 2002; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Andriotis and Vaughan, 2003; Liu, 2003; Jones, 2005; Dredge, 2006; Tosun, 2006).

This diversity in attitudes, and in perceptions and evaluations of impacts, presents challenges to decision makers, who must determine whether the gains to some within the community outweigh the losses of others (Belisle and Hoy, 1980; Maddox, 1985; Murphy, 1985; Allen *et al*, 1988; King *et al*, 1993; Sharpley, 2000; Lindberg *et al*, 2001; Coccossis and Mexa, 2002; Stem *et al*, 2003; Clever, 2005; Saxena, 2006). Failure to comprehend both the positive and negative impacts of tourism to the local economy and community severely inhibits progress (Murphy, 1985; Long, 1991; McLaughlin *et al*, 1991).

3.4.1 DEFINING ATTITUDES

Nemethy (1990) stated that residents' attitudes will go through the following stages: welcome, development, resentment, confrontation, and destruction. Martin and Uysal (1990) support the argument that there is an inverse relationship between

development of the life-cycle stages and resident impacts. While the initial stages of tourism are usually met with a great deal of enthusiasm on the part of local residents because of the perceived economic benefits, it is only natural that, as unpleasant changes take place in the physical environment, and in the type of tourist being attracted, this feeling gradually becomes more and more negative. Mathieson and Wall (1982) suggested that numerous situations provoke feelings of tourist resentment that could lead to growing animosity to tourism. Tourism may help to support the local population but it may also aggravate other problems.

Tourists do not visit an area and then leave it unchanged; they need accommodation, restaurants, recreational facilities; they make demands on local shops and firms; they make contact with local people (White, 1974). According to Doxey (1976) and Butler (1980), irritations may develop as a result of the threats posed by tourists to the way of life of permanent residents. Both Doxey's index of tourist irritation and Butler's concept of a tourist area cycle of evolution, suggest that as the number of visitors to a region increases, residents who at first were overwhelmingly positive in their attitudes to their guests develop increasing reservations concerning the long-term benefits of the visitors. This may be because the original expectations of the benefits of tourism were unrealistic (and so are incapable of being fulfilled) or because the benefits are perceived to accrue only to a small number of people. Alternatively, although expectations of the benefits are realised, the environmental or social costs are initially overlooked, or excessively discounted, so that the local residents come to doubt whether their visitors are an unqualified blessing (Ryan and Montgomery, 1994; Akis *et al*, 1996; Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996; Snaith and Haley, 1999; Carmichael, 2000; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Upchurch and Teivane, 2000; Williams, 2001; Duffy, 2002; Liu, 2003).

3.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has described why tourism is a common strategy of rural community development. Communities often start tourism development focusing only on economic factors, paying little attention to other essential factors, such as cultural,

social and environmental costs. Communities seldom realize that impacts of tourism may represent negative consequences for the host community. The social and environmental costs are hardly items to be considered. Communities may not be particularly attentive to the possible negative impacts. Previous studies touch the problem, but are mainly concerned with the residents' attitudes toward tourism (e.g. Prentice, 2007).

It is suggested that such impacts must be avoided so that the natural and cultural heritage in which tourism development is based may be preserved and protected for future generations. This approach to development incorporates the concept of sustainability.

This chapter has also explained how the pursuit of tourism development will require that communities improve their capacity to establish social relationships and a more active role by community stakeholders. Once the participation of the local people is obtained, it is they who often are the most committed and capable guardians of local resources.

The next chapter will present the case study area: villages in the Peneda Gerês National Park, in Portugal. A thorough review of the background will demonstrate the barriers to engaging residents in a community in transition in which traditional social structures and community organization and institutions may be impeding the necessary change to create sustainable situations that will require improved management and responses that reflect local needs, values and resources.

CHAPTER FOUR: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter it was shown how a sustainable perspective of community development entails concern for future generations by attributing attention to environmental, social and economic considerations. The pursuit of these goals requires cooperation, shared values, participation and empowerment on the part of community members. In order to evaluate participation in community-based development, factors that influence success by building on the strengths of traditional social structures and community organization and institutions need to be identified.

The first section of this chapter presents a summative profile of Portugal, including its physical, demographic, political and economic characteristics, followed by a brief regional analysis of the North of Portugal which will set the context for the main part of the chapter—a review of the Peneda Gerês National Park, by looking at its natural and socio-cultural features, the demography, the conflicts between conservation and development, the way the park is managed and a brief overview of the potential for tourism development within the Park area.

The next section provides a short historical background of the villages in the Peneda Gerês National Park. Certain observations lead us to associate the behaviour of local residents to that of traditional communities. Consequently, to understand the challenges to their livelihoods faced by these communities, their identities, their institutions, and their sense of place in evolving globalisation, one must study the historical contextualization of those communities. Too often, the answers to present difficulties are found in situations of the past (Phillips, 1993).

The chapter continues with a description of the traditional agro-pastoral economy, followed by an analysis of patterns of depopulation and emigration and a review of the characteristics of community entrepreneurship. Finally, the traditional social structures and social controls are explained. It is argued that modernisation is influencing changes in social structures, as increasingly people move away from traditional values, attitudes and expectations associated with community and opt for

the individualism that is characteristic of modern societies. This phase of transformation poses potential social consequences as local traditions and customs tend to disappear as people desire rapid modernization. This shift influences changes from the “traditional” or “old” to the “modern” or “new” forms of engagement which in turn may affect the role of local stakeholders in the community development process.

4.1 PHYSICAL, DEMOGRAPHIC, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISATION OF PORTUGAL

Portugal established its continental frontiers in 1297 and is one of the oldest nations in Europe. It forms together with Spain the Iberian Peninsula and is situated on the south-western tip of this Peninsula. Portugal comprises a part of continental Europe and the archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira. Geologically, Portugal forms the edge of the Spanish uplands that slowly passes into a coastal plain in the west. The River Tagus goes from the centre of the Iberian Peninsula along Lisbon to the Atlantic Ocean and divides the banks of two very different regions. This is an important dividing line: the majority of the land to the north of the river is higher than 500 metres, the southern part of the land is mainly lower than 500 metres (Scholten and Hendriksen, 1997).

Although Portugal is positioned at much the same latitude as Spain, due to maritime influences it escapes the heat and aridity. The Atlantic Ocean controls the climate conditions within the country with sea breezes and dominant winds crossing the whole Peninsula from the west. The proximity of the Atlantic Ocean heavily influences the coastal area of northern Portugal. The humid oceanic air invades the mainland and causes a lot of rainfall. In the winter months, the Atlantic influence brings an abundance of rain over the land, particularly in the mountain areas in the north of Portugal. Moving eastwards the influence of the mountain range increases and the climate slowly passes into a continental climate with hot summers and cold winters (Scholten and Hendriksen, 1997).

4.1.1 DEMOGRAPHIC AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Based on the data from the last census taken (2001), Portugal has 10 230 603 inhabitants, of whom 4 919 350 were men and 5 311 253 were women. Nearly half a million people live in the Azores and Madeira. On average, there are 111.4 inhabitants per km². Rural exodus from the interior of the country has resulted in the population being unevenly distributed over the country and highly concentrated in the coastal area where, approximately 60% of the population lives. Between 1991 and 2001 there was a population increase of 5%, compared to 0,3% between 1981 and 1991 (INE, 2002a; INE, 2002b).

A very large part of the population lives in the metropolitan areas of the capital, Lisbon, and the northern city of Porto, and along the coastal strip linking these two urban metropolitan areas. In contrast to this coastal strip, the population density in the interior of the country is relatively low. The interior and frontier regions have suffered for decades from depopulation, and the proportion of elderly people who remain is rising. Arroiteia (1994) explains that the differences between Atlantic and Interior North have further increased, due to industrialization, concentrating its development and urbanization effects on the coastal region, leaving the historically more scarcely populated interior even more deserted. Whereas the North is characterized by relatively abundant vegetation, a more mountainous topography and numerous small-scale family farms, the South is marked by extensive plains, a more Mediterranean climate and large agriculture properties in its rural interior.

One of the main reasons for the decline in population in the rural interior is emigration, mainly to the rest of Europe, with the last great wave occurring in the 1970s. Portugal has one of the highest emigration figures of Europe. It is estimated that 5 million Portuguese live outside Portugal. Besides the international emigration, there is a national migratory flow towards the three main cities of Portugal—Lisbon, Porto and Braga. This emigration started in the 1940's, for the same reason as the international emigration, namely the lack of employment in the interior rural parts of Portugal. One of the causes was a consistent lack of government interest in agriculture during the Salazar regime. In the beginning of the 1960's, capital was concentrated in the coastal Lisbon-Setubal area to the detriment of other urban

centres and the interior of Portugal. The consequence was decapitalisation and depopulation of the interior resulting in a massive labour exodus.

The majority of the population, approximately 97%, belongs formally to the Roman Catholic Church (but the tendency is to decrease). The rest of the population is 1% protestant and 2% belong to other religions. The church in Portugal maintains a traditionally conservative policy and is very loyal to Rome. In the north of Portugal, the church still has a rather big influence on the daily life of people and the politics (Scholten and Hendriksen, 1997; SOEC & INE, 1998).

In 1932, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar was made prime minister, a position he kept until 1968. Taking other (European) regimes of the time as models, he set out to create a one party state: “O Estado Novo”. The State was authoritarian, pro-Catholic, imperialist and vigorously upheld by the state police (PIDE). The Estado Novo’s slogan of “Country, Family and God” (*Pátria, Família e Deus*) found support in and became embedded in the mentality of the northern farmer, which contributed to the overwhelming support of the region for the dictatorship. The major strength and political support of rural Portugal, according to Payne (1987) comes from its “evenly distributed poverty”. The natural conservatism of the regime kept Portugal out of the industrial, economic and political turbulence of that time. This resulted in a backward, introspective country, hanging on, where possible, to its diminishing number of overseas colonies. On April 25, 1974, a military coup was launched and democracy was restored.

4.1.2 A BRIEF REVIEW OF ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION

Portugal has for centuries been recognised as one of Europe's poorest countries but it has made great strides in recent years to modernise its economy. Portuguese society is characterised by profound interregional population imbalances, which are, themselves, partly the result of the unequal occurrence of emigration. The most depopulated areas coincide with those that are economically less developed. The north of the country experienced the greatest percentage in the decrease of

population, indicating heavy northern migration and relatively lighter emigration from the south.

Land ownership distribution in the south contrasts sharply with that of the north where the landholding problems and agrarian difficulties date back many centuries. An inheritance law (Civil Code of 1867) and the lack of a comprehensive agrarian policy fragmented the already small farms and miniscule vegetable gardens. Besides the historic, inefficient land structure, other explanations have been offered for the poor performance of agriculture (Freitas, 1995). For instance, during the twentieth century, the absence of government interest in agriculture further limited the opportunities in Portugal. Agriculture in north central Portugal changed little during the first half of the Estado Novo (1926-1950). Salazar's agricultural policies targeted the lands of the Alentejo and ignored the small landholdings north of the Tagus. Instead, the area became the playground for political, traditionalist ideas (Freitas, 1995). Goldey (1990) asserts that during this period Portuguese politics were more personality-based.

“The desire for higher rates of capital accumulation by incipient industrialists required a relatively cheap labour force which, in turn, required low costs of agricultural products, potatoes and rice in particular. Part of an implicit plan for the agrarian sector in the 1950's and 1960's was to freeze the prices on basic agricultural products to insure low industrial wages (which) led to the discouragement of investment in agriculture (Leeds, 1977: 9). In some “classical” models, it was even emphasized as a principal “function” of transition, namely releasing labour from farming to meet the demand for workers of industrialization. The reduction of employment opportunities in agriculture would not be a problem if there were enough productive, and adequately paid, jobs available elsewhere in the economy (Gosh and Bharadwaj, 1992).

The situation in Portugal was a direct result of the economical myth that since agriculture cannot absorb any more people, the overflow from rural areas must go to the cities where new jobs in industry must be created for them (Lappe and Collins, 1977). It was exactly this analysis of the problem that prompted both the neglect of agriculture and the promotion of industrialization by development planners during

the 1950's and 1960's. This resulted in a lot of capital investment but remarkably few new industrial jobs (ibid). Continued concentration on the industrial sector coupled with increasing foreign investment did not prove highly successful in meeting the needs of the economy. "As a result of the consistent absence of government interest in agriculture, the rate of agricultural production has increased just 1.2% for the past twenty five years, by far the lowest agricultural growth rates in Europe" (Leeds, 1977: 8).

The rapid industrialization of the 1980's required that the government take on the role as the initiator of change. Improving the infrastructure was a top priority. Preferential tax treatment or capital grants were offered to enterprises that settled in lagging areas (Vernon, 1974: 5). On January 1, 1986 Portugal officially joined the then European Community (EC), now the European Union (EU). Portugal's entry into the EU served to achieve rapid economic growth, with a low inflation rate, purchasing power increased moderately and interest rates were lowered (further incentives for investment). With EU assistance, the agricultural sector and less developed regions became targets of increased investments. EU policy based its priorities on the agricultural sector. The EU's Common Agricultural Policy sought to increase food production so as to reduce dependence on food imports. Incentives were introduced to increase national, regional, sub-regional and local food stocks and to improve their distribution. A pricing policy was introduced for stimulating an expansion in agricultural production. The rationale was that "price incentives can cause farmers to use improved seeds, along with more fertilizer, pesticides, and other purchased inputs, to adopt improved cultural practices, and to apply more family and hired labour" (Council of Europe, 1983: 15).

Agriculture has gradually lost its importance in the Portuguese economy. This trend is expected to continue, as workers move from rural areas to industry and services concentrated in the major urban areas. In 1995, agriculture, forestry and fishing accounted for 6% of GDP and 12% of employment. The industrial sector, including construction and energy, accounted for 36% of GDP and 32% of employment. Industry is dominated by the textile industry which is a major exporter. Footwear is also a major export and a vital industry to the economy. Other important industries

are paper production, cork and wood products, canned fish, wine, timber and timber products. All of these industries are based on the natural resources of Portugal. Metalworking, oil refining and chemicals are other important industries to the Portuguese economy. Within the service sector the tourism industry has grown considerably and is one of the sectors of the Portuguese economy which has enjoyed sustained growth over the last decade.

4.2 CHARACTERISATION OF THE NORTH OF PORTUGAL REGION

The north of Portugal is unevenly developed and there are marked differences between the coast and the interior. The eastern half of the region and the mountains of the northwest are predominantly rural areas with little socio-economic dynamism. There are low levels of industrialisation and urbanisation and a heavy dependence on agriculture. The majority of farms are small-scale and productivity is low. The population, which is ageing and increasingly sparse, suffers from lack of opportunity, which causes a significant number of individuals to seek alternatives elsewhere—formerly mainly abroad, but nowadays in the coastal area of the region.

The North region has two distinct tourism zones: the western half is more or less identical to the area known as Costa Verde, whose main attraction is the coastal strip, above all its beaches. The rest of the North region is fairly mountainous, offering good natural conditions for rural tourism. A review in 1998 suggested that, at that time, the region, was little exploited for the purpose (SOEC & INE, 1998), however, in the last decade the north of Portugal has seen considerable rural tourism development.

4.3 CHARACTERISATION OF THE PENEDA GERÊS NATIONAL PARK

The Instituto da Conservação da Natureza (ICN) manages the 25 (major) protected areas in Portugal. There is one area named “parque nacional” (national park), three areas named “Área de Paisagem Protegida” (protected landscapes), there are nine areas named “reserva natural” (nature reserves), there are twelve areas named

“parque natural” (nature parks), (<http://www.icn.pt>, 24/02/03), besides several natural monuments and other minor protected areas.

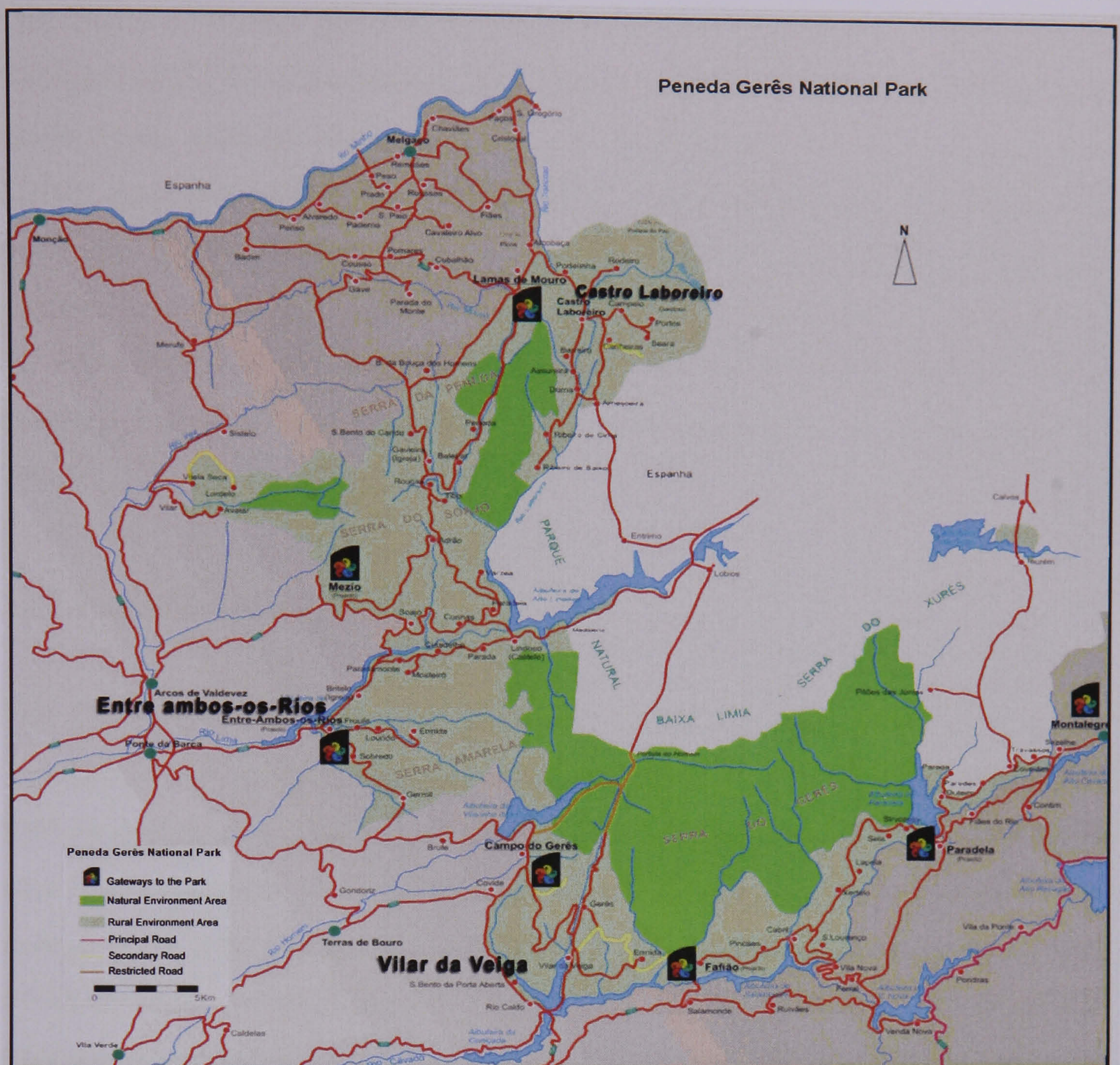
From the 1970s onwards, official legal measures were enacted to raise the awareness of the importance of Portugal's ecological heritage and the natural, physical and biological resources and their conservation. Following these measures, the Peneda Gerês National Park was established on 8th May 1971 (Cavaco, 1995: 67), to safeguard both the country's natural riches and the rural way of life of its people. It was the first protected area in Portugal and the only area that has the status of national park (PNPG and ICN, 1995). The variety of the landscape, the diversity of microclimates, the existing biodiversity and the historical marks of the many centuries of human occupation led to the recognition by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN).

It has been noted that because a legal basis is absent, a big portion of the Peneda Gerês National Park is private property, intensive agriculture and forestry are practised and there more than a hundred villages and hamlets within the borders of the park. These together with other factors contribute towards only a moderate functioning of the National Park (Bibelriether and Schreiber, 1990: 191).

4.3.1 LOCATION AND GEOGRAPHY

The National Park occupies an area of 71.422 hectares distributed over twenty two parishes in five municipalities: Melgaço (10.035 ha), Arcos de Valdevez (14.030 ha) and Ponte da Barca (10.215 ha) in the district of Viana do Castelo, Terras do Bouro (15.968 ha) in the district of Braga and Montalegre (21174 ha) in the district of Vila Real.

Figure 2: Map 2 of the Peneda Gerês National Park



Source: <http://www.eb1-cabril-montalegre.rcts.pt/ondevivemos.html>

Of the entire National Park, 5.275 hectares belong to the state, 45.577 hectares are unused, uncultivated land and the rest (20.570) is private, cultivated property. The maximum altitude in the national park is 1545m and the minimum altitude is 140m. Peneda (1340m), Serra do Soajo (1430m), Serra Amarela (1350m) and Serra do Gerês (1545m), largely covering the north-eastern part of the Minho region, but with one end in Trás-os-Montes (PNPG and ICN, 1995).

The National Park is divided in two parts by the river Lima, the Serra da Peneda and the Serra de Soajo form the western and northern part of the Park, the Serra do Gerês and the Serra Amarela form the eastern and southern part. Peneda is the quietest and

most rugged part of the park and Gerês the woodiest. The Park shares the frontier with Spain's Orense province and embraces a corresponding Spanish reserve "Parque Natural Serra do Xures", constituting, since 1997, the Transboundary Park Gerês-Xurês, with an approximate area of 100.000 hectares. Due to the heavy rainfall, there is a very dense hydrographic network, with the most important rivers being the Peneda, Castro Laboreiro, Lima, Homem, Gerês, Fafião, Cabril and Cávado. In the national park six dams have been constructed as a result of the numerous water courses. There are dams in Lindoso, Touvedo, Vilarinho das Furnas, Caniçada, Salamonde and Paradela (Scholten and Hendriksen, 1997; PNPG and ICN, 1995).

4.3.2 PARK MANAGEMENT

The management of the Peneda Gerês National Park is guided by the "Plano de Ordenamento do Parque Nacional de Peneda-Gerês". This plan was published in 1995 by the National Park and the "Instituto da Conservação da Natureza" (24 years after it was founded). It is the objective of this document to guide all entities that have direct or indirect intervention in the region in making decisions about regional, which involves the protection of fauna, flora and the landscape that gives this territory its distinctive character. It consists of four parts. The first part describes the characteristics of the Park and proposes types of interventions. The second part regulates the activities that are permitted in the different zones. The third part is an operational management plan. Finally, the fourth part is cartography of the different zones.

The management plan implemented a zoning policy the park being divided into two major zones. One zone is called "Área de Ambiente Rural" (rural environment area). This area is more humanized there are approximately 10.000 inhabitants distributed over about 114 villages. These mountain communities, tucked away in the valleys or isolated on the plateaux, separated from one another by difficult mountain paths, have had to live on their own, be self-sufficient, develop activities and create a social organisation that enables them to overcome the hostile conditions of their environment. These people have, from remote times, carried on a life ritual in which

pasturage and livestock play a predominant role. From this way of living came knowledge and experience, represented in customs and uses which in many cases still exists today (Fernandes *et al*, 2001).

The landscape has been occupied and transformed by man. Residents of the Área de Ambiente Rural zone have developed their economic activities, built their houses and recreation areas. In this part of the national park human influence can be felt more strongly, because the local people left their marks as a result of their uses and customs. The objective to be accomplished in this area is to assert the natural patrimony of human intervention in the landscape, to develop economic activities that go together with nature, the preservation and conservation of the natural and cultural heritage. The quality of life of the residents needs to be improved in harmony with the protection of the historical and cultural patrimony and landscape, which constitutes the wealth of the area. Controlled development is permitted and all major infra-structure, including roads, tracks and trails are largely located in this area.

The other zone is called “Área de Ambiente Natural” (natural environment area). It forms a third of the total area of the National Park. The objective for this zone is the maximum protection, preservation and conservation of nature. Human pressure is minimized because access is difficult. Parts of this zone are set aside for research and are off limits to the general public. The ecosystem can function freely without the presence of man. The most assiduously protected zone, upon which the park's “national” status heavily depends, is an area of virgin oak, chestnut and mistletoe forest called the “Mata de Albergaria”. “This area is traditionally been identified as the 'heart' of the national park” (PNPG and ICN, 1995: 24).

The “Área de Ambiente Natural” is divided in three zones. First, there is the “Zona de Protecção Total” (total protection area), which has as its objective the preservation of natural places or elements which are unique, vulnerable, rare, threatened, or representative. There are no houses in this zone, people are not permitted there and all activities are forbidden. Some of the land is private property and the owners are forbidden to go to their property. A major fire occurred there in 2001. The locals

argued that if they had been allowed to go about their traditional activities in this area, clearing it of brush, etc., the fire would not have had the same magnitude.

Then there is the “Zona de Protecção Parcial” (partial protection area) with the fundamental objective of conserving nature and providing environmental interpretation. Finally, there is the “Zona de Protecção Complementar” (complementary protection area) which constitutes the transition between the “Area de Ambiente Natural” and the “Area de Ambiente Rural” (PNPG and ICN, 1995; ADERE-PG, 1997).

4.4 THE TRADITIONAL AGRO-PASTORAL ECONOMY

Like so many small communities in mountain areas, complex environmental and socio-economic problems affect the dispersed villages of the Peneda Gerês National Park. The mountain communities lying within the Park are among the poorest areas in all of Portugal (ADERE-PG, 1997). The villages predominantly comprise small and medium sized agricultural holdings supporting predominantly agricultural economies dominated by small scale, essentially non-cooperative agricultural enterprises, conditions which are not conducive to the development of class consciousness or class-based movements. The inheritance tradition, the economy's declining state, the isolation of rural areas, and Salazar's (political-social-economic regime that ruled from 1936 to 1968) ideas of struggle for the benefit of the country enhanced the importance of the possession of land. Accordingly, land was often regarded as an “heirloom rather than as means of production” (Cabral, 1978).

According to Leeds (1977), most of the working population were said at that time to rely on agricultural employment, with an overwhelming majority dedicating at least half of their time to agriculture. But in the last three decades (1970-2000) employment in the agricultural sector in Portugal declined from 31% to 5% (Amaro, 2006). The falling in agricultural employment affected all of Portugal but in particular the Northern region with the highest proportion of its agricultural labour force working on small farms. Traditionally, a division of labour evolved in a manner that tasks complemented each other and strengthened the family as a work unit.

“Whose job it is” was a relevant topic for discussion in the family, with decisions made on the basis of age, gender, physical characteristics and special abilities.

Agriculture is still of a decidedly rudimentary nature. The economy of the “minifundia” typifies the backwardness of agrarian life. The “minifundia” relates to the small parcels of land which the farmers of the area work. Polyculture dominates, with an emphasis on the cultivation of corn, rye, fodder, potatoes, beans, grapes and the long-stemmed cabbage known as “couve galega”. Often next to these are fava beans, turnips, onions and pumpkins. The rearing of livestock next to the production of cereals/vegetables seems to act as a safeguard against economic hardship in a potentially precarious economy. The cattle, cows, goats and sheep present to the mountain farmer an extra source of income (Bruce, 1997).

“Minifundia” is a form of agriculture that is family orientated, the farmer produces solely for his own livelihood with the emphasis on un-paid labour. It is a form of subsistence farming: each farmer produces enough crop to feed his family. Production is not based on profit or efficiency. Each individual peasant family is almost self-sufficient, producing the major part of its consumption and thus acquires its means of life more through exchange with nature than in intercourse with society (Cabral, 1978). They cultivate what they need; they do not sell or buy agricultural products. Community spirit is evident in the way that everyone who can turns out to help the performing of tasks often in a reciprocal fashion (Bruce, 1997), in such a manner as “you help me today and I will help you tomorrow”. An exchange of work between families, neighbours and friends takes place.

4.4.1 LOCAL IDENTITY AND COMMUNITY ORGANISATION

These mountainous villages, some of which were until about twenty years ago separated from each other by difficult roads, have developed activities and created a social organisation that allowed them to overcome the hostile conditions that the environment created. The pasture and the cattle played a predominant role in the everyday life of the inhabitants; therefore, they organised their territory in pastoral, cultivated and forest zones. The millenarian struggle for survival resulted in

knowledge from accumulated experience, expressed by patterns of use and established customs. Historically people in the different villages used to cooperate with various facilities being common property. Not least the difficulties of the agricultural work in the mountains created a tradition of community work and related services in the villages and some of the traditional practises still exist today. Villages had a great degree of political autonomy and self-regulation, contributing to divisions between villages. The stone walls in the mountains were built to prevent the animals from going to the pasture areas of other villages (and to the forested areas). Each village had its own land and animals. Each parish, comprised of several villages, used to have its own boundaries, and within the parish the villages used to have their own land and their own animals.

People are by tradition separated by village; therefore, they are used to looking after their own interests. Each village has its own primary school and recreational areas. Thus, in terms of settlement patterns all villages acted as isolated communities. The subsistence economy was based at the village level. The pattern of settlements and shared traditions and practices assured common morality as guidance for people's behaviour. Individuals lived in particular communities with their own specific institutionalised forms, and everyone contributed to the realization of the community's shared goals and projects (McIntyre, 1981).

In the village community and surrounding countryside, people's behaviour was regulated by shared folkways, mores, and customary law. Because of the proximity of houses, the communal fields, and the cooperation necessary in common projects, people had frequent contacts with and intimate knowledge of one another (Tonnies, 1971). "There existed a shared set of moral norms, which were mainly an expression and organ of religious beliefs and community spirit" (ibid, 261). Through active involvement in common concerns, the individual was able to overcome any sense of isolation and the general tendency to pursue his or her private interests (Bellah, *et al*, 1985).

Understanding the social organisation of such communities requires understanding how, when, and where particular ordering relationships are imposed. That is, how do the members of each collectively define both themselves and their relationship to the

environment (other actors, available resources, opportunities and obstacles through interaction, negotiation, and opposition (Melucci, 1988 in Hannigan, 1991: 321). According to Smith (1976), the ultimate goal of a systems analysis is to understand these relationships, testing this understanding by developing a series of rules by which the organisation of a system can be simulated and features of it predicted. It is important to set the historical contextualization of collective behaviour tradition, the realms of social relations and meaning and contemporary social change (Anderson and O'Dowd, 1999). New movements have not arisen in a historical vacuum (Hannigan, 1991). By studying the historical role of the structure, dynamics, social relations and meaning (Sack, 1999), land use and settlement patterns (Daniels, 1992) of communities, one may better understand the underlying "space-time changes" in a "medieval to modern transformation" (Andersen, 1996) and employing Wallace's concept of "revitalization movements" (1956, in Hannigan, 1991: 321), identify "new mazes" (Hargrove, 1988 in Hannigan, 1991: 321) that could lead to a larger vision of responsibility and economic rethinking.

4.4.2 PATRIARCHICAL SOCIETY BASED ON "TRADITION"

Edge and Harvey (2000) supported the contention that the use of the past is related to the construction of identity in the present. Typically production was located in kinship units. Subsistence farming predominated; other industry was supplementary but still attached to family and village. In some cases occupational position was determined largely by an extended group. Similarly, exchange and consumption were embedded deeply in family and village. As the economy developed, several kinds of economic activity were removed from this family-community complex.

One implication of the removal of economic activities from the kinship nexus is that the family loses some of its previous functions, becoming a more specialized agency. The family ceases to be an economic unit of production; one or more members now leave the household to seek employment in the labour market. The family's activities become more concentrated on emotional gratification and socialization. While many compromise arrangements such as family hiring and migratory systems persist, the

tendency is toward the segregation of family functions and economic functions (Smelser, 1963: 108).

Families lived in particular communities for many generations, and people knew one another. Tonnies (1971) stressed the readiness of village people to act collectively and to cooperate in a variety of activities. Relationships were based on collective cooperation and trust. Trust, cooperation, and conservatism were important parts of the daily lives of the people in this type of community (Kim *et al*, 1994). Most villages possessed by customary right pasture, heaths, forests, water supply...all of which were essential to people's livelihood (Black, 1984: 50). Among those using the land there were systems of common rotation, common grazing, and other types of cooperative activities (Reynolds, 1984).

Villagers often lived and worked in close proximity to one another. Although their emotional lives were centered primarily within the nuclear family, villagers were forced to rely on others for assistance in economic activities when the need arose, and with support in times of sickness and need (Phillips, 1993: 98). For example, agricultural production meant that members of a community lived together and worked together. Goods were produced with the main purpose of consumption in the local community. People within the household worked cooperatively, and there existed a division of labour with the women working inside and the men working outside.

The town council, the individual guild, and the church and clergy all concerned themselves with the economic well-being of the community (Tonnies, 1940). Local customs and laws were enforced at the village level. However, not everyone in the village was entitled to participate in decision-making. That responsibility was reserved for the men. The men occupying the highest positions were often referred to simply as so many "good men" and sometimes as "the better and older" or "better and more discreet" (Reynolds, 1984: 146). It was accepted as in everyone's interest to get the rich and prominent to do most: the better, more discreet, and more powerful citizens or burgesses were those who in medieval terms, had the duty as

well as the right to take the lead in running their communities (ibid, 192). Only the “right sort” of men was in a position to participate intelligently in political activities and decision making. The idea was that those few men who had the leisure and freedom to participate politically did so for the common or public good. This doctrine required the exclusion of ordinary people from participation (Phillips, 1993). A man’s right to participate in the village’s political activities and collective decision making was highly dependent on his location in the stratification hierarchy. In the end, it was usually the richer (male) citizens who ran medieval towns (Phillips, 1993). The criterion of elite by birth was modified by acquisition of wealth and status by accomplishment (Murray, 1978). The powerful men were expected to care for the poor and sick while care of the poor was seen as a Christian duty (Mollat, 1986).

For these reasons, the traditional and generally conservative socio-political alignment of the inhabitants of contemporary northern Portugal cannot be understood or explained without taking into account the system of bonding to and dependency on influential persons (Silva, 1994). Clientelism is a holdover from traditional societies.

4.5 PATTERNS OF DEPOPULATION AND EMIGRATION

Land shortage, due mostly to the often complicated inheritance system, and improved means of communication are the primary factors involved in the changes that the villages of the National Park have experienced in the last 50-60 years. The practice of partible inheritance (division of land among all children) (Berkner, 1976) encouraged greater family cohesion, extended or “joint” families were more common and geographic mobility was lower [than in other parts of Portugal] (Phillips, 1993). There was little incentive to leave the family or village because each child could expect to inherit part of the family plot and the right to run cows on the common pasture. Such rights and obligations, encoded in the inheritance laws, were an irreplaceable form of social capital, and land transference was a trans-generational trust (Goody, 1976). Partial inheritance enforced greater solidarity and cohesion of associational life through generations and throughout the community (Somers, 1993) and family ties were like “bonds of iron” (Thirsk, 1976).

Leeds (1977) contends that given the above context people in search of better economic opportunities and ways of supplementing their insufficient subsistence agriculture were forced into labour migration—to towns in the valley, urban areas (mainly Porto and Lisbon) and foreign countries.

The economic discontent after World War II was a further impetus which led people to look for work in other European countries, particularly France that had been the battleground of the war. France had lost much of its male population and turned to foreign labour to rebuild the country. When the news arrived in the diverse regions of Portugal, particularly the agrarian mountain villages in the north, that France was accepting illegal immigrants, it triggered an explosion of clandestine migration into that country. People would cross the mountains of Minho into Galicia (Spain) during the night and continue on to France. The Portuguese government was unable to prevent this exodus (Mayer, 1975).

The Portuguese came to perceive emigration as the best solution to the economic difficulties of life. A significant contributory factor toward Portuguese emigration was the desire to obtain the necessary savings for the sole purpose of building a house, in the native village thus guaranteeing, at least, minimum economic security. “What people probably want more than anything else is to gain control over their income. This is the economic dimension of this human drive (Peterson, 1989: 379) and the stimuli for others to leave as well (Leeds, 1977; Graham and Makler, 1979; Docquier, 1997).

The highest period of external migration from all of Portugal occurred between 1950 and 1979. In the 1950's legal migrants nationally averaged nearly 35.000 per year, the 1960's nearly 65.000, with a peak year in 1966 with a total of 120.239, and the 1970's about 39.000. At the same time, illegal migration was also significant, it is estimated for example that between 1969 and 1972, illegal migration was actually higher than legal migration (INE, 2002b).

Previous studies have shown that these communities when confronted with little if any opportunities for employment that, instead of allowing fear and panic to tear the villages apart, or, on the other extreme, bringing the village together as a community,

the young people were raised to find solutions to their economic problems not through political pressuring and collective action but through individual initiative and emigration (Graham and Maker, 1979). While some migrated internally to the coastal fringe and the larger towns, particularly Porto and Lisbon, external migration has predominated and has followed distinct patterns with regard to modes of departure, destination countries, length of stay, attitudes toward return and towards the migrants future (Leeds, 1977). This pattern of rural exodus formed in the 1960s and 1970s, as the young (predominantly men) left the villages not to work in a specific industry, but because of encouragement by their own parents simply to leave the village, which had become symbolic of every sort of dead end (Behar, 1996). People tended to leave partly because there was little opportunity for employment and, more recently, because they are dissatisfied with the social/leisure activities available. This predominantly male pattern of migration on the formation and structure of households has had great impact as households adjusted to the absence of men in ways that demonstrate several characteristics of a matriarchical society. Male migration has affected household structure in this area not only directly, but also indirectly through its impact on female spinsterhood and illegitimacy (Brettell, 1988).

For those remaining, the most commonly cited motive for not moving is the desire to maintain community-based social and economic ties (de Jong and Gardner, 1981: 39). Emigration decreased from the 1970s onwards (O Emigrante, 1984b) as information reached the villages that the destination countries were undergoing economic difficulties and jobs were scarce.

During the 1980's, several studies were carried out to emigrants passing their holidays in their village of origin. One of the studies was conducted by the *Ministério de Administração Interna* (MAI, 1982)—Portuguese Ministry of Internal Administration). This study established a specific profile of respondents: about 89% indicated economic reasons as the motivating factor for emigrating; 85% emigrated alone (predominantly the men); only in 54% of the cases did the rest of the family follow; 54% were married at the time; and, subsequently 66% of the single males married within their municipality of origin, about 8% married into different nationalities, and 26% married into a different municipality. Of those questioned 95% claimed that “the first and principal attention that the emigrants give to the

money that they send to Portugal is the acquisition of land and/or the construction of a house”. Also, when returning, nearly 90% indicated that they would prefer to continue living in the municipality of origin, preferably the village of origin. Finally, when asked of the intentions of returning permanently, 53% demonstrated interest in doing so. Subsequently, little data is available and exact figures for return migration are difficult to establish.

The return of migrants is closely related to the idea of spending some time abroad to make enough money to build your house, thus guaranteeing, at least, minimum economic security—the “safety first” factor (Peterson, 1989). The usual cycle by emigrants was migrate, save money, build a house in the village where you came from (Leeds, 1977). According to the MAI (1982) study, migration may not necessarily be associated with a severance of village and family ties. Few migrants leave the village without some intention of returning to live there at some future date. In fact, it is argued that with the possibility for earning a living in their village, many emigrants would be inclined to return.

Strong links between origin and destination are established, which facilitate the migrant’s retention of valued ties with community and family at the place of origin. No matter how much they may be influenced by exogenous practices and the considerable gratification from working outside the village, but socially, they always look to their village, to their families and to the religious and social obligations. For example, most parishes organize an annual religious festival for which emigrants are responsible and which is perceived as socially beneficial to the individual, as well as community work like restoring the chapels, etc. Such conclusions tend to agree with de Jong and Gardner (1981) that migrants are able to retire to the village in later life and resume the place in community life that has been reserved for him or her.

The trend of emigrating within Europe has had a marked influence on the cultural and built environment of the region (Purrott, 1997). The villages in the Peneda Gerês National Park have been isolated and people were accustomed to using the natural materials available, for example for building houses they used the local granite. But with the emigrants’ remittances and savings modern materials were used to build houses and the architecture was sometimes influenced by other cultures (the host

countries). House styles began to change, and the introduction of new building materials altered the traditional physical aspect of the villages. The result is “casas dos emigrantes” (the houses of emigrants) that do not fit in the regional landscape. As Leeds (1997) stated “no one who visited northern Portugal can doubt the visible material impact on the Portuguese countryside of the “brasileiros” and more recently the “franceses”, those who have come back with something to show for their years of “sacrifices”. Docquier (1997) noted that if the emigrant builds a house in the native village it is already a sign of success. These will be the fruits of his hard work and he likes to show this success to the rest of the village.

One of the principles of the subsistence ethic is to distribute risk as a way of stabilizing the system, hence the lack of specialization in peasant economies. In the same subsistence spirit, labour migration is yet another way for peasant families to distribute their risks. Labour migration is a conservative move in another way. Cash remittances are almost never invested in local capital enterprises. They are used instead for ordinary consumption needs, to enhance the lifestyle of the family with home improvements and appliances, and for finance rituals (Platt, 1991).

4.6 SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND SOCIAL CONTROLS

In the relative isolation of the villages, the priest, the teacher, the members of the parish council, and the constable—all of whose authority derived from hierarchic delegation or local status—became small-scale guardians of the status quo and worked as the ultimate link in the chain of ecclesiastical, administrative, educational, and policing institutions (Silva, 1994). The crucial notion here is that of power and its subsidiary authority. Authority is power which is believed by the powerless to be justified. Compliance is achieved because people think that it is “right” in some sense that they should obey orders from particular sources (Nisbet, 1971; Phillips, 1993). Conflict occurs to the degree that authority is unsuccessful (Bailey, 1975: 33). Authority is the structure or the inner order of an association, whether this be political, religious, or cultural, and is given legitimacy by its roots in social function, tradition or allegiance (Nisbet, 1971).

Power is rooted in the particular nature of social structure; it cannot be divorced from the institutions through which it is exercised, but at the same time it cannot be abstracted from people “performing” it (Bailey, 1975). Power is the term conventionally used to refer to the ability of someone or some group to carry out their will, especially despite opposition. A person has power to the extent that he/she influences the behaviour of others in accordance with his own intentions. Power is the ability to affect decisions that shape social outcomes (Rubin and Rubin, 1992). For Mott (1970), what one writer calls “power” another calls “influence” and vice versa. Authority is usually defined as either legitimised power or legitimised influence, depending on what definitional choices a particular social scientist has made concerning the latter concepts.

For local people in the National Park authority has traditionally rested with the Junta de Freguesia (parish council). The Junta de Freguesia consists of three persons—a president, a treasurer and a secretary. In most cases, they are poorly-educated farmers (ADERE-PG, 1997). Being a member of the Junta is a part time activity, agriculture being the primary activity. The President of the “Junta de Freguesia” is elected by the members of the parish for a four year term. The “Assembleia de Freguesia” (Parish Assembly), is also elected for a four year term. The members of the assembly elect the remaining two members of the Junta. Officially, power resides with the Assembly. The Assembly deliberates and the Junta executes. In reality, the Junta is seen as having all the power.

The community organizational system has been influenced considerably by contact with the outside world. Deeply embedded social functions of the old order are no longer implicitly accepted, and in fact are being seriously questioned by the most outward looking sector of the local population. This is mostly the influence of the labour migrants, who have economically enhanced their position within the community and who brought with them alternative ways of doing things and looking at the world, and who obviously wanted to take advantage of their newly acquired status (Gmelch, 1987). Motivation for permanent behavioural change is directly related to how much control an individual has over social structures which surround him. New knowledge can be provided, new attitudes can be developed, and new skills can be practiced, but unless surrounding social structures reinforce change,

change will not occur (Schneiderman, 1988). Change is absent or imperceptible in traditional society because men cannot conceive of its existence (Huntington, 1968) or the risk in changes may be too great (Nesman, 1981). The local populations have a history of diversifying activities and/or production to minimize risk, thus have little sense of entrepreneurship. In fact, one may even argue that the more risk-taking segment were the emigrants, who risked a different lifestyle, in a different country, most likely with a different culture. The question remains if local people who spent time outside their native village, as well as the influence of urbanization, increased in literacy and education, mass media expansion and increases in income have contributed to the necessary changes that are seen as required for pursuing local development.

4.7 MODERNISATION AND CHANGES IN SOCIAL STRUCTURES

Modern society is dominated by extreme individualism (Phillips, 1993). A clear direction is pointing toward the separation of individuals from communal or corporate structures: from guild, village community, historic church...and from patriarchal ties in general. This separation is often seen in the progressive terms of liberation, of emancipation from tradition grown oppressive...or, the transition from medievalism to modernism/transformation (Nisbet, 1971: 42).

Changing societies bring changing responsibilities. According to Huntington (1968: 99), “modernization involves a fundamental shift in values, attitudes, and expectations and modernization involves belief in the capacity of man by reasoned action to change his physical and social environment”. Modernity means choice, and choice is generally considered to be a good thing, but there is a price. Traditionally the strain of an excess of choice has been dealt with by the creation of institutions which protect the individual from having to make too many choices (Berger *et al*, 1974: 167). Rights-based liberalism begins with the claim that we are separate, individual persons, each with our own aims, interests, and conceptions of the good, and seeks a framework of rights that will enable us to realize our capacity as free moral agents, consistent with a similar liberty for others (Sandel, 1984). Liberalism represents a moral-political philosophy and a way of life that rejects a “traditional”,

ascribed, communal, and “medieval” social order. Liberalism serves as the foundation for individualism (and) assumes that individuals are rational and able to use reason to make personal choices, and as such they should be given individual rights to choose freely and to define their own goals (Kim *et al*, 1994). Hofstede (1991: 51) defines individualism and collectivism as follows:

“Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose. Everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. Collectivism as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive in groups, which throughout people’s lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty”

Individualism and collectivism are being used in ways similar to the terms modernity and tradition (or conservatism), respectively (Kim *et al*, 1994). Individualism by its very nature is separation from the norms and communities (Nisbet, 1971). Individualism may lead to social changes such as lack of courtesy toward strangers; decrease in kindness and hospitality; greater equalization of power between husbands and wives; emergence of the nuclear family and retreat from the ideal of extended family; weakening of hierarchy; weakening of traditionalism; decrease in localism; and, increase in the awareness of public order (Kim *et al*, 1994). Modernisation and Liberal society is fragmentation in practice, while community is the opposite (Phillips, 1993). Individualism and collectivism have different implications for social organization. To understand these implications, it is necessary to analyse the distribution of responsibilities, obligations, and conflicting interests among individuals within defined target groups (Kim *et al*, 1994).

Huntington (1968: 7) suggested that “the answer is not the creation of authority and the accumulation of power but rather the limitation of authority and the division of power....The problem is how to create organizations”. And, “if social and economic change undermines or destroys traditional bases of association, the achievement of a high level of political development depends upon the capacity of the people to develop new forms of association” (ibid: 31). Associational activity has as its purpose, at least in part, the advancement of community welfare (Banfield, 1958). Associations serve the twin purposes of providing a haven for the individual, thus freeing him of the desire to seek absorption in the mass, and of limiting the extent of

governmental participation and centralization of society (Tocqueville, in Nisbet, 1971: 131).

4.8 THE POTENTIAL FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Natural areas are preferred destinations by more and more national and international visitors (van der Straaten, 1997; Buckley, 2000; Fleischer and Felsenstein, 2000; Riera Font, 2000; Newsome *et al*, 2002; Liu, 2006). In Portugal, the pressure exerted at protected areas and in particular at the Peneda Gerês National Park is a good example of this trend (ADERE-PG, 1999). The National Park is one of the most visited areas in Portugal, ranking it as one of the principal tourist attractions in the north of Portugal.

Since the beginning of the century, tourism has been developing in the Park area in particular due to the existence of a spa in the Vila do Gerês. Even before becoming a protected area, there were already quite a significant number of tourists coming to the region every year, particularly in the summer months. The classification of the national park resulted in an even stronger attraction. Apparently, visitors to the region boast of having visited the Gerês area, even if they actually visited other parts of the park. It is common to perceive all the Park area as being Gerês. Although little market research has been done to determine the motivations to visit the region, it is argued that the fact that the Gerês area was a fashionable destination for the upper class since the beginning of the century, other market segments now come for the same reason (ADERE-PG, 1999, Fernandes *et al*, 2001).

The number of annual visitors to the National Park is not known. There has never been a global research plan for the entire national park. Consequently research about visitor pressure and its impacts on the National Park has never taken place. Existing statistics are mostly based on the official accommodation and how many people visited the information centres of the National Park and the tourist information centres in or close to the National Park. This is one of the major difficulties in tourism planning and management of the National Park. In such situations, national

park authorities do not have the vaguest idea what do to with sustainable tourism (van der Straaten, 1997).

In the National Park management plan, it is stated that “it is imperative for the protection of this patrimony and its present use that access to the protected perimeters are carefully controlled. The growth of tourist activities can result in its being one of the principal causes of degradation of the environment and the natural landscapes if there is not a total alteration of mentalities” and “a flow of tourists should only be possible when this is in harmony with the conservation and maintenance of the values of the national park” (PNPG and ICN, 1995: 73).

Local Agenda 21 suggests engaging local people into the process of decision making for achieving sustainable development. It offers an ideal chance to make consultation more genuine and creative, so that people in a community are really working together to find way of improving and taking care of the environment, and of helping to enhance the quality of life in their area (WWF UK, 1995). In Portugal, several studies have been conducted on strategies for pursuing sustainable development. For example, the UN-Environmental Institute (2007) published a study based on past environmental studies and development indicators, stressing that participation is an essential pillar for achieving sustainable development. In practice, however, and based on information gathered during the researcher’s attendance at meetings in the national Park, no such policy has been initiated by the National Park or the local authorities. Action plans for implementing Local Agenda 21 have not been created. Sustainable development has not been discussed at the level which is nearest to the communities. Any mention of sustainable development or Local Agenda 21 is limited to mere bureaucratic rhetoric. There has been no real attempt to improve participation and really give community members the possibility to get their voices heard. As such, community members have not been included in the planning cycle of local development.

4.8.1 THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

The National Park is also rich in cultural heritage. Megalithic, Celtic and Roman monuments can be found and there has been human settlement in the Park since 5000 B.C. At this time the megalithic tombs such as barrows, dolmens and cists began to appear. These dolmens can be found in Mezio, Pitões, Castro de Laboreiro, Paradela, Cambeses and Tourem. Evidence points to the occupation of Calcedonia by the Celts before the arrival of the Romans. Close to Pitões, Tourem and Cidadelhe settlements have been discovered that date from Celtibarian times. Between 79 and 353 A.C. the Romans constructed various roads and bridges through the area. Some of these roads lead to the pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela. The Park contains the largest amount of Roman milestones in the Iberian Peninsula (PNPG and ICN, 1995). The Roman way or “geira”, was the name given to a military road supposedly built in the last third of the 1st century AC, connecting Bracara Augusta (Braga) to Asturica Augyta (Astorga). One of its best-preserved parts is situated in the interior of the Park, between Campo do Gerês and Portela do Homem. Along this circuit there are archaeological remains, such as milestones (a great part of them engraved), bridges’ ruins, mutatio (changing stations) and mansions (resting places-submerged during most part of the year in Vilarinho das Furnas reservoir) (PNPG and ICN, 1995).

4.8.2 THE NATURAL HERITAGE

The climatic and altitude conditions that exist in the Peneda Gerês National Park enables one to find species from zones as far apart as the Mediterranean and subtropical areas and Euro-Siberian and Alpine zones. The park's diversity of climate, habitat and landscape is nourished by heavy rainfall—the Serra da Peneda gets more rain than anywhere else in Portugal. As a result, one may find flora and fauna that are rare or not existent in other parts of the country.

The typical vegetation of the region is dominated by oaks, brushwood and marsh vegetation. In sheltered valleys there are stands of arbutus, laurel and cork oak. Forests of oak and holly give way at higher elevations to birch, yew and Scots pine, and in alpine areas to juniper and moss sandwort. Although some of the species are

now extinct, such as the brown bear and the mountain goat, the national park still has a varied fauna (PNPG and ICN, 1995; ADERE-PG 1999; www.beta.di.uminho.pt/~esteves/turismo/parques1.html, 12/02/2000). As mentioned earlier, visitors are concentrated in the Gerês area and even though it is situated in the zone classified as “Area de Ambiente Natural” in which all activities are restricted, the “Mata da Albergaria” is the most popular and most visited part of the national park. Annually, this part of the park attracts thousands of visitors who transport themselves mainly by car with visible congestion as a result and creating a noticeable seasonal pressure.

The fact that people are active communities complicates the management of the natural heritage of the Park. While the National Park authorities seek to preserve and protect the fauna such as wolves, wild boar and foxes, the local people kill these animals because they are a burden to their subsistence form of lifestyle. The wolves attack their cows, horses, sheep and goats while they are pasturing in the mountains. The wild boars destroy their crops, i.e. the corn, and the foxes eat their chickens. Because the animals being protected by the National Park are classified as protected species, local people are entitled to a compensation for the loss of their domestic animals. The law states that compensation shall be paid within 30 days. The conflict is aggravated because the compensation is seldom (if ever) paid within the stipulated period. People have waited anywhere between one and five years to receive the compensation. Furthermore, the damaged crops are not included in the compensation. At other times, local people have difficulty proving that the animal was attacked by a wolf. Or, the missing animal simply is not found. If no remains are found to prove that the animal was attacked by a wolf, no compensation is paid. This is one of the conflicts that has damaged the relationship between the National Park authorities and the local people.

During certain periods of the year, local people make fires to burn vegetation and regenerate the pasture areas, making the terrain suitable for their cattle to graze. The setting of these fires is permitted as long as they are carried out in a controlled form and it requires the approval of the Park. The fires constitute one of the factors that degrade the forest zones. Burning is systematically and incorrectly used. It leads as

well to the destruction of the natural vegetation cover, which in turn favours erosion and the disappearance of characteristic biotopes.

Overgrazing at the pastures by the cattle endangers the regeneration of some autochthonous vegetation species, which conditions the evolution of natural succession. Furtive hunting by illegal means and processes eliminates species. The local people's natural reaction and tradition of protecting their animals against damage caused by savage fauna in the agriculture and the pastures is responsible for the diminution of the abundance of all predator species (PNPG and ICN, 1995).

This relationship demonstrates the National Park authorities are not meeting the social and economic needs of the residents. National Park policy is by no means a people-centred model for development. Support for community development would require that the National Park authorities empower residents and promote capacity building measures. The lack of support for the necessary change that could lead to community development suggests that a prominent focus is placed on development that is unlikely to be sustainable.

Because there is a general perception by local communities that the purpose of the Peneda Gerês National Park is to conserve nature within its boundaries at all costs and that there appears to exist a mismatch in the understanding of what should be the role of the National Park in community development between the local communities and the National Park authorities, attitudes of the local communities toward the park authorities were investigated.

4.8.3 RECREATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE PENEDA GERES NATIONAL PARK

Traditionally most sports activities were forbidden. In 2000, all activities were organised and regulated, including the areas where they could be practiced. The Park provides information on some sporting activities, such as various walking and cycling routes, interpretive walks and an equestrian route. Other activities are organised by private companies. There are few small local enterprises that are dedicated to tourism, they organise trips on foot, by horse and by bicycle.

Most activities are organised by entities from outside the region. They organise activities such as trails, itineraries, treks, interpretive trails, canyoning, climbing, alpinism, rafting, hiking, mountain biking, caving and hydrospeed. Equipment such as kayaks, canoes, pedal boats, rowboats, small motor boats, bicycles and horses are rented by private enterprises. Activities demanded the most are guided walks, climbing and mountain biking, followed by horse riding, canoeing, rafting, canyoning and rappelling (ADERE-PG, 1999).

Increasingly, people are practicing sports activities, the so called “radical sports” (adventure tourism), in the National Park. The practice of these activities depends on the existence of certain resources and especially on very particular environmental settings. Protected areas are preferred destinations for these types of sports activities. But constant and unbridled practise of these activities may contribute to some environmental imbalances, such as disturbing the nesting sites of birds (ADERE-PG, 1999: 256). For this reason, the National Park authorities have sought to regulate the use of the Park for sporting and recreational purposes. A document entitled “Regulamento das actividades desportivas e recreativas no Parque Nacional da Peneda-Gerês” was produced in 1995.

According to ADERE-PG (1999: 26), the “offer of tourist animation in the Peneda Gerês National Park is sporadic and not systematically organised”. The few tracks available are in bad condition and badly signed and there is a lack of documentation and maps. Most activities are organised in the summer months because of the concentration of tourists at this time of the year. During the rest of the year there is limited demand for many of these activities. The majority of these activities are seasonal, the majority taking place in the summer months (peak season), they are geographically concentrated in the Gerês part of the National Park, with some activities being organised in the Castro de Laboreiro area.

4.8.4 TOURISM INFRASTRUCTURE

In terms of information, leaflets are non-existent. The extensive trail system within the National Park is almost unknown to tourists. Improving the flow of information is essential for increasing usage of a more extensive area of the park. Accommodation units have traditionally been primarily outside the Park, except in the Gerês area. Under the EU-LEADER Programme, accommodation units have been established in Pitões das Júnias, Paredes do Rio, Cabril, Lindoso, Soajo, Peneda and Castro de Laboreiro (see map 3) .

When looking at the geographical distribution of the accommodation units, it becomes clear that there is a strong concentration in the municipality of Terras do Bouro. About 68% of all the accommodation is situated in this area. The spa located in this area greatly contributes to the accommodation offer (ADERE-PG, 1999). There are various types of accommodation units in the Park, totalling about 1200 beds. Additionally, there are 6 campsites with 1700 places in, one in each of the following municipalities— Ponte da Barca, Montalegre, Arcos de Valdevez and Melgaço and two in the municipality of Terras de Bouro.

The parishes selected for this study have similar underlying characteristics in terms of culture and livelihood strategies, geographical and agricultural conditions. However, they have experienced varying degrees of tourism development. One of the parishes selected for this study (Vilar da Veiga) receives most of the tourism to the National Park while the other two parishes receive relatively few tourists, Entre-Ambos-os-Rios of which most stay at a camping site, and Castro de Laboreiro where accommodation is limited to two units.

Figure 3: Map 3 of the Peneda Gerês National Park



Source: Peneda Gerês National Park

In terms of tourist information, there are three “Centros de Informação” (information centres that also serve as local administrative and management offices), namely in Arcos de Valdevez, Montalegre and Gerês and two “Centros de Interpretação” (interpretation centres) in Lamas do Mouro and in Mezio. Information is not only available at the offices of the Park but also at the Tourist Information Offices in the region and at the office of ADERE-PG in Ponte da Barca.

There is a general lack of consistency and provision of visitor information and little literature and information available about the National Park. There is a lack of maps, leaflets and brochures. The brochures are not updated regularly. In addition, the people who work in the information and interpretation centres are not well educated about the area and are not trained in people skills, thus cannot provide the kind of information usually requested by visitors. Probably the most tourist information available about the National Park may be at ADERE-PG. There are leaflets with information about the different kinds of accommodation available, leaflets with thematic walking routes and with information about different regional products. In

the last few years, this promotional material has been partly financed by EU structural funds.

Different authors emphasise the educational value of National Parks. According to O'Brien (1999) the educational value of the parks, as models of what the world outside the parks can be if we take care of it, might be the most valuable contribution they can make. He cites an example in that "education is perhaps the most important role that parks can play concerning air pollution and especially global warming" (ibid, p. 63). Nowadays many countries express the need for good nature and environmental education. It is the objective of education to show the youth, especially those living in cities what the natural environment is like and what it consists of (Waycott, 1985). Environmental education helps to break of bad habits such as the picking of wild flowers and general misunderstandings about nature. People can get acquainted with the connections and relations between organisms but also with the vulnerability of the environment and the consequences of human acts (Bibelriether and Schreiber, 1990). FNNPE (1993: 60) states that "by developing effective environmental education and interpretation programmes they can help to change people's attitude to conservation and promote sustainable ways of life.

Visitor centres are not well equipped and prepared to receive visitors. There is little information available and the information existent is not being updated. Although the Park does have a section for environmental information and education, not that much is being done. There are some projects providing environmental education to the people living in the national park but there is almost nothing done about the environmental education of visitors to the National Park of Peneda Gerês. In general, it can be said that the national park's stimulation of sustainable behaviour is very poor.

A strategy being carried out at this time to overcome the deficiency of the level of information available is the creation of five visitor facilities throughout the national park, in cooperation with local authorities. The plan is in accordance with the suggestions included in the WTO publication "Guide for Local Authorities on Developing Sustainable Tourism" (1993), which considers that the best approach to

development of visitor facilities is to concentrate the major facilities in one area as an integral well-designed complex in the form of a visitor centre. The facility zones are typically located near the park entrances for the convenience of visitors and preclude the need to provide large-scale access to the interior of the park. In addition to the exhibits explaining the park features, they should also emphasise the importance of conservation, the types of conservation measures being applied in the park and appropriate conservation-oriented use of the park by visitors. Interpretive signs, rest stations, viewing sites and other small scale facilities can be located at appropriate places in the park.

The idea for the visitor facilities, or “Doors to the Park” as the project has been named, was first introduced in a report published in 1973 by the OECD, where the visitor centres are referred to as “essential in order to achieve a correct tourism planning and management process”. Because visitor facilities typically allow for development of campgrounds and picnic areas, a visitor centre and recreation facilities conveniently located at the park entrances for the convenience of visitors, it precludes the need to provide large-scale access to the interior of the park (WTO, 1993). It is suggested that this approach will serve to keep visitors away from environmentally sensitive areas, e.g. mass tourism and day visitors, and permit the more responsible ecotourists to visit those areas. The “Doors to the Park” project proposes the creation of five visitor facilities in five different entry points into the national park. Each facility is to have a specific theme for interpretation, according to the most relevant characteristic of the region. The five themes are: (1) History of Occupation of Territory; (2) Nature Conservation; (3) Water; (4) Civilisations; and (5) Landscape (Fernandes *et al*, 2001). Until now, only one such visitor centre has been built (in Lamas de Mouro).

4.9 INTRODUCTION TO THE VILLAGE COMMUNITIES

Like so many small communities in mountain areas, complex environmental and socio-economic problems affect the dispersed villages of the Peneda Gerês National Park. The mountain villages lying within the Park are among the poorest areas in all of Portugal and they include the parishes of Castro de Laboreiro, Entre-Ambos-os-

Rios and Vilar da Veiga. Total population in the three parishes (2.798) represents 30,5% of total population in the National Park (Table 1).

Table 1: Demographic characteristics of the parishes

Parish	Total Population	Population by gender				N° of households
		M		F		
	N°.	%	N°.	%		
Castro de Laboreiro	726	287	39,5	439	60,5	233
Entre-Ambos-os-Rios	542	253	46,7	289	53,3	168
Vilar da Veiga	1.530	753	49	777	51	436
TOTAL	2.798	1.293	46	1.505	54	837

Source: Census 2001

All three communities tend to share the same characteristics, lifestyles and experiences. To name a few, they seem characterised by the decline of traditional and primary employment, migration particularly of the young, skilled and highly educated in search of employment in towns, the decline of local services and facilities and possess interesting and threatened cultures or livelihood systems. The precarious economy of the “minifundio” still typifies the backwardness of agrarian life in these villages. The parishes predominantly comprise small and medium sized agricultural holdings supporting predominantly agricultural economies dominated by small scale, essentially non-cooperative agricultural enterprises, conditions which are not conducive to the development of class consciousness or class-based movements (Leeds, 1977).

The three parishes also experience different levels and types of tourism development (Pelto and Pelto, 1978). Vilar da Veiga represents an example of “developed tourism”, having tourism based on a health/spa and nature; Castro de Laboreiro, a more remote community that has developed tourism focused on nature, represents “some tourism”; and, Entre-Ambos-os-Rios representing “little tourism” because it has little developed tourism infrastructure.

4.10 SUMMARY

In this chapter a general characterisation was presented of Portugal, the North of Portugal and the Peneda Gerês National Park. Portugal's only National Park, the Peneda Gerês, has many characteristics associated with remote locations, including depopulation, marginal economies, high quality natural environment and cultures in transition from traditional to modern. A characterisation of the communities, including the low population density, homogeneous lifestyles and little economic diversity showed that these social factors tend to discourage local business investment.

This chapter confirmed Lerner's (1986) assertion that traditional society is non-participant—it deploys people by kinship into communities isolated from each other and lacking interdependence. For centuries these villages made their livings through a combination of subsistence farming and pastoral activities and barter, focussing their adaptive strategies on local ecological systems and resources. The villages were structured on the medieval parish system, with the church, traditionally, as the centre of influence. They have experienced many of the socio-economic common trends which have characterised the northern region of Portugal over the years, most noticeably subsistence agriculture dependent upon traditional patterns and practices of land ownership together with out-migration to other regions of Portugal and to other countries.

A steady flow of migrant remittance and occasional employment has contributed to the more recent economic health of the region. This introduction of cash incomes means that villages no longer need to be self-sufficient. As such, modernisation is changing the social structure and social controls of the villages and undermining traditional sources of authority and traditional institutions. Local people are increasingly resisting the continued domination of traditional social controls. Furthermore, the modernization-driven erosion of the traditional modes of living is fracturing of the old balance and further destabilizing any collaborative structures that possibly may exist for enhancing solidarity among the local populations.

The following chapter describes the reason and motivation for this study, explains the methodology used to collect the data and provides information about the data collection method, time of the fieldwork and information about the fieldwork in general.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the research methods used to achieve the research objectives. It starts by restating the aim and objectives of this research and defines the research questions. It proceeds by establishing a theoretical and conceptual framework and is followed by the presentation of a research framework, the identification and discussion of the research methods employed in this study and a description of the research design and survey instruments. It provides information about the study population and means of data collection—about primary and secondary data — pre-test, procedures for the survey instrument — about the construct of the questionnaire, procedures for conducting the interviews, period of the fieldwork and the respective operationalisation and subsequent approaches adopted in the analysis of data. The last section of this chapter reviews the profile of the respondents and compares the three parishes. Demographic information such as gender, age, marital status, length of residence, occupation, levels of education and principal sources of income were used to establish a profile of the community members.

5.1 THE AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this study is to critically examine local community attitudes towards, perceptions of, and involvement, in local associations. This examination focuses on the relationship between local community associations and tourism development. In order to achieve this aim the following objectives have been defined.

Objective 1: To analyse and evaluate the characteristics of, attitudes towards, and involvement in local associations by the local community.

Objective 2: To analyse and evaluate the perceptions of the local community of the influence of local associations on tourism development, and the reasons for those perceptions.

Objective 3: Critically evaluate if the local community perceives that external agents, in particular the Peneda Gerês National Park Administration, have encouraged and facilitated community involvement in local development efforts.

Objective 4: To provide recommendations for future rural/protected area and structural policies in specific context and to guide on future research. Such recommendations may help other communities understand why and how to go about introducing tourism development that are consistent with their accustomed practices.

5.2 THEORETICAL / CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A theoretical / conceptual framework is described as a research tool intended to assist in the development of awareness and understanding of the situation under scrutiny and to communicate this. As with all investigation in the social world, the framework itself forms part of the agenda for negotiation to be scrutinized, tested and reformed as a result of investigation (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). The framework is a set of broad ideas and principles taken from relevant fields of enquiry and used to structure a subsequent presentation (Reichel and Ramey, 1987).

The framework proposed for this study is designed to guide the development of questions to be answered by the research and to show how the components identified by the researcher fit together. Thus is the context of this research the conceptual framework informed the research by:

- providing clear links from the literature to the research goals and questions;
- informing the research design;
- providing reference points for discussion of the literature, methodology and analysis of data;
- contributing to the trustworthiness of the study (Goetz and LeCompte, 1984).

The underlying theoretical basis for this thesis lies with a deeper understanding of the concepts of community organizing processes to ensure deeper stakeholder and

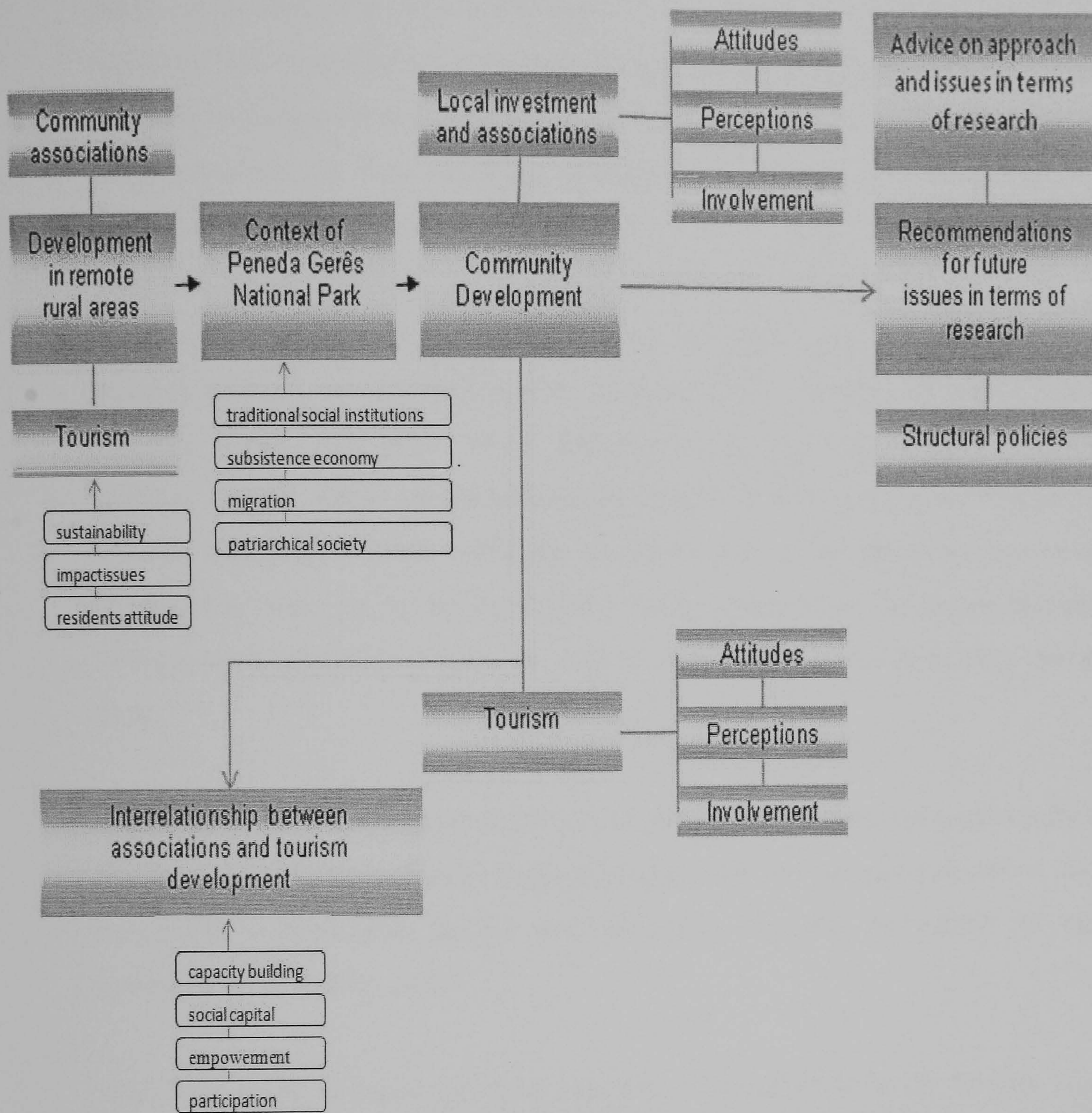
organizational commitment to community development, using tourism as the development strategy. Tourists can play an important part in community development by giving local residents the possibility of earning some additional income. The development of tourist facilities and recreational opportunities has frequently been viewed as a strategy for redressing regional disparities in incomes and employment (Seckelmann, 2002). Comprehensive development efforts are necessary. Often communities lack the capacity for planning, community organizing and citizen participation. Ryan (2002) noted the importance of community participation in the process of tourism development. Tourism relies heavily upon the goodwill of local residents. Increased stakeholder participation [must be] encouraged, to foster capacity building and empower the communities to take responsibility for local development (Gonzales, 1998).

Research into the issue of participation in the development of tourism implies investigating the community organizational structures and mechanisms that are necessary to facilitate consensus building and constant interaction among residents (Scheyvens, 1999). Community-based associations can be key players in the local implementation of tourism development (Kneafsey, 2001). Community associations could serve as a resource for community organizing and citizen participation, develop and/or strengthen local partnerships and increase communication between community residents (NACAA, 2000). Such social networks and associated norms are characteristics of social capital that has an effect on the productivity of the community. Communities with low levels of social capital have lower levels of group participation, lower government efficiency, and slower economic development rates (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 1993; Flora *et al*, 1997).

The empirical results will be used in the assessment of the role of community-based associations in current development efforts of communities in the Peneda Gerês National Park.

The framework (Figure 4) presents a visual summary of the structure within which to organize the content of the research and to frame conclusions within the context (Minichiello *et al*, 1999).

Figure 4: Conceptual framework



5.3 THE CASE STUDY APPROACH TO TOURISM RESEARCH

This study was conducted employing a case study approach. Within the case study, data collection was undertaken by means of a survey of community residents. The case study is argued to be an ideal methodology when an holistic, in-depth investigation is needed (Feagin *et al*, 1991). Yin (1984: 23) defines case study research as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”. Cases are often chosen not because they are extreme or unusual in some way but because they will provide a suitable context for certain research questions to be answered (Bryman, 2004). Because issues may arise which demonstrate a necessity to explore further specific themes and/or characteristics (to research numerous characteristics) in another way, Stake (2000: 438), for example, referred to the advantage of this approach as “the study of the particular”, which encompasses the nature, historical backgrounds, physical settings as well as socio-cultural contexts of a specific case.

Adopting a case study approach for this research does provide the opportunity for the intensive analysis of individual protected areas so that generalisations about successful collaboration factors may be made that may be useful for other protected areas (Allar, 2001).

This case study is based on three parishes / communities in the Peneda Gerês National Park. The case study approach allowed setting the survey results in context / an investigation of the study population’s socio-demographic background and perceptions of themselves and their surroundings.

5.4 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

5.4.1 SECONDARY SOURCES FOR RESEARCH

Procter (1996), Jennings (2001) and Punch (2005) cited several advantages for working with an existing body of data, including being able to obtain the data quickly and having easy access at minimal cost, better reliability as a result of repeated data collection and testing and making difficult populations accessible. But secondary data sources may also have disadvantages. Jennings (2001) and Punch (2005) suggest the possibility of the lack of availability, incompleteness or lack of relevance which lead to possible methodological problems. Available data may be relevant and accurate but still not sufficient to reach conclusions. Furthermore, secondary data sources may be biased putting into question the validity and reliability of the data (Dale *et al*, 1988; Procter, 1996).

Primary research based on case study area documentation (written texts) comprised journals and other texts, internet resources, media releases, survey reports and archival research. The archival data consisted of information obtained from documents that were developed to provide empirical data, including census tract records which contained a variety of demographic data such as the breakdown of age of the population and households. The use of demographic data was used to assess trends in the local population and permitted a better understanding of certain behaviours and provided antecedent information to supplement and verify empirical findings during the respondent interviews.

Other sources included other documents, websites, brochures and other material published by regional and national authorities, including popular press (e.g., newspapers). During the early work of this study, these sources provided usable background information which related to past and current regional development policies which contributed to the selection of the study area.

For example the Peneda Gerês National Park authorities conducted three separate resident surveys in 1973, 1991 and 2000. Unpublished reports (PNPG, 1991, 2000) showed that the objectives of the surveys were to determine the socio-

economic and demographic situation of the inhabitants of the Park and the knowledge residents had of the Park — its organisational structure, projects and activities. The final conclusions suggest conflicting situations due to poor communication and a general lack of information between Park authorities and the local communities.

The search of secondary sources described above did encounter certain limitations. First, the data bases of the three resident surveys carried out by the National Park authorities were not publicly available. Even if they had been available, the contents were too general for the objectives proposed for this study. Upon consultation of the survey reports, the sample was found to be limited, the response rate low and the reports were of poor quality. Second, understanding the current situation of community development in the National Park of Peneda Gerês is constrained by the lack of research. For example, the documents and archival data consulted showed that there is a notable lack of research on the needs of community residents. Lastly, there is also a notable lack of reliable data on the relationships between the communities and local, regional and national actors toward local development. These limitations curtail understanding on the approaches for pursuing community development in this region. On the other hand, this limitation proved a major factor for determining the case study area for this study and the research method to be used.

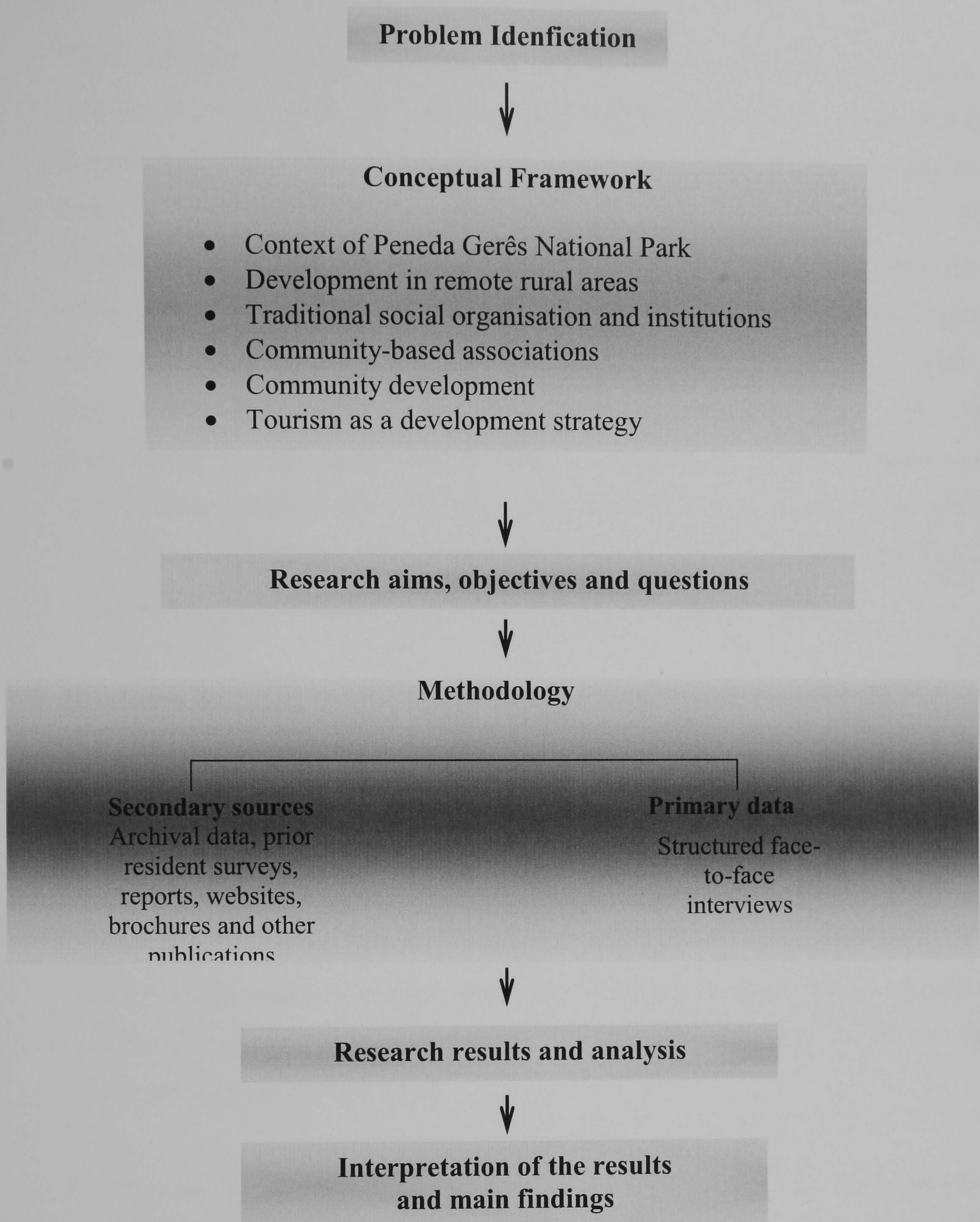
5.4.2 PRIMARY RESEARCH

The key difference between primary and secondary data sources is that with primary data sources the researcher has first-hand association with the data, whereas with secondary data sources, the researcher has second-hand association with the originally collected data (Jennings, 2001). Whereas the real challenge in secondary analysis lies in finding ways of forcing the data, collected by someone else, quite often with different theoretical and analytical orientations, to answer your questions (Procter, 1996), primary analysis requires the linking of data to concepts, the connecting of a concept to its empirical indicators (Punch, 2005).

A face-to-face structured interview is one of a number of data collection approaches to obtain information from a sample of a population (Babbie, 1990; Veal, 1993; Preece, 1994; Fowler, 2002; Creswell, 2003). Face-to-face interviews essentially take place with people in physical proximity to one another, as opposed to an interview over the phone, a self-completion questionnaire or a mailed questionnaire. Telephone interviews are an efficient method of collecting some types of data, and lend themselves to short surveys and situations in which time is critical. Drop off and pick up surveys allow for rapid dissemination and collection. Mail surveys can be relatively low cost, but problems arise when insufficient effort is made to promote cooperation and response. On the other hand, face-to-face interviews are more expensive than mail or telephone surveys, but may be necessary when complex information is to be collected. Face-to-face structured interviews [in which free elicitation questions may be used] encourage people to talk freely and discuss their experiences and knowledge (Veal, 1997) regarding attitudes, opinions and values (Jennings, 2001). Given the specific socio-demographic characteristics, i.e. low educational levels, of the study area, the self administered questionnaire or telephone questionnaires, although less expensive and time consuming, were not considered appropriate research methods.

Figure 5, in the following page, visualizes the entire research process in the form of the research framework. The framework provides a clear overview of the various steps undertaken in order to achieve the objectives of this study.

Figure 5: Research framework



5.5 THE SAMPLE

The foundation of any social research, which seeks to establish the opinion or attitudes of the population as a whole, is the sample that is chosen to represent that population (ESRI, 1980). Sampling is the means by which subjects, or study units from the target population, are included in the research project (Babbie, 1990; Sarantakos, 1998; Bryman, 2004; Punch, 2005). Sampling is a process that uses a small number of units of a given population as a basis for drawing conclusions about the overall population (Perdue, 1986). Thus, the sample is the units of analysis that were selected through that process (Sarantsfuakos, 1998: 139). Determining the best sample size is not a simple process. In general, there is no correct sample size in the absolute sense. However, it is necessary to have a sufficient sample size in order to perform the statistical analyses required (Babbie, 1990; Miller, 1991; Sarantakos, 1998; Bryman, 2004; Punch, 2005).

To determine the sample, first specific communities were selected as representative of communities within this area. Communities within this area are comprised of numerous villages. The defining characteristics for determining the communities to be studied were based on the number of formal associations in the community. Because one of the key dimensions of the research was the influence of the National Park on attitudes to tourism development, the local authorities of the 15 parishes which have more than 50% of their population living within the National Park (Table 2) were contacted by telephone to identify the number of formal associations in each parish.

The idea was to identify those parishes in which the majority of the population actually lives within the National Park boundary. If parishes with only a small proportion of the population in the National Park were considered, it would have been far more difficult to ask questions related to the National Park.

Further to Putnam's theory, the density of associations has a direct relationship on social capital—the higher the density of associations, the higher the level of social capital (Putnam, 1993). The selection of the parishes is based on the different levels of association activity. Thus, the selection of the research locations is based

on the need to compare parishes with different numbers of associations. Five associations was the most in any parish (and the only parish with five associations was Vilar da Veiga) and one was the minimum. There were no parishes with less than one association.

Table 2: Parishes with more than 50% of population within the National Park

Municipality	Parishes
Melgaço	Castro de Laboreiro
Arcos de Valdevez	Gavieira, Soajo
Terras de Bouro	Vilar da Veiga
Ponte da Barca	Entre-Ambos-os-Rios
	Britelo
	Ermida
	Germil
	Lindoso
Montalegre	Cabril
	Covelães
	Outeiro
	Pitões das Júnias
	Sezelhe
	Tourém

Source: Peneda Gerês National Park, 2004.

To determine the communities to research the community must be comprised of a minimum of three villages in order to test the place attachment theory. This was followed by a ranking of the total number of associations and the number of active associations. The result was the parishes of Castro de Laboreiro (1 association) in the municipality of Melgaço, Entre-Ambos-os-Rios (3 associations) in the municipality of Ponte da Barca, and Vilar da Veiga (5 associations) in the municipality of Terras de Bouro. These three villages provide a range of different situations with respect to the level of associationism in the local community.

Following the selection of the specific communities, the sample for this study was collected through a random survey in which all households in all the villages of each community were contacted. The sample was random because the member selected was the one who opened the door/received the interviewer. Attention was paid to the particular time of the day in which the interviews took place (when people were not working and household members tended to be at home) as a precaution to maintain the sample as random. Respondents had to be 16 years of age or older and no more than one member per household was interviewed.

5.6 PRIMARY DATA COLLECTION

Initially, it had been intended to leave the surveys with households on an evening and then return to pick up the completed forms the following day. But because the educational and literacy levels of community residents are rather low, it was recognised that respondents may have difficulties with a self – completion questionnaire. There was a chance that people may be afraid that they do not have the knowledge to complete the questionnaire and therefore never complete it. Equally, there is always the chance that people do not return the questionnaire or that they may not be home for collecting the questionnaire at a later time. As importantly, despite the pilot test procedure the questions may not have been understood making it necessary that the questions be explained to the respondents. Respondents may have to be stimulated or encouraged to answer the questions something that is possible with an interviewer completed approach.

Consequently, face-to-face interviewing was opted for as this approach was thought more likely to assist in obtaining answers to the research questions. All interviews were conducted at the resident's home. The randomly selected individual acting as a household respondent was more likely to be someone who is at home. For this reason, interviews took place at periods of the day when local people would not be working, mostly due to the hot weather in the afternoon hours. So the working public and their attitudes may not be underrepresented. As a safety precaution, residents were asked if another member of the household had already responded to the survey. This was merely a precautionary measure to safeguard any possibility of more than one member of the household being interviewed. This was never the case. This approach made residents feel more comfortable by being in the more familiar surroundings of their home. This turned out to be a very important factor given that residents appeared to not want to be burdened by the questions and the fact that they seemed to mistrust the intentions of people from outside the community.

Another consideration was the researcher's own personal history which clearly identified with the characteristics of the sample. The researcher had been born in one of the villages that later was integrated into the National Park (but not one of

the parishes studied), lived there for a number of years, migrated abroad and returned. If residents became aware, it may have been influential in shaping the direction taken in the interviews, i.e. the open questions and possibly resulted in biased results. To avoid the pitfall of attempting to over-identify with participants, thus influencing responses, there were essentially two options. First, either to carry out the interview without informing people of the researcher's background or mentioning it only at the end of the interview. Second, to use independent volunteer interviewers to carry out the interviews, and this solution was the one adopted.

Four volunteers assisted with the interviews after undergoing a session of information and training. The volunteers were taught how to make initial contacts and encourage respondents to participate in the survey. This was followed by advice as to how to acquire and maintain the cooperation of the respondent while conducting the interviews in a professional manner and how to avoid influencing or biasing the responses. Practice interviews took place to familiarize the volunteers with the variety of situations they would be likely to encounter, including any misunderstanding that may arise.

The interviews were carried out between the months of August to September of 2005. As the interviewers moved through each village, local people were asked which houses were lived in. There were many redundant buildings and others that belonged to emigrants not living in the community at the time of the survey and still others were second homes.

The average interview lasted about one hour and fifteen minutes. In a survey based on the use of a structured face to face interview using a questionnaire, the respondent does not need to have to write anything down—this task is completed by the interviewer (Jennings, 2001). During the initial interviews it became necessary to convince the resident to be interviewed.

Altogether 380 households were contacted, with 34 explicit refusals, 8,9% of all contacts, a response rate of 91,1%. Reasons for refusal included not being a resident of the parish, lack of time and interest. A total of 346 interviews were completed,

105 in Castro de Laboreiro, 104 in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and 137 in Vilar da Veiga.

When no one was home, interviewers returned at a different time or day in an attempt to give all households equal chance or equal probability of answering the survey. Despite repeated visits, not all households were represented as its members could not be reached. Based on the number of households stipulated in the 2001 Census (see Table 1), the proportion of households where one of its members was interviewed was 41,3%.

5.7 CONSTRUCTING THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The development of the questions to be used in a questionnaire or interview is one of the hardest tasks in a survey and is paramount to the success of data collection and analysis (Jennings, 2001). The instrument itself (e.g., the items are ambiguously worded - ambiguous to some subjects at least - or the response categories are inappropriate) and the subject (e.g., items were misread, problems of memory) are two sources of error that occur in virtually every research project (Kidder and Judd, 1991). So, before conducting the interviews, it was necessary to formulate the questions to ensure that the questions would be understood.

All questions should employ language and phrasing which is familiar and colloquial, to ensure that the terms used are understood by respondents and also because formality in language would be likely to inhibit rather than facilitate the expression of habitual responses (ESRI, 1980). Habitual responses imply the real response and not one that is made up to please the interviewer. However, Oppenheim (1966) suggests that it does not always pay to make the statements too clear and unambiguous, or to ask the respondent to think very hard. Often, a statement that is, strictly speaking, almost meaningless, works very well because pilot work has shown that respondents cloak it, in their own way, with the meaning that our context requires. This approach is used to avoid ambiguity. As to careful thought, of course we want respondents to be attentive, but we want them to think and express themselves as they do habitually. This is one more

reason for clothing the attitude statements in language that will be familiar to them (ibid), but without making them (attitude statements) too vague which could make the interpretation of the answers difficult. Furthermore, the sequence of the questions to be asked can be as important as the wording of questions (Kane, 1995) and they must be attractively presented and clearly understood (Dixon and Leach, 1978). Consequently, greater attention was placed on clarity of language and very lengthy questions were avoided. The layout was kept simple with a clearly structured questionnaire on several pages rather than a tightly packed one which may have been difficult to read given the overall level of education of respondents.

Debate over the value of open versus closed-ended questions has a long history in survey research, and there is little definitive research to back up preferences for one approach over the other (Schuman and Presser, 1981; Converse, 1984; Smith, 1987; Tickamyer and Wood, 1998; Jennings, 2001 and Bryman, 2004). With closed questions the respondents choose the answer to the question from alternatives that have been given to them. With open questions the respondents can reply in their own words. While the use of open-ended questions is considered inefficient by some (Schuman and Presser, 1981; Bryman, 2004), other researchers argue that, when examining new or complex issues, open-ended questions are superior to closed-ended questions (Kiecolt, 1978; Bircham-Connally *et al*, 2005).

The primary advantage of the open-ended free elicitation format is that it allows the respondent to mention activities that a researcher might fail to ask about in a closed-format. Free elicitation questions are used when it is not possible to anticipate beforehand what answers could be expected during the interviews and it is therefore not possible to make response categories. Using free elicitation is a good way to get spontaneous, uninfluenced responses. They can be used as a way to explore a subject about which little is known. They allow respondents to answer in their own frames of reference; and they are entirely uninfluenced by any specific alternatives suggested by the interviews. Open questions also reveal what is most salient to respondents, which things are foremost in their minds (Kiecolt, 1978; Schuman and Preser, 1981; Tickamyer and Wood, 1998; Jennings,

2001 and Bryman, 2004). On the other hand, tightly focused, closed-ended questions have the advantage of giving respondents a fixed issue to respond to and also a standardized format for answering the question, facilitating the ability to compare responses across populations, time and place (Tickamyer and Wood, 1998).

5.7.1 TYPE OF QUESTIONS

The survey questionnaire consists of closed questions where respondents were asked to choose from a fixed number of options. Closed questions included all possible answers and the respondent was asked to choose one of the answers. There were also closed questions in which answers were located on a scale of alternatives. This type of question is often used to uncover respondents' attitudes and opinions. The scale represents degrees of satisfaction with a particular service or degrees of agreement with a statement. In addition to closed questions, the questionnaire includes open questions where respondents were invited to provide information in free text format. Responses to open questions were used to corroborate answers to closed questions. Closed questions were considered to be efficient because data was easily collected, coded and analysed. Open questions acted as a "safety net" and helped the researcher to identify issues not covered by the closed questions, either by elaborating and explaining some of the findings from closed questions, or identifying new issues. Respondents could also take the opportunity to ask for clarification or information about a specific issue or voice concern about the research.

The questionnaire is divided into four sections. This first section started with closed questions to determine whether or not respondents ever lived outside the parish, be it in another parish in Portugal or in a different country, at what point in their life they did so and what they did there, including membership in associations. In one of the closed questions answers were located on a scale of alternatives. This was followed by open questions to identify issues not covered by the closed questions. The second section used open and closed questions to identify attitudes to community development, place attachment and participation

in local associations. This was the part of the questionnaire with the most closed questions in which answers were located on a scale of alternatives for measuring resident attitudes toward their community. The third consisted of mostly closed questions with some open questions for respondents to indicate their opinions about tourism as a way for developing communities in their parish, their familiarity with tourism and who should be involved in the development process. The open questions provided quotes to illustrate important points in the analysis. The fourth part solicited the role the National Park has in the general development of communities and whether it has been a constructive factor for developing tourism locally. Again, both open and closed questions were used, including one question in which answers were located on a scale of alternatives to determine residents' attitudes toward the contribution of the National Park. The final part includes a group of "core" closed questions intended to measure and compare the responses of residents based on length of residence, occupation, and socio-demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, and place of residence.

5.8 ATTITUDE MEASURING TECHNIQUES

Social survey work frequently attempts to detail and examine host community attitudes towards tourism and its impacts (Pearce et al, 1996; Reisinger and Turner, 2002; Thyne et al, 2006). Lankford and Howard (1994) and later Williams and Lawson (2001) and Harrill (2004) conducted research that revealed that a number of independent variables can influence resident attitudes toward tourism. Wang and Pfister (2008) corroborated with Harrill's research and provide a basis for initiating citizen participation processes related to tourism issues and identifying groups of people concerned about, or opposed to, tourism planning and development in their communities.

An independent variable in a research project is a presumed cause of, or influence on, the dependent variable, the presumed effect. In contrast, a dependent variable is a variable that is thought to be influenced by the effects of other variables, called independent variables. Most typically, the dependent variable is the one of

interest in a study (McDaniel and Gates, 2006). Several of the independent and dependent variables were identified from the literature (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3: Independent variables identified from the literature

Lankford and Howard (1994)	Distance of respondent's home.
	Heavy tourism concentration
	Greater length of residency
Williams and Lawson (2001)	Native-born
	Personal economic reliance
	Ethnicity
Harrill (2004)	Retail activity attributable
Wang and Pfister (2008)	Stage in destination area life cycle
	Level of knowledge
	Level of contact
	Perceived impact
	Gender
	Perceived ability to influence tourism planning decision.

Table 4: Dependent variables identified from the literature

cited in Pearce <i>et al</i> , 1996	Tourist development level
	Economic dependence of tourism
McDaniel and Gates, 2006	Influence of distance between the residence area and the tourist area
Harrill (2004)	Contact level with tourists
	Demography of the inquired
Wang and Pfister (2008)	Community rooting
	Use of attractions/equipments in the open air
	General economic conditions of the community
	Perceived capacity to influence the tourists' decisions
	Tourism knowledge

The independent variables identified by Lankford and Howard (1994), Williams and Lawson (2001) and the dependent variables identified by various authors and cited in Pearce *et al* (1996), both reinforced by Harrill (2004) and Wang and Pfister (2008), are used as the basis for determining the independent and dependent variables for this research (Tables 5).

Table 5: Independent and dependent variables used for the study

Independent variables	Dependent variables
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Parish -Length of residence -Have lived outside the area (in Portugal/abroad) -Association membership -View of community development -Attachment to community -Links to tourism -Links to national park -Socio-demographic variables – place of birth, age group, gender, education, employment, income from tourism, % income from tourism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Association activities (views of members) -View of activities (what they should, do they get anything done) -Opinions of associations -Opinions on why people are active -Opinions about tourism -Having influence in decisions -Tourism in the National park

The basic procedure employed in developing the scale for measuring resident attitudes toward tourism followed the procedures recommended by Dillman (1983), Maddox (1985), Ritchie (1988), Madrigal (1993) and Teye *et al* (2002). Dillman indicates the major content sections in the survey instrument should include questions on demographics, attitudinal items, behavioural items, factual items and appropriate type of scales to measure the items on the instrument, such as continuous scales (e.g. strongly agree to strongly disagree) and categorical scales (e.g. yes/no, rank from highest to lowest importance). Statements should be alternately worded in a positive and negative way to avoid yea or nay-sayer bias (Alreck and Settle, 1995).

In this research residents were asked to respond on a five point Likert scale (1=strongly agree; 2=agree; 3=Not decided; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree). The same procedure was adopted to ascertain whether the membership of voluntary associations actually leads to a feeling of empowerment among the members, as was stated by Almond and Verba (1963). A similar method was used by the Western Rural Development Centre and applied successfully in communities in the state of Wyoming (<http://extension.usu.edu/WRDC/>, accessed 1999).

The purpose of a rating scale is to allow respondents to express both the direction and strength of their opinion about a topic (Garland, 1991). There is much debate about the optimal number of response categories for scale items. Some published studies (Worcester and Burns, 1975; Cox, 1980) suggest that an odd number of

points forces respondents to take extreme choices which makes them appear that they are totally sure when they may actually have valid opposing views to many questions. But there “tends to be a bias towards central tendency in scales” (Ryan, 1995: 151). On the other hand, an even number forces people to make a choice whether this reflects their true position or not. Matell and Jacoby (1971) in their research found that it made no difference how many response options were used. Whether one uses two, three, five, seven or more options, both the reliability and the validity will remain altered.

The five point scale is very common as it runs from one extreme to another, through a neutral central position, ranging from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree” (Likert, 1932). The neutral central position is a mid-point category for “uncertain” responses. Respondents were informed that if they have not formed an opinion about an issue, or are not sure how the statement applies, to select the *not decided* option.

In this study, the inclusion of a neutral option does not appear to change the expressed attitude of respondents as many respondents actually opted for a neutral position. For example the fact that only 74 respondents opting for a negative or positive answer to the scale on the contribution of the National Park to community development suggests that people really do not know who is involved, what is being done and who has done what. Equally responses to the questions that followed relative to the role of local and regional actors in local development suggests that a large majority of respondents “don’t know” what is going on in terms of local community development.

5.9 STRUCTURE OF THE INTERVIEW

The themes/topics of the questions employed in the structured interview- were originally derived from a comprehensive review of existing research literature (Lankford and Howard, 1994; Seale, 1998; Bryman, 2004; Punch, 2005). A short introduction explained the focus of the questions in order to make the respondents feel at ease. Respondents were informed of the objectives of the survey, and why the

respondent was chosen to participate, and for what purposes the results would be used. It was stressed that the answers would remain confidential (its access is limited to only people conducting the research for purposes of research and is not provided to others in a manner permitting them to deduce the identity of respondents) and anonymous (to gather data in a way which makes it impossible to connect specific responses with any particular respondent). The questionnaire was divided into five sections (see Appendix 1).

The first section was designed to study involvement or participation in associations and membership patterns. In other words, this section proposes to analyse and evaluate the characteristics of, and attitudes towards, participation in local associations by the members of the local community (objective 1). Participation in associations, the dependent variable, was measured through a series of questions that asked respondents to indicate their knowledge of/involvement in local associations. A series of follow-up questions asked respondents about their role in associations to which they belonged: whether they were active in a leadership capacity, as an active member, as a regular attendee at meetings, as an occasional participant, or as someone simply making donations or contributing membership dues. The analysis considers whether there is anything distinctive about those who take a relatively active role in associational life (Howe *et al*, 2004).

This first section also sought to determine whether or not the respondent had lived outside the parish, be it in another parish in Portugal or in a different country, and at what point in their life they did so. It was designed to establish whether while living outside their current parish they were active in associations and if they have different attitudes to joining or participating in local associations in their parish compared to those who had always lived in the parish. Research focusing on secondary sources found that little local level research has been conducted on the phenomenon of return migration in regard to the role of the returning migrant in local rural development. This section sought to determine if returnees bring with them skills and experience of a technical and attitudinal nature that could contribute to improving and reviving community-based associations, contributing to community organisation and activism.

The second section was related to residents' opinions of "place attachment" and perception of community. A key element of the research is the principle of "community". It was suggested in the literature review that there is a connection between the value orientations people hold toward their community and their attitudes about what is desirable in local development (see for example Mason and Cheyne, 2000). This section seeks to analyse and evaluate the perceptions of the local community of the influence of local associations on development, and the reasons for those perceptions (objective 2). To establish how traditional institutions are seen to be having had a role in the local development process and whether community empowerment and capacity building have taken place, residents were asked about their perceptions on factors leading to participation. Next, the link was made with community-based associations in that residents were asked to express their opinion concerning how associations are run and who is involved in the decision-making. There were questions that required respondents to indicate their strength of agreement on a number of individual attitude statements used to determine the "place attachment" of residents. These questions were intended to encourage respondents to elaborate on the reasons for their attitudes, perceptions and experiences. The information collected through associated open-ended questions was included to enable the exploration of the issue in more depth, through recording the respondents' perceptions and experiences in their own words and analysing their responses (Seale, 1998). The questionnaire contained open questions which provided some freely elicited data.

The third section consisted of questions concerning residents' frequency of interaction with tourists and their involvement with the tourism industry and about the residents' attitudes towards tourism development in their community. This included the roles played in tourism development by individuals, community-based associations and external agents and looked at specific concerns about tourism and possible advantages and disadvantages for the environment, the economy and the socio-cultural life of the community (objective 3). The main purpose of researching attitudes is to examine the association between particular attitudes and a number of other variables. These attitudes may be opinions on specific issues and the other variables being, for example, the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondent, such as age, sex, education, occupation and location. In order to make

such comparisons, it is necessary to construct some sort of measure for the attitude concerned (ESRI, 1980). Because it is suggested (see for example Jones, 2005) that residents will have to work together to obtain community development, it is important to know the opinions of residents with different backgrounds and interests. The items for residents' attitudes towards tourism impacts were decided upon after consulting several existing empirical studies (Pizam, 1978; Liu and Var, 1986; Liu *et al*, 1987; Purdue *et al*, 1987 and 1990; Lankford and Howard, 1994). Of the many techniques available, the method chosen was to measure the attitudes by a combination of the responses to a number of individual attitude statements.

The fourth section elicited information on the residents' relationship with the Peneda Gerês National Park and whether it has encouraged and facilitated community involvement in local development efforts (objective 3). The National Park Authority's work in balancing the needs of residents with the maintenance of the landscape, as well as future changes, policies and planning decisions will directly affect the life of residents. No other organisation has as much influence. Even the local government authorities require the approval of the National Park Authorities for planning decisions and development initiatives within its territory.

Finally, the fifth section includes a group of classificatory questions intended to allow the comparison of the responses of residents based on length of residence, occupation, level of education, principal source of income and other personal information such as gender, age and marital status.

5.10 DATA PREPARATION

A database was established using the SPSS data entry and analysis programme. The first step was coding the answers provided by the respondents and grouping together things that are similar in order to detect patterns in the data. Replies to open-ended questions were assigned numerical codes so that patterns could be detected in data analysis. Data entry often involves errors and the researcher evaluated the stability and consistency for measured items before proceeding any further. This was done by checking for suspicious and invalid cases, variables and data values in the active dataset.

5.11 DATA ANALYSIS

When analysing data, researchers can choose from univariate techniques that involve the analysis of one variable at a time. This is easily achieved by representing the frequency distribution associated with a variable (frequency, mean, media, range, standard deviation, etc.). Frequency distributions may be portrayed as a raw count frequency table and by a percentage frequency distribution table (Jennings, 2001; Punch, 2005). Bivariate analysis involves two variables and examines the relationship patterns between them. Cross-tabulations are the simplest and most frequent used way of demonstrating two category variables simultaneously and to determine whether any statistical relationship exists between the two variables (Jennings, 2001; Punch, 2005) using the chi-square statistic.

An initial frequency analysis was undertaken for each variable on the questionnaire in order to check the consistency and validity of the data and check for any data errors. Subsequently, the areas to be explored were identified. Next, in order to identify the differences between various respondents, appropriate statistical tests were performed.

In general, non-parametric tests were used because most of the data collected were in nominal form, for which chi-square is the most appropriate test. Chi-square is a commonly used statistic for contingency tables providing a test of significance for nominal variables by comparing the observed and expected distribution of those two variables. The null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the observed and expected values (Thone, 2002). This is a test of statistical significance, meaning that it allows the researcher to ascertain the probability that any perceived observed relationship between two variables may have arisen by chance rather than there actually being a relationship (Bryman and Cramer, 1997). In a chi-square analysis for example, the normal significance level chosen is .05 level or less which means that we would expect that a maximum of 5 in every 100 possible randomly selected samples that could be drawn from a population might appear to yield a relationship between two variables when in fact there is no relationship between them in that population (ibid). Where people

were asked to give their opinion on a scale (as in the case for the National Park questions) Cronbach's Alpha test was used to test scale validity, for which reasonably high overall scale reliability is desired. Most studies recommend a minimum score of 0.7 (Nunnally and Bernstein, 1994). When the score is too low to allow the scale to be used as a whole, items on the scale are analysed separately.

In producing Tables 22 and 54 the Kruskal-Wallis test was used because the data were ordinal. The Kruskal-Wallis Test investigates differences in three or more separate samples by combining all the sample scores and giving them an overall rank. If a real difference exists, then the ranks for one condition will be systematically higher or lower than another condition. If no difference exists between conditions then the ranks for each sample will be mingled together (Conover, 1998). Table 22 includes a summary of responses on the relationship between community attachment and place of residence and Table 54 includes a summary table of responses per statement on how associations are run. Both used ordinal (ranked) data. Ordinal scales can be easier to interpret than interval or ratio scales, but tends to provide limited information (ibid).

5.12 PROCEDURES USED TO ENSURE VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

For quantitative research, establishing validity and reliability is important in terms of ensuring that the measures developed are appropriate for the research. Validity addresses the issue of whether what the researcher was trying to measure was actually measured. A necessary precondition for validity is that the measuring instrument be reliable (McDaniel and Gates, 2006: 224). Reliability means the degree to which measures are free from random error and, therefore, provide consistent data. Hence, the less error there is, the more reliable the observation is, so a measurement that is free of error is a correct measure (ibid: 222). A study is biased if one or more sources of potential bias have not been effectively controlled. A good design requires that the researcher take credible actions to reduce or eliminate likely sources of bias (Kidder and Judd, 1991). An integral

part of a well designed survey is to keep respondent mistakes and biases to a minimum.

Efforts were made to eliminate bias. Not being certain of whether people lived in the houses where no interview took place, repeated visits were made to all those households. Careful consideration was given to the time of day for undertaking the survey. Visits to the homes were scheduled with attention to such considerations as the best time of day to call, due to the busy agricultural work cycle and the fact that people start work in the early morning, rest in the afternoon due to the high temperature and continue work at the end of the afternoon when the temperature drops. It was important for interviewers to respect the needs of the [residents] during the very busy planning, preparation, planting, growing and harvest seasons.

Here, the randomly selected individual acting as a household respondent was by definition 'at home' when the interviewer called hence there is a danger that household members who were working at the time may be underrepresented. Also, a so-called "household" respondent may produce erroneous or even invalid information—for example, when the information is known only by a specific individual and no one else. This bias could possibly have been eliminated if the research had not limited himself to one household member and/or if more households were represented in the sample.

It was explained that the research wished to assess tourism development in the area and the participation of local people in this development process. Aside from being informed of the confidentiality and anonymity, it was also stressed that the interview was not "a test" and that there were no right or wrong answers.

At first, individuals were reluctant to participate. Perhaps due to the fact that the educational level of most residents is primary school (4 years) or less, some respondents were hesitant to answer the questions. Some common replies were "do you want to talk with me? But I do not know much, I am just a simple farmer", "do you want to talk with me? But, that and that, person can tell much more about the community" and "if the work you are doing is for the National Park we are not interested" were some reactions. It became necessary to spend some time at the

beginning of the interview process with each individual to make them more comfortable by telling them that it is all about opinions and not about facts or knowledge and thus possible for everybody to answer the questions.

The residents were also told that what made the research interesting is talking with as many different people as possible and that their opinions and ideas are as important for this research as the information given by the *Câmara Municipal* (municipal authorities) or the members of the *Junta de Freguesia* (parish authority). The older women were the most difficult to convince because they reasoned that their husbands would be better to interview because they had more knowledge than them. But as awareness increased that other people were participating in the interviews other residents who initially doubted felt that if those people were able to do the interview they would manage as well. Greater openness led to greater acceptance and willingness to answer the questions and, in most cases, the respondents became more friendly and hospitable. But it was a time consuming approach.

In the questionnaire, the initial questions were developed based on an extensive literature review and the objectives of the study. Pre-tests of the survey operations (questionnaire and procedures) were conducted to determine if everything connected together as intended. An initial pre-test was the circulation of the questionnaire to peers at the Polytechnic Institute of Viana do Castelo. Peer debriefing is a procedural approach noted by Lincoln and Guba (1985) to ensure validity of the findings. The purpose of this procedure was to determine if there was a necessity for revision of the survey design, layout, wording, and if it was necessary to clarify any ambiguous measurement items. Participants were encouraged to provide their feedback and comments about the initially developed questions. Suggestions were then taken into account in the revision of the questions.

Next, having revised the questions in order to improve clarity and readability and prior to collecting the main data for the study, a second pilot test was conducted in a different community of the National Park, to address any bias issues in the use of colleagues in the first pre-test (Williams and Lawson, 2001). Bias is essentially

a condition that consistently influences the data either toward or away from statistical significance (Kidder and Judd, 1991).

A total of ten residents from the sampling frame were selected. A group of persons was approached in the community. Persons 16 years and over that resided in the community were then selected by choosing the person who has the next birthday. Residents were asked if they understood the questions and if anything was left out that they felt should have been included. Potential problems were identified with the wording.

During the pilot study it became evident that not all residents actually comprehended fully the questions. For example, residents did not know what was meant by such terms as “local partnerships”, “mobilization”, and “social cohesion”. Others felt the attitudinal statements were too similar. When asked to rank the answers in order of importance the interviewer had to repeat all possibilities. As a result, redundant and inappropriate items were deleted to align items (Williams and Lawson, 2001) to the local context and a final version of the questionnaire was completed. For example, residents did not know what was meant by such terms as “local partnerships”, “mobilization”, and “social cohesion”. Also, the translation from English to Portuguese proved deficient in terms of local terminology. For example, residents appeared bothered with statements like “promote sensible use of the natural resources of the community” and “developing/protecting the social cohesion of the community”. Consequently, during the interviews residents were provided with an explanation of each term. Furthermore, the research strategy was changed. Initially, it was planned to leave the questionnaire with households on an evening and then return to pick up the completed forms the following. As a result of the pilot study, the research strategy became face-to-face interviewing.

At one point, concerns were expressed / that the nature of the sample may have been compromised. When deciding on the sample, one of the criteria was the number of active associations in the community. The factor which determined if associations were active in the community was the confirmation by parish authorities. After conducting the data analysis, doubts emerged about the accuracy

of the data. Due to the historic failure to cooperate between villages within a parish, political rivalry and the apparent breakdown or disorganization of traditional forms of association and threat of new types of power, parish authorities may have purposely excluded associations and provided wrongful information about the number of active associations in the parish. Clarification during follow-up visits proved that the original information was correct.

Finally, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested the use of ‘member checks’ to ensure credibility of the findings. Member checks are a process “whereby data, analytic categories, interpretations, and conclusions are tested with members of those stakeholding groups from whom the data were originally collected” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 314). During the interviews, residents were asked if they would like to possibly participate in future contacts for clarification of specific results. As such, over the course of the analysis, the researcher conducted follow-up interviews to check for data validity and make sure that the researcher understood what people meant by their answers to the interviews. Such doubts emerged relative to population changes, loss of socio-cultural identity and power distribution in the community. In preparing for this eventuality, every tenth person interviewed (in each community) during the survey was asked if he/she would not mind being contacted later to clarify some of the responses by the community members.

5.13 WEIGHTING THE SAMPLE

The fact that that the sample does not represent a high proportion of the population (Table 6) raises the question of the degree to which the sample is representative of the population. The issue of sample representativeness was verified by undertaking a weighted analysis. Weighting is about “correcting” the distribution of different types of respondent in the sample so that the sample matches the population from which it is drawn. Testing was conducted for differences between the sample and the population (households and people) and the need for weighting. The reason being that conclusions arrived at during the profile of the sample could be put into question if any parish is over-represented

or under-represented in the data. The weighting of the section on the profile of respondents allowed the comparisons across the parishes using the weighted data. The adjustment may or may not make any difference to the results of hypothesis testing and is not done for that purpose.

Hence, the chi square “Goodness of Fit” test was used on the household sample distribution across the parishes. In the tests undertaken, the “Observed N” is the sample while the “Expected N” is the Census. The expected values shown in the tables are not the actual values. They are converted values (the actual values are converted to the sample total while remaining in the Census proportions).

The results are that:

1. The distribution of households in the sample is significantly different to the Census distribution.
2. The distribution of gender by age in the Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios samples are not significantly different to the Census distribution.
3. The distribution of gender by age in Vilar da Veiga is significantly different in the sample to the Census distribution.

These mean that:

1. The unit of sampling (households) does not match the Census distribution.
2. In the Census, Vilar da Veiga, the largest of the three parishes and the one in which the null hypothesis was rejected, accounts for approximately the same number of households as the other two parishes combined. In addition it is the parish with the highest number of associations. Therefore its results are very important for any consideration of whether the sample is representative overall and therefore whether it needs weighting. Vilar da Veiga is under-represented overall in the sample and the distribution of the respondents classified by gender and age in Vilar da Veiga does not match the Census.

Table nº.6: Calculation of Weights

Sample Distribution									
Parish	Gender	Age	Nº	Proportion	Gender	Age	Nº	Proportion	
Castro de Laboreiro	Male	15-34	50	0,02	Male	15-34	9	0,03	
		35-64	106	0,04		35-64	18	0,05	
		65+	104	0,04		65+	14	0,04	
	Female	15-34	59	0,02	Female	15-34	10	0,03	
		35-64	200	0,08		35-64	31	0,09	
		65+	159	0,07		65+	23	0,07	
Entre-Ambos-os- Rios	Male	15-34	76	0,03	Male	15-34	14	0,04	
		35-64	75	0,03		35-64	13	0,04	
		65+	73	0,03		65+	22	0,06	
	Female	15-34	49	0,02	Female	15-34	11	0,03	
		35-64	99	0,04		35-64	18	0,05	
		65+	104	0,04		65+	24	0,07	
Vilar da Veiga	Male	15-34	234	0,10	Male	15-34	15	0,04	
		35-64	250	0,10		35-64	33	0,10	
		65+	127	0,05		65+	10	0,03	
	Female	15-34	221	0,09	Female	15-34	32	0,09	
		35-64	267	0,11		35-64	36	0,10	
		65+	151	0,06		65+	11	0,03	
Total			2404	1,00				344	1,00

The tests on the basic data, i.e. households, showed that the household sample distribution across parishes was different to the population of households across parishes from which it was drawn in particular Vilar da Veiga was overrepresented in that the total number of parishes from Vilar da Veiga was almost 50% of the total sample (Table 6).

The household/parish test of distribution is important because that is how the sampling was done and is meant to reflect the distribution of associations. Any problems with the household distribution of the sample would have implications for variables such as age and gender because different parishes might have different compositions in this respect. For example, the distribution of males in the sample by parish is significantly different to the distribution of males in the Census, though the age range covered in the Census is not the same as in the survey. The point is that males and females may relate to/be involved with associations differently, as might different age.

5.14 PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

5.14.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The demographic characteristics of the sample of community residents in this study were measured by gender, marital status, age, education and length of residence in the parish. Descriptive statistics were used to profile the respondents in the three parishes. Differences in demographic characteristics were tested where appropriate using the chi-square statistic (these have been quoted where the differences are statistically significant, other tables gave a non-significant result).

Gender. The respondents comprised 55% female and 45% male (Table 7). This gender difference is reflective of the actual population distribution (54% female and 46% men), as demonstrated in the 2001 Census. However, the household sample distribution across parishes was different to the population of households across parishes from which it was drawn. Considering that the aim of this study is based on the number of associations in each parish and residents perceptions of

the contribution of local associations to the tourism development process, the fact that the parish with the most associations is under-represented in the household sample distribution effects the total column.

Table 7: Gender (%)

	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=105)	E.A.Rios (n=103)	Vilar da Veiga (n=137)	
Male	38.1	46.4	48.6	45.2
Female	61.9	53.6	51.4	54.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square= 2,808		d.f.= 2	p-value=0,246	

There were no significant differences between the three communities in terms of gender—all have more women in the population and this was reflected in the gender balance of the respondents. This may be explained by the fact that it is common for the men to move away from the community in search of employment, while the women dedicate more time to household duties. Chapter four discusses the traditional family functions and economic functions in the community. Gender issues are investigated later to determine if there is a difference between men and women in terms of their membership of associations.

Marital Status. In terms of marital status, the majority of respondents are married (55%) and the remaining are either single (26%), widowed/divorced/separated (18%) or living with a partner (1%). The figures are relatively consistent in all three parishes (Table 8).

Table 8: Marital status (%)

	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=105)	E.A.Rios (n=104)	Vilar da Veiga (n=136)	
Single	24.7	26.1	27.3	26.3
Married	52.6	50.7	57.4	54.7
Widowed/divorced/ Separated	22.7	18.8	15.3	18.1
Cohabitant		4.3		0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square= 14,417	d.f.= 6	p-value= 0,025		

Respondents from Vilar da Veiga are the one exception as more of them were married (57%). It is possible that with more local people being employed they (e.g. the men) are less likely to migrate. Migration studies consistently find that social conditions such as age, family situation and employment do affect individuals' migration behaviour (Tolbert *et al*, 2002).

Table 9: Age profile (%)

	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=105)	E.A.Rios (n=103)	Vilar da Veiga (n=137)	
16 years	1.0	4.4	5.6	4.1
17 to 24 years	7.1	13.2	13.5	11.6
25 to 34 years	8.2	8.8	16.9	12.8
35 to 44 years	10.2	4.4	15.2	11.6
45 to 54 years	10.2	17.6	17.4	15.4
55 to 64 years	24.5	14.7	9.0	14.5
+ 65 years	38.8	36.8	22.5	29.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square 35,378	d.f.= 12	p-value= 0,000		

Age. All villages have relatively few people less than 25 years of age, but Castro de Laboreiro and Entre Ambos os Rios have an even older age profile (Table 9) which is reflected in the larger number of widows in Castro de Laboreiro and Entre Ambos os Rios.

Education. An analysis of the education levels of residents reveals that the largest group of the respondents (62%) has four years of education or less (Table 10). This figure includes the 18% of the respondents who are illiterate and the 44% who had only primary education. 31% had completed secondary level, while nearly 7% had college education (some or graduate). Until a few years ago the 7th year was mandatory, more recently the 9th year became mandatory and currently it is estimated that the 12th year will become mandatory. The lower education levels in Castro de Laboreiro and Entre Ambos os Rios matches the older age profile. This analysis demonstrates that many of the respondents have quite a low level of formal education which has been argued may limit community participation (Howe *et al*, 2004).

Table 10: Education (%)

	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=105)	E.A.Rios (n=103)	Vilar da Veiga (n=137)	
Cannot read	25.8	25.0	10.7	17.8
Primary school	50.5	45.6	39.9	44.0
Between 5 and 6 years	2.1	7.4	6.2	5.2
Between 7 and 9 years	8.2	13.2	12.9	11.7
Between 10 and 12 years	7.2	5.9	21.9	14.6
Some college	4.1	2.9	2.8	3.2
College graduate	2.1		5.1	3.2
Post-graduate study			0.6	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi square=35,748 d.f. = 10 p-value= 0,000

Vilar da Veiga stands out as having more people who have received post primary education. This may have to do with the schools being located in the proximity whereas in the other communities in order to attend school past the primary level children have to make bus journeys; they usually leave home very early and arrive very late. Also, the fact that there appears to be more economically active population in Vilar da Veiga (Table 12) may have to do with them having received more education and tends to others to continue their education.

Employment. In terms of the employment status of the household respondents, retirees made up the largest group of respondents (36.5%), but this figure is higher in Castro de Laboreiro (50.5%) and Entre Ambos-os-Rios (46.4%) while 45% are either employed or self-employed (Table 11). These figures show that a high percentage of the population is inactive in terms of employment income. The figure increased if we include housewives and students, also income inactive members of the communities.

Table 11: Employment status (%)

	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=104)	E.A.Rios (n=103)	Vilar da Veiga (n=134)	
Self-employed	17.9	15.9	27.2	22.3
Employed	11.6	20.3	30.1	22.8
Unemployed	5.3	2.9	5.2	4.7
Student	6.3	7.2	11.0	8.9
Retired	50.5	46.4	24.9	36.5
Housewife	8.4	7.2	1.7	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi square= 36,038 d.f.=10 p-value= 0,000

Vilar da Veiga stands out on this occasion due to its having a greater percentage of respondents being active in the work force—57% of respondents are employed/self-employed (Table 11), mostly in the services sector (Table 12) and the lowest percentage of retired respondents, therefore a larger working population.

Respondents of Castro de Laboreiro reported the highest unemployment level (5.3%), followed closely by Vilar da Veiga (5.2%) and Entre-ambos-os-Rios (2.9%). Probably the reasons for these figures have to do with distance as Castro de Laboreiro is located at some distance from the main municipal town of Melgaço, compared to Entre-ambos-os-Rios whose residents commute to nearby towns (Ponte da Barca and Arcos de Valdevez) and Vilar da Veiga where there is seasonal employment in the tourism sector. The apparently low percentage of the unemployed may also be influenced by the fact that people working in agriculture would not consider themselves to be unemployed—they simply do not have a regular income.

Occupation. Considering all respondents, services sector employment was the highest among all respondents (73.7%) (Table 12). In Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-ambos-os-Rios employment is higher in agriculture and manual labour, whereas in Vilar da Veiga it is more service sector employment, possibly due to the more developed small (family) business sector. The subsistence agriculture practiced in the communities provides little income. Of the respondents who claim that their income is derived from agriculture, this income is based mostly on subsidies for cultivating certain products, keeping certain animals or having adapted to a part-time activity. In Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-ambos-os-Rios there are few tourism services available whereas Vilar da Veiga offers a wide array of visitor services, including a wide range of accommodation and a variety of attractions and services.

Table 12: Occupation categories (%)

	Place of residence: Parish			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=36)	E.A.Rios (n=23)	Vilar da Veiga (n=78)	
Agriculture, manual, crafts	41.9	35.3	5.6	17.5
Services	51.6	41.2	87.6	73.7
Construction	6.5	23.5	6.7	8.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square= 32,484	d.f.= 4	p-value= 0,000		

In Vilar da Veiga employment is fulltime. This contrasts with Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-ambos-os-Rios where income is based on a mix of agriculture and pensions (Table 13)—characteristics of an older age profile.

Table 13: Personal income (%)

% respondents	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro de Laboreiro	E. A. Rios	Vilar da Veiga	
Pension	54.8	48.5	27.2	39.4
Own salary	14.0	27.9	36.7	28.5
Own business	4.3	2.9	18.3	11.2
Parents' salary	5.4	4.4	7.1	6.1
Agriculture	11.8	7.4	0.6	5.2
Husbands' salary	6.5	2.9	3.0	3.9
Restaurant/Hotel sector	3.2		4.7	3.3
Unemployment benefits			1.8	0.9
Savings		2.9	0.6	0.9
Unemployed		1.5		0.3
Other		1.5		0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The principle source of income of respondents (Table 13) is pension (40%) followed by own salary (28.5%), own business (11.2%), parents salary (6.1%) and agriculture (5.2%). The remaining categories represented less than 5% of the respondents.

Tourism related employment. Respondents were asked about the degree to which their employment relied on tourists. On average almost three quarters (70%) of respondents work in places that provide none of their products or services to tourists or tourist businesses (Table 14). The exception is Vilar da Veiga where tourism sector employment is making a key contribution to the well-being of

people's lifestyles and perhaps their decision to remain living and working in the community.

Table 14: Crosstabs between “tourism income” and “place of residence” (%)

Personal income depends on tourism		Place of residence (Parish)			
		Castro Laboreiro	E.A.Rios	Vilar da Veiga	Total
		(n=105)	(n=104)	(n=135)	
	Yes	12.4	7.1	49.7	30.3
	No	87.6	92.9	50.3	69.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi-Square=63,410	d.f.=2	p-value=0,000			

Of a total of 135 respondents who are employed an analysis of occupations indicates that in Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-ambos-os-Rios employment is more related to agriculture, crafts and manual labour (Table 15), compared to hospitality and tourism in Vilar da Veiga, where about 68% of all the accommodation in the National Park is situated (ADERE-PG, 1999).

Table 15: Occupational groups by parish (%)

		Place of residence (Parish)			
		Castro de Laboreiro	E. A. Rios	Vilar da Veiga	Total
		(n=36)	(n=23)	(n=76)	
Occupational category	Agriculture, manual, crafts and construction	50.0	56.0	14.5	31.1
	Services, hotels, tourism	50.0	43.5	85.5	68.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi-square= 22,738	d.f. =2	p-value= 0,000			

Service-related employment in general and tourism employment in particular is least in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios. In contrast in Vilar da Veiga, service sector employment is dominant and a majority of the labour force receives at least some of their income from tourism. Of the three parishes, Vilar da Veiga has the more “developed tourism” with a diverse array of visitor services, including a wide range of accommodations and a variety of attractions and services.

**Table 16: Percentage of personal income from tourism by parish
(Count and %)**

		Place of residence: Parish			
		Castro de Laboreiro	E. A. Rios	Vilar da Veiga	Total
		(n=105)	(n=103)	(n=128)	
Percentage of tourism income	less than half	69.2	25.0	14.1	21.6
	approx.half		25.0	20.0	17.6
	more than half	15.4	25.0	22.4	21.6
	all	15.4	25.0	43.5	39.2
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square= 21,354		d.f.= 6	p-value= 0,002		

Table 16 also indicates that Vilar da Veiga residents earned a higher proportion of their income from tourism. Nearly twenty two percent of respondents of Vilar da Veiga claim that more than half of their own income is dependent on tourism and nearly forty four percent claim that all their income is dependent on products or services to tourism-related customers. In Castro de Laboreiro nearly 70% of respondents owe less than half of their income to tourism related services. In Entre-Ambos-os-Rios that figure stands at 25%. The weighted figures in Table 16 show that respondents in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios are evenly divided on the percentage of their income that is dependent products or services to tourism-related customers.

5.15 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the research framework outlined the approach taken for the operationalisation of this study. Then, a conceptual framework provided a map for tailoring community institutional arrangements, methods and capacities for engaging residents in promoting community development. Afterwards, the research methods were presented to answer the research questions proposed for this study. A questionnaire in the form of a face-to-face structured interview was the research method adopted. The choice of questions was justified based on a review of research literature, previous studies and the research questions proposed. The research design was described including the sampling. The research process was demonstrated, from the pre-tests, the means of data

collection, carrying out the resident survey to the way of analysing and discussing the data. Finally, the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents in the three parishes are presented.

The next chapter investigates are the levels of community attachment, followed by the role of migration upon community life, resident attitudes toward community participation, the perceived role of the National Park and the respondents' frequency of interaction with tourists and their involvement with the tourism industry.

CHAPTER SIX: RESULTS AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the descriptive data analysis and synthesis of the research findings on communities, attachment, participation in associations, respondents' attitudes toward tourism and tourism development and the relationship to the national park authorities. The chapter is organized in five inter related sections.

Section one (6.1) looks at the respondents levels of identification with and attachment to the local community, their attitudes to participation in community life and actual levels of participation. In the community participation literature it has been acknowledged that early involvement and membership of volunteer organizations may lead to an enduring habit either of involvement in particular volunteer organizations, or in the community in general (Aas *et al*, 2005). It has also been suggested (Hustinx, 2004), that having been a member of associations outside the parish where an individual was born could contribute to raising levels of participation. Consequently therefore this section does not limit itself to current membership experiences but inquires, and takes into account, the entire participatory history of the respondents. The profile of participants established allows examination of the patterns and characteristics of individual involvement in community associations, when and why individuals participated, and in which types of associations they participated. It is argued that the types of associations in which they may have previously participated may have important implications for their participation in community involvement in later life.

Section two (6.2) describes the role of mobility and migration upon community life and its influence on participation and attachment is examined.

Section three (6.3) analyses the respondents attitudes toward community participation, their views as to who needs to be involved in community development and identifies the decision-makers and the local actor networks. Particular attention is paid to how community associations work and the respondents' attitudes towards them.

Section four (6.4) examines the perceived role the National Park has had on the general development of communities in the Park and whether it has been perceived as a constructive factor for local development. Furthermore, respondents were asked to what extent they believe that their views are heard by the Park authorities regarding local development to determine the respondents' relationship with, and view of the National Park authorities. An observation of the perceptions of residents regarding the relationship between community-based associations and the National Park is presented.

Examining the relationship between communities and the National Park is fundamental to determine development strategies. Previous studies have shown that local people see the National Park as an existing entity, with defined boundaries and using a top-down decision-making mechanism to achieve its conservation objectives. There is no Park-wide development strategy as local development is the responsibility of the municipalities. However, National Park approval is necessary in order for municipalities to implement infrastructure development. Thus, to address development challenges in the Peneda Gerês National Park it becomes inevitable that Park authorities play an increasingly key decision-making role. Consequently, residents were asked about the role of the National Park in community development and attitudes of community residents toward the Park authorities were investigated.

Section five (6.5) presents results concerning the respondents' frequency of interaction with tourists and their involvement with the tourism industry. It reviews their general opinion about tourism in the community, their relationship to tourism development and their concerns about the perceived advantages and disadvantages of the economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism. The analysis compares the attitudes of people in different occupational categories, age groups and educational levels. Other comparisons include attitudes of respondents whose jobs are dependent on tourism compared to those who are not dependent and respondents who have and those who have not always lived in the community.

SECTION 1

6.1 RESULTS OF COMMUNITY IDENTIFY AND DEFINITIONS

This first section examines comparative views of community as perceived by members of the three communities, including definition and the existing relationships within the community (attachment). Determining needs and setting priorities for community development will require an understanding of the social and cultural structure of the community.

6.1.1 DEFINING COMMUNITY

Respondents were asked to identify three key words to define “community”. These open responses were then coded into general categories for analysis.

**Table 17: Terms given by respondents to define community
(multiple responses possible-frequency)**

	N.º Responses	% Respondents
Solidarity/friendship	287	71.2
Don't know	34	8.4
Geographical location	22	5.5
Important	22	5.5
No longer a community/individualism	20	5
Progress/quality of life	16	4
Not important	1	0.2
Everything always the same	1	0.2
Total	403	100.0

Most of the responses related to feelings of solidarity or friendship with other people in the parish, over 71% of respondents mentioned this (Table 17). Responses included “*group of people*”, “*reciprocity of solidarity*”, “*understanding and respect for others*”, “*well-being, welfare and socializing*”, “*people united based on their similarities*”, and very few times was mentioned “*a geographical area*”. This perception accords with the definitions of community proposed in the literature review in which “all of the definitions deal

with people” (Hillery, 1959; Phillips, 1993) and comprise a “network of social relations marked by mutuality and emotional bonds” (Bender, 1982), again suggesting solidarity and friendship. However, there were some respondents who indicated that they ‘didn’t know’ what community was. Other comments related to the ‘lack’ of community with some respondents citing increased individualism as being a defining factor in their community.

Table 18: Crosstabs between definition of community and place of residence (%) (First response only to multiple choice question to allow for statistical testing)

Definition of Community	Place of residence (Parish)			
	Castro Laboreiro (n=101)	E.A.Rios (n=90)	Vilar da Veiga (n=134)	Total (n=325)
Solidarity / friendship	74.5	59.0	79.9	74.5
Don't know	3.2	24.6	3.4	7.3
No longer a community/individualism	8.5	3.3	5.7	6.1
Geographical location	3.2	9.8	6.3	6.1
Progress/quality of life	9.6	1.6	3.4	4.9
Other		1.6	1.1	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square= 52,794 d.f.=14 p-value=0,000

In response to the question “what does “community” mean to you? – three key words?”, responses may be an expression of what they feel community should be, rather than the way in which their community actually functions. In Entre Ambos-os-Rios in particular there seems to be less consensus or clarity about what the term “community” means to local residents indicated by the finding that there was a larger proportion of “don’t knows” and a lower proportion of “solidarity and friendship” responses (Table 18), compared with Castro de Laboreiro and Vilar da Veiga which may indicate a lower level of social cohesion in Entre Ambos-os-Rios than in the other two communities. As Entre-Ambos-os-Rios is the closest parish to the main municipal town, it may have experienced “rurbanisation” effects (Grifon, 2002) which changes the nature of communities. Such change tends to be characterised by mutually reinforcing effects, chiefly travel to access products and services and decline in local amenities (Joseph and Chalmers, 1998). The result reported suggests deterioration community cohesion and identify.

In Entre-Ambos-os-Rios a parish where employment is higher in agriculture the respondents not only place a lower focus on solidarity/friendship. There is heightened emphasis on the geographical location (10%) as a defining characteristic of community. An emerging segment of the community feels that the “network of social relations marked by mutuality and emotional bonds” is not a sufficient factor for enhancing the spirit of community. As one respondent claimed, “*close social relations were evident in the past when people needed one another; there was no competition for jobs as there weren’t any. Now there are lots of persons after a few jobs and this leads to resentment*”.

6.1.2 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DEFINED

Respondents were also asked to state what they understood by the term “community development” (Table 19). The most frequently mentioned concepts related to notions of progress or quality of life (37.7%), followed by economic growth/employment opportunities (22.9%) and increased services for residents (10.6%). More specifically, respondents pointed to “*basic infrastructure*”, “*more employment and more education*”, “*permanent medical assistance*”, “*assistance to the elderly and children*” and more often “*tourism development*”.

Table 19: Definition of community development
(multiple response question—frequencies and %)

Community development	N.º Responses	% Responses
Progress/quality of life	174	37.7
Employment opportunities/economic growth	106	22.9
Increased services for residents	49	10.6
Don't know	36	7.8
Tourism/attractions/entertainment	34	7.4
Brings optimism to community	31	6.7
Preserve traditions	18	3.9
Non-existent/little of it	7	1.5
Helps keep residents here	7	1.5
Total	462	100

The fact that preserving traditions was only mentioned by a small number of respondents suggests a decrease in the emotional bonds in the community perhaps due to individualism replacing traditionalism and the way the community used to

function. In the past, activities were either required for work purposes or as a form of entertainment which, as one respondent claimed “*contributed to cohesion in the community. Today people look for other means of entertainment which is not dependent on cooperation with your neighbours*”. Another respondent added “*traditional activities are performed to attract visitors. For local people it represents work, which few people are willing to perform voluntarily*”.

Table 20: Crosstabs between community development and Place of residence (%) (first response only)

	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=99)	E.A.Rios (n=91)	Vilar da Veiga (n=132)	
Quality of life	40.7	35.5	42.7	40.7
Employment opportunities / economic growth	23.1	21.0	23.4	40.7
Other	36.2	43.5	33.9	36.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-Square=45,245 d.f.=16 p-value=0,000

Both tables 19 and 20 establish the linkage of community development with quality of life and employment opportunities/economic growth in all three communities. When the smaller categories were recoded as ‘other’, there were significant differences between the three parishes. As with the concept of community the respondents of Entre-Ambos-os-Rios differ from the other parishes in associating community development less strongly with quality of life issues than did respondents of the other two parishes (Table 20). For residents of Entre-Ambos-os-Rios, “other” included tourism/attractions/entertainment, increased services for residents, brings optimism to community, preserving traditions and helps keep residents here.

6.1.3 COMMUNITY ATTACHMENT

As demonstrated in Chapter 2, attachment to place and community is widely recognised as an important underpinning for social capital (Coleman, 1993; Putnam, 1993; Flora *et al*, 1997). Community attachment is measured based on the opinions that residents have about their immediate surroundings, including

interaction at village and parish level. The literature suggests that a sense of community is a vital component for bringing together people with different interests, experiences and backgrounds. The literature review also suggested that there must be cooperation among the residents in order to empower them to influence the process of change/development in their community (see for example Rubin and Rubin, 1992; Cleaver, 2005; Dredge, 2006 and 2007). Local actors and networks need to participate in local development.

The study by the Western Rural Development Centre in Montana (<http://www.ext.usu.edu/WRDC/>) was used to derive items relating to attachment, including the seven item scale included in the community tourism assessment handbook (see Table 21). However, when the different items used in this study were tested for reliability using the Cronbach's Alpha Test, it was found that the score is too low to allow the scale to be used as a whole to measure attitudes towards community and therefore the items relating to community attachment were analysed separately.

Respondents were asked to agree or disagree on seven different statements used to measure their level of attachment to their community, including interaction at village and parish level, local cooperation, partnerships and solidarity (Table 21). Variables influencing perceptions were measured on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly agree" (1) to "strongly disagree" (5). The use of total percentages agreeing permits a readable form of the table, otherwise it would be far too big (at least 7*15 cells).

The Kruskal Wallis Test analysis performed on the seven individual statements indicated that differences in responses for all three parishes were statistically significantly different for all statements except:

- I would never join an association in this parish that is not located in this village
- What goes on in other villages of this parish is not my concern

In general, the responses from all three parishes show a high degree of individualism, with over 70% of all respondents agreeing that “people would get along better if each one minded his own business and others take care of theirs” (Table 21). This attitude was significantly higher in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios than in the other two villages. The high level of agreement with this statement in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios indicates a particularly strong feeling of individualism and these respondents were less likely to join associations in other villages in their parish. Entre-Ambos-os-Rios residents were also less likely than residents of the other parishes to participate in wider parish associations.

Vilar da Veiga residents are more likely to agree with statements that indicate stronger attachment to the village rather than the parish. Castro de Laboreiro residents are most likely to have a higher level of attachment to the parish. However, in terms of participation, residents of Entre-Ambos-os-Rios indicate they are more likely to participate in activities in other parishes.

Table 21: % agreeing with community attachment statements

	Castro Laboreiro (n=105)	E.A.Rios (n=104)	Vilar da Veiga (n=137)	Total
1. People would get along better if each one would mind his own business	69.5	83.7	64.4	71.8
2. I am more attached to my village than to my parish	60.0	69.2	75.2	68.8
3. I would never join an association in this parish that is not located in this village	37.5	46.2	31.4	37.7
4. I never participate in activities in other villages of this parish	41.9	24.0	44.5	37.6
5. There is more strong sense of community at the parish level	23.8	25.5	38.2	30.0
6. People work together to get things done more at the village than the parish level	20.0	28.8	38.2	29.9
7. What goes on in other villages of this parish is not my concern	24.8	35.6	24.8	28.0

This “individualism” is accompanied by strong localism, with almost 69% of respondents feeling more attached to their village than to the wider parish. The

statement “I am more attached to my village than to my parish” is statistically significantly different between Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and between Castro de Laboreiro and Vilar da Veiga. The low level of attachment in the parish of Castro de Laboreiro may be explained by the tradition of sending the children to live outside of the parish to attend school, at a time when mobility within the municipality was rare. Consequently, people lose the link to the community very early.

Table 22: Relationship between community attachment and place of residence (mean ranks)

Measures of Community attachment	Place of residence (Parish)			Kruskal Wallis Test
	Castro Laboreiro	E. A. Rios	Vilar da Veiga	
1. I am more attached to my village than to my parish	2.4	2.1	1.9	0.05
2. There is stronger sense of community at the parish level	3.5	3.6	3.1	0.012
3. People work together to get things done more at the village than the parish level	3.6	3.5	3.0	0.003
4. People would get along better if each one would mind his own business.	2.1	1.7	2.3	0.007
5. I would never join an association in this parish that is not located in this village	3.2	2.9	3.4	ns
6. What goes on in other villages of this parish is not my concern	3.7	3.5	3.9	ns
7. I never participate in activities in other villages of this parish	3.2	3.9	3.2	0.004

The high level of allegiance to the village indicates the importance of physical proximity, as suggested by McKnight (1995). He argues that physical proximity of neighbours [may] increase the potential for a rapid response in time of crisis and stress, but it also may result in resentment as kinship ties have weakened and residents have become more individualistic.

The differences in the statement “what goes on in other villages of this parish is not my concern” are not statistically significant (based on the Kruskal Wallis test). This indicates that residents in all three communities feel that what happens in other villages in their parish is of no direct concern to them, and they may not be

motivated to do anything about it (for example by participating in activities outside their village).

Table 22 indicates that allegiance to the village is more important than the parish, which may point to feelings of community attachment operating mainly at village level. It was demonstrated in Chapter 4 that people from the different villages within a parish have shown reluctance for cooperation in the past. Each village conducted its affairs as a unit. The bonding between the different villages of the parish was limited to religious practices and ceremonies, funerals and certain labour intensive subsistence agriculture activities. In the latter case, people would enter into an exchange of labour agreement of exchange with extended family members and/or other members of the community. This lack of cooperation of villages within the wider community may be making residents reluctant to participate in community affairs, unless an issue directly affects them personally (see Tables 21 and 22).

As indicated in Chapter 5 (Methodology), over the course of the analysis, on several occasions the communities were consulted to check for accuracy of and further clarification of some of the results. One of these consultations had to do with the increasing evidence pointing to the lack of cooperation of villages within the community. As such, residents may be reluctant to participate in community affairs, unless an issue directly affects them personally. Survey respondents acknowledged that people are afraid/not willing to volunteer/participate for fear of being looked at as “different” and being accused of self-interest. In open questions, several respondents suggested that “parochial thinking and local selfishness of residents divide and fragment the community”. Local rivalry and parochial thinking appears to be an obstacle to community development. As was discerned during fieldwork observations, fragmentation of the community seems to be caused by historical factors rather than by different values among villagers.

Another possible measure of attachment is the length of time and percentage of their life they have spent in a community. Many of the respondents were born in the parish they now live in (Table 23): the lowest figure recorded is in Vilar da

Veiga, which has been going through substantial population changes over the past four decades.

Table 23: Crosstabs between “Place of Birth” and “Place of residence” (%) (for those born and still living in one of the three parishes)

Birth place (Parish)	Place of residence (Parish)		
	Castro Laboreiro (n=97)	E.A.Rios (n=116)	Vilar da Veiga (n=120)
Castro de Laboreiro	94.1		1.5
E.A. Rios	4	92.2	13.8
Vilar de Veiga	2	7.8	84.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In Vilar da Veiga depopulation cannot be regarded as very high, compared to the other two parishes. Whereas in the other two communities depopulation took a heavy toll between 1960 and 2001 (Castro de Laboreiro lost 62.6% of its population and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios lost 44,2%), while the number for Vilar da Veiga is 18.4%., of which over half was in the 1960’s (INE, 2001a). Vilar da Veiga underwent changes in population, as residents moved away, causing the population to decline, a surge in interest by non-residents (possibly entrepreneurs) to move into the area and open their own, in some cases tourism-related business, (ADERE-PG, 2000) led to an increase in local population in the 1970’s, a relatively small population decline (-0.8%) in the 1980s, but a more significant decline in the 1990s (6.7%) (INE, 2002b).

SECTION TWO

6.2 MOBILITY / MIGRATION

Chapter 4 (background of the study area) indicated that rural communities confronted with lack of employment opportunities often look for solutions to their economic problems not through political pressure and collective action but through individual initiative and emigration (Graham and Maker, 1979). Rural out-migration in Northern Portugal is characterised by people (essentially men) leaving their (mostly inherited) land, working very hard to save enough money to buy a piece of land and build a house and then returning to their origins to retire.

They want to go back to their country although life might be better in the host country (de Jong and Gardner, 1981). They want to go in part because they are presumably attached to the community (MAI, 1982).

Previous studies conducted by the National Park Authorities found that local people living in the National Park are accustomed to caring for their needs and interacting at the municipal level. This tendency has a geographically vertical approach as the main municipal town in all five cases is located outside the boundaries of the Park. Residents have to “come down” from the mountain areas to the municipal centre. There is little or no tradition of people doing the same horizontally, that is interacting socio-economically with other parishes in the National Park. There is little communication between the different communities in the National Park and communities seldom know what is happening in other parts of the Park.

This section adds to these previous studies and looks at the nature of mobility and migration from communities in the National Park and the likely impact of the return of the migrants as possible agents of development or social change of the hierarchies and institutions associated with their native community

6.2.1 INTERPARISH MOBILITY

Table 23 shows that mobility between parishes in the National Park is relatively low. The main exception is Vilar da Veiga, which has attracted a number of people born in Entre Ambos Rios to settle there, presumably as a result of greater levels of entrepreneurial activity and employment opportunities. Nevertheless migration and census data clearly demonstrates that some people have moved away to areas outside the park boundary (INE, 2002b). While some residents of the three parishes migrated internally to the coastal fringe and the larger towns, particularly Porto and Lisbon, external migration has predominated and has followed distinct patterns with regard to modes of departure, destination countries, length of stay, attitudes toward return and towards the migrants future (Leeds, 1977).

6.2.2 IMPACT OF MIGRATION

When considering the total sample, over 60% of respondents have always lived there, and there is no significant difference in this respect between the three parishes (Table 24). The reason provided for remaining in the parish and not migrating has to do with attachment to the land [in Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios] and employment in Vilar da Veiga (ADERE-PG, 2000).

Table 24: Crosstabs between “always lived in the parish” and “place of residence” (%)

Lived always in this Parish	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro	E.A.Rios	Vilar da Veiga	
	(n=105)	(n=103)	(n=137)	
Yes	64.9	58.6	62.1	62.2
No	35.1	41.4	37.9	37.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square 0,704	d.f.=2	p-value=0,703		

Table 24 shows that of the respondents, 38% have lived outside the parish at one time or another and there are no significant differences between the three parishes. The fact that a majority (62%) of respondents had always lived in the parish in which they were born may explain why respondents have a strong sense of belonging and community attachment in all three parishes. Although there is no statistical difference in the proportion of people having been born and having lived in the parish all their lives, the people who have moved into Vilar da Veiga are more likely to have lived in another part of Portugal (Table 25) while only a minority of the respondents in Castro de Laboreiro who have lived outside their parish lived in another parish in Portugal.

Table 25: Crosstabs between “lived elsewhere” and “place of residence” (respondents who have lived outside the parishes only) (%)

Lived in another parish in Portugal	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=31)	E.A.Rios (n=36)	Vilar da Veiga (n=36)	
Yes	19.4	47.2	63.9	44.7
No	80.6	52.8	36.1	55.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi-Square=13,51	d.f.=2	p-value=0,001		

Although the small sample of respondents indicating their region of previous location in Portugal is small (and therefore statistically not significant) it is clear that most of those having lived in another parish in Portugal lived in the local region (Table 26). Of the respondents that answered as to how long they had lived outside the parish, nearly a third lived there for 11-20 years (Table 29).

Table 26: Crosstabs between “lived in another parish in Portugal” and “place of residence” (%)

Lived in another parish in Portugal	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=7)	E.A.Rios (n=14)	Vilar da Veiga (n=40)	
Local regional (North of Porto)	80.0	50.0	72.7	64.3
Porto area	20.0	0,0	9.1	7.1
Lisbon area	0,0	50.0	18.2	28.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Not significant)				

For those going to another part of Portugal, there was a significant difference in the occupational patterns of those from the 3 parishes – Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Vilar da Veiga mostly for work purposes and Castro de Laboreiro for non-work-related purposes (Table 27).

Table 27: Crosstabs between “occupation while living outside the parish in Portugal” and “place of residence” (frequency)

What did you do while living outside the parish	Place of residence-Parish			Total
	Castro Laboreiro	E.A.Rios	Vilar da Veiga	
Self-employed	1	4	3	8
Employed	1	12	21	34
Unemployed	2	0	1	3
Retired	0	1	0	1
Student	0	1	0	1
Housewife	1	4	3	8
Total	5	22	28	55

(Not significant)

6.2.3 MIGRATION ABROAD

People from Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios were more likely to have lived for some time abroad (Table 28). France was the most frequent destination, accounting for over two thirds of respondents reflecting the recorded (MAI, 1982) tendency for agricultural workers to migrate there. The majority of those who had emigrated to France are now aged 55 or over.

Table 28: Crosstabs between “country” and “place of residence” (frequency)

	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro	E.A.Rios	Vilar da Veiga	
Andorra	1	0	2	3
Angola	0	1	0	1
Australia	1	0	0	1
Canada	1	2	0	3
EUA	1	0	0	1
France	18	14	3	35
France/Australia	1	0	0	1
France/Germany/Venezuela	0	1	0	1
Luxembourg	0	0	1	1
Mozambique	0	0	1	1
South Africa	0	0	2	2
Spain	2	0	1	3
Spain/France/Germany	0	1	0	1
Switzerland	0	0	2	2
Ukraine	0	0	1	1
Total	25	19	13	57

(Some respondents indicated more than one country)

The fact that some persons lived outside their parish, not only in another country but also in another part of Portugal makes the “total” figure in Tables 26-28 differ slightly. Altogether, 48 lived elsewhere in Portugal, 51 lived abroad and 6 lived somewhere else both in another country and in Portugal.

The typical pattern (Leeds, 1977) was to spend an entire working life abroad and return to retire – this is the pattern seen in Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios (Table 29).

Table 29: Crosstabs between “number of years abroad” and “place of residence” (frequency)

Number of years abroad	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro	E.A.Rios	Vilar da Veiga	
10 years or less	2	1	4	7
11 to 20 years	4	5	4	13
21 to 30 years	2	2	0	4
31 to 40 years	2	4	0	6
more than 40 years	3	0	0	3
Total	13	12	8	33

The overall pattern is for people who have left the parish to leave for a long time. In migrating, people find a means of self-improvement. They work hard in a foreign country, saving in order to buy a house or a bigger and better plot of land. Emigrants live modestly for about 20 years (or more) so they have better living conditions when they return to Portugal. The emigrant who has a secured job will come back only if he has managed to save enough money to build his house in Portugal and have the security of a easier life in the future with his savings. The phenomenon of return migrants is evident in the villages. They kept their patch of land when abroad. This was their security in case they would not succeed in the destination country. Most emigrants left an agricultural environment to re-enter agriculture on their return. Individuals that have been successful abroad, accumulating what appear to villagers to be vast resources and wealth, are looked upon with respect (Cabral, 1978; MAI, 1982).

A lot of older respondents have lived in the same parish for 45 years or more (Table 30). The population of Entre-Ambos-os-Rios is older (over 65 years) on

average than the other two parishes (Table 30), which is related to its receiving “a considerable number of older returning migrants” (respondent’s comment), while Castro de Laboreiro is the village with the lowest proportion of young people, i.e. under 24. Both Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Vilar da Veiga respondents had lived the greatest length of time in the parish (Table 29). Vilar da Veiga in particular has been rejuvenated by recent inflows of younger people and has a larger proportion of residents under 45 (Table 30).

Table 30: Crosstabs between Age and Place of residence (%)

Age	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro	E.A.Rios	Vilar da Veiga	
24 or less years	7.2	16.2	19.1	15.2
25 to 44 years	18.6	14.7	32.0	24.8
45 to 64 years	35.1	32.4	26.4	30.0
+ 65 years	39.2	36.8	22.5	30.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-Square=22,806 d.f.=6 p-value=0,001

Both Vilar da Veiga and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios show a repopulation tendency as a result of declining outmigration and short distance (regional) moves and return migration (INE, 2002b). Whereas Vilar da Veiga seems to be drawing younger people in search of employment in its local tourism-based economy, in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios there is a growing elderly population increasingly economically inactive.

The economic development in Vilar da Veiga since the 1970’s has drawn in migrants from other parts of Portugal (INE, 2002b) who may not know, care about, or accept local customs and knowledge that would allow them to work and live in harmony with the local natural environment and cultural preservation. The competitive economic behaviour that brings them to Vilar da Veiga in the first place may actually hinder or prevent appropriate social behaviour to promote local development. This may account for the responses to statements about community that indicated that Vilar da Veiga residents are less interested in solidarity (Table 18), are more likely to mind their own business and less willing

to join associations outside the village (Table 21) and are less likely to be concerned with quality of life issues (Table 20).

SECTION 3

6.3 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING

The literature review on participation (Chapter three) raised the question about what “taking part” really means. Does it require involvement in decision-making itself or only some input into the process by which decisions get made? Does it require the exercise of some influence? (Richardson, 1983). This section examines residents’ attitudes about participation and the use of existing community networks to contribute to local development. Furthermore, this section adds to the analysis in the previous section on the cohesion of the community and the degree of local participation and involvement in decisions concerning tourism development. Emphasis is placed on community-based associations as an alternative form of mobilising and involving people to promote community development.

6.3.1 IMPORTANCE OF LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING

In regard to community participation, three in every four respondents (76%) agreed that it was important for local people to be involved in decisions about tourism development, eighteen percent had no opinion and eight percent claimed that it was not important (Table 31). As one respondent put it “*the implementation of tourism cannot succeed without community members being involved and active in the decision-making*”.

Table 31: Importance of local participation in decision making by parish (%)

	Place of residence: Parish			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=100)	E.A.Rios (n=100)	Vilar da Veiga (n=135)	
Yes	71.7	66.2	81.7	75.8
No	7.6	10.3	6.9	7.8
No opinion	20.7	23.5	11.4	16.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-Square=8.340 d.f.=4 p-value=0,080

In comparing whether local participation is important in decision-making there is a variation but it is not significant. The analysis indicates that Vilar da Veiga respondents attach the most importance to participation (Table 31). Respondents in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios are less concerned about participation in decision making than people in the other two communities, and particularly those in Vilar da Veiga. When asked to name reasons why individuals did not participate, almost half the respondents felt that residents were not interested (Table 32). This response was characteristic of all three parishes. But it was also mentioned by several respondents that *“initiatives/decisions taken within the community are usually made by natives of the community but who reside elsewhere and when they come to the community it is usually with little time and do not properly get the local people involved in the decision-making process. So even here it is difficult to mobilize local people”*. It is a situation in which people have moved away but keep a link to the community and have shown keen interest in contributing to local development. Also, *“when the association was formed people volunteered. When everything was built people stopped volunteer. They felt no longer needed”*.

Table 32: Reason for not participating in local associations (%)

	Place of residence: Parish			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=88)	E.A.Rios (n=78)	Vilar da Veiga (n=99)	
Residents are not interested (non-active)	49.3	59.6	45.0	48.5
Residents know what's best for the community	38.7	21.4	43.0	38.3
Residents are not given enough opportunities to participate	6.7	9.5	4.7	6.0
Decisions about tourism are best left to someone else	2.6	4.8	6.8	5.3
Don't know	2.6	4.8	0.7	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square=14,900	d.f.=14	p-value=0,385		

Taking into consideration the data in Table 18 related to perceptions of community and in Table 31 about the importance of local participation in decision making, Entre-Ambos-os-Rios appears to be undergoing greater difficulty in the transition from and decline of the traditional community. Possibly the acquisition of employment outside the parish is causing diminishing social interaction and people failing to knit together. Consequently, respondents may have a different sense of place and community which, in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios, may be affecting the perception of participation.

A few respondents pointed to the “*lack of transportation and the distance between the villages*” as a reason for not participating in local associations. Others simply were “*not aware of the existence of associations*”. These affirmations suggest little communication and traditional cooperation between the diverse villages of the. Respondents were asked about the likelihood of joining associations located in another village. Section 6.3.17 of this chapter analyses the responses.

Many respondents suggested that it is the local people who know what is best for the community (38%). One of these respondents added that “*local communities have their own knowledge and experience of local land-use with which they can contribute to community development*”. The perceptions of residents of Entre-Ambos-os-Rios (21.4%), Castro de Laboreiro (38.7%) and Vilar da Veiga (43%) suggest that the more tourism is developed in the community the more optimistic are the residents (Table 32). This result may suggest that residents are focusing

less on “communities of place” and are looking to other constructions of community. Massey (1994), for example, argues that place is not static or authentic but resides in social interactions which can exist, rather, in “communities of interest”. Thus people may have a different sense of place and community. This appears to be the situation with Entre-Ambos-os-Rios as its residents attribute less importance of local participation in decision-making and tend to be more non-active (Tables 31 and 32), compared to Castro de Laboreiro and Vilar da Veiga. Respondents indicate that residents of Entre-Ambos-os-Rios are more reluctant to work together for tourism development (Table 33). As one respondent claimed “*People do not participate because they do not feel needed. They slowly depend on and demand more of established structures*”.

6.3.2 INVOLVEMENT IN DECISIONS CONCERNING TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The majority of respondents felt that it was either “very important” or “somewhat important” (59.3%) for the respondents personally to be involved in decisions concerning tourism development (Table 32). The results showed a statistically significant difference between the parishes, with respondents of Vilar da Veiga seeing participation as particularly important (66%) perhaps as a result of higher levels of tourism development and entrepreneurship. Tourism related employment in Vilar da Veiga is higher than in Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios (see Table 11 in chapter 5) where employment is more in agriculture.

Table 33: Importance of participation in decision-making in tourism development by parish (%)

	Place of residence: Parish			
	Castro Laboreiro (n=104)	E.A.Rios (n=101)	Vilar da Veiga (n=136)	Total
Very important	20.6	20.9	29.1	25.1
Somewhat important	32.0	29.9	37.1	34.2
Not at all important	2.1	1.5	6.9	4.4
Not important	25.8	20.9	14.3	18.9
No opinion	19.6	26.9	12.6	17.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi-Square=18.814	d.f.=8 p-value=0,016			

Although the main reason given for these answers in the subsequent open question is that it is important for everybody to participate, respondents in Vilar da Veiga were significantly more supportive of being involved in decisions about community development than in the other two parishes (Table 33). Respondents were significantly less supportive of being involved in decisions about community development in Castro de Laboreiro (27.9%) and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios (22.4%) than in Vilar da Veiga (21.2%). Furthermore, 19.6% of Castro de Laboreiro and 26.9% of Entre-Ambos-os-Rios respondents have no opinion, compared to 12.6% in Vilar da Veiga.

6.3.3 OPPORTUNITY TO INFLUENCE DECISIONS

The responses to a question asking residents about the opportunity to influence decisions showed no statistically significant difference between the parishes (Table 34). While an overwhelming majority (87%) claimed to having had no opportunity to participate (Table 34), 67% are not concerned that they had not had the opportunity (Table 35). According to these results, community participation has not been a priority and respondents are rather discouraged from getting involved.

Table 34: Opportunity to influence decisions by parish (%)

	Place of residence: Parish			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=103)	E.A.Rios (n=100)	Vilar da Veiga (n=134)	
No opportunity	91.6	88.1	83.7	86.8
Limited or sufficient opportunity	8.4	11.9	16.3	13.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square= 3,415	d.f.=2	p-value= 0,181		

Table 35: Concerned for not having the opportunity to participate by parish (%)

	Place of residence: Parish			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=91)	E.A.Rios (n=87)	Vilar da Veiga (n=111)	
Yes	28.2	25.9	39.6	33.4
No	71.8	74.1	60.4	66.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi-Square=4.972 d.f.=2 p-value=0,083				

These findings indicate that people claim not to have the opportunity to participate, but they seem not to be concerned about their exclusion (Table 35). In Vilar da Veiga, respondents appear to be more concerned (Table 35). The reasons given for this lack of concern (Table 36) include “don’t know” (40.5%) and “my opinion is not important” (33%). In other words, people are not concerned at being excluded from decision making because they don’t consider their opinions to be important. Only 16.7 consider that residents need to contribute to community development (Table 36). Presumably, it is necessary to create or strengthen mechanisms and conditions to encourage the effective participation of the community members.

Table 36: Why not concerned, by parish (%)

	Place of residence: Parish			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=77)	E.A.Rios (n=51)	Vilar da Veiga (n=87)	
Don't know/not interested	49.4	37.3	34.5	40.5
My opinion is not important	27.3	33.3	37.9	33.0
Residents need to contribute to community development	14.3	19.6	17.2	16.7
Residents prefer to leave decisions to others	3.9	5.9	2.3	3.7
No time available	1.3	2.0	5.7	3.3
Others	3.9	2.0	2.3	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(Not significant)

A minority of respondents felt that they had an opportunity to influence decisions about development in their parish – and this feeling was shared among the three parishes, with Vilar da Veiga showing more interest for identifying and meeting their needs and concerns. Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Castro de Laboreiro respondents seem less concerned with being excluded from participation thus maintaining the traditional status quo (Table 36).

There seemed to be relatively little concern about the lack of influence. Only in Vilar da Veiga was the level of concern notably higher. The reasons given for not worrying about a lack of influence were mainly a lack of interest or a feeling that their opinion was not important (Table 36). These reasons were consistent across the three parishes, as there was no significant difference in the responses to this question.

6.3.4 RESPONDENTS PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ABILITY TO INFLUENCE DECISIONS

To facilitate local community development, there needs to be extensive trustworthiness and extensive trust (Cleaver, 2005; Jones, 2005; Saxena, 2005 and 2006). However these results suggest a high level of non-participation by stakeholders and members of the community. The latter do not appear to feel empowered to participate actively. The social cohesion necessary for building shared values thereby enabling people to feel empowered to influence their futures through collective action is practically non-existent. In the follow-up visits to the communities, residents asserted that local actors are not seen as trustworthy in local development and people apparently do not feel empowered to contribute to the process of change. People show little concern (lack of interest) about overcoming difficulties in the community and have little sense of engagement in community development. Whereas, traditionally individual roles were quite clear and village meetings were common to manage agriculturally related tasks and power was more concentrated for decision-making purposes, today, unclear roles and the dominance of individuals or groups stimulate various forms of resistance as people feel disempowered.

Phillips (1993) argued that the social ties which previously held people / communities intact will eventually disintegrate as forces of modernization lead to rapid social change, which it is argued is responsible for the demise of the community as modern society is dominated by extreme individualism. This disintegration is often seen in the progressive terms of liberation, of emancipation from tradition grown oppressive (Nisbet, 1971). Consequently, deeply embedded social functions of the old order are being seriously questioned by local residents possibly as a result of the influence of the returning migrants, who have economically enhanced their position within the community and who brought with them alternative ways of doing things and looking at the world, and who wanted to take advantage of their newly acquired status (Gmelch, 1987). Huntington (1968) argued that if social and economic change undermines or destroys the traditional basis of association, the achievement of a high level of political development depends upon the capacity of the people to develop new forms of association.

But in order to influence decisions, nearly all (93.4%) residents felt they had to approach people in positions of power directly (Table 37). Many respondents seem to feel that there is an opportunity to influence decisions by those making the decisions. When asked how that opportunity is available, a majority of respondents claim to be direct contact with responsible persons or organisations and not through local community channels (Table 37). This is also reflected in the experience of those who said that they had been able to successfully influence previous decisions (30 respondents). Although there were very few people who had successfully influenced previous decisions, respondents overwhelmingly agreed that direct contacts (vertical networking) was the best means to achieve their ends (Table 37).

Table 37: How to influence decisions (all)

	Frequency	Percentage
Dialogue/meetings with responsible persons or organizations	211	93.4
Present proposal/project/suggestions	10	4.4
Creating associations	1	0.4
Do nothing/not worth it	3	1.3
Don't know	1	0.4
Total	226	100

When asked how the community could influence decisions, “through community mobilisation” was the most frequent response given (Table 38). Again, there is no variance between parishes.

Table 38: How can the community influence decisions (Frequency and %)

	Frequency	Percentage
Through community mobilization	64	71.9
Through personal contacts	9	10.1
Through the parish authorities	6	6.7
Through an association	4	4.5
Through respected persons of the community	3	3.4
Do nothing	2	2.2
Through the municipal authorities	1	1.1
Total	89	100.0

In other words, the individual is seen as having relatively little influence. Most respondents (72%) felt that it is through mobilising the community that results can be achieved. However, it is clear that people do not think the associations are a way of achieving change (4.5%), which perhaps indicates that they are not successful in “mobilising the community” (Table 38). But if the associations are currently ineffective, how is this mobilisation supposed to be achieved?

6.3.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF MEMBERS OF COMMUNITY ASSOCIATIONS

To explore the extent to which local residents participate in associations, people were asked to identify the association(s) to which they belonged. In total, 22% (76 respondents compared to 269 who have not) of those interviewed were or had been members of associations (Table 39).

Table 39: Have you ever belonged to an association, by parish (%)

	Place of residence: Parish % values			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=105)	E.A.Rios (n=104)	Vilar da Veiga (n=136)	
Yes	13.4	25.7	26.6	22.7
No	86.6	74.3	73.4	77.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi square= 6,645 d.f.= 2 p-value=0,036

Of those who belonged to associations, the majority — 65 respondents, or 85% — claimed to belong to one association and only 11 respondents, or 15%, belonged to two associations (Table 40). No respondents belonged to more than two associations.

Table 40: Number of association memberships, by parish (%)

Number of associations	Castro Laboreiro (n=14)	E.A.Rios (n=29)	Vilar da Veiga (n=33)	Total
1	84.6	85.0	84.8	84.8
2	15.4	15.0	15.2	15.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square= 0,001 d.f.= 2 p-value=1,000				

The fact that there is no significant difference in the of association memberships between the communities suggests that association membership per se is unlikely to be an explanatory indicator of attitudes towards the community. A discussion of contrasting attitudes by association members toward the role of the community in promoting local development is not possible. The perception that community ideals is like charity promotes a sense not being proactive about community building and development. *“You make our own way through individual effort”* is an indicative statement by respondents. The emphasis on individualism and self-reliance, rather than looking to the wider community and external sources, may contribute to explaining the lack of contrasting attitudes among association members.

6.3.6 REASONS FOR NOT BELONGING TO AN ASSOCIATION

When asked why people were not members, no interest or lack of time were the main reasons given (Table 41). Entre-Ambos-os-Rios appears to have more of a problem with self-confidence.

Table 41: Why people are not members, by parish (%)

	Place of residence: Parish			Total
	Castro Laboreiro	E.A.Rios	Vilar da Veiga	
	(n=88)	(n=78)	(n=99)	
No interest	29.3	27.7	29.8	29.0
No time available	10.9	8.5	15.3	12.0
Desire to contribute to community development	16.3	10.6	15.3	14.2
Have the capacity/ knowledge/ experience/competence	3.3	11.7	9.9	8.5
Lack of self-esteem or confidence	12.0	19.1	8.4	12.6
Promoting their own interest		6.4	11.5	6.6
Don't know	6.5	11.7	6.1	7.9
Lack of information	15.2	1.1	2.3	5.7
Age	3.3	3.2	1.5	2.5
Distance	3.3			0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square= 28,892	d.f.=22	p-value=0,148		

Promotion of self interest seems to be perceived more widely as a reason in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Vilar da Veiga. Lack of information is a particular problem in Castro de Laboreiro.

6.3.7 MEMBERSHIP AGE / GENDER BALANCE

There were no significant differences in membership by age. However, older people seem more divorced from the associations as they have less energy to participate and as they get older become more likely to believe that nothing will change. This means that in the future less people may be actively involved in community affairs, including community based associations.

However, there is a significant difference in attitudes towards associations by gender as women are significantly less likely to be members (Table 42). This data suggests that relatively few women join and engage with associations. Overall, 50 males and 26 females were or had been members of associations.

Empirical data suggest that women and younger people tend to be involved less, even though they seem to have more open ideas about collaboration. Consequently, suitable participation opportunities need to be provided to facilitate and increase the participation of younger people, and particularly women, in community associations and local development in general.

Table 42: Membership by gender (%)

Association member	Gender		Total
	male (n=148)	female (n=196)	
Yes	33,8	13,3	22,1
No	66,2	86,7	77,9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square= 20,626 d.f. =1 p-value= 0,000

As explained in Chapter 4, women do not play a key role in decision-making in these relatively traditional communities. Traditional stereotypes and roles come into play as data suggests that there has been little change in the actual participation of women in the communities (Table 42). Mostly due to migration, men left and women would stay behind. The women were supposed to cope with all the responsibilities which the men used to tackle together with the women, or which perhaps the men alone used to deal with. They were to work the land, take care of the family and whatever else needed to be done. But women were traditionally not supposed to take part in decision-making outside the home (Kim *et al*, 1994). The data reinforces this tendency as it indicates that the men who are present in the community participate more often in the associations than do the women.

Tourism is a particularly important sector for women in that it could lead to altering their traditional multiple roles in the community and the gender stereotypes associated with it. Tourism can complement the work at home with part time employment. Paid work drawing women away from the subsistence economy could create financial independence for local women and challenge them to develop necessary skills and improve their education which in turn increase self-esteem, develop a spirit of entrepreneurial economy and ensure that

women reflect an appropriate skills and gender mix to meet the needs of their communities. Even though women do not participate as much, there is no significant difference between men and women in terms of their feeling about being able to influence decisions (Table 43).

Table 43: Crosstabs between “Do you think there is the Opportunity to influence decisions by those making decisions” and “gender” (%) (Association Members)

		Gender		Total
		male	female	
Do you think there is the opportunity to influence decisions by those making decisions	Yes	80.6	78.8	79.6
	No	19.4	21.2	20.4
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

(Not significant)

6.3.8 MEMBERSHIP BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Webster (1990) suggested that the transition from the limited economic relationships of traditional societies to the innovative, complex economic associations of modernity depend on a change in the values, attitudes and norms of people. Education could provide the means to draw on knowledge resources to link the past and the present. As indicated in Table 44, respondents with post 12th grade education represent eleven association members. That would probably be expected as the older generations are less likely to have a high level of education. As such, there is no evidence to support Webster’s assertion.

Table 44: Association membership by educational level (%)

	Have you ever belonged to one or more associations ?	
	Yes (n=76)	No (n=268)
Cannot read	16.1	83.9
Primary school	19.9	80.1
Between 5 and 6 years	23.5	76.5
Between 7 and 9 years	25.0	75.0
Between 10 and 12 years	32.7	67.3
Some college	50.0	50.0
College Graduate	18.2	81.8
Post-graduate study	100.0	
Total	23.0	77.0

Chi Square=13,579 d.f.=7 p-value=0,059

Follow-up visits suggested that many young people feel they are beset with many problems not of their making, but they appear to be striving to improve the situation by giving back to their communities. As it is likely that these younger people are the more educated members of the community then, defining the characteristics of the volunteers, when they volunteer, why they volunteer and for which types of associations may have important implications for their participation in community development.

6.3.9 TYPOLOGY OF ASSOCIATIONS

To explore the extent to which local residents participate in associations, people were asked to identify the association(s) to which they belonged. The associations were then clustered into the following classification with the proportion of respondents belonging to each different type.

Table 45: Typology of associations (Frequency and %)

	Responses N°.	Percentage
Social welfare for the elderly	24	27.3
Cultural association	16	18.2
Sport or recreation	14	15.9
Community welfare	12	13.6
Professional	9	10.2
Religious or church related	7	8
Arts/educational/music or cultural activities	4	4.5
Political	2	2.3
Total	88	100.0

The associations that people were members of were mainly social welfare, cultural or sports associations (Table 45). This underlines the problems of small communities in maintaining a wide range of associations and providing activities to interest all residents. The fact that few residents participate actively in community life may be inhibiting the motivation of people to get involved and to do things for their own community. Such low expectations hinder the emergence of new energies for capacity building of key stakeholders in the voluntary sector. The figure 114.3% reflects membership of more than one association (Table 45).

Table 46: Typology of Associations, by parish (count)

	Place of residence: Parish			Total (n=74)
	Castro Laboreiro (n=14)	E.A.Rios (n=29)	Vilar da Veiga (n=31)	
	Social welfare for the elderly		16	
Sport or recreation	2	9	5	16
Cultural association	9		6	15
Community welfare	1		6	7
Professional			6	6
Religious or church related	1	2	1	4
Arts/educational/music or cultural activities	1	2	1	4
Political			1	1

6.3.10 PRIORITIES FOR ASSOCIATION ACTIONS

After residents had been asked to identify the association(s) to which they belonged they were asked to indicate the activities in which the associations should be involved for the benefit of the community. In terms of the activities that residents thought the associations should be involved with, the most frequent responses were protecting the interests of the entire parish, providing recreational activities for local residents in general and protecting the interests of the village where the association is located (Table 47).

Table 47: Association activities prioritised (Frequency) (n=65)

Number of responses	First association membership	Second association membership	Total
1. Protecting interests of the entire parish	42	5	47
2. Recreational activities for local residents in general	42	4	46
3. Protecting only the interests of the village where the association is located	39	4	43
4. Increase communication between local residents	39	3	42
5. Mobilising people only in the village where the association is located	37	4	41
6. Mobilising people at the parish level	37	4	41
7. Developing local partnerships	35	4	39
8. Strengthening local partnerships	33	4	37
9. Provide activity opportunities for young people	32	4	36
10. Seeking funding for local development initiatives	32	3	35
11. Provided cultural and traditional events and activities	31	1	32
12. Facilitate employment opportunities	23	7	30
13. Permit residents to be involved in decision about community development	27	1	28
14. Others	5	1	6

A number of respondents said that the associations should both protect the interests of the entire parish as well as the interests of specific villages (29 people answered yes to both these questions). This may suggest that some people think that furthering the interests of individual villages will also further the interests of the parish as a whole. Maybe these people do not see a contradiction between parochial thinking and the interests of the whole parish. Developing partnerships was seen as a relatively unimportant activity for the associations.

6.3.11 THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE ASSOCIATIONS

People were likely to agree that associations get little done (Table 48). There was evidence of a sense of frustration in Vilar da Veiga by lack of activity, even though it is the parish where there are more associations. Castro de Laboreiro seems to be the parish where most respondents agree that the local association get more done. Whereas both in Vilar da Veiga and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios there are professional associations dedicated to a certain sector, i.e. social care in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and tourism and hospitality in Vilar da Veiga, the only association in Castro de Laboreiro is a volunteer association dedicated to traditional cultural activities. Expectations may not be as high for volunteer-based associations (or the association may actually be very active).

Table 48: Associations get very little done, by parish (%)

	Place of residence: Parish (%)			
	Castro Laboreiro (n=104)	E.A.Rios (n=96)	Vilar da Veiga (n=131)	Total
Yes	44.8	56.3	60.4	55.0
No	17.7	32.8	19.5	21.6
Don't know	37.5	10.9	20.1	23.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-Square=20,636 d.f.=4 p-value= 0.000

Interestingly, those who were most likely to agree that associations get little done were more likely to be association members. Non-members were more likely to

answer “don’t know” to this question. So even association members are not convinced about the effectiveness of the organisations they belong to (Table 49).

Table 49: Crosstabs between “have you ever belonged to one or more associations” and “associations get very little done” (%)

Associations get little done	Have you ever belonged to one or more associations		Total
	Yes (n=73)	No (n=257)	
Yes	60.5	53.4	55.0
No	32.9	18.2	21.6
Don’t know	6.6	28.5	23.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-Square=18.362 d.f.=2 p-value=0,000

Younger respondents (<54) (Table 49) were significantly less positive about the effectiveness of associations than older respondents. Is this a generational difference? Perhaps younger people are more used to having associations and are therefore more critical, whereas older people are just grateful for anything that happens. But this question was not asked.

Table 50: Crosstabs between “age” and “associations get very little done” (%)

	Associations get very little done			Total
	(n=181)	(n=77)	(n=72)	
	Yes	No	Don’t know	
16 or less years	5.0	5.6		4.0
17 to 24 years	14.9	12.7	2.6	11.6
25 to 34 years	14.9	15.5	3.9	12.5
35 to 44 years	13.8	12.7	5.3	11.6
45 to 54 years	18.8	14.1	9.2	15.5
55 to 64 years	11.6	14.1	25.0	15.2
+ 65 years	21.0	25.4	53.9	29.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-Square=50.178 d.f.=12 p-value=0,000

Table 51 confirms that the association in Castro de Laboreiro is primarily dedicated to the provision of events and activities and Table 52 that it is not expected to create employment. Entre-Ambos-os-Rios has more associations so while some provide events and activities, other(s) are expected to facilitate

employment opportunities. In fact, no other parish stressed the employment factor as much as Entre-Ambos-os-Rios. In Vilar da Veiga, provision of events and activities did not receive such a high response, but did receive a considerable response for facilitating employment opportunities. In fact, respondents in Vilar da Veiga acknowledged “*the dynamic nature of the local hotel associations*” So, the associations in the two more business-oriented parishes are expected to facilitate employment opportunities and in Castro de Laboreiro, and to a lesser extent Entre-Ambos-os-Rios, people are keen that associations provide cultural and traditional events and activities suggesting that the mentality of preserving local knowledge and built heritage is strong.

Table 51: Provision of events and activities, by parish (%)

	Castro Laboreiro (n=105)	E.A.Rios (n=103)	Vilar da Veiga (n=136)	
Yes	83.5	95.2	92.2	90.3
No	16.5	4.8	7.8	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-Square=7.161 d.f.=2 p-value=0,028

The different attitudes toward the function of community associations basically relates to the type of association(s) present in each parish. Whereas in Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios associations are more dedicated to the organization of events and activities (Table 51) associations in Vilar da Veiga activities are not given as much importance. In Castro de Laboreiro associations are not expected to create employment, but it is expected to do so in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and to a lesser extent in Vilar da Veiga (Table 52).

Table 52: Facilitates employment opportunities, by parish (%)

	Castro Laboreiro (n=12)	E.A.Rios (n=19)	Vilar da Veiga (n=27)	Total
Yes	9.1	63.6	43.2	40.7
No	90.9	36.4	56.8	59.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-Square=7,052 d.f.=2 p-value=0,029

These figures can be explained by the type of association(s) in each parish. Vilar da Veiga is the only parish with professionally oriented associations (see Table

46), possibly reflecting the level of business development. It is apparently expected that professional associations such as those in Vilar de Veiga could influence and facilitate employment opportunities, equally in the case of Entre-Ambos-os-Rios, where the association most cited is related to social welfare for the elderly, which actually creates employment opportunities. On the other hand, in Castro de Laboreiro associations are perceived as being engaged in volunteer-driven cultural and traditional events.

Table 52 indicates how the role of associations in facilitating employment opportunities is perceived in significantly different ways by the three parishes. Residents of Entre-Ambos-os-Rios were far more likely to see this as an appropriate role for associations, whereas residents of Castro de Laboreiro were least likely to have this perception. The respondents in Vilar da Veiga were less likely to see associations as facilitating employment than residents of Entre-Ambos-os-Rios. This perception may have to do with the associations in Vilar da Veiga being of a more professional nature (function-based) and in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios being related to the caring for the elderly. In both of these communities, employment was created. Thus, the concern for employment creation is greatest in those parishes where the creation of jobs has taken place.

6.3.12 ORGANISATION OF CULTURAL AND TRADITIONAL EVENTS

For organizing more cultural and traditional events, Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Vilar da Veiga respondents felt that the associations should be involved, whereas Castro de Laboreiro residents were significantly less likely to agree with association involvement (Table 53).

Table 53: Crosstabs between “associations should organise more cultural and traditional events/activities” and “place of residence” (%)

	Place of residence: Parish %			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=105)	E.A.Rios (n=103)	Vilar da Veiga (n=136)	
Yes	83.5	95.2	92.2	90.3
No	16.5	4.8	7.8	9.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-Square=7.161 d.f.=2 p-value=0,028

Perhaps because Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Vilar da Veiga have more associations and residents may perceive that the (formal) associations could do more, whereas in Castro de Laboreiro there is only one association and expectations are not as high—here the emphasis is on informal association/networking.

6.3.13 HOW ASSOCIATIONS ARE RUN

According to the results in Table 54, the statements “all members have an equal opportunity and vote in the association” and “associations have open, egalitarian and democratic structures”, it seems that respondents perceived the local associations as an institution whose role, in a spirit of democracy, is to provide the opportunity to participate in community affairs.

Table 54: How associations are run – summary table of responses per statement (% agree or strongly agree, n=346)

	Castro de Laboreiro	E. A. Rios	Vilar da Veiga	Kruskal Wallis Test
1. Associations are run by people looking to promote their own interest	3,2	3,2	2,8	0,03
2. Associations can work best when only a few people take leading roles	3,2	3,4	3,0	ns
3. Community improvement should be the concern of only a few leaders	4,6	4,2	4,3	ns
4. Only those who have the most time assume the responsibility for the common or public good	2,9	3,4	3,2	ns
5. Only the so-called 'good men' of 'good families' - lead and run the associations	3,7	4,0	4,2	0,00
6. Those individuals who have lived in another country and returned have a very active role in running the associations	3,0	3,0	3,1	ns
7. Those individuals who have lived elsewhere in Portugal and returned have a active role in running the associations	2,8	2,8	2,9	ns
8. Associations have open, egalitarian and democratic structures	2,4	2,7	2,4	ns
9. Most members of the associations lack the necessary skills and experience to assume decision-making roles	3,0	3,5	3,0	0,06
10. All members have an equal opportunity and vote in the association	2,0	2,4	2,0	0,06
11. Educated individuals want nothing to do with the associations	3,8	3,5	3,8	ns
12. The so- called good men of good families want nothing to do with the association	3,7	3,8	3,6	ns
13. Those individuals who have lived in another country and returned want nothing to do with the association	3,7	3,6	3,5	ns
14. Those individuals who have lived elsewhere in Portugal and returned want nothing to do with the association	3,6	3,7	3,6	ns

To test for statistically significant differences, the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis test was used because the data were ordinal. In terms of running the associations, overall respondents feel that those individuals who have lived elsewhere in Portugal or abroad and returned do not have a very active role. It was in the parish with only one association, Castro de Laboreiro, that respondents felt returning migrants were more active. It is also the parish in which the association is volunteer-based. Vilar da Veiga respondents were significantly more likely to agree that associations are run for self interest. It is also the only parish with professional associations. But it is not because “*most members of the associations lack the necessary skills and experience to assume a decision-making role*”. Overall, respondents are of the opinion that members do have the skills, and that “*associations can work best when only a few people take leading roles*”. Respondents agree that educated individuals want to be active in the associations and that it is not only the so-called "good men" of "good families" that lead and run the associations but they are active in the associations. Yet, “*only those who have the most time assume the responsibility for the common or public good*” is the widely accepted perception in Castro de Laboreiro.

In the open questions, several respondents suggested that persons who are not active in agriculture and have more free time, should assume more responsibility in community affairs. But community improvement should not be the concern of only a few leaders (Table 54). So, in the case of Castro de Laboreiro, people who have the most time should work more towards the common good, but not make decisions on their own. Certain members of the community may be expected to work to improve the community, but may not necessarily have the legitimacy to speak or make decision on behalf of the community.

6.3.14 WHY SOME PEOPLE ARE MORE ACTIVE THAN OTHERS

There were no significant differences between the parishes in terms of reason why they felt that some people were more active than others (Table 55). The

main reasons stated were a desire to contribute to local development and the skills that these individuals possess.

**Table 55: Why are some people more active than others? (%)
(first response only)**

	Place of residence: Parish			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=97)	E.A.Rios (n=96)	Vilar da Veiga (n=134)	
To promote their own interests	6.6	3.1	6.3	5.8
Desire to contribute to local development	45.1	43.8	43.1	43.8
Have the capacity/knowledge/experience	28.6	21.9	17.8	21.6
Have more time available	4.4	9.4	13.2	10.0
No desire to contribute to local development	14.3	21.9	17.2	17.3
Other	1.1		2.3	1.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi square=11,927 d.f.=10 p-value=0,290

However a number of people also said that people who were active in the associations had no desire to contribute – particularly in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios (22%). It was already mentioned earlier that in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios the social fabric of the community is weak. If we consider that Green and Haines (2007) defined community as including three elements: (1) territory or place; (2) social organizations or institutions that provide regular interaction among residents, and (3) social interaction on matters concerning a common interest, in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios the third element appears to be weak.

So, a minority of respondents are actually involved in associations. If these few members are those who can actually influence decisions, then it holds true that decisions are left to a small group and this perpetuates the idea that decisions are taken by the so-called good men of good families (Table 54).

6.3.15 RESULTS OF PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE OF ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP

Of the 102 persons who lived outside the parish, almost 45% (number=46) have lived in another part of Portugal and 55% in another country (number = 56). Some respondents had both lived abroad and lived elsewhere in Portugal.

Respondents who had spent time living in other parts of Portugal or abroad were also asked if they had participated in associations there. Only 7% (number = 4) of those living abroad had joined an association and 13% (number = 6) of those living elsewhere in Portugal. Upon returning to their parish of origin, those who were association members abroad tend to also join associations in their parish. There is a difference in that while abroad they volunteered part of their time, at home they opt for a passive role.

Follow-up meetings permitted conversations with people who had lived outside the parish who claimed to want to “belong” to the local association, but they were of the opinion that initiatives should be the work of younger people. *“The younger people need to prepare for their future; they should be the active ones”*. Several interview respondents commented that in general people were much more likely to be nominal than active members. Furthermore, respondents commented that an increasing number of people participate in recreational, sports, or cultural activities in their leisure time, but do not necessarily organise them. The older people seem to think that they already contributed with their share to the community and now that they are older expect others to carry on that role.

The respondents were asked if they had taken courses or received technical training while abroad and if they were active as members of local associations to determine whether they initiate constructive changes in the community as a result of the knowledge received abroad. Generally, residents who had lived outside the parish and returned were not very active in community affairs. The work experience gained abroad was not applied toward local development. Most returnees are either retired and do not want to get involved or they are young and

bring no contribution. They are more likely to demand certain recreational infrastructures in the community.

Table 56: Reason not to join association when living elsewhere (frequency and %)

	Frequency	%
No time	16	44.0
Not interested	18	50.0
Noone asked me	2	6.0
Total	36	100.0

Those who had never been association members while living outside the parish were asked why not. The main reasons given were lack of interest and lack of time (Table 56). The lack of associations was mentioned particularly frequently in Castro de Laboreiro, but in general there was not much difference between the parishes. A significant number of respondents mentioned the fact that they were not asked – which suggests a fairly passive approach on the part of many respondents.

6.3.16 LOCATION OF ASSOCIATION RESPONDENTS MOST LIKELY TO JOIN

In response to the statement ‘*I would never join an association in this parish that is not located in this village*’ those who had lived elsewhere in Portugal were presumably more likely to join a parish-wide association, even if not located in their own village (Table 57). However, the result of the Kruskal Wallis test proved not significant. So, having lived somewhere else in Portugal does not necessarily make people more broad-minded and more confident in their ability to work together at the parish level.

Table 57: Location of association most likely to join (parish level)

I would never join an association in this parish that is not located in this village			
Lived elsewhere in Portugal?	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Yes	3,43	48	1,591
No	3,09	50	1,433
Total	3,25	98	1,514

(not significant)

6.3.17 LIKELIHOOD OF JOINING ASSOCIATION LOCATED IN ANOTHER VILLAGE

People between the ages of 17 and 44 are more likely to be interested in joining associations located in other villages (Table 58), which suggests they have higher levels of bridging capital. As people get older they are less inclined to join associations outside the village where they live. This indicates that bridging capital may be a generational issue. So it is possible that levels of bridging capital may increase or decrease in future.

Table 58: Join associations in a different village, by age (%)

Age	I would never join an association in this parish that is not located in this village (n=343)					Total
	strongly agree	agree	not decided	disagree	strongly disagree	
24 or less years	24.5	1.9	9.4	24.5	39.6	100
25 to 44 years	11.9	11.9	11.9	20.2	44.0	100
45 to 64 years	18.4	20.4	4.9	34.0	22.3	100
+ 65 years	35.0	15.5	10.7	26.2	12.6	100
Total	22.7	14.0	9.0	26.8	27.4	100.0

Chi square=48,075 d.f.=12 p-value= 0,000

6.3.18 RELATIONSHIP OF ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP AND LOCATION OF ASSOCIATION

The research shows that a majority of respondents who are or have been members of associations are more open to joining parish-wide associations located in other villages than their own (Table 59). Weighting made no difference to the results on this table. Nearly 53% disagree/strongly disagree that they would never join an association in the parish that is not located in his/her village. This suggests that people who have been active in social networks and social relations can strengthen communities by enhancing people's confidence and their ability to work together.

Table 59: Association members and location of association (%)

I would never join an association in this parish that is not located in this village	Have you ever belonged to one or more associations?		
	Yes	No	Total
strongly agree	16.7	24.6	22.8
agree	5.1	16.3	13.7
not decided	2.6	11.4	9,4
disagree	29.5	25.8	26,6
strongly disagree	46.2	22.0	27,5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square=25,237 d.f.= 4 p-value= 0,000

6.3.19 RELATIONSHIP OF ASSOCIATION MEMBERSHIP WITH LEVEL OF ATTACHMENT TO “THEIR” VILLAGE

This may indicate that associations can play a role in developing bridging capital and allow people to work together for the good of the whole community. However, it also needs to be considered whether the people who are likely to join associations are those who already have less strong feelings of attachment to the village they live in (Table 60).

Table 60: Association members and attachment to village (%)

I am more attached to my village than to my parish	Have you ever belonged to one or more associations?		
	Yes	No	Total
strongly agree	51.9	63.8	61.0
agree	7.6	10.2	9.6
not decided	1.3	6.8	5.5
disagree	16.5	6.4	8.7
strongly disagree	22.8	12.8	15.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square=16,223 d.f.= 4 p-value= 0,003

6.3.20 ATTITUDES TOWARDS INVOLVEMENT IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Tables 61 and 62 demonstrate that attitudes to tourism development vary both in terms of involvement – older people are less likely to feel it is important for them to be personally involved or that local people (i.e. the community) should be involved in decisions about tourism development. Younger respondents (under 44 years old) feel it is important both to be personally involved in decision making and for the communities voice to be heard. However, older respondents are less convinced of the importance of either personal or community involvement in decisions regarding tourism development.

Table 61: Crosstabs between “how important is it for you to be involved in decisions about tourism development” and “age” (%)

How important is it for you to be involved in decisions about tourism development (n=338)						
Age	Very important	Somewhat important	Not all important	Not important	No opinion	Total
24 or less years	17.6	45.1	3.9	23.5	9.8	100.0
25 to 44 years	38.1	36.9	4.8	13.1	7.1	100.0
45 to 64 years	32.0	33.0	4.9	16.5	13.6	100.0
+ 65 years	12.0	27.0	5.0	24.0	32.0	100.0
Total	25.4	34.0	4.7	18.9	16.9	100.0

Chi square= 43,191 d.f.= 12 p-value= 0,000

Table 62: Crosstabs between “Important for local people to be involved in decisions about tourism development” and “age” (%)

Important for local people to be involved in decisions about tourism development (n=334)				
Age	Yes	No	No opinion	Total
24 or less years	83.0	7.5	9.4	100.0
25 to 44 years	81.9	8.4	9.6	100.0
45 to 64 years	80.8	8.1	11.1	100.0
+ 65 years	62.6	6.1	31.3	100.0
Total	76.0	7.5	16.5	

Chi square= 22.689 d.f.=6 p-value=0,001

Evidence suggests that younger people appear more open to working collectively and contributing to decisions on tourism development. This evidence is reinforced in Table 63 that proposes that the associations should be “mobilizing people at the

parish level” and Table 64 that associations should “provide activity opportunities for young people”. The younger generations are of the opinion that activities for young people and facilities for recreational activities need to be addressed and associations should have a role in it.

Table 63: Crosstabs between “Activity Assoc.1: Mobilising people at the parish level” and “age” (%)

Activity Assoc.1: 'Mobilising people at the parish level' (n=63)			
Age	Yes	No	Total
24 or less years	90.9	9.10	100.0
25 to 44 years	81.8	18.2	100.0
45 to 64 years	50,0	50,0	100.0
+ 65 years	31.3	68.8	100.0
Total	63.5	36.5	100.0

Chi square=15.030 d.f.= 3 p-value=0,002

Prospects for the socio-economic revival of remote rural communities depends largely on locally created and implemented initiatives and interventions directed to young men and women and to the community as a whole (Tables 61-64).

Table 64: Crosstabs between “Activity Assoc.1: Provide activity opportunities for young people” and “age” (%)

Activity Assoc.1: 'Provide activity opportunities for young people' (n=63)			
Age	Yes	No	Total
24 or less years	90.9	9.1	100.0
25 to 44 years	54.5	45.5	100.0
45 to 64 years	64,3	35,7	100.0
+ 65 years	18.8	81.3	100.0
Total	54.0	46.0	100.0

Chi square=14.634 d.f.= 3 p-value=0,002

Table 65: Association membership by occupation category (%)

Which of the following categories best describes your current occupation	Have you ever belonged to one or more associations? (n=337)		
	Yes	No	Total
Self-employed	28.2	20.5	22.3
Employed	25.6	21.6	22.6
Unemployed	2.6	5.8	5.0
Student	10.3	8.5	8.9
Retired	30.8	38.2	36.5
Housewife	2.6	5.4	4.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square= 5,423 d.f.=5		p-value=0,366	

Tables 65 and 66 show the association membership by occupation category. Table 65 suggests that respondents who are economically active are more likely to belong to one or more associations. Housewives, retired people and the unemployed are less likely to participate. Table 66 indicates that the type of employment contract makes no significant difference to association participation.

Table 66: Association membership by type of employment (%)

		Have you ever belonged to one or more associations? (%) (n=123)		
		Yes	No	Total
Type of employment	employed full-time	94.3	87.5	89.4
	employed part-time	5.7	12.5	10.6
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square=1,220 d.f.=1		p-value=0,269		

SECTION FOUR

6.4 RESULTS OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: RELATIONSHIP OF THE COMMUNITIES TO THE NATIONAL PARK

It was suggested above (Chapter 4) that while constructive commitment for local development from the national structure of protected areas has not been seen, the

National Park remains the only organization which seeks to link the communities horizontally, even if with great difficulty. Thus, within a context of supportive regional strategies for community development, the Park authorities could provide enduring organization, information exchange and effective community mobilization in the villages. This section analyses the role of the National Park in community development as perceived by community members and if community-based associations have influence on the actions of the National Park Authorities.

6.4.1 CONTRIBUTION OF THE NATIONAL PARK TO COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The respondents were asked about their attitudes to a wide range of community-related statements relating to possible actions by the National Park (Table 67).

Table 67: Contribution of National Park to community development (% agree)

	% agree
Providing information and interpretation for tourists	96
Creating or providing tourist accommodation units	84
Maintaining the landscape	78
Improving access to villages by road	64
Promoting the area as a tourist destination	56
Promoting environmental education for local people and visitors	54
Creating and/or improving tourist attractions	53
Preserving built heritage	51
Creating recreational activities for tourists and residents	49
Contributing to local employment	46
Preserving traditional economic activities	43
Valuing traditional local knowledge	39
Preserving traditional cultural activities	38
Organizing local events	37
Providing suitable training for potential entrepreneurs	33
Creating or assisting shops selling local products	30
Mean level of agreement with statements	53

The few statements related to community development for which the National Park Authorities received positive reactions (over 50% agreeing) are, in fact,

activities that were implemented by other organizations, for example EU LEADER Local Action Groups (LAG's), but for which the National Park seems to be receiving credit. These statements include "creating or providing tourist accommodation units" (53.5%), "providing information and interpretation for tourists" (61,2%). Although about half the respondents agreed that the National Park is "maintaining the landscape", data from interviews indicated that many villagers feel that the landscape has been maintained by local people for centuries, whereas the National Park has done relatively little in the recent past.

In order to measure patterns in the attitudes towards the work of the National Park more clearly, the 17 items relating to this issue were combined into a single scale, which had a very high degree of reliability (17 elements, Cronbach's Alpha 0,915). The scale was computed by adding the scores for each item to produce a composite measure of the success of the National Park, with values ranging from 16 (all items scored 1 – strongly disagree to 4 – strongly agree). This scale was then re-calculated as a percentage score, so that 100% indicates a respondent who strongly agreed that the National Park had contributed to community development on each of the items in the scale (as listed in Table 67).

An analysis was conducted to examine the relationship between the respondent attitudes to "success of the National Park" and a number of independent variables. Because the 'success scale' could only include those who responded to all items and excluded any non-responses, the total sample for the scale was only 74 respondents. Nevertheless there were significant differences in attitudes to the success of the National Park by age, education and whether or not the respondent had tourism income (Tables 68-70).

6.4.2 PERCEIVED SUCCESS OF NATIONAL PARK

As shown in Table 68, the success of the National Park is supported mainly by the younger age groups. As age increases so does the dissatisfaction with the National Park. The older generations see the National Park as bringing no benefit to them.

Table 68: Success of National Park by age (%)

Age	% score on National Park		
	Success Scale	N	Std. Deviation
17 to 24 years	57.5	6	9.7
25 to 34 years	77.4	13	9.4
35 to 44 years	76.0	6	1.,0
45 to 54 years	66.9	10	11.9
55 to 64 years	65.8	12	7.5
+ 65 years	66.6	26	10.5
Total	70.0	73	11.2

Kruskal Wallis Test =17,579 d.f.=1 p-value =0,001

The increased level of education by the younger generations may explain why they view the National Park more favourably. Table 69 confirms that the higher the level of education, the higher the perception of the success of the National Park.

Table 69: Success of National Park by educational level (% and Mean)

What is the highest level of education you have already completed	% score on National Park Success Scale	N	Std. Deviation
Cannot read	66.6	23	8.9
Primary school	65.7	28	9.1
Between 5 and 6 years	79.8	2	1.6
Between 7 and 9 years	77.0	7	13.5
Between 10 and 12 years	79.6	12	12.2
College Graduate	77.4	2	3.3
Total	70.0	74	11.2

In terms of educational attainment, less educated respondents tend to be less positive. As the level of education increases so does the tendency to be more positive about the success of the National Park (Table 69).

Not surprisingly, one of the most important factors influencing attitudes towards the National Park was having family members employed by it (Table 70). However, with only four households with members of family working for the National Park actually evaluating the success of the National Park invalidates any test of significance.

Table 70: Members of immediate family working for National Park (%)

Do any members of your immediate family work for the National Park	% score on National Park Success Scale	N
Yes	47.3	4
No	54.2	70
Total	53.3	74

Kruskal Wallis Test = 7,485 d.f.=1 p-value = 0,006

The concentration of National Park workers is greatest in Vilar da Veiga (Table 71). This may influence the more positive attitude of the respondents in the parish toward the National Park (Table 73) However, even those in Vilar da Veiga who did not have relatives working for the National Park were more positive than the average. This may be a reflection of a generalised impact of employment on attitudes. In Vilar da Veiga, the National Park office is close by and contact with staff is practically daily, whereas in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Castro de Laboreiro the offices are at a distance of approximately 20 km consequently there is minimal contact with National Park staff.

Table 71: Members of immediate family working for the National Park (%)

	Place of residence: Parish (% of respondents)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=103)	E.A.Rios (n=104)	Vilar da Veiga (n=137)	
Yes	2.1	7.2	18.6	11.7
No	97.9	92.8	81.4	88.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-Square=18.185 d.f.= 2 p-value= 0,000

Percentage of income from tourism has no impact on attitude toward the National Park (Table 72). The differences in the scores are not significant, so there is no relationship with income derived from tourism.

**Table 72: Success of National Park by tourism income
(Frequency and %)**

Percentage of household income dependent on tourism	% score on National Park Success Scale	N
less than half	67.3	9
approx. half	66.5	15
more than half	62.7	17
all	65.2	15
Total	65.3	56
Kruskal Wallis Test = 5,170 d.f.=3 p-value = 0,160		

6.4.3 TOURISM RELATED ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONAL PARK

When asked about specific tourism related activities of the National Park the majority of respondents (nearly 60%) either did not know what had been done, or else said that nothing had been done (Table 73).

**Table 73: Specific tourism related activities of the National Park
(Frequency and %)**

	Frequency	Valid Percentage
Nothing	88	33,0
Don't know	69	25,8
Provide more accommodation units	42	15,7
Offer more activities/attractions	22	8,2
Infrastructure	17	6,4
Communication (promotion and information)	13	4,9
Landscape and natural environment protection	8	3,0
Marketing local products	6	2,2
Brings optimism to community	2	0,7
Total	267	100,0

When asked about the role the National Park has had in the general development of communities, and whether it has been a constructive factor for developing tourism locally, respondents felt that the National Park authorities are not very active (do nothing—33%) with a further 26% who “don’t know” (Table 73). In other words, the Park could do much more for improving the well-being of local people.

These results do not differ from the three separate resident surveys conducted by the National Park along the years—1973, 1991 and 2000. In all three surveys, the

objectives were, essentially, to determine the socio-economic and demographic situation of the inhabitants of the Park and the knowledge residents had of the Park— its organisational structure, projects and activities. Results from the surveys suggest conflicting situations due to poor communication and a general lack of information. One recommendation was that the negative attitude could be overcome if mechanisms and gatherings could be organised for residents to express their doubts and concerns (PNPG, 1991). The Park authorities were quite aware, back in 1971 that any integrated development project needs to be known and accepted by the local people (ibid, p. 3). Still, an almost total lack of information could lead to situations of passivity, which will only contribute to demotivation of people to the objectives of the Park. The two subsequent surveys pointed to the same results. Respondents made it a point of constantly reminding the interviewer that contact with administrators, managers and technical staff continues to be practically non-existent.

According to the results of past surveys, National Park policy suggests that consulting the local residents would be a waste of time. In other words, the Park Administration knows what is best for the residents and for the economic development and landscape conservation of the region. Considering the many conflicts existent along the years between the residents and the Park, it would seem rational to change the approach.

6.4.4 A BEST PRACTICE EXAMPLE OF NATIONAL PARK ACTIVITY

Results of this survey also acknowledge the lack of communication between National Park authorities and local residents. When asked to specify a best practice example of National Park activities, 57% of respondents were unable to think of anything (Table 74). Of those respondents who did respond the majority referred to landscape maintenance and environmental protection (29%).

Table 74: Can you name a best practice example of a National Park activity (Frequency and %)

	Frequency	Valid Percentage
Don't know	193	57.1
Landscape and natural environment protection	99	29.3
Improved community services/facilities	18	5.3
Prohibited access to certain areas	14	4.1
Nothing	13	3.8
Provided financial assistance	1	0.3
Total	338	100.0

Table 75: Method of influence by National Park for tourism development (Frequency and %)

Method	Number	%
Landscape and natural environment protection	99	29,3
Provided financial assistance	1	0,3
Prohibited access to certain areas	14	4,1
Improved community services/facilities	18	5,3
Don't know	193	57,1
Nothing	13	3,8
Total	338	100.0

Table 75 indicates that, 57% did not know how the National Park authorities tried to influence decisions on tourism development. Those with family members working for the national park were no more likely to know about what the National Park Administration was trying to achieve than other respondents.

Table 76: Crosstabs between “what is the National Park trying to achieve” and “members of immediate family working for the National Park” (%)

What is National Park trying to achieve?	Members of immediate family working for National Park		
	Yes	No	Total
Don't know	64.9	79.9	78.3
Natural and cultural heritage conservation	21.6	11.4	12.5
Increase tourism/economic growth	5.4	4.0	4.2
Nothing		2.3	2.1
Control local development	2.7	1.0	1.2
Better communication (information, promotion)	5.4	1.0	1.5
Create jobs		0.3	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi square=9,952 d.f.=6 p-value=0,127

When a cross-tabulation was run between “what is the National Park trying to achieve” and “members of immediate family working for the National Park”, it emerges that 78% did not know what the National Park was trying to achieve (Table 76), four out of five respondents did not know if it had been successful, and an average of 90% did not know why it had been or why it had not been successful. This indicates a serious lack of communication on the part of the National Park. The general sentiment is that people “don’t know” because National Park authorities do not interact much with local people. Only 11% of respondents (n=37 respondents) indicated that they had been invited by the National Park to comment on their work (Table 77).

6.4.5 VIEWS OF THOSE WHO HAD BEEN INVITED TO COMMENT BY THE NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

Table 77: Invited to comment by National Park? (Frequency and %)

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
Yes	37	10,7	10,8
No	306	88,4	89,2
Total	343	99,1	100,0
Chi-square=10,962		d.f.=1	p-value= 0,001

This figure coincides with the number of respondents who have members of immediate family working for the National Park (Table 71). Not surprisingly, results in Table 76 indicate that respondents of members of immediate family working for the National Park have higher awareness of the activities of the National Park and were much more positive about what the National Park was trying to achieve.

6.4.6 RELATIONSHIP OF ASSOCIATIONS TO THE NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITIES

Ninety two percent of respondents insisted that local associations should try to influence actions by the National Park. When asked to be more specific about what they should try and influence, nearly 60% indicated “don’t know” (Table

78). This is perhaps not surprising given the general lack of knowledge of National Park activities.

Table 78: What should associations influence (Frequency and %)

	Frequency	Percentage
Don't know	198	59.3
Overall community livability (quality of life)	49	14.7
Natural and cultural heritage preservation	39	11.7
Offer more activities, attractions (increase tourism)	17	5.1
Infrastructure	15	4.5
Increased recreational opportunities	7	2.1
Employment opportunities	5	1.5
Communication (information, promotion)	2	0.6
Fewer restrictions	2	0.6
Total	334	100.0

So people do not know what the National Park is trying to achieve, they don't know if it is being successful. In this apparent vacuum of knowledge, some local people seem to feel that the associations should step in. When asked if local associations should try and influence the future activities of the National Park, over 92% of all respondents (n=281) agreed. However, they have no idea how or in what direction. Those who do indicate a direction tend to say – leave it to the community. In other words, leave it to the people who it is perceived have little idea what is going on. Is it a question of local accountability? But how can local accountability actually work when people are not in a position to judge?

Other respondents point to the fact that local residents are never contacted for their opinion on what is needed in the community, nor are residents asked to get involved in local development or asked to provide information on local habits or local knowledge. There is no dialogue and cooperation is nonexistent, which often results in conflicts between residents and Park authorities. Nearly ninety percent of respondents have not been invited by Park authorities to comment on their work. Interviews indicated that those who have participated were often Park employees or family members and that most of these consultations had taken place “a long time ago”.

SECTION FIVE

6.5 ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOURISM

Residents of an area may hold a variety of opinions about the development of tourism. The literature review suggested (Saxena, 2006; Prentice, 2007) that to understand resident awareness of the costs and benefits of tourism development, it becomes necessary to look at specific concerns about tourism and the possible advantages and disadvantages of the economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism and their relationship to tourism development (Andriotis and Vaughan, 2003; Jones, 2005; Dredge, 2006; Tosun, 2006). As a community pursues tourism as a development strategy, the goals of that effort generally include an improved economy, more jobs for local people, community stability, and ultimately, a protected or improved quality of life for community residents.

The literature review further acknowledged that when evaluating the effects of tourism development, it is necessary to gain an understanding of residents' perceptions of the quality of life in their community and their perception of the impact tourism has on that quality of life (Liu, 2003). Perceptions of quality of life and well-being and tourism's influence on it are valuable items of information when examining support for tourism development in any community. Factors such as employment and crime levels, infrastructure (e.g. education, recreation), public services and facilities available, as well as proper use of natural resources and historical assets, and other quality of life issues can contribute significantly to the quality of life for community residents (Perdue *et al*, 1990; Marsden *et al*, 2002).

This section will analyse the attitudes of residents toward tourism development, tourism's role in the community and community participation in tourism planning and development. While it is useful to obtain community-wide averages regarding perceptions of advantages and disadvantages and overall costs and benefits of tourism development, the literature reviewed suggested that it is also beneficial to know how different segments of the community perceive such development and how it contributes to their well-being (Davenport *et al*, 2003). Respondents were

asked to name important aspects of well-being that contribute towards their current level of quality of life. They were then asked how they believed increased tourism would influence these aspects. It is suggested that increased tourism may change residents' perceptions of these current quality of life conditions. Such perceptions often define residents' attitudes toward this type of community development (Stem *et al*, 2003; Clever, 2005; Saxena, 2006).

6.5.1 PERCEPTIONS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Respondents indicated overwhelmingly positive attitudes toward tourism as a way of developing their community. Over 90% of respondents were in favour of tourism development in their parish, with higher support in Vilar da Veiga (Table 79).

Table 79: Support tourism development (%)

	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=104)	E.A.Rios (n=104)	Vilar da Veiga (n=136)	
Yes	89.6	87.0	94.9	91.8
No	1.0	7.2	1.1	2.3
No opinion	9.4	5.8	4.0	5.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square=12.353 d.f.=4 p-value=0,015

6.5.2 SUPPORT TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

While some questions addressed general support for tourism (Table 79), others addressed more specific aspects of tourism (Tables 80 and 81). When asked about their reasons for supporting tourism development (Table 80) the majority cited economic benefits.

Table 80: Reasons to support tourism development (first response only) (%)

Reason 1 for being in favour	Place of residence: Parish			Total
	Castro de Laboreiro (n=91)	E. A. Rios (n=92)	Vilar da Veiga (n=132)	
Employment opportunities / economic growth	51.1	31.1	62.7	53.4
Need to utilize local resources	6.5	9.8	9.5	8.7
Overall community livability	8.7	11.5	13.0	11.5
More visitors, more people	23.9	27.9	10.7	17.7
As long as the benefits outweigh the negative impacts	6.5	16.4	1.8	5.9
Other	3.3	3.2	2.4	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square = 39,502 d.f. = 12 p-value = 0,000

Overall, the main reason given was “employment opportunities/economic growth”, with overwhelming percentage in Castro de Laboreiro and Vilar da Veiga and with a lower percentage comparable to concern with increasing numbers of visitors in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios. This interest in increasing the number of visitors / people may reflect the combined problem of aging population and the increasing number of residents who choose to leave the community. Increasing visitor numbers may be seen as a means of bringing life back into the community. This tendency is more evident in Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and less evident in Vilar da Veiga. These problems make life more difficult, especially for older people. Young people tend to move out to area where services are accessible. Increasing visitor numbers may be seen as a means of bringing life back into the community.

Data in Table 80 suggests that there is a relationship between tourism development and residents’ perceptions of community well-being. Local people in general are far from being satisfied with local tourism development. Presumably, hopes were high that large numbers of tourists would come and spend generously. A grouping of the freely elicited answers (Table 80) confirms employment opportunities/economic growth as the overall main reason to support tourism development.

Secondly, respondents expressed concern with / about the need for social interaction, thus, “more visitors, more people”. This concern was most evident in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and to a lesser extent in Castro de Laboreiro and of little concern in Vilar da Veiga (perhaps because it already receives many tourists). The same tendency is evident in the concern that the benefits outweigh the negative impacts, with Entre-Ambos-os-Rios the more concerned, Castro de Laboreiro concerned to a lesser extent and Vilar da Veiga with little concern. These results confirm the actual level of tourism development in each parish—Entre-Ambos-os-Rios with little tourism, Castro de Laboreiro with some tourism and Vilar da Veiga with much tourism. The increasing level of tourism development in each community coincides with the decreasing level of concern with the benefits and negative impacts of tourism in the community. This confirms the usefulness of social exchange theory principles in explaining the host community’s attitudes toward tourism—that residents’ attitudes towards tourism depend on the expected costs and benefits of tourism.

Respondents seemed generally more favourably disposed towards tourism in Castro de Laboreiro and Vilar da Veiga than they were in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios. This it is suggested is explained by the higher levels of tourism dependency in the first two parishes. Responses to the statement “more visitors, more people” were more positive in those parishes which had experienced the greatest degrees of depopulation (Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios). Very few respondents supported this statement in Vilar da Veiga which has not been as affected by depopulation (as explained in the previous chapter). It seems that the parishes which have been most heavily affected by depopulation are more likely to see tourism in a positive light as brings people to the area, allowing businesses to function and adding more ‘atmosphere’ to the community.

Given the high level of support for tourism development in all three parishes (Table 79), it is not surprising that there were no statistically significant differences within the total sample of respondents in terms of level of education or age due to the perceived potential for employment opportunities and economic growth. According to social exchange theory, residents seek tourism development

for their community in order to satisfy their need or improving the community's well-being (see for example Ap, 1992).

6.5.3 RELATIONSHIP OF INCOME DEPENDENCE TO LEVEL OF SUPPORT FOR TOURISM

Attitudes to tourism development were also affected by the extent to which the resident's individual or household income was dependent on tourism. It is suggested (Sharpley and Telfer, 2002; Liu, 2003) that residents dependent on tourism for their livelihood will be more likely to participate and support tourism development. This study confirms this (Table 81). Respondents who are financially dependent on the tourism industry were far more favourably disposed to tourism than those who are not dependent. Such opinions could very well reflect the expectations of standards of living created as a result of tourism development.

Table 81: Relationship of income dependence to level of support for tourism (%)

		Does your income depend on tourism		
		Yes (n=91)	No (n=222)	Total
Are you in favour of tourism being developed in this parish?	Yes	100	88.0	91.7
	No		3.4	2.4
	No opinion		8.5	6.0
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square=13.315 d.f.= 2 p-value= 0,001

In addition to tourism's perceived influence on standards of living, another method adopted to measure the degree of support for tourism development was to ask respondents questions specifically about the tourism industry and about their interactions with tourists. According to respondents, social and cultural interaction with visitors prompts a more open relationship by residents". This assertion confirms that social contact fulfils a social need of local people who live in isolated rural areas (Ross and Wall, 1999) and suggests another way of looking at the question of benefits.

As this last point suggests, the presence of tourists may bring yet another category of benefits to communities. Tourists may have a key role within the social structure of fragile remote areas by the social interaction that takes place with local residents. This role emerges from the decline of remote communities due to the exodus of youth and the depletion of local services and activities. Consequently, tourism may lead to new infrastructure, services and activities that could possibly satisfy the social needs for interaction in the community—between local people and with tourists.

6.5.4 PERCEIVED POSITIVE ADVANTAGES OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Table 82: Positive advantages of tourism development (first response only) (%)

		Place of residence: Parish			Total
		Castro de Laboreiro (n=90)	E. A. Rios (n=60)	Vilar da Veiga (n=107)	
Most important positive impacts from tourism development in this Parish	Increase in cultural / recreational activities	2.2	1.8	12.7	7.5
	Increased business/investment	59.6	32.1	38.7	43.7
	Increase in promotion and information to tourists	1.1	10.7	4.0	4.4
	Better quality of life	2.2	1.8	3.3	2.7
	Shopping opportunities are better	3.4	3.6		1.7
	Employment opportunities	12.4	5.4	20.7	15.3
	Interaction with tourists	10.1	14.3	8.7	10.2
	None	4.5	19.6	8.7	9.5
	Heritage preservation	3.4	3.6	2.0	2.7
	Don't know	1.1	7.1	1.3	2.4
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square=55.712 d.f.= 18 p-value=0,000

According to Table 82, the most frequently given advantage, cited by nearly forty four percent of respondents, was increased business/investment followed by employment opportunities (15.3%). When we combine these two figures, the result is nearly 60% of respondents claiming that economic growth and employment opportunities are by far the biggest advantage of tourism development. Aspects of economic growth and employment opportunities are

seen as the most positive in all three parishes, but much more in Castro de Laboreiro than in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Vilar da Veiga. The tourism investment in Castro de Laboreiro in the last few years appears to have confirmed the residents perception and met their expectations of the impacts that tourism would have on their community. Entre-Ambos-os-Rios has not had any tourism investment and Vilar da Veiga has had little investment. Thus it is generally accepted that respondents in the three parishes agree with other studies that demonstrate that tourism is widely perceived as being an economic development tool (see for example Keogh, 1990).

Respondents also expect tourism development to have a positive impact of creating more cultural/recreational activities (7.5%), stimulating the use of local cultural resources and contributing to their preservation, increasing both the overall standard of living and the number of people in the community (Table 82). The level of this impact is much greater in Vilar da Veiga, as respondents are possibly looking for ways to provide entertainment for tourists.

It was suggested in the literature review and reiterated in the previous chapter that the weakening of traditionalism leads to a decrease in community cohesion and that modernisation is fragmentation in practice (Phillips, 1993). So when 7.5% of respondents (Table 85) suggest an increase in cultural recreational activities as a main positive advantage of tourism development, such activities could strengthen the fabric of social interactions within the community and instill confidence (Kronenbourg, 1986). In turn, it could lead to a change in attitudes of individuals (Rubin and Rubin, 1992), rebuild communities holistically (Lewis, 1986), increase participation in voluntary associations (Rotolo, 1999) that is argued to lead to social capital building (Putnam, 1993) thus facilitating economic growth (Flora *et al*, 1997). In the following chapter the density of associations is compared to the level of tourism development in each parish.

The evidence demonstrates that respondents felt tourism has a positive influence but that more effort is needed to improve local standard of life conditions. In particular, less than 3% of respondents felt that increased tourism will result in increased standards of living / better quality of life in their community (Table 82).

Ten percent of respondents said that interacting with tourists would be a good thing (Table 82). This figure may be low (or represent little influence) but it does suggest that in less tourism developed communities such as Entre-Ambos-os-Rios (14%) higher emphasis is placed on visitors interaction than in Castro de Laboreiro (10.1%) and Vilar da Veiga (8.7%). The literature review pointed out that if residents willingly welcome tourists into their community, it will foster better tourist-resident relationships (Helmore and Singh, 2001).

Residents will continue being positive in their attitudes to their guests and delay possible reservations concerning the long-term benefits of the visitors, in accordance with Doxey's Index of Tourist Irritation and Butler's Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution.

6.5.5 PERCEPTIONS OF HOW TOURISM HAS DEVELOPED

Although respondents overwhelmingly supported tourism, a majority of respondents across the sample were generally dissatisfied/very dissatisfied with how tourism has developed in their community. Results show that overall tourism development has not lived up to the expectations of the communities involved. Overall, the reasons most often given were "inadequate tourism recreational development" followed by the need to "increase the number of tourists and market segments (Table 83). In Castro de Laboreiro the need to increase the number of tourists is more evident than it is in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Vilar da Veiga. Perhaps the investments that were made in the last few years in restaurant and accommodation units are not attracting as many visitors as originally expected. That does not seem to be the case in the other two parishes. In Entre-Ambos-os-Rios inadequate tourism and recreational development is the major perception of respondents and even more so in Vilar da Veiga. Respondents feel that the benefits of tourism to the community will not improve unless more development takes place.

Table 83: Perception of how tourism has developed (first response only) (%)

	Place of residence (Parish) % of respondents			Total
	Castro Laboreiro (n=97)	E.A.Rios (n=84)	Vilar da Veiga (n=125)	
Inadequate tourism and recreational development	50.0	55.4	61.3	56.9
Lack of local contribution to community function/development	7.8	7.1	7.5	7.5
Lack of promotion	1.1		6.3	3.6
Need to increase number of tourists and market segments	27.8	14.3	16.9	19.6
Need to improve visitor satisfaction	4.4	10.7	5.6	6.2
Other	8.9	12.5	2.5	6.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square= 25,708 d.f.= 12 p-value=0,012

The surveys suggest that respondents in Vilar da Veiga are more likely to support tourism development for economic reasons (Table 80) but currently do not appear satisfied with how tourism has been developed and believe tourism is not developing according to community needs (Tables 80 and 83). This pattern is generally consistent in the three parishes. For example, even though 92% respondents support tourism (Table 79), a majority (59%) of those dependent on tourism as a source of income are not satisfied with how tourism has been developed (Table 84).

6.5.6 RESPONDENTS DEPENDENCY UPON TOURISM

Table 84: Dependency on tourism

General opinion about how tourism has been developed in this parish	Does your income depend on tourism		
	Yes	No	Total
Very satisfied	4.0	3.4	3.6
Satisfied	18.2	34.2	29.4
Very dissatisfied	27.3	34.2	32.1
Dissatisfied	35.4	23.1	26.7
No opinion	15.2	5.1	8.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-square=19.709 d.f. = 4 p-value= 0,001

Respondents whose income is related to tourism are less satisfied with tourism development than those who are not linked to tourism (Table 84). They want more tourism, because their incomes depend on it. This may mean that they are dissatisfied because they want more development, not so much that they are unhappy with how development has been carried out.

6.5.7 THE PRINCIPAL DISADVANTAGES OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The variables perceived as disadvantages of tourism development are listed in Table 85. Other than increased litter and pollution, no other impact met overall consensus. Increased law enforcement problems development was prominent in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Castro de Laboreiro. The concern for lack of safety in the community may be a concern of older people's feeling of insecurity due to the remoteness of the community and the increasingly diminishing number of residents. Castro de Laboreiro and to a lesser extent Vilar da Veiga respondents feel that there are few beneficiaries as a consequence of tourism development. This perception follows the argument presented by Shucksmith (2000) that funds tend to be granted to those well-networked/local "notables" who already dominated rural development rather than to less experienced applicants. Massey (1991) also wrote about the notion of "power geometry" in that through their position in social hierarchy exclude others from meaningful social roles that could result in equitable distribution of benefits in community development.

**Table 85: Main disadvantages of tourism development
(first response only) (count and %)**

		Place of residence: Parish			
		Castro de Laboreiro (n=41)	E. A. Rios (n=30)	Vilar da Veiga (n=83)	Total
Most important negative impacts from tourism development in this Parish	Increased litter, pollution	39.0	53.3	69.9	58.4
	Law enforcement problems	31.7	20.0	3.6	14.3
	Increased crime / drugs	4.9	13.3	2.4	5.2
	Few beneficiaries	17.1	6.7	12.0	12.3
	Other	7.3	6.7	12.0	9.7
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(not significant)

There were no significant differences in the responses between the parishes, largely because of the relatively small response to the question on negative impacts, which produce a large number of empty cells in the cross tabulation. In total, 154 respondents identified negative impacts associated with tourism, compared with 257 respondents who identified positive benefits (Table 83). The literature suggests that the perceived lack of connection between tourism development and personal benefit may be one of the main obstacles currently facing this type of development in the communities (Moore and Cunningham, 1999).

The most positive aspects of tourism's influence on communities were evaluated to be in the areas of economic investment and employment opportunities and recreation (Table 82). The need to increase number of tourists and diversify market segments and a more vital and active local economy are the next biggest advantages together with the need to improve visitor satisfaction. This implies that the expectation of respondents is that tourism development will bring personal benefits.

The negative impacts mentioned on Table 85 suggest that in general respondents are moving upward in regard to Doxey's Irritation Index—residents are paying more attention to the inconveniences of receiving visitors in their communities. That tendency is more evident in the community with the most tourism, Vilar da Veiga.

The results suggest high expectations that tourism development will bring economic benefits to the community (Table 83). In turn, the more positive the perceptions of tourism the more likely it is to facilitate local efforts in developing tourism-related activities (see for example Gursoy *et al*, 2002). On the other hand, if residents perceive that the benefits accrue only to a small number of people this may pose a threat to future development, according to Doxey's Index of Tourist Irritation and Butler's Concept of a Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution. Thus in Castro de Laboreiro where residents were initially overwhelmingly positive in their attitudes to their guests may well develop into increasing resentment because the original expectations of the benefits of tourism are not being fulfilled (see for

example Liu, 2006). Table 82 shows a higher percentage of respondents seeking increased investment in Castro de Laboreiro suggesting that they are still waiting for the economic benefits of tourism development.

Results established that employment is a primary key to formal approval and support of community tourism development. Table 80 acknowledges that employment opportunities is the main reason for supporting tourism development and confirms the economic impact of tourism on the local economy. Although the direct income and employment opportunities for residents may not appear to be large, the economy itself is not large and there are limited alternative economic opportunities. Tourism therefore represents a potential stimulus to, and diversification of the local economy.

6.5.8 ATTITUDES TOWARD FURTHER TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Increased tourism brings with it a number of changes in any community. The extent to which residents see these changes as positive or negative will impact on the support for tourism development. In addition to asking respondents about their support for tourism, they were asked about some concerns/factors that may have affected their attitudes and opinions regarding increased tourism. Residents of a community may become concerned about changes that will impact on the quality of life they have become used to.

6.5.9 RESPONDENTS PERCEPTIONS OF FURTHER TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Residents in the three parishes were asked about their perceptions of further tourism development and the impacts on the community. This was an open-ended free elicitation question where respondents provided their own thoughts and wording. The suggestions were then assigned to general categories for comparison.

**Table 86: Assessment of further tourism development, by parish
(Count and %)**

		Place of residence: Parish			Total
		Castro de Labreiro (n= 100)	E. A. Rios (n=96)	Vilar da Veiga (n=134)	
On balance further tourism development will have either positive or negative impacts	Positive	63.0	49.2	60.7	59.1
	Negative	5.4	4.6	6.4	5.8
	No opinion	31.5	46.2	32.9	35.2
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi square=4,482 d.f.= 4		p-value=0,345			

Overall, the majority of respondents believed that the positive benefits of tourism would continue to outweigh the negative impacts, by improving the overall standard of living and an increase in employment opportunities (Table 82). There were no statistically significant differences between the parishes. The pattern that emerges is that the higher the level of tourism development, the more positive residents are regarding further tourism development (Table 86). For these respondents, tourism will help their community develop according to local needs and improve the standards of living for local residents. Castro de Labreiro (63%) and Vilar da Veiga (61%) respondents seem considerably marginally more positive in regard to increased tourism than the respondents of Entre-Ambos-os-Rios (49%). Still, nearly thirty six percent of the respondents expressed no opinion. Still, Entre-Ambos-os-Rios respondents appear divided in terms of tourism impacts, as 49% agreed with each of the two options: positive and negative. Again, Entre-Ambos-os-Rios reflects characteristics of a traditional community infrastructure that is changing, but no new patterns of community organization emerge (or perhaps a sense of community formed over a wider geographical area).

6.5.10 THE ROLE OF ASSOCIATIONS IN TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Perceptions of the role of the local association in tourism development differ between parishes (Table 87). Entre-Ambos-os-Rios places more faith in associations, as 26.5% of respondents claimed that local associations played a part in tourism development—perhaps due to the small number of businesses. In Vilar

da Veiga, 15,9% of respondents made such claim and in Castro de Laboreiro only 10.4%. This may be explained by the level of business activity and its role in tourism development. Entre-Ambos-os-Rios has few businesses compared to Vilar da Veiga and Castro de Laboreiro which have a more active business sector, strengthening the local economic network.

Table 87: Crosstabs between “have parish associations played any part in the past in tourism development” and “place of residence” (%)

Have parish associations played any part in the past in tourism development	Place of residence (Parish)			Total
	Castro Laboreiro	E.A.Rios	Vilar da Veiga	
Yes	10.4	26.5	15.9	16.5
No	29.2	14.7	34.7	29.1
Do not Know	60.4	58.8	49.4	54.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi-Square=14.687 d.f.=4 p-value=0,005

Only a minority (18%) of respondents (n=62) responded to the question asking a “best example” of association involvement in tourism development, of which 14 admitted they “don’t know” which indicates why associations are not seen as particularly relevant as agents of change (Table 88).

Table 88: Best examples of the role of local associations in tourism development (Frequency and %)

	Frequency	%
Quality of life	20	32.3
None	2	3.2
Incentives to remain in the community	1	1.6
Employment opportunities	1	1.6
Don't know	14	22.6
Creating attractions	5	8.1
Better communication (promotion and information)	4	6.5
Active hotel association	4	6.5
Total	62	100.0

The best examples of the role of local associations were contribution to the quality of life (Table 88). Associations are perceived as a local actor that provides recreational/cultural activities and not as having influence with outside

organisations (vertical networking) thus not having an input on local development policy.

Table 89: Crosstabs between “what part was played by the associations” in tourism development and “have you ever belonged to one or more associations” (%)

What part was played by the associations	Have you ever belonged to one or more associations?		
	Yes	No	Total
Influence	13.9	5.6	7.2
Activities/events	16.7	2.1	5.0
Provide assistance and information to residents	5.6	4.2	4.4
Don't know	63.9	88.2	83.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi square=17,186 d.f.= 3 p-value= 0,001

When asked to specify the part played by associations, 88% of non-members of associations said they “don’t know”, and 64% of members of associations also said they “don’t know” (Table 89).

Table 90: How the association played a role in tourism development (Frequency and %)

	Frequency	%
Don't know	169	89,4
Through activities	6	3,2
Providing assistance and information to residence	6	3,2
Through meetings	5	2,6
Influence	3	1,6
Total	189	100.0

When asked how the association played a role in tourism development, 49% of the sample answered the question and of these 89% “don’t know” (Table 90). Basically, people in general and the actual members of associations “don’t know” what associations do and/or what contribution, if any, associations have had.

Table 91: What were the association's objectives in trying to achieve tourism development (Frequency and %)

	Frequency	%
Don't know	171	90
Contribute to local development	6	3.2
Increase the number of tourists	5	2.6
Preserve community traditions	3	1.6
Create recreational area	2	1.1
Promote activities/events/entertainment	2	1.1
More promotion	1	0.5
Total	190	100.0

What were the association objectives and whether it had been successful was unknown by 90% of respondents (Table 91). Why it was not successful was unknown by nearly 91% of respondents. Respondents claimed that they simply “don't know”.

Association members were more likely than non-members to know something about the part played by associations in tourism development (Table 89). However, the proportion of association members not knowing anything about the activities and aims of the association was above 83% (Table 89) and in terms of knowing what the association was trying to achieve, 90% of the 171 respondents who answered this question said they “don't know” (Table 91). This suggests there is a problem of involvement and communication even with association members.

Association members were also more likely to say that associations should play an active role in tourism development. Non-members were more likely to have no opinion in this matter, although almost half the non-members also felt that associations should have an active role.

Table 92: Crosstabs between “role of associations in community development” and “have you ever belonged to one or more associations (%)”

Have you ever belonged to one or more associations?			
	Yes (n=73)	No (n=267)	Total
Actively contributing	67.1	48.3	52.5
Generally influencing	15.8	18.6	18.0
No part at all	1.3	0.4	0.6
No opinion	15.8	32.7	28.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Chi-Square=10.847 d.f.=3 p-value=0,012			

A majority of respondents agree that community-based associations should actively contribute or generally influence further tourism development in the community. Still nearly 29% have no opinion (Table 92).

Having established that a majority of respondents think that community-based associations need to have a role in local tourism development, the next step is to determine their contribution. Combining “influence” with “use of contacts”, we can argue that the principle contribution of community-based associations to local tourism development continues to be based on vertical networking. Citizen’s networks, such as associations, which take a horizontal (endogenous) approach to development, are not seen as prevalent in the communities, suggesting that a network of civic engagement is not possible. Residents are not able to work together for the good of the community.

The analysis of the role of associations in tourism development is limited to three tables because most respondents answered ‘don’t know’, which means the sample is too small to test for differences between the three parishes.

6.6 SUMMARY

This chapter began by presenting the demographic characteristics of the respondents. Comparing the three parishes, Vilar da Veiga respondents were younger, better educated, were more dependent on tourism as a source of income, reported the highest percentage of employed and self-employed people along with the highest percentage of students and were more likely to work in the hospitality

and tourism industries. Entre-Ambos-os-Rios had the highest percentage of retired respondents, followed closely by Castro de Laboreiro. The percentage of retired people is reflected in the average age. The low percentage of the unemployed also has to do with the average age and the fact that people working in agriculture would not consider themselves unemployed-they simply do not have an income.

Having discussed the demographic characteristics of respondents, followed by the results of identification with and the degree of personal attachment to the community and the participation of local actor networks through community-based association, the final part of the chapter demonstrated that respondents hold a variety of opinions about tourism development.

It was suggested that if tourism increased it would encourage investment in the community, improve the local economy, create more jobs for local people and improve the overall standard of living of residents. Some respondents expressed the opinion that the increasing revenue from tourism was extremely fortunate in that it complemented local agriculture.

Respondents also expressed very little concern over increased tourism. Taken together, these attitudes suggest that residents not only look favourably toward tourism, but should the region attract more visitors to the area, the residents would like to be involved in decisions about further tourism development.

Still, results indicate that most respondents do not participate in community affairs, are not concerned with the lack of opportunity and consider that responsibility to be that of traditional authorities and/or new forms of collective participation, based on a vertical network approach. Such participation, inevitably, leaves out most community residents. As such, people don't know what is going on.

The next chapter discusses the strength of social cohesion and solidarity through independent community structures and networks and also to determine what factors influence and facilitate attitudes to tourism development at the community level.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section provides a review of the wider context of rural development in Portugal and contemporary difficulties facing remote rural communities. The second section reviews the research aim and objectives and poses a series of research questions to determine what factors influence attitudes to tourism development at the local level and if local actors facilitate community development. The third section presents empirical findings based on the objectives and the associated research questions. The fourth section includes a discussion on the empirical findings of this study and the implications for community development. The final section identifies certain limitations of this study and addresses them in order to contribute to improvements in more research in the future.

SECTION ONE

7.1 WIDER CONTEXT OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN PORTUGAL

Sofield (2003) discussed how rural areas such the villages in the Peneda Gerês National Park in Portugal are facing problems similar to those in other peripheral, less developed European countries. A wider context of rural development in Portugal suggests a decline of small scale agriculture as rural areas face a diminished and ageing labour force, long history of outmigration as young people tend to leave in search of better living opportunities, a lack of investment in economic and social services, and infrastructure and business ventures, attempts by government to address problems through structural programmes, and tourism as an increasing important part of the rural economy as agricultural production space is transformed into consumption space. For example, in 1984 there were a total of 103 accommodation units (763 bed spaces) in rural areas, whereas in 1999 there were 606 units (5776 bed spaces)—an average annual increase of 12.5% (DGT, 2000). By the year 2000, the

number increased to 668 units (6293 bed spaces) and in 2007 a total of 1023 units (11, 327 bed spaces) (TP-Turismo de Portugal, 2008).

Tourism is a regional development strategy adopted by just about all regional development associations under the LEADER programme, an EU initiative promoting a bottom-up approach to development. Tourism is seen as offering tremendous potential for creating jobs, not only in businesses directly related to tourism but in other underdeveloped service industries.

Even though national economic and social development strategies in Portugal, based on a significant portion of financial aid from the European Union (EU) have pursued regional development interventions in depressed rural areas, the focus of major development has been on the core areas of the country (Lisbon-Porto). In 2000, nearly 60% of the entire population of Portugal was living in urban areas (of which 45% was in Lisbon alone). That figure is expected to increase to 69% by 2025 and to 80% by 2050 (www.unpopulation.org).

EU Structural Funds for developing new infrastructures and business ventures has been limited to few axles or “polar regions” [influencing further urbanisation], while an extended territory, essentially supported by agricultural and forest activities, did not benefit from these policies and did not access to new opportunities of expansion, growth and diversification (Tudini, 2008). Consequently, it is argued that urbanization has contributed to the breakdown of rural lifestyles. Remote rural areas are facing a decline in services, which leads to lower attractiveness, particularly for young people as they search for economic stability. In these villages, returning migrants are an important source of money, but this just adds to the problems of an aging population. Furthermore, the decline in the workforce and difficulties of keeping productive activities going (even in tourism) have contributed to the lack of economic and social revitalization of remote rural areas. The past experience with EU structural funds in Portugal does not seem to be particularly positive due to the lack of institutional coordination and inefficiency in participation (Tudini, 2008). What is commonly missing in development initiatives is a real participation to the sharing of objectives and strategies in the decision phase. Stakeholders are

often simply consulted in order to respect European regulation and not involved in the phase of definition of strategical guidelines.

Ryan *et al* (1998) argued that communities often have difficulty in pursuing its development objectives, possibly due to a lack of community engagement in the tourism development process. Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that residents' attitudes are key to determining local support to tourism development. The discussion of the research questions that follow is based on the theoretical background that exists in the literature review and the empirical findings of this study. The overall purpose of this study is twofold. First, to critically examine and compare the attitudes to involvement, in and perceptions of, local associations of the residents of selected rural communities in the Peneda Geres National Park. Secondly, to determine resident perceptions of the contribution of local associations and the National Park Authority to the tourism development process.

SECTION TWO

7.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS ARISING FROM THE RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study were:

Objective 1: To analyse and evaluate the characteristics of, attitudes towards, and involvement in local associations by the local community.

Objective 2: To analyse and evaluate the perceptions of the local community of the influence of local associations on tourism development, and the reasons for those perceptions.

Objective 3: Critically evaluate if the local community perceives that external agents, in particular the Peneda Gerês National Park Administration, have encouraged and facilitated community involvement in local development efforts.

Objective 4: To provide recommendations for future rural/protected area and structural policies in specific context and to guide on future research. Such recommendations may help other communities understand why and how to go about introducing tourism development that are consistent with their accustomed practices.

Having restated the aim and objectives of this research and drawing from the tourism and community development literature and the data analyses in the previous chapter, a series of research questions (RQ) are posed that will be answered by means of the empirical research to determine the strength of social cohesion and solidarity (level of social capital) through independent community structures (voluntary associations) and also to determine what factors influence and facilitate attitudes to tourism development at the local level.

The research questions of this study are:

RQ 1: Are education, employment or other demographic characteristics closely linked to active voluntary engagement by members of the community in local associations?

RQ 2: Does the fact of having lived outside the community (external experiences) influence participation (generally) and more specifically in local associations?

RQ 3: Do community associations provide an opportunity for engaging citizens in local tourism development?

RQ 4: Does more community attachment lead to greater involvement in voluntary associations?

RQ 5: Does higher social capital lead to higher levels of community development?

RQ 6: Are attitudes to tourism development influenced by personal involvement in the tourism industry?

RQ 7: Have external agents such as the Peneda Gerês National Park Administration taken the initiative to encourage community participation in local development efforts?

RQ 8: How can community development be improved in rural / protected areas?

SECTION THREE

7.3 FINDINGS BASED ON OBJECTIVES AND ASSOCIATED RESEARCH QUESTIONS

RQ 1: Are education, employment or other demographic characteristics closely linked to active voluntary engagement by members of the community in local associations? (Objective 1)

The results of this study indicated there was no significant relationship between association membership and levels of education, employment type, occupation or full or part time employment. Hustinx (2004) also studied the economic embedding and educational attainment of volunteers and the relationship to voluntary engagement and as in this study, Hustinx made a distinction between the socio-economic positions of the employed. In both studies the research findings were the same—there is no relation between voluntary engagement and levels of education and no significant relationship between association membership and employment type, occupation or full or part time employment (see Tables 65 and 66).

RQ 2: Does the fact of having lived outside the community (external experiences) influence participation (generally) and more specifically in local associations? (Objective 1)

The population in the communities studied is aging rapidly. Data presented in Chapter 5 showed that one-third of the adults are 65 years old or older, an additional 15% between 55 and 64 years and another 15% between 45 and 54 years (Table 9). Many of the older people grew up in these communities, migrated to earn a living and came back to retire. These people are not very rich, but their retirement income infuses some badly needed cash into the local economy. Some respondents were of the opinion that once the retirement benefits stop coming, mostly from France, the local economy will suffer a tremendous shock.

The younger generations (under 55) were much more likely to have spent time in another part of Portugal, whereas the older generation (over 55) were most likely to have spent time abroad (Tables 28 and 29). This reflects a generational shift in patterns of migration (although there is some evidence of increased migration abroad among the youngest age groups – under 25 – probably due to influence of EU membership and programmes, etc).

Table 78 demonstrates the tendency that the older the respondent (which included former migrants), the more likely that they would never join an association outside their village. The younger the respondent the more likely that they have higher levels of bridging capital and are more open to participating in parish-wide associations.

As mobility has decreased along the years, people who spent time abroad are now over the age of 55 years. These respondents tend to be less open to bridging social capital. This may link to the traditional nature of migrant communities outside the country (stuck in time, more attachment to ‘home’ culture. Evidence (MAI, 1982) suggests that migrants to France came back with a traditional mindset. Strong links between origin and destination are established, which facilitate the migrant’s retention of valued ties with community and family at the place of origin. No matter how much they may be influenced by exogenous practices and the considerable income from working outside the village, socially they always look to their village, to their families and to their religious and social obligations. Their loyalty bolsters pride in the community. For example, most parishes organize an annual religious festival for which emigrants are responsible and which is perceived as socially beneficial. The ‘emigrantes’ may also support community works such as the restoration of chapels.

Whereas it was very common for the first generation of migrants to marry someone from within or close to their native village the younger generation is marrying either Portuguese from other parts of Portugal or marrying in the countries to which they migrated, in either case, the link or attachment to the village of origin is affected and sometimes lost. Also, the first generation (original migrants) are now at the age of retirement and would like to return. However,

their children seldom return with the parents, they have become used to the 'new' lifestyle and culture of the receiving region or country.

Early writings viewed emigration as being beneficial to the sending societies. It was argued that migrants were getting training and experience in modern techniques of production which many bring back to their native lands. Migrants would bring back valuable work skills, new ideas and attitudes, and capital needed for the economic development of their community. Furthermore, returning migrants bring the rest of their savings home for investment in presumably productive enterprises (Rose, 1969; Rhoades, 1978). However, the empirical results of this study did not support such optimistic claims. Returning migrants didn't receive any training or skill development abroad, nor did they invest their repatriated savings in new businesses or enterprises that might raise rural productivity. On the contrary, returnees reportedly spent their savings on homes and consumer goods, which did little other than raise the emigrant's own living standards.

The notion of the returnee as a bearer of new skills, new ideas and investment capital, eager and willing to help in the development of his country of origin, seems by and large utopian (King, 1978 in Gmelch, 1987). Very few returning migrants are bringing any kind of experience that may improve capacity building and possibly contribute to community development. Hence, there appears to be little or no role of return migrants as agents of social change, no charismatic entrepreneur or emerging enterprise culture to contribute to community development.

Gregory (1972) and Castles and Kosack (1973) reported similar research findings and concluded that the village returnee has not come back with change on his mind: he has, in fact, yearned through the lengthy and often lonely migrancy period to return to his former cultural hearth. Also, as Laoire (2007) suggests, the primary reasons for returning do not usually include a stated desire for rural life, but instead to be closer to family, and/or a particular lifestyle, the "myth of return" is arguably a psychological need of emigrants to express their attachment to family/kinship ties in their native villages. It is not unrealistic, therefore, to argue

that the successful village returnee with his new station in life may be a voice of cultural and political conservatism. Contrary to popular social science belief, migration can function as a preserver of the status quo as well as stimulus to change (Gregory, 1972; Castles and Kosack, 1973). These findings are consistent with other studies. For example, Rhoades (1978) studied the returnee's impact on the Andalusian villages and concluded that it appears to be a case of "cosmetic" economic development, e.g. superficial face lifting with no fundamental change of socioeconomic structures.....present conditions point toward short-run consumer benefits for individuals and families but not towards significant changes in the broader economic structure.

Migrants look forward to returning to live in what is believed to be a network of family and friends (or community) based on memories of their childhood. But returnees soon realise that changes in the traditional values and kinship solidarity has changed the community. Furthermore, the social settings in the community are overshadowed by the high level of unemployment. Consequently, due to the low employment opportunities, there appears to be a higher degree of individualisation in the local population. Whereas returnees may have initially intended to invest and to apply hard lessons learned abroad to contribute to the development of the community, they soon opt not to. Perhaps it has to do with the individualisation that is prominent and the "culture shock" that returnees encounter that actually make them feel "outsiders" in the community to which they felt a certain bond during the years spent outside.

RQ 3: Do community associations provide an alternative opportunity for engaging citizens in local tourism development? (Objective 2)

The literature review paid much attention to the fact that most of the current problems faced by rural communities cannot be solved by individual action. In a community, the presence of citizens' networks, such as associations, it is argued, reflects an intense horizontal interaction. The more prevalent these networks are in a given community, the more citizens are able to work together for the good of the community (Putnam, 1993). The capacity to act collectively, drawing on knowledge resources that link old and new, past and future, one social group with

another, and endogenous with exogenous structures is vital to such networks' ability to contribute towards innovative economic development (Lee *et al*, 2005 in Dargan and Shucksmith, 2008). Participation is of critical importance. Often the unifying process of seeking change is as useful for them as the realisation of change itself.

Residents need to be motivated to participate and not feel a sense of helplessness, the fatalistic idea that little can be accomplished, thus engagement is not worth the time and effort. According to Oakley *et al* (1991), probably the most frequent and powerful social obstacle to the participation of rural people in local development is a mentality of dependence which is deeply and historically ingrained in their lives. Rural people for generations have been dominated by and dependent upon local elite groups. The United Nations (UN, 1987) also acknowledged that this dependency mentality is further reinforced by the fact that mere "survival" is for most rural people their greatest challenge and consumes much of their energies, leaving them precious little time to "participate". Many rural people, therefore, tend to accept the status quo and their position in a framework in which economic and social arrangements maintain the control of the few and the exclusion of the majority. In this context, therefore, the very notion of participation is far removed from reality and is almost unintelligible to rural people who have never been invited to share in the activities and benefits previously dominated by others.

In practice this has meant that the rural people have become accustomed to leaving decisions and initiatives to their "leaders". The lack of leadership and organisational skills, and consequent inexperience in running organisations, leaves most rural people incapable of responding to the demands of participation. Initially it was suggested that migrant returnees could possibly fill this gap by bringing with them experiences from having lived in more economically prosperous countries. However, the analysis of the previous research question rejected this assertion.

The literature also pointed out that in remote rural areas, similar to the study region of this research, there is not a strong will to engage in local development work and associational life. The reasons put forward have to do with the historical

peasant society, land ownership patterns and old traditions of village democracy. With the transition from traditionalism to modernization, traditional activities will undoubtedly change their formats and evolve to meet modern appeals, or cease to take place. According to the respondents, increasingly there are fewer traditional activities taking place. Residents either lose interest in such activities which many times are associated with a lifestyle of hardship or as one respondent suggested “*it is labour intensive and a service being provided to visitors. So, someone should pay us for the work*”. This attitude confirms arguments by Bellah *et al* (1985) that through active involvement in common concerns (cooperation necessary in common projects), the individual was able to overcome any sense of isolation (due to frequent contacts with and intimate knowledge of one another) and the general tendency to pursue his or her private interests. Everyone contributed to the realization of the community’s shared goals and projects (MacIntyre, 1981). Thus, people have a history of cooperation, but not of collective action. Today, farmer-based networks, based on traditions of cooperation, are still important, even though the economic role of the agricultural sector has decreased. The sense of local identity, connected with the peasant relationship to place and the ownership of land-properties give continuity to the farmer-based networks (Lehto and Oksa, 2003).

It was generally agreed by respondents to this study that most people should be heard on community development but that only those people with the *most time* should have the responsibility for the decision-making (see Tables 31-34). Here, *most time* implies “free time”, or time in which people are not actively working. A farmer who has much land and spends all day working that land is not seen as someone who should be active in social activities. That job is reserved for those who have less land, thus more disposable time. Social activities increase social interaction between residents which in turn could contribute to bonding social capital (Krishna, 2004). Thus if people do not find the time to meet and interact, the link is lost and so does the community (Kilpatrick, 2003).

Associations are potential facilitators in the transition between traditional and modern society (Huntington, 1968). Associations may in fact play an important role in educating local residents and in inspiring residents to take an active part in

community development. This could be done by motivating and introducing voluntary systems in making concerted efforts to attract greater involvement and participation of the members of the community (horizontal networking) and to emphasise the importance of dialogue with local authorities (vertical networking). The idea is to establish mutual trust to demonstrate that the collective interests of the community can be achieved when members of the community come together in pursuit of community development. Indeed, some members of the community have bridging capital (see Tables 55-58). But the associations don't seem able to utilise these social capital resources effectively, perhaps due to a high level of disillusion. People have suffered so many disappointments that they are reluctant to put trust into yet another promise of help from outside the community.

Association membership and participation is much lower in Portugal than in most other areas of Europe. In Portugal 74,4% of the adult population are not members of any kind of association, compared with 45,2% for the rest of Europe (ESDA International, 2000). Thus the percentage of association membership in the three communities (23%) is comparable to the 25,6% of association membership at the national level.

According to some of the comments by respondents, probable explanations for the decline in associational activity include: members are under the impression that those leading the associations simply want support and financial contributions; a neglect for internal democratic process and that the possibility to influence decision-making in associations is small—again a feeling of helplessness, the perception that participation is synonymous with self-interest and association leaders might be politically engaged outside of the voluntary association, further fragmenting the community. Thus, contrary to what is often asserted in the literature (Schuler, 1996; Dionne, 1998; Stolle and Rochon, 1998; Kneafsey, 2001; Kiviniemi, 2004), the need for community development does not seem to lead to an increase in the membership of associations in the study area.

Residents are not coming together collectively to articulate their interests. It would be expected that the social structural changes in the community would lead to what Hustinx (2004) considers a profound shift from traditional associational

and church-based networks to rather informal “de-institutionalized” forms of voluntary action and broader participation networks characterized by “new stylish” modes of engagement, such as community based associations. Instead discussions take place in informal networks. This means that community mobilization tends to take place in other (more traditional and informal) social arenas than in voluntary associations. To a certain extent, this may suggest that individuals are not freed from communal ties and traditional customs.

Overall, respondents appear to want to be personally invited for consultation. Results in Table 34 indicate that respondents are not given the opportunity to influence decisions. However, in Table 35 respondents are not concerned for not having had the opportunity. Apparently, respondents are not concerned because they either “do not know” or “are not interested” or that their “opinion is not important”. This attitude reinforces the idea of “helplessness” that was reviewed in chapter three. Respondents seem to accept the idea that because they don’t know or their opinion is not important, they are not asked to participate. This feeling of the lack of confidence or low self-esteem (Table 41) discourages people from participating. The perception was articulated that those who do participate without being asked, or are legitimate representatives of the community do so to promote their own interests.

Follow-up visits confirmed that respondents would like to safeguard the argument that they participated because they were asked to and did not simply show up at the meeting on own initiative. According to responses on open questions, some respondents are of the opinion that residents need to show that they did not participate for self-interest. Presumably, there is a huge concern for “what will people think”. Such are the paradoxes of modernity that have led to the weakening of ties of family, community, and friendship and a declining feeling of personal responsibility and obligation towards the community.

The community literature indicated that traditional interests and customs are resistant to change. Individuals are aware that choices regarding their life styles must be made, but still expect others to provide the needed services, including in the voluntary sector. Social entrepreneurs and decision-makers will need to be

equipped with very strong will and desire to succeed if community development is to emerge at all. Suffice to say that professional development of would-be mediators (individual representatives of organisations) on how to establish cooperation and partnerships with local populations is urgently needed.

Respondents disagree that “most members of the associations lack the necessary skills and experience to assume decision-making roles” probably because they see “others” (the educated, the returnee, etc.) as having active roles in running the associations. This attitude suggests that “others” have the obligation for civic engagement and development. Traditionally, only the “right sort” of men was in a position to participate intelligently in community decision making and they did so for the common or public good. Ordinary people were excluded from participation (Phillips, 1993).

Members of associations appear relatively uninterested in the decision-making and democratic functioning of the associations. Again, the suggestion that few people should make decisions demonstrates a passive approach to association membership. Respondents seem to have strong feelings that local participation is necessary in decisions that will ultimately affect their community and their own lives, but that such participation is not necessarily a requirement of members of the community. There are problems of developing community tourism, when the community members do not seem to care much about what happens.

When association members were asked which activities their associations were involved in, the most frequent responses were; protecting the interests of the entire parish, providing recreational activities for local residents in general and protecting the interests of the village where the association is located. Partnership was not important. Associations are not viewed as being particularly democratic. Therefore there may be relatively low levels of active participation, leaving decisions up to a few active people (often perceived to be pursuing their own interests). So the stated level of association membership may be a poor guide to participation levels, particularly in a traditional setting (Tables 40-41).

People seem fairly lethargic towards associations – therefore undermining their role in community development. “Permit residents to be involved in decision about community development” was the least important role of associations as far as respondents were concerned (Table 47). So it seems that the associations in the area are not performing very effectively as capacity building institutions for the local community.

The analysis shows that the effects of membership remain rather limited. While membership of voluntary associations has some importance for the creation of social trust, their influence is generally weak. The fact that participation effects remain rather weak poses serious questions for the entire social capital approach. Furthermore, there is no relation between the number of associations respondents are actively engaged in and the time they devote to associational activities. The only fundamental difference we see is between those who belong to no association whatsoever and those who report at least one membership.

Thus if community-based associations are to act as facilitators in the transition between traditional and modern society, then it may be argued they need to increase resident participation. This is a very difficult process since people in rural areas are more resistant to change. It is not sufficient to speak of the importance of participation. Associations must actually show its importance. Only then, may community-based associations have a more influential role.

Perhaps communities require technical advice on how to manage local associations. External agents such as the Peneda Gerês National Park Authority could potentially provide such assistance. National Park professional staff working in partnership with the communities can show that “the ability of offering economic benefits to members is essential to sustain [local] organizations. But, external agents must be careful to not make communities dependent on their technical support. Associations created or supported through external help, without the real commitment of the members and managers, run a great risk of falling when the external help is cut off (Vilas Boas and Goldey, 2001).

That associations can aid community development by providing more opportunities for engaging residents does not seem to be supported in the Northern Portuguese context – because of the way that associations function in local communities. Findings suggest that community-based associations do not mobilise local capacities for local development and membership of community-based associations has some importance for the creation of social trust, but their influence is generally weak. The importance of associations is indeed limited.

RQ 4: Does more community attachment lead to greater involvement in voluntary associations? (Objective 1)

The literature (e.g. Paul, 1987) suggested that stakeholders who are more attached to the community are more likely to be more involved in community development. It depends how community attachment is viewed. People attach meanings to places which often result in intensely powerful sources of identity. People express and act upon their attachment to particular places. Those who feel more closely attached to their own local area, e.g. the village, are actually less likely to participate in local associations than those who identify with the wider community, e.g. the parish (Table 21). So, extremely localised attachment may actually be counter-productive in community development terms, particularly in reducing bridging social capital and cooperation with other parts of the community. So it depends how “community” is defined.

Abercrombie *et al* (1988) agree that part of the problem lies in the definition of the term “community”, which is elusive and vague. Yet, a key element of this research is the principle of “community”. In the community literature, a distinction was made between “village” (the physical and administrative place) and “community” (a complexity of values, ideas, feelings, social relationships, locality and continuity). The small agricultural village is socially homogeneous, and its cohesion is based on tasks demanding the cooperation of all households. Scott (1976) indicates that it is a “safety-first” economic outlook which is reinforced by many of the social arrangements that characterize a traditional village culture. He argues that the patterns of reciprocity, forced generosity, communal land, and work sharing, and even systems of gossip and envy, are

redistributive mechanisms and that such redistribution worked unevenly and, even at its best, produced no egalitarian utopia. What moral solidarity the village possessed as a village was in fact based ultimately on its capacity to protect and feed its inhabitants. Traditionally the village is non-participatory. It deploys people by kinship into communities isolated from each other and from a center.....[It lacks] the bonds of interdependence, people's horizons are limited by locale (Lerner, 1986).

Thus, people do not have strong ties with their village as such; the ties come directly through the village's role as the traditional home of their family (Corkill, 1999; Corkill and Almeida, 2007). This also explains why migration tends to cement village-based family ties. The most pleasant thing about the village is that it allows closeness to their family. But the steady erosion of traditional values and the increasing emphasis on individual self-fulfilment is contributing towards a declining rural population and accelerating social change.

In terms of definitions of community, most of the responses related to feelings of solidarity or friendship with other people in the parish (Table 17). Over 88% of respondents mentioned this. This seems to link the concept of "community" with notions of bonding social capital. High levels of bonding capital may lead people prioritise the needs of their own village, at the expense of the good of the parish. Although they feel the associations should be working for everybody (in theory), in practice they want them to work for their village.

Place attachment literature suggests that length of residence should be a measure of bonding social capital, attachment to place, but may be negatively related to openness to change (Giddens, 1990). In addition, the tourism impact literature indicates that the longer respondents lived in the community, the more negative they were toward tourism (Liu and Var, 1986; Um and Crompton, 1987; Allen *et al*, 1988). However, the findings reported here are inconsistent with the literature—the length of residence is not significantly related to attitudes to tourism development. In addition, the length of residence is not significantly related to attitudes to role of the National Park or attitudes to community solidarity.

RQ 5: Does higher social capital lead to higher levels of community development? (Objective 2)

The literature review in chapter 2 suggested that the more people are open to change, the better are the opportunities for successful economic development. Reyes (2004) claimed that social capital is measured as the density in participation of social organizations and associations and that a strong association exists between social capital and household income and welfare. Putnam (1993) made the same argument that there is a correlation on an aggregated level between more active participation in voluntary organisations and a flourishing economy. He thus relates the concept of social capital to the community level rather than to individuals: dense horizontal networks of civic engagement are seen to foster norms of reciprocity and trust, which in turn facilitate cooperation and successful economic development of a community. Thus, part of the research examines if Putnam's (1993) hypothesis that *higher social capital leads to higher level of community development* can be applied to the study area.

Knack and Keefer (1997) also argue that in Putnam's model, the level of involvement by members is not measured, which may reduce the validity of this measure of social capital. The hypothesized benefits of network embeddedness may not be captured when measuring passive membership of associations. Putnam (2000) further developed this argument by stressing that it is not sufficient that actors are passive members of an association, but that this effect is only produced as a result of active involvement, including face-to-face interaction, suggesting a change from simply joining to actually trusting. However, other scholars suggest differently. For Wollebaek and Selle (2002), passive membership is important and surveys should not be limited to active membership. On the other hand, Beugelskijk and van Schaik (2003) decided to measure active members of a number of associations and compare passive membership. The difference between the two was that in the case of active membership respondents were not only a member but also do voluntary work for the particular association. Hence, Putnam's hypothesis cannot be fully tested because in this study it was not possible to separate the active association members from passive ones. The questionnaire did not contemplate a question on how active were members in the

association(s). Furthermore, since the interviews were anonymous, it was not possible to determine if social capital in terms of active membership is positively related to community development. Consequently, the hypothesis that *higher social capital leads to higher level of community development* is, at best, somewhat or partially accepted.

RQ 6: Are attitudes to tourism development influenced by personal involvement in the tourism industry? (Objective 2)

The findings of this study are consistent with the literature, which suggests that in communities experiencing economic difficulty, residents are more likely to view tourism as a means of improving their economic position often by underestimating the social and environmental costs (e.g. Akis *et al*, 1996; Liu and Var, 1986) and tourism reduces unemployment by creating new opportunities (e.g. Tosun, 2002). Respondents believe that tourism will encourage investment in their community and will provide jobs for the local people. Increased investment and employment opportunity was identified as the biggest advantage of tourism (Table 79). By reinforcing the positive influence tourism has on the availability of jobs and the experience that comes with tourism employment it is often implied that residents can come to see the benefits of tourism. More or better recreational facilities and a more vital and active local economy are the next biggest advantages together with social and cultural interaction with people from other regions and communities were the perceived benefits that were identified by the respondents in this study.

Also, the findings suggest that attitudes to tourism development are related to involvement in tourism (Tables 81 and 84). Responses were found to be diversified driven largely by personal interest. Whereas respondents who felt they were personally benefitting from tourism held generally benign views of tourism and its impacts, those who felt they were not benefitting and possibly had to compete with tourists for community resources and infrastructure expressed generally antagonistic views (Table 83). These findings lend credence to previous research that indicate that if people receive benefits from tourism development such as job creation, economic gain, cultural exchange, and cultural identity, they

are less likely to attribute negative social and environmental consequences and hold more positive attitudes toward tourism development (Pizam, 1978; Allen *et al*, 1987; Lankford, 1994; Jurowski *et al*, 1997; McGehee and Andereck, 2004).

Every single person who said that their income was dependent on tourism (91 respondents (Table 79) was in favour of tourism development, whereas only 88% of other people were in favour. It made no difference what proportion of income was derived from tourism – all were in favour. The results coincided with studies conducted by Harvey *et al* (1995), in that most respondents in communities with the highest level of tourism dependence felt that tourism is good for their economy. Similarly, residents with relatively no tourism dependence felt more tourism would be good for their area.

In the different parishes, more people in Vilar da Veiga whose income was not directly dependent on tourism were in favour of tourism development (95%), but this was only slightly higher than the proportion in Castro de Laboreiro (90%) or Entre-Ambos-os-Rios (87%) (Table 79). The problem is that the numbers not in favour are very small, so there is no statistical difference between the villages. So actually, almost everyone is in favour of tourism, even in villages that are not so dependent on tourism. This reflects the fact that almost any form of development is welcome in these areas. Even though far more people depend on tourism in Vilar da Veiga (50%) than in Castro de Laboreiro (12%) and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios (7%) (Table 14), there is relatively little difference in attitudes towards tourism development (Table 79).

Some studies addressing the concept of community (“carrying capacity”) have suggested that residents’ attitudes toward tourism may be directly related to the degree of development within the community (Cooke 1982; Getz, 1986). These investigations suggest that communities have a certain capacity to absorb and accept tourism. Growth beyond this capacity or threshold may result in negative social and environmental impacts and diminishing returns on tourist investments. Thus, residents’ attitudes are not static with reference to socio-demographic characteristics, dependency on tourism or other factors, but vary in relation to the level of tourism development in the community. Allen *et al* (1988) findings

clearly reveal that the level of tourism development does have a curvilinear relationship with residents' perceptions of community life.

The research agrees with the findings of Gursoy and Rutherford (2003) that the more residents feel the economy needs improvement, the more likely they are to support tourism, and the less likely they are to be troubled by any social costs. The finding that there is no significant relationship between social benefits and support may be explained by the importance communities place on economic benefits (Table 82). These findings are consistent with previous studies, suggesting that benefits positively affect the level of community support for tourism (Liu and Var, 1986). Findings demonstrated that those residents who expressed a high level of attachment to their communities are more likely to view tourism as being both economically and socially beneficial.

According to the sustainability literature, one of tourism's critical impacts concerns the distribution of the benefits and costs within a given area. It is important to determine whether the majority of tourism revenue becomes profit for a few individuals or families, or whether it is dispersed widely. Such an approach may have grave consequences and significant ecological costs for the environment. The more that community residents benefit from tourism, the more they will be motivated to protect the area's natural environment and cultural heritage and support tourism activities (McIntyre, 1993).

One of the main findings of this research points to the fact that the residents of all three communities see tourism as the only and the best way for local development. They all share an enthusiasm for tourism and have ideas and wishes in mind for the development of tourism. The majority of respondents were unconcerned about the effects of tourism on their community and the surrounding environment. They also believe that tourism will only bring positive benefits for their community and are not aware of the benefits and costs of tourism development.

This study confirms the usefulness of social exchange theory principles in explaining the host community's attitudes toward tourism. Residents' attitudes towards tourism depend on the expected costs and benefits of tourism.

RQ 7: Have external agents such as the Peneda Gerês National Park Authorities taken the initiative to encourage community participation in local development efforts? (Objective 3)

A problem that persists is that the data (Tables 73-77) suggests very few people feel that the National Park Authorities have been involved, and there seems to have been little if any attempt by the National Park authorities to overcome inbuilt apathy among villagers. Respondents overwhelmingly feel that they have not been given an opportunity to comment or affect the work of the National Park (Table 76). The literature (e.g. Dionne, 1987; Rubin and Rubin, 1992; Beugelskijk and van Schaik, 2003) suggests that generally people are more likely to embrace change if they have had some say in the process, rather than if decisions are imposed. However, it is also suggested that in a culture where it is customary to expect decisions to be made by figures in authority it is unlikely that increasing opportunities for involvement in decision-making will automatically help them embrace change. Still, the National Park authorities should pay particular attention providing local people with access to information and experiences of development elsewhere. If residents feel that their concerns are being considered they will be more supportive of the National Park (McIntyre, 1993).

If people sense potential beneficial outcomes this will create more positive attitudes. Social exchange theory assumes that individuals select exchanges after having assessed rewards and costs (Ap, 1992). An individual that perceives benefits from an exchange is likely to evaluate it positively; one that perceives costs is likely to evaluate it negatively (Andereck *et al*, 2005). This study confirms that residents do not appear to have positive experiences due to the lack of communication between communities and the National Park authorities. Residents see few benefits deriving from the fact of living in a National Park (Tables 68-72) hence the generally negative perceptions that is widespread among respondents of the three communities.

It is suggested that much could be gained if the National Park authorities could find the means to increase communication and periodically share experiences with community residents. For example, by recognizing and working alongside

community-based associations, the National Park could reinforce vertical networking for promoting local capacity building and invigorate friendship networks (horizontal networking). At present, there is little contact or communication, no recognition of the potential and importance of community associations. The little contact that does exist is with traditional authorities which happen to be politically dependent. As such, they are seen as conditioned by outside interests.

During the follow-up meetings, a few respondents made references to the National Park authorities being located in an urban centre and somewhat out of touch with the realities of the remote communities in the Park. For these respondents, distance is seen as “authoritarian” and “top down” approach, undermining the Park’s potential role of facilitator of community development. The belief was clearly indicated that without networking and a cooperative working relationship, problem solving in the communities are unlikely to be successful. In fact, most respondents expressed anger and frustration at the perceived lack of support from the National Park authorities.

Most respondents reported that no attempt was made by the National Park authorities to contribute to community development and that tourism development was discouraged (Tables 73). The conventional practice was “preservation at all cost” approach has provoked conflicts between National Park authorities and local residents. In the last few years, there have been some signs of a change in the approach. National Park authorities have hesitantly made public a change in policy, realising that the preservation of a humanised landscape can only be possible with development. However, drawing on empirical evidence, no steps have been taken to such effect. Furthermore, in a seminar that took place on June, 2001, entitled “Nature Tourism—present status and future perspectives”, in the closing session questions about consultation were put to the Director of the National Park. Some of his responses included:

- “if we were to do a referendum to the local population, things would not function”
- “strategy is to be implemented as rapidly as possible; there is no time to consult the local population”

- “there has been cooperation between the National Park, local municipalities and the Regional Tourism Boards, but not the local population”
- “local residents must take the initiative for dialogue”
- “local population is not entrepreneurial; it has dedicated itself to other activities”

Clearly, these positions assumed by the top administrator of the Park do not fall under the criteria for sustainable development. According to these comments, consulting the local residents would be a waste of time. The National Park authorities know what is best for the residents for the economic development and landscape conservation of the Park. The policy continues to be a top-down approach. Considering the many conflicts existent along the years between the residents and the Park, it would seem rational to change the approach. When questioned as to what local agents have agreed to the proposed strategy, the answer was very few given that they have not yet been contacted. In other words, other than the National Park, no one was involved in this process. Still, people seem to want to interact with the National Park personnel on a regular basis.

If this analysis is correct, the National Park is faced with a dilemma. If the local authorities and communities pursue increased tourism development as a means of creating employment and community well-being, they will require the use of the Park’s highly valued resources. The problem is that the National Park will face the challenge of preserving the biological integrity of the Park (which has been its policy all along) while at the same time having to encourage broad public access. The tension between these two objectives has existed ever since the Park was established. The Peneda Gerês National Park has been a troubled park system with general problems of money and management and has failed to meet expectations of the communities. Park personnel struggle to repair trails, care of the park’s vast archaeological and cultural heritage has been dismal, environmental education and interpretation has been nonexistent. Prospects of a better future seem rather pessimistic. The Park’s lack of action may result in further serious conflicts.

Education and information is needed to raise awareness and concern and to give the local people the opportunity to participate in community development. An understanding of the social structure of the communities is required. Local power

relations and arrangements have to be researched and to be taken into account so that as many local people as possible will participate and benefit from community development. Furthermore, the exchange of experiences between the communities and the National Park could stimulate sustainable behaviour and not limit local benefits to the pursuit of economic growth.

RQ 8: How can community development be improved in rural / protected areas? (Objective 4)

In the literature (e.g. Paul, 1987; Cattell, 2001; Cleaver, 2005) it is often stated that for the development of tourism the members of the community needs to be involved in the development and that the local people take initiatives, cooperate and contribute to the development process. In practice this might not always be easy to accomplish. This approach will depend on the capacity, empowerment and solidarity of the community. So although local communities can play a bigger role in the management of resources, they must first establish a culture of participation. With the diminishing influence of informal networks, a new strategy is needed for bringing local stakeholders together for participating and contributing towards community tourism development. Through existing community networks, communities can create new forums for interaction of diverse interests, and the need to build ties that bridge across those interests. Narayan and Pritchett (2000) in a study with a similar methodology illustrate the link between social capital and community development. Survey results suggest that communities with more social capital were also more likely to have undertaken community development initiatives. There is, however, what Cernea (1985) calls a “cloud of rhetoric” surrounding this reorientation to participation that suggests that participation in development projects is still more myth than reality.

Based on the empirical research, appropriate forms of promoting local initiative needs to be identified. This may be accomplished by training development entrepreneurs to assist local people to identify opportunities to mobilise local resources, which they can use to develop their community. Local residents require some support to overcome the reduced knowledge about new alternatives that will

allow them to take informed action to improve their communities. Without some outreach, residents in remote rural communities will not have the confidence and power to pull opportunity their way. Thus, potential development entrepreneurs need to be trained. They are not necessarily local people, but rather employees of the National Park, local authorities or possibly members of community-based associations. They may have knowledge of how to develop tourism locally, but not necessarily possess entrepreneurial skills.

Many communities have compromised the needs of the resident community to achieve tourism development goals. While in the short term such compromises at the expense of local interests may seem appropriate courses of action, there may be negative repercussions at a later date (Gill and Williams, 1994). The effect of these changes is the decline and erosion of traditional communities and life styles and an alteration of the whole economic and social system in the rural areas. Communities are no longer cohesive entities, and this in turn has an effect on both the viability of and participation in local activities (Arnott and Duffield, 1979). However, the literature review (Chapter 3) showed that sustainable development of tourism implies that the local people take the initiative and contribute to the development of tourism. But as demonstrated on the background of the case study (Chapter 4), cooperation is not always easy to accomplish; there exists rivalry between the villages that make up the parish; there is a lack of trust; there is a traditional competitiveness between the villages; and, people are used to looking after their own interests. For centuries these communities made their living through a combination of subsistence farming and pastoral activities and barter, focussing their adaptive strategies on local ecological systems and resources. The introduction of cash incomes means that communities no longer need to be self-sufficient. Thus there is no longer a need for cooperation with neighbours (end of informal networking), especially by the older people. The fracturing of the old balance has resulted in men migrating to seek employment elsewhere to bridge the growing gap between subsistence production and consumption.

As another finding that should be acknowledged in this study is that there is little interaction and communication between residents, community-based associations and external organizations (vertical networking). Moreover, there is little

volunteerism as self-interest and non-participation become increasingly evident. Chapter 4 (background of the study area) revealed that the local people have little education and do therefore not know how things work. Additionally, they never had much self-confidence. The local people generally have the feeling that things come from outside and that they cannot really have an influence on this.

On the one hand, relations between community members are full of conflict, gossip and difficulty to cooperate towards collective goals. These aspects are attributed to the power structure of the communities and, at the same time, prevent social change. Because of their difficulty to mobilize towards a collective goal, local people have difficulty changing the power structure that causes their marginalization. Consequently, people turn to resistance as a form of collective action. Based on the traditional power structure and due to their passive and individualistic character, local people apparently see a show of resistance as a form of participation. By not attending meetings with the National Park staff, the community is acknowledging their disagreement with Park policy. If this turns out to be the case, and there is probably not sufficient evidence to confirm it, it would imply that even when local people choose to not participate, they may indeed be participating.

On the other hand, non-participation may also be influenced by the meeting location. As respondents claim to be more attached to the village than the wider parish (Table 20), people may not attend meetings simply because it is in another village. Meetings are often planned in places that are convenient to external experts, but may be socially compromised within the community.

Furthermore, it seems paradoxical that a major obstacle to progress is the very nature of the institutions created to resolve the problem. For example, the National Park experience has been primarily on land conservation and management rather than community development. The National Park authorities need to develop liaison and cooperation as appropriate with the local communities. It would be helpful if Peneda Gerês National Park experts worked within the boundaries of the Park (currently main offices are outside the Park geographical area), not only to provide technical assistance, but also to help residents overcome the feeling of

helplessness and contribute to empower residents of the communities. Evidence (e.g. Rubin and Rubin, 1992; Pretty, 1995) suggests that overcoming the feeling of helplessness encourages a more participatory role in community affairs, promoting local capacity building and knowledge sharing. Innovative entrepreneurial activity fostered by outside experts would encourage sustainable entrepreneurial spirit/activity of local partners (residents) that would serve local needs by stimulating the local economy.

The Peneda Gerês National Park has a rich cultural heritage which is only just being discovered by tourists. This heritage is now making an increasingly important contribution to the stimulation of heritage and cultural tourism in this peripheral region of Europe, arguably one of the poorest in Europe. However, some of the difficulties presently encountered by many communities, i.e. emigration, has been a characteristic of the region for several decades. Largely due to political decisions to maintain a demobilised population, especially at the local rural level and the minifundia system of land tenure, people were raised to find solutions to their economic problems not through political pressuring and collective action but through individual initiative and emigration.

At present, the region is facing a diminished and ageing labour force. Concurrently, local residents are suffering from de-motivation. Conditioned, politically, to believe they can't adequately understand their own lives and cut out of participation (and cooperation), people have often simply stopped trying (Tables 32 and 35). People do often lack the necessary skills and experience to understand the origins of their powerlessness. Their preoccupation with daily survival, e.g. subsistence agriculture, does not permit time for understanding how power structures work and affect their lives. Local people still see themselves as primarily agricultural workers and find it difficult to adapt to change because their self-image is so strongly based on their traditional "occupational community". As a result, due to the lack of information, the lifestyle of economic hardship and the influence of the church, resistant to change and innovation is evident, especially among the older members of the community, and such resistance can sometimes fuel mistrust.

This attitude hinders community building due to there being a vertical (top-down) instead of a horizontal (bottom-up) approach. Residents feel powerless but do not think about coming together to solve shared problems. There is a broad sense of victimization; residents are not accustomed to pooling their skills. What they need to learn is trust if communities are to get the poor off a culture of welfare dependency. Presumably, people do not participate because they feel powerless due to the complexity of the problems in the community and their lack of knowledge regarding community development. Residents have little education and therefore do not have the necessary knowledge of how things work and how to initiate and control the development process. A general feeling predominates that things come from outside and that they cannot really have an influence on this. Perhaps this argument explains the high percentage of “don’t know” responses during the interviews.

People find it difficult to see themselves as able to take charge or become leaders (Tables 37 and 38). However, it is very important to them to sense personally and be known publicly that they have “influence” on those in power. They are satisfied to have the ear of the powerful people and that they could thereby protect their interests (and not necessarily those of the community).

The general feeling seems to be that things are done when personal interests (something to gain) are involved. Findings suggest that the locally prevailing setting of rivalry and parochial thinking turned out to be an impediment to development, more so in the less developed communities (Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Castro de Laboreiro). The same holds true in terms of the level of cooperation. Comparatively, in Vilar da Veiga, even though respondents are generally of the opinion that tourism needs improvement, there is some cooperation (possibly based on trust or convenience) between local economic actors. This observation corresponds with Putnam’s theory that higher level of social capital (based on density of local actor networks) and institutional cooperation at the local level may complement in future the improvement of economic performance.

These findings are consistent with the literature, that people suffer in silence because they have been taught that those in authority must be right and questioning authority is wrong. Those in charge, whether government officials or business leaders, maintain their positions by claiming they represent legitimate authority and cannot and should not be challenged (Rubin and Rubin, 1992). For example, a community association that has successfully involved people in defining and solving community problems has power but is not institutionalised with authority. Authority is power which is believed by the powerless to be justified (Bailey, 1975). Freire (1972) wrote of the “culture of silence” and said that the rural poor had “no voice, no access and no participation” in development activities. Poverty is not just a lack of physical resources for development; it also implies powerlessness or the inability to exert influence upon the forces which shape one’s livelihood. Oakley *et al* (1991: 13) noted that probably the most frequent and powerful social obstacle to the participation of rural people in local development is a mentality of dependence which is deeply and historically ingrained in their lives. This dependant mentality that eliminates incentives for inspiring the local people to work collaboratively in benefit of their community, by encouraging them to engage in collective action indicates that resident perceptions depend far more on local history, local power structures and support networks than it will on tourism development *per se* (Horn and Simmons, 2002).

Communication and cooperation through the community social networks could develop cooperative relationships with outside organisations that would be particularly useful and possibly make the most use of technical expertise to define opportunities, generate ideas and obtain funds that a community may need for initiatives to promote sustainable development. For example, it is important that the community define how the National Park can best provide assistance and not vice versa. Such an approach facilitates the transfer of skills between people, develops self-reliance in the community, builds organisational capacity and networks, ensures local ownership of projects and decisions, and utilises local resources to solve local problems....the community development approach involves a decentralising of control away from the “experts” and towards the community (Reyes, 2004).

The literature (e.g. Tosun and Timothy, 2003; Dredge, 2006; Tosun, 2006) reveals that although community participation is one of the greatest principles of sustainable tourism, there is no universal approach to developing effective community participation. The sustainability of tourism development depends on solidarity, human development/capacity building and empowerment of the local residents and institutions, including those at the lowest administrative level (freguesia/parish). The argument is that decisions that reflect local needs, values and resources create sustainable situations. People are more willing to accept decisions understood and recommended by themselves. Thus, participation is needed if we are to achieve community development.

The definition of sustainable development suggests that we should use resources in such a way that future generations may have the option of exploiting the same type of resources in a similar way, should they wish to do so. The question remains whether people are willing to refrain from using the resources now in order to save the future. Experience (and this study) shows that it is very difficult to give preference to the future (e.g. the positive advantages sought from further tourism development—Table 82). On the one hand, poor people usually cannot afford to pay attention to the future; they need to find their way out of poverty. To be responsible takes on a different meaning for the poor; they will seek immediate well-being. Most likely, they will do so by exploiting future generations. On the other hand, the increase of money in these communities mostly as a result of migration, has led to the disruption of traditional kinship and community bonds. Nowadays people only think about earning money, they do not think about their relatives and communities, and much less about the environment.

Therefore, developing communities in remote rural areas, where residents have a tradition of interaction with the natural environment, becomes essential in order to obtain community development. By focusing on reducing disparities in wealth and income and generally enabling people to have a sense that they are engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges, and that they are members of the same community (Maxwell, 1996) and how these factors can be brought more into line with environmental realities, may well lead toward greater sustainability.

The empirical results (Chapters 6) showed that a majority of the respondents think that local organisations have to organise the development of tourism; the implementation of tourism cannot succeed without community members being involved; the local people should be involved in decisions about tourism; and, that it will be beneficial for the development of tourism when more people are involved. However, local residents are pessimistic in that only a few see a role for the local community in the organisation of tourism (Tables 61-64). That is, they acknowledge the importance of participating but feel that it will not be possible.

These findings suggest that perhaps community development should first concentrate on the economic aspects of sustainability. The argument is that by focusing on the economic aspects, these in turn will lead to social and finally to environment aspects. So, more important than community participation is the need for community mobilization. These findings also suggest that the importance of formal voluntary associations as mobilizing agents in the study area has not been a strong one. Associations have not played an important role for the shaping of community development. Activities that facilitate social interaction with others in the community are mostly through informal social interaction and networks, which has a certain self-help attached to it. People engage in these activities because they have something to gain. So, again the social exchange theory is applied. People will ask, “why should I do it”? and “what do I stand to gain”? The same holds true of communities in which respondents claim the need to maintain traditional cultural activities. The problem is that local population does not see the benefit of undertaking these activities. Increasingly there is a “what’s in it for me?” attitude.

The residents need to be educated about what tourism entails and what the possible positive and negative impacts of tourism may be. Right now local people are not ready to promote sustainability in tourism development. Local people see tourism mostly as economic development; they give very little importance to the ecological consequences. They place job creation above environmental concerns. They are of the opinion that “more tourists mean more money” and do not realise what the consequences of massive tourism may be. On the other hand, the National Park has taken an opposite approach by pursuing environmental

preservation at all cost and given little emphasis to economic development. But it is difficult to persuade local people to volunteer or convince them that environmental conservation is good for the community when communities are characterised by high unemployment. The perceptions of participation in community development that emerged from the survey were consistent with much of the literature. In fact, many of the themes that emerged in this research have been discussed in the community development literature for many years.

SECTION FOUR

7.4 IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

The communities selected for this study have similar underlying characteristics in terms of culture and livelihood strategies, geographical and agricultural conditions. The distinct trend of decline in traditional collectivism and an increase in individualism is apparent. The respondents showed more individualist values and appear to have become more individualistic in attitude. There appears to be an emergence of the nuclear family and retreat from the ideal of extended family, weakening of hierarchy, weakening of traditionalism, and decrease in localism. Conflicts are very much related to the break-up of the old order and the loss of the traditional society and authority and the breakdown or disorganization of traditional forms of association. Social structural changes have taken place. People have moved away from the villages in the Peneda Gerês National Park to urban areas in Portugal and abroad; changes in the types of agricultural practices have decreased the interest in farming; improvements in roads have reduced isolation between villages and outside areas; low birth rates have led to educational restructuring and closing of the village schools; the inability to retain youth in the communities has led to the loss of social identity, as increasingly people disassociate themselves from village life; people interact less frequently, as reasons for coming together are increasingly fewer; traditional institutions such as the church are not bringing people together as often anymore; and, with the diminishing number of people still active in agriculture, there is no further need for the organisation of activities with neighbours. If, as Wilkinson (1991) argued, social interaction is central to community, this study found that opportunities for

interaction in communities in this remote rural area of Northern Portugal are eroding.

This study reflects the point made by Potts and Harrill (1998) that the strength of community bonds seems to come and go with the tides of economic fortunes. During periods of hardship or recession, we usually experience an increase in community sentiment. In periods of prosperity, the voices of frugality, mutuality, and common cause are somewhat muted. Communities in the study area are undergoing changes in adaptation to modern individualism. The traditional forms of social (and collective) interaction are not being substituted for new forms as fast as Huntington (1968) suggests. If we take the argument that moving toward sustainable community tourism should be considered a problem of social development rather than in terms of humankind versus nature simplifications and that it is communities that should be sustained to support tourism, rather than “sustainable tourism” Potts and Harrill (1998), local change requires that stakeholders participate in local development and pursue social capital in different social areas. According to this study, formal associations are not the strongest forms of creating social capital. People need to trust each other more.

The analysis indicated that most people do not participate in community affairs, are not concerned with the lack of opportunity and consider that responsibility to be that of traditional authorities and/or new forms of collective participation, based on a vertical network approach. Such participation, inevitably, leaves out most community residents. However, doubt remains if at times nonparticipation of local people does not signify resistance or a form of protest. Or, as the analysis suggests meeting locations affect participation as people in other villages may refuse to attend meetings being held in another village. In communities in remote rural areas characterised by limited social and information opportunities, resistant nonparticipation results in people not knowing what is going on. The analysis indicated a high percentage of “don’t know” responses.

Moreover, the analysis also indicated that interpersonal relations in the communities are filled with conflict; people seldom cooperate with one another and what seems to affect mostly potential leaders is gossip. These attitudes caused

by the traditional social structure of the communities prevent change from taking place. People become more individualistic as they fail to come together to pursue collective goals and traditional power structure resides with local elites, usually farmers with little knowledge of community development. Such individualistic attitudes have been shown to contribute to the disempowerment of communities and of collective action.

More often than not, development initiatives do little to increase the economic vitality of the overall community in which the project is developed, as rural areas of Portugal are characterized by deep-rooted structural and cultural obstacles to the socio-economic revival of these regions. People feel alienated from the entire development process, resulting in the perception that opportunities in the area remain limited. There is no incentive for inspiring the local people to work collaboratively in benefit of their community, encouraging them to engage in positive action.

For example, in rural areas of northern Portugal, it is argued, the local “*junta*” (*parish authority*) working closely with the municipal authorities (*Câmara Municipal*), comprises an effective political base for dealing specifically with physical (infrastructure) development. Even in this apparently local democratic situation it may be argued that decision-making power must be allocated to a few “leaders” to organise the desired improvements in better conditions and services. Due in some measure to the lasting experience of the Salazar dictatorship (1930- 1974), with its associated authoritarianism, but also for cultural reasons, people feel a sense of private helplessness arguing that they are not yet ready to take care of the local community and that decisions must be made by others. In these communities the designated decision-makers are, essentially, men; women, although the majority, play little or no direct role in public issues with their influence being restricted to the home environment.

Such obstacles discourage residents, especially the younger people, from remaining in rural areas and to participate in the development process to revive the economy and restore social cohesion. To effectively deal with the issues of community disorganisation and poverty, and to broaden participation in the

community renewal process, regional development agencies operating in depressed rural areas are increasingly acknowledging that opportunities for integrating young people in rural development planning can be increased through community-based associations.

Onyx and Bullen (2000) established that charismatic leaders are essential to community collective action and empowerment, by reducing community resistance and the feeling of inequality and dependence. People taking a leadership role were not identified in the sample. Potential of the educated or the migrant who has returned “home” to assume a leadership role has been established as unlikely due to the parochial and antagonistic criticism by local people. People who appear to want change in the community are looked at differently as rumors and gossip is spread accusing them of seeking personal interests. Gossip makes it more difficult to empower new leaders. Potential leaders opt to remain passive to avoid comments affecting their honour and reputation. Social change may be difficult exactly because new leaders are not emerging, as leadership is undermined by gossip and rumors. Furthermore, new forms of collective participation, for example community-based associations, usually do not have the legitimacy to speak on behalf of the community. They may be recognised by external actors who need to demonstrate that the community is participating, but not by the community. They may use an empowerment discourse and have excellent knowledge of the needs of the community and ideas for its development, but may not have the authority to represent the community. Such individuals have power but not authority.

The three parishes have experienced varying degrees of tourism development. Three distinct categories emerged. The category “little tourism” reflects parishes lacking basic tourism services, such as restaurants, accommodation, or organized tourism activities and is reflected in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios. The category, “some tourism”, represents parishes with a basic level of tourism accommodations and services and is reflected in Castro de Laboreiro. Finally, “developed tourism” that reflects parishes with a diverse array of visitor services, including a wide range of accommodations and a variety of attractions and services is reflected in Vilar da Veiga. In Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-ambos-os-Rios there are few tourism

services available whereas Vilar da Veiga offers a wide array of visitor services, including a wide range of accommodation and a variety of attractions and services.

So, one of the parishes selected for this study (Vilar da Veiga) receives most of the tourism to the National Park while the other two parishes receive much fewer tourists, Entre-Ambos-os-Rios of which most stay at a camping site, and Castro de Laboreiro where accommodation is limited to two units. Seasonal tourism employment in Vilar da Veiga seems to be drawing younger people in search of employment in its local tourism-based economy, in Entre-Ambos-os-Rios and Castro de Laboreiro there is a growing elderly population increasingly economically inactive.

Whereas in Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-ambos-os-Rios employment is higher in agriculture, in Vilar da Veiga it is more tourism-related employment. The subsistence agriculture practiced in the communities provides little income. Of the respondents who claim that their income is derived from agriculture, this income is based mostly on subsidies for cultivating certain products, keeping certain animals or having adapted to a part-time activity.

The economic development in Vilar da Veiga since the 1970's has drawn in migrants from other parts of Portugal (INE, 2002b) who may not know, care about, or accept local customs and knowledge that would allow them to work and live in harmony with the local natural environment and cultural preservation. The competitive economic behaviour that brings them to Vilar da Veiga in the first place may actually hinder or prevent appropriate social behaviour to promote local development.

Murphy (1985) stressed resident involvement early in the tourism planning process before key and often irreversible, decisions are made. A decade later, Joppe (1996) "revisited" sustainable community tourism development arguing that the concept of community development itself, its objectives and players, is in need of review. Potts and Harrill (1998) emphasised that when developing tourism planners should take into consideration the oral and written traditions that may

serve as key to understanding local cultures, if one is to fully appreciate how residents interact with one another and their environment. In this study, findings suggest that communities acquire few benefits from tourism because they have little control over the ways in which tourism is developed and their views are rarely heard. Residents believe that tourism should have a role in the local economy. The general trend points to attitudes that local people should be the leading beneficiaries of increased employment, but should not have a voice at the level of decision-making. Local people should be consulted and accordingly tourism policies should be re-considered. The implementation of tourism cannot succeed without community members being involved and that the people should be consulted, but the final decision on the tourism development should be the concern of only a few people (from outside the community).

Evidence suggests that involving the local community at the beginning of the development process can be effective. Communities that share responsibility for finding solutions to local development problems often find that these are more effective than imposed solutions. Overall, residents are not given the opportunity to participate. Neither do residents seek to participate and cooperate between villages and the region. Development is regarded by the communities as a top-down approach that should be led and supported by the state or “outside” intervention, and from public funds (Dargan and Shucksmith, 2008). It was suggested that education and information is needed to raise awareness and concern and to give the local people the opportunity to participate in order to build the necessary capacity to gather the necessary knowledge, skills and experience in order to assure that more thorough planning takes place.

It was argued that migrants upon returning, leaving prosperous, industrialized areas with high living standards to return to their community of origin where unemployment is high and services limited, bring little if any benefits that could contribute to changes and the development of the community. But there is no difference in level of community participation by those who have and those who have not lived outside the community. Having spent time outside the parish has had no influence on joining community-based associations, returning migrants do not bring back valuable work skills, new ideas and attitudes and capital needed for

the development of the community. Also, findings reported here are inconsistent with the literature—the length of residence is not significantly related to attitudes to tourism development. In addition, the length of residence is not significantly related to attitudes to role of the National Park or attitudes to community solidarity.

Findings initially suggest that communities with a higher stock of social capital succeeded in organizing themselves more rapidly and efficiently than communities which had a lower stock of social capital. However, in accordance with Putnam's theory, this hypothesis cannot be applied to the communities in the Peneda Gerês National Park because this study did not separate the active association members from passive ones. As such, it is not possible to determine if social capital in terms of active membership is positively related to community development. Additionally, stakeholders who are more attached to the community (even though local perceptions of community may vary) are more likely to be more involved in community development; high community attachment leads to community participation.

There appears to be a problem of capacity building related to disillusion of association participants. Interview respondents implied that people (including association members) feel intimidated and helpless when it comes to community development. Respondents believe that they are fundamentally incapable of getting anything that they really want and accept the way things are because they do not believe that they could possibly make things different. They either believe that they do not know enough to make suggestions or do not believe anyone would pay attention to what they want anyway. The literature review argued of the necessity of building the capacity of a community to solve its own problems. One of the ways that was pointed out to fill the gap between what residents need and the community's limited capacity to meet those needs is through intermediaries capable of convening stakeholders and providing local capacity for change. Community-based associations could fill that gap—but that is not the perception of most respondents. The hypothesis that associations can aid community development because they provide more opportunities for engaging residents does not seem to be supported in the Northern Portugal context –

because of the way that associations function in local communities. Membership of community-based associations has some importance for the creation of social trust, but their influence is generally weak. The importance of associations is indeed limited.

There was no significant relationship between association membership and levels of education, employment type, occupation or full or part time employment. In the interview, respondents were asked about their associational membership at the date of the survey and they indicated the number of associations in which they currently participate. Respondents also indicated their degree of involvement following an ordered variable with three alternatives. Specifically, respondents may participate irregularly in associational activities, participate regularly in an activity of the association, or assume responsibilities. Those employed locally may become a member of a local association, but mostly as passive members. They use the membership in the association as a form of identifying themselves with the community but not necessarily take initiatives. Their idea of contributing or getting involved in networks of mutual support or associations is to become a member. The annual membership fee is their way of contributing to the association and entails that services be provided for them.

Even though activity in voluntary associations is decreasing, respondents are increasingly acknowledging a role for cooperative efforts to overcome traditional power distribution and the lack of awareness by residents. Respondents point to the need of establishing channels of communication with outside entities concerning tourism development. Local associations are expected to have a bigger role in influencing decision-makers. Although respondents agree that it is important for residents to participate, respondents could not specify how that could be achieved.

Communities appear to be socially backward and residents are unable to cooperate with one another on issues of concern. The fact that respondents claimed to be more attached to the village than to the parish illustrates how parishes seldom work well as a unit. Perhaps it is due to the deep historical roots which appear to contribute to a general lack of communication and horizontal networking.

However, tensions between modernisation and traditional values are slowly beginning to be addressed. People appear to want to break with the past, but traditional authority and power remains very much alive. Communities continue being dominated by others. People do not feel empowered and feel that their participation will have no effect and that the decisions are made by others. Residents show little resilience for changes in attitudes that could lead to community empowerment. Low levels of participation indicate low social capital in the communities.

Stakeholders who are more attached to the community (even though local perceptions of community may vary) are more likely to be more involved in community development. High level of attachment to place indicates bonding capital. People living in communities with higher levels of tourism development have the strongest sense of attachment. High community attachment leads to community participation.

Accordingly, the findings initially suggest that communities with a higher stock of social capital (Vilar da Veiga) succeeded in organizing themselves more rapidly and efficiently than communities which had a lower stock of social capital (Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios). However, as mentioned in Chapter 6, Putnam's hypothesis cannot be applied to the communities in the Peneda Gerês National Park because this study did not separate the active association members from passive ones. As such, it is not possible to determine if social capital in terms of active membership is positively related to community development.

Residents tend to criticise the National Park for the lack of interest, inactivity, lack of motivation, setting bad examples, complete abandonment of common lands, distrust, lack of concern for the resident population and preoccupation with conservation only. Basically, residents expected a commitment to local cooperation with the National Park authorities, in particular to exchange information and promote social and economic development in the community in an environmentally responsible way. In other words, residents seek sustainable development for their communities. The idea of a national park is welcomed by residents who want to continue their traditional land-use and take into account the

socio-economic and ecological diversity of their communities. But the fact of living in a national park has not helped communities move toward sustainability.

It was perceived that one of the primary assets of the communities studied is that people want to live there, but need to find a way to make it possible. There are numerous psychosocial barriers to remote communities actively participating in local development. These include factors such as a lack of individual self worth, community cohesion, and unseen cultural rules. For example, in such communities there is a silent, unquestioning obedience to authority that arose out of severe patriarchal structures. The result is that individuals often do not take initiative to insert change unless directly instructed to by an authority. In such situations, attempting to encourage community participation is extremely difficult under these circumstances (see Freire, 1972; Lerner, 1986; Silva, 1994; Rubin and Rubin, 1992; Sofield, 2003). The lack of social cohesion may be impairing community development. Social cohesion involves building shared values and communities of interpretation, reducing disparities in wealth and income and generally enabling people to have a sense that they are engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges, and that they are members of the same community (Kadushin, 2002). It was also demonstrated that people may not get involved for cultural reasons as a perception that “others”, such as the State, should be a provider of services, appears to predominate, a perception that which eliminates nearly all incentives for community solidarity.

Respondents were very positive about tourism development and the impacts generated. A person’s employment status, type of job, and economic work sector can all have an influence on personal well-being and on support for tourism. The more dependent a person is financially on the tourism industry, the higher the support. Respondents’ ratings of present conditions and tourism’s influence on particular aspects of quality of life show that while respondents generally agree, there are some differences between parishes.

The community with the most experience of tourism and most tourism employment (Vilar da Veiga) also has higher awareness of the problems. In other words, experience with tourism might allow such communities to adopt a more

balanced view of the benefits and problems – even though at the end of the day they are still in favour of continued development – because jobs depend on it. In communities with less tourism experience, there is less awareness of both positive and negative impacts, and less support for development. This attitude contrasts with much of the previous community development literature which has tended to suggest a direct and uncritical relationship between tourism employment, impact perception and support for development.

The general conclusion that can be made from this study is that residents in the communities of the National Park seem to indicate that resident perceptions depend far more on local history, local power structures and support networks than it will on tourism development *per se*. This finding was supported by Horn and Simmons (2002) that resident's perceptions of tourism depend to some extent on the relationships that community members have with each other. These relationships are influenced by the history of the area, the understandings that residents have of tourism and by the sense of control that local people feel that they have over tourism.

SECTION FIVE

7.5 EVALUATION OF THE RESEARCH

In any research involving the collection of primary data the adoption of an appropriate and robust methodology is critical in terms of the reliability and integrity of the findings. In this research the technique employed to survey the selected populations was of prime importance. As the research progressed, it became clear that the survey instrument used (face-to-face interviews) was particularly appropriate given the specific socio-demographic characteristics of the communities in the Peneda Gerês National Park.

First, the use of face-to-face interviewing using a set of predetermined and piloted questions' proved suitable for residents who were at first reluctant to participate. This initial hesitation is believed to be due, among other factors, to the low level

of educational opportunity. People felt incapable of comprehending some of the questions. Some common replies were “*do you want to talk with me? But I do not know much, I am just a simple farmer*”, “*do you want to talk with me? But that and that person can tell much more about the community*”. This was the main reason for changing the survey strategy—from ‘drop and collect’ leaving the surveys with households on an evening and then returning to pick up the completed forms the following day to face-to-face interviewing because the interviewer could allay concerns and encourage respondents to participate. Second, follow-up visits to the region, as well as attending public forums and meetings and consulting the communities to check for accuracy of some of the data permitted further clarification of the analysis.

An integral part of a well designed survey is to keep respondent mistakes and bias to a minimum. Regarding the questionnaire, problems were identified with the wording. For example, residents did not know what was meant by such terms as “local partnerships”, “mobilization”, and “social cohesion”. In the translation of the questions from the English to the Portuguese language, some deficiency became evident as local (or parochial) terminology was lacking. The interviewer provided a explanation of each term, but the question remains if the resident fully understood its meaning as, for certain respondents some questions appeared to be answered with great difficulty. It may have had to do either / both with the wording or with the actual information sought for which caused respondents difficulty in answering.

Other steps were taken to eliminate bias. Despite repeated visits, not all households were represented as its members could not be reached. Even though all homes were visited, the number of households where one of its members was interviewed was 41,3%. Here, the randomly selected individual acting as a household respondent is by definition going to be someone who is at home, so the working public and their attitudes may be underrepresented, even though the interviews took place at periods of the day when people were not working. Also, a so-called “household” respondent may produce erroneous or even invalid information—for example, when the information is known only by a specific individual and no one else.

This bias could possibly have been eliminated if the research had not been limited to one household member and/or if more households were represented in the sample (even though all were given equal opportunity). More varied socio-demographic variables would probably have ensured a cross section of the community. Another possibility would have been mixing household surveys with local business establishments, e.g. to further determine the economic impact of tourism in the community.

There was, it is argued, no bias with respect to the gender representation in the sample, as the actual population is composed of a comparable (similar to the census 2001 figures) distribution between male and female. However, given the traditional norms and customs of the communities, one would expect to have more female respondents. Women are expected to care for the house, so they are expected to spend more time there. On the other hand, residents in general, but women more specifically, appeared to not want to be burdened by the questionnaire and the fact that they seemed to mistrust intentions of people from outside the community, a problem endemic to traditional societies that has been mentioned by other researchers in an earlier study.

Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996) stated that women were reluctant to talk to strangers and to receive them within the domains of their homes in regions where traditional norms and customs prevail. On one of the visits to the communities, an enquiry was made as to why women were receptive to the interviews. The answer was that the interviewers were young females and local people so wanted to help them develop their academic careers. Had they been male, women would not have permitted them to enter their homes. So it was not because the surveys were conducted at the comfort and more familiar surroundings of the resident's home or place of work, but rather because the interviewers were female. This was quite a learning experience and contradicts (partially) the study of Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1996) who noted that in regions where traditional norms and customs prevail, gender representation in the sample is biased as it is predominantly composed of males due to the reluctance of women in traditional societies to talk to strangers and to receive them within the domains of their homes.

Nevertheless, the older women were difficult to convince because they reasoned that their husbands would be better to interview because they had more knowledge than them. This perception of older women reflects the socio-cultural structure of the community in which there is still a tendency for male domination in the socio-economic and political life of the community.

Empirical evidence (see section 6.3.7) suggests that traditional gender roles in the community are an obstacle to tourism development. Hemmati (1999) argues that tourism presents women with the challenge of altering their traditional multiple roles in their community, by generating independent income, and the gender stereotypes associated with it. However, responses provided by women to refuse the interview suggests that gender stereotypes prevail and women are not being empowered in economic, social, cultural and political terms. Women are still not much involved in tourism activities, or involved in decision-making and local power structures. Decisions are still taken informally and with a heavy male emphasis and role. There may be elements of less formal involvement which are difficult to capture in the research. Thus, the social structures of the communities may have influences on the responses.

Furthermore, it could be that some of the findings about lack of involvement also reflect the unwillingness of certain people to respond to direct questioning. This attitude was more evident in the above 55 age group, particularly women respondents. Women had the most difficulty in understanding the open questions, particularly regarding tourism development and the role of the Peneda Gerês National Park. Most of the responses to the open questions were by male respondents. The question remains whether women, not being really involved, actually exercise influence indirectly, by passing on messages/opinions/suggestions to the men who are. There may be informal ways in which decisions are taken and influenced, even if these do not show through in the data. The same point may apply to age.

The focus of this research is the perceptions of residents in relation to community development and not necessarily to gain an insight into positions of policy towards tourism and community development in the region. As such interviews

with representatives of outside organizations/operators involved in community development and tourism development in particular in the region were not conducted.

This study demonstrates there are a number of methodological limitations of using quantitative data when studying the role of community-based associations in community and tourism development. Some of these limitations could be overcome by the application of a qualitative dimension to gain greater insights into the history of membership and the reasons for joining / not joining associations both without and within the community and the level of active membership. It would be interesting to determine if early involvement in associations leads to greater engagement in association activities, towards a perspective of entrepreneurship and open to change later in life. Such a study should, it is suggested, be based upon in-depth interviews of residents, e.g. those who are negative about tourism to further understand their views about what they are experiencing and what they perceive as the effects, if any, of community and tourism development policies. In addition, the in-depth interviews could be used to identify and examine other factors that may influence community support for tourism development, such as perception of the local economy and the use of tourism resources by residents and visitors. This information is not offered in the quantitative data.

Upon reflection, given what I know now about methodology, I would not have adopted a purely quantitative approach. Rather, I would have opted for a mix method to include a qualitative approach. More research needs to be undertaken before the association between community participation and tourism development is more clearly understood. A qualitative approach using follow-up in-depth interviews with prominent local members of the communities and tourism industry, as well as representatives of local authorities and local associations to discuss the findings of the research while beyond the scope of the research reported here will nevertheless be undertaken as part of an ongoing commitment to research in this topic.

7.6 SUMMARY

This chapter explores the main findings of the research questions based on the aim and objectives of this study. Findings suggest that basically we have communities with high bonding and low bridging capital. So, even those involved with the local associations are more worried about their own village than anything else, and this means that very little change happens. As a result, it could not be proven that trust and development are associated with each other. Also, associational activity is perceived as weak and not positively related to community development. Accordingly, the findings initially suggest that communities with a higher stock of social capital (Vilar da Veiga) succeeded in organizing themselves more rapidly and efficiently than communities which had a lower stock of social capital (Castro de Laboreiro and Vilar da Veiga). However, Putnam's hypothesis cannot be applied to the communities in the Peneda Gerês National Park because this study did not separate the active association members from passive ones. As such, it is not possible to determine if social capital in terms of active membership is positively related to community development.

Findings further suggest that there is a relationship between tourism development and residents' perceptions of community well-being. It confirms the usefulness of social exchange theory principles in explaining the host community's attitudes toward tourism—that residents' attitudes towards tourism depend on the expected costs and benefits of tourism.

Due to that fact that residents are not given the opportunity to participate, it was suggested that education and information is needed to raise awareness and concern and to give the local people the opportunity to participate in community development.

There is no difference in level of community participation by those who have and those who have not lived outside the community. The fact of having spent time outside the parish has had no influence on joining community-based associations, returning migrants do not bring back valuable work skills, new ideas and attitudes and capital needed for the development of the community. Also, findings reported

here are inconsistent with the literature—the length of residence is not significantly related to attitudes to tourism development. In addition, the length of residence is not significantly related to attitudes to role of the National Park or attitudes to community solidarity.

Membership of community-based associations has some importance for the creation of social trust, but their influence is generally weak. The importance of associations is indeed limited. Furthermore, there was no significant relationship between association membership and levels of education, employment type, occupation or full or part time employment.

Stakeholders who are more attached to the community (even though local perceptions of community may vary) are more likely to be more involved in community development. High level of attachment to place indicates bonding capital. People living in communities with higher levels of tourism development have the strongest sense of attachment. High community attachment leads to community participation.

Generally speaking, people are not coming together (cooperation) to decide what needs to be done and reach consensus on how to accomplish needed tasks. If collective actions are the means through which individuals overcome feelings of helplessness (Rubin and Rubin, 1992: 43) and such actions are facilitated by a sense of trust and people's participation, the way individuals interact with other community members does not constitute a promising means for organising the community and contribute to community development.

The chapter concludes with the identification of certain limitations of this study and addresses them in order to contribute to improvements in more research in the future.

Chapter 8, the final chapter, reviews possible contributions to further research and concludes with policy recommendations to facilitate future investigations in regions and communities with similar characteristics.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONTRIBUTIONS TO FURTHER RESEARCH AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

Whereas the previous chapter concluded with an evaluation of this study and sought to address these in order to contribute to improvements in any further research that may be undertaken in this or similar contexts, this chapter presents a brief review of the possible contribution of this research to the study of communities in remote rural areas. This review then leads to a series of policy recommendations. Finally, a range of issues and questions requiring additional attention to future research are identified and discussed and, recommendations put forward to facilitate future investigations.

8.1 CONTRIBUTION OF THIS STUDY

This study examines the attitudes, perceptions and involvement of residents of three communities to determine whether there is an association between social capital and tourism development and to what extent local networking through community based associations plays a role. The study is aimed at understanding the capacity of community based associations to bring about positive change in communities by empowering grassroots entrepreneurs and the associations in which they are members to aim for the degree and type of tourism development desired by the local community.

Findings suggest that increasingly residents' attitudes towards tourism depend on the expected costs and benefits of tourism. More involvement in decision-making could create a more positive attitude to change among local residents, but residents are not given the opportunity to participate. It was suggested that education and information is needed to raise awareness and concern and to give the local people the opportunity to participate in community development and create social trust. Membership in community-based associations reflects the existing levels of social trust in the communities. Findings suggest that the influence of local associations in community development is generally weak. The

importance of associations is indeed limited. There was no significant relationship between association membership and levels of education, employment type, occupation or full or part time employment.

There is no difference in level of community participation by those who have and those who have not lived outside the community. The fact of having spent time outside the parish has had no influence on joining community-based associations, returning migrants do not bring back valuable work skills, new ideas and attitudes and capital needed for the development of the community. The findings reported here are inconsistent with the literature—the length of residence is not significantly related to attitudes to tourism development, neither is the length of residence significantly related to attitudes to role of the National Park or attitudes to community solidarity.

Stakeholders who are more attached to the community (even though local perceptions of community may vary) are more likely to be more involved in community development. High level of attachment to place indicates bonding capital. In this study those people living in communities with higher levels of tourism development demonstrated the strongest sense of attachment suggesting a relationship between the degree of community attachment and the extent of community participation.

Due to their physical isolation and historical tradition of informal networking, the communities may benefit from developing a culture of networking accomplished through social capital building. It should be emphasized, however, that social capital can be difficult to build and still more difficult to maintain. In any case it is not a short-term activity. It requires diligence in maintaining the networks created over time. Remote rural communities face many specific problems, which cannot be overcome by individual actors working in isolation. The building of links between and among various stakeholders constitutes the core of social capital; they are based on mutual expectations, obligations and trust. Lyons (2002) reinforces the position that social capital encourages more cooperation than competition among socially linked entrepreneurs and other players in community development.

In the three communities studied, the lack of social capital building measures is closely associated to the obstacles to local development. For example, in Vilar da Veiga the tourism potential of the area has led to gradual development of tourism related economic activity in the form of family businesses (micro enterprises), usually operated by the entrepreneur and another family member (most likely the spouse). The increasing economic critical mass in Vilar da Veiga led to the establishment of community links, e.g. pooling of resources (creation of professional associations). Multiple stakeholders have been involved and are working together in partnership. Yet, some of the stakeholders are not satisfied with the performance of other stakeholders, e.g. Regional Tourism Board, in tourism development.

Whereas Vilar da Veiga is a good example of the building of social capital, the more traditional nature of Castro de Laboreiro and Entre-Ambos-os-Rios has proved an obstacle to building social capital. Perhaps a regional scope based on the creation of a supportive environment for entrepreneurship would be appropriate. Every rural region can become entrepreneurial by organizing themselves to develop entrepreneurs (Lyons, 2002). What is needed to increase economic benefits to local communities, Keller (1987) argues, is optimal management by outside agents [in this case local authorities or the national park authorities] to direct the way in which a regional destination [Peneda Gerês National Park] develops, explore areas of mutual interest and seek ways of cooperation, especially by supporting horizontal networks in the community. Horn and Simmons (2001) suggest that local authorities may be able to assist communities to cope with tourism, but they need time to do so [possibly because the potential entrepreneur is neither well educated nor undergone training but generally is worked experienced]. Assisting potential entrepreneurs and local residents in general with technical assistance may be more valuable than “handouts”.

Social capital is a key concept in academic research related to features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions by instilling confidence that new problems can be tackled and resolved by groups within communities (Putnam,

1993). It focuses attention on social relationships, values, and access to resources in the pursuit of community development. However, research on social capital is practically non-existent in Portugal. To date, we know very little about how social capital is distributed within communities in Portugal (and in the specific case of communities in the Peneda Gerês National Park). The existing surveys (e.g., INE, Eurobarometer or European Social Surveys) and studies on this subject have taken a fragmented approach to the concept of social capital and are restricted to the association of economic values and beliefs with socio-demographic characteristics. They also fail to include the analysis of behaviours and the impact all these variables may have on economic performance indicators (FCT, 2006). Only a handful of studies have informed our understanding of social capital in Portugal. One of the few projects undertaken in the last few years was “Economic Values, Beliefs and Behaviours: Impacts on economic development at the regional and national levels”, funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (FCT) (Foundation for Science and Technology). The research for the FCT project was expected to provide insight as to the impact of values and beliefs upon economic performance and what is the process through which such variables relate to economic growth and the role of human and social capital in understanding differences and patterns in this relationship.

Whereas the FCT project was considered innovative and ground-breaking endeavour in the area of economic sociology in Portugal and fills an existing gap in the study of the psycho-sociological facets of the economy, this study is the first of its kind in the region where the Peneda Gerês National Park is situated, fulfilling a need to identify policy changes and the adoption of new approaches to community development in a multi-municipal environment.

This study sought to analyze the role of community based associations in pursuing social capital in the Peneda Gerês National Park, Portugal. According to the theory proposed by Putnam (2000) that interaction between individuals generates nets and norms of reciprocity and confidence, it was argued that membership in voluntary associations could increase trust between members of the community, thus enhancing the capacity of those individuals to take a more participatory role to make the choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and

outcomes in the process of community development. Such variables (capacity building, empowerment and participation) are shown to be linked to improved levels of economic performance.

It is intended that the findings of this research will be drawn to the attention of local, regional and national decision-makers and will prompt their awareness of the opportunity to explore the role of community based associations as a facilitator of social capital building for pursuing community development as an approach to addressing the unique needs of, not only communities in the Peneda Gerês National Park, but also in other communities in remote rural areas. It is hoped that this study will stimulate debate and discussion, and lead to enhanced cooperation by engaging stakeholders in reaching out to improve the quality of life of communities in remote rural areas.

8.2 POLICY PROPOSALS

Gunn (1986) noted that tourism has emerged as a powerful economic engine and nearly every region and community engage in its promotion. Gunn (1988) also concluded that communities seeking to develop or increase tourism should realize that the issue of support is complex. Gursoy and Rutherford (2003) pointed out that community leaders and developers thinking of developing tourism need to consider perceptions and attitudes of residents before they start investing scarce resources if a proposed development is to be successful. This study could be considered a first step towards creating a development strategy for successful cooperation, based on supporting local actor networks in remote rural communities.

The results, findings and implications of this study can provide information to improve decision making by involving associations and contribute to sustainable tourism and community development in the study region. As such, this section provides recommendations for enabling local stakeholders—planners, decision-makers, business operators, potential investors and communities—to determine the future role of tourism in the Peneda Gerês National Park region.

Based on the literature review in Chapters two and three, the background on the study area in Chapter 4 and the empirical data presented and discussed in Chapters six and seven, the following recommendations are made for engaging stakeholders particularly the community-based associations in a mandate for developing local partnerships and increasing participation and experiences with communities in the pursuit of local development.

Recommendation 1: Local authorities and/or the National Park authorities should encourage specific policies and initiatives to increase the access of the poor segments of the communities to the economic benefits of tourism. It is suggested that such measures would support local capacity building most notably the strengthening of community-based associations and promoting partnerships among community-based associations aimed at providing low-income segments of the community with the necessary training, thus obtaining the skills required to benefit from tourism development. If local tourism planning efforts are to be successful, some stakeholders may need extra assistance and training to be effectively involved.

Recommendation 2: This study argues that a major barrier to community development is the absence of an explicit communication policy between the various stakeholders. The lack of a regional communication structure is a major obstacle to the pursuit of a regional development. There appears to be no common vision for the multi-municipality region in which the Peneda Gerês National Park is situated and information on ideas and policies is practically inexistent. Effective development of the communities may depend on effective vertical communication linkages between the communities and external organizations, including the Municipal and the National Park Authorities. Such general lack of vertical communication is certainly an issue that needs to be examined further.

Recommendation 3: As this study is based on community development with an emphasis on tourism in a National Park region it would be advisable to start sustainable tourism development based on a regional strategy, but from a bottom-up, community approach. Findings indicate that stakeholders hold little

confidence that tourism is taken seriously and that the National Park authorities lack political will to provide adequate resources for tourism development. The track record of the Peneda Gerês National Park clearly demonstrates that as an organisation it has provided no guidance and played no facilitating role in community development. In fact, findings indicate that no organization or authority has accepted responsibility for managing tourism development in the Park. Aside from the five municipalities which have part of their territory within the boundaries of the National Park, no one agency has indicated that tourism came within their jurisdiction or indicated that they should be responsible for its development. In terms of sustainable tourism development, this is an important finding and has implications for the management of the Park. Presently, it is not possible to determine if communities characterized as highly integrated in tourism decision-making experiences have greater socioeconomic benefits over another community distinguished by a low level of integration since communities are generally not integrated in any organisation or association of stakeholders.

Recommendation 4: Professional development and training has been limited to community members whom are known for their lack of entrepreneurship. Furthermore, when the training session ends, there is no provision for supervising potential initiatives by the community. People sensing helplessness will possibly feel more apt and encouraged to get involved if they sense support by technicians (external/professional support). As such, external organizations need to provide community residents with professional development and training in the areas of community development and creative partnerships in order to promote the value and importance of organisational involvement in the development of communities and to potential community partners.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

As expected in all research, there are findings, issues and questions requiring additional attention to future research. The following recommendations are made:

Recommendation 1: Empirical findings reveal that the State serves to try to promote conservation through legislation by creating the national park. However,

the State has been incapable of handling management at the local level with either of the two available instruments—the Municipal and the National Park Authorities. This tendency warrants a focused independent study with respect to the top down management approach and the relationship between the National Park, Municipal Authorities and the local communities. If there is to be a concentrated effort to develop tourism in the region, and if the State is to establish a greater contribution to administer the resources, then it must not overlook the internal social fabric of the communities that explain the current conditions of participation and the potential for empowering community-based actors, e.g. associations.

Recommendation 2: The two sources of power within the National Park—the municipal government and the National Park Authorities—need to improve coordination in their efforts to bring about change from subsistence farming to tourism. However, this change is expected to be difficult due to the internal characteristics of communities which make it unable to organize a self-management based approach. The Municipality and the National Park Authorities, as well as other regional and national organizations need to attract investments to improve community infrastructure and social welfare. But they need to do so in a concerted effort in which a necessary feature is collaborative management with the communities. The various stakeholders in the communities need to be included in the decision-making process. As this study is based on stakeholder involvement at a community level and research results point to the importance of local involvement in sustainable development of tourism, it is recommended that further research be conducted on how people on a local level can become involved at an early stage in the planning and decision making process of the development of sustainable tourism in their communities.

Recommendation 3: Based on the findings, it is recommended that in future research on community based associations questions should be included to determine the level of participation by its members. This study has demonstrated that it is not sufficient to ask respondents whether they are a member of an association, when we really need to know how involved they have been as a member.

Recommendation 4: Future research should focus on whether social capital in terms of active membership has any correlation to local economic growth. Such findings may have implications for policymakers.

Recommendation 5: This research enquired about the residents' "sense of community", including community behavior and social networks. It is suggested that future research in community development should broaden the study of networks and social support to include measures of network characteristics. For example, the number of people maintaining social contact (not necessarily limited to association membership), geographic dispersion and transport facilities which may influence frequency of contact, the extent to which network members are in each other's networks, frequency of contact between network members, strength of ties, social participation and level of involvement in the community (Bowling, 1997).

Such data could help determine the most relevant way to inspire greater community participation. Evidence suggests that it may not be through traditional social networks. Perhaps it could be through the empowering of women or of youth as the key agents of change for community sustainability. For example, empirical evidence suggests that the younger the respondents the more open they were to the environmental conservation policies of the national park and to possibly becoming members of parish-wide associations (as compared to older age groups that restrict membership to the village-level). Women, though much fewer in terms of association membership, were also more open to working at a parish-wide level. However, as this study used association membership based upon alternative means to traditional social networks to examine participation rates per se, notions of organisational relations were not explored. As such, it is not possible to determine if social capital in terms of active membership is positively related to community development.

Recommendation 6: Studies show that when people were "pulled" into urban centres and other countries, perceiving emigration as the best solution to the economic difficulties of life, few left the villages without some intention of returning to live there at some future time (Leeds, 1977). In this study, returnees

were quite common in the sample. The findings indicate that returnees are relatively inactive in the community because the social relationships they expected to have waiting for them in the community are no more. Changes in society have also affected social relations and interaction in the community. Empirical evidence confirms that returnees become more passive in their relationship with the community. Yet, returnees can provide the capital which often is a serious obstacle to development and possibly establish a more entrepreneurial orientation in local commerce and possibly community planning. The question remains, what are the obstacles to more participation by returnees? So, they do not find the ideal community that they pictured in their dreams. Once they confront reality, they have to make choices. Future research is suggested to determine what is necessary to influence a more pro-active approach on the part of returning migrants.

8.4 SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed the potential contribution of this study to bringing about change in regional institutions working in the context of community development. Such institutions need to look outside the organisation to address the concerns of the communities. Hence, opportunities for social interaction and mobilisation to form networks and take collective action through participation to respond to changes needed within the community. Consequently, a series of policy recommendations are made. Finally, there are a couple of findings, issues and questions requiring additional attention to future research and recommendations are also proposed to facilitate future investigations.

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APPENDIX 1

SURVEY INSTRUMENT (ENGLISH)



INSTITUTO SUPERIOR POLITÉCNICO
DE VIANA DO CASTELO
Escola Superior
de Tecnologia e Gestão



Survey of local participation in tourism development in the National Park Peneda Gerês

I am currently undertaking some research for the Polytechnic Institute of Viana do Castelo on the subject of local participation in tourism development in the National Park of Peneda Gerês. I would greatly appreciate if you could spare a few minutes of your time to answer some questions designed to assess your opinions about general issues related to tourism development and citizen participation, specifically in your community. It is important that we obtain your responses as your views will represent views of many others who think like you, but whom we cannot interview. We are not interested in getting your name on the questionnaire, so all information you provide will be strictly confidential. You must be at least 16 years of age to complete this questionnaire.

Living outside the parish. This first section is to determine whether or not you have ever lived outside this parish, be it in another parish in Portugal or in a different country, and at what point in your life you did so.

1. Current place of residence: village _____ parish _____
2. How long have you lived in this parish? _____ years [] all my life *(please go to question 15)*
3. Have you lived for some time outside this parish
 - a) In another parish in Portugal? [] Yes [] No *(please go to question 15)*
 - b) In another country? [] Yes [] No *(please go to question 15)*
4. Were you of 16 or less years of age when you lived outside this Parish? [] Yes [] No *(please go to question 5)*
 - a) In another parish in Portugal? Name: _____ for _____ years, between _____ - _____
 - b) In another country. Name: _____ for _____ years, between _____ - _____

(Please go to question 6)
5. If you have lived in another parish in Portugal, please name the parish and the municipality where you lived for the longest time as an adult?
 - a) Name of Parish/Municipality: _____ / _____, for _____ years, between _____ - _____
 - b) As an adult, what did you do in that Parish?

[] Self-employed	[] Employed
[] Unemployed	[] Retired
[] Full-time student <i>(please go to question 7)</i>	
 - c) In which industry did you work and what was the last job/position that you held in the parish that you lived the longest in, outside this parish?
 Industry: _____ Job/position: _____
6. If you have lived in another country as an adult in which other country did you live for the longest time as an adult?
 - a) Name of Country: _____, for _____ years, between _____ - _____
 - b) As an adult, what did you do in the country that you lived in the longest?

[] Self-employed	[] Employed
[] Unemployed	[] Retired
[] Full-time student <i>(please go to question 7)</i>	
 - c) In which industry did you work and what was the last job/position that you held in the country that you lived the longest in, outside Portugal?
 Industry: _____
 Job/position: _____

7. Did you join any local associations while living outside this parish:

In another municipality in Portugal?

Yes No

In a country other than Portugal?

Yes No

Never joined associations while living outside this parish

Yes No

If yes, why? _____

(please go to question 15)

(For purposes of this study, an “association” is considered an organization where people voluntarily get together for purposes of getting involved and participate more in community affairs, develop and/or strengthen local partnerships, develop and seek funding for local development initiatives, provide social services (sports, social and cultural activities), mobilise local people and increase communication between local residents).

8. Which of the following activities did the local association(s) that you joined in outside this parish undertake?
(please check all that apply)

Statement	In another parish of Portugal <i>(please answer questions 11-14)</i>	In a country other than Portugal <i>(please answer questions 12-14)</i>
Facilitate contact with people from my country of origin		
Facilitate contact with people from my parish of origin		
Permit residents to be involved in decisions about community development		
Developing local partnerships		
Strengthening local partnerships		
Seeking funding for local development initiatives		
Recreational activities for members only		
Recreational activities for general population		
Increase communication between local residents		
Mobilising local people		
Protecting community interests		
Provided activity opportunities for young people		
Facilitate employment opportunities		
Provided cultural and traditional events and activities, e.g. folklore groups		
Other. Which?		

9. What did you learn about the running of, and the factors influencing the success of, local associations while living in another parish in Portugal, outside this parish?

Running of: _____

Success factors: _____

10. Why did you join a local association in the parish in Portugal that you lived in, outside this parish?

11. Do you think that living in another Parish in Portugal has influenced your attitudes towards local associations?

Yes

No

Why or why not? _____

12. What did you learn about the running of, and the factors influencing the success of, local associations while living in another country?

Running of: _____

Success factors: _____

13. Why did you join a local association in the country other than Portugal that you lived in?

14. Do you think that living in a country other than Portugal has influenced your attitudes towards local associations?

Yes No Why or why not? _____

Community and Associations. In this section we would like to have your opinions on some aspects of place attachment and participation in local associations. We are interested simply in what you yourself think. Please remember that your answers will be treated in the strictest confidence.

15. What does “community” and ‘community development’ mean to you? – three key words for each?

“Community”: _____

“Community Development”(what type of development): _____

16. Please look at the statements on the left hand side of the following table. Check one of the boxes that corresponds the closest to how you feel about the statements. If you have not formed an opinion about an issue, please check the response marked “Not Decided”.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Decided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am more attached to my village than to my parish.					
There is a more strong sense of community at the parish level than there is at the village level.					
People work together to get things done more at the village than at the parish level.					
People would get along better if each one would mind his own business and others take care of theirs.					
I would never join an association in this parish that is <u>not</u> located in this village.					
What goes on in other villages of this parish is not of my concern.					
I never participate in activities in other villages of this parish.					

17. Do you now or have you ever belonged to one or more associations in this parish that gets involved in community issues and problems?

Yes (*please go to question 19*) No

18. If you have **never belonged** to any of the associations in this parish please specify two of the reasons why in order of importance?

1st _____
 2nd _____

(*please go to question 22*)

19. How many local associations are you a member of? _____

20. In what two associations are you most active?

1st _____
 2nd _____

21. From the previous question, please indicate (X) which activities the two associations are involved in.

Activities	Association 1	Association 2
Developing local partnerships		
Strengthening local partnerships		
Seeking funding for local development initiatives		
Recreational activities for local residents in general		
Increase communication between local residents		
Mobilising people only in the village where the association is located		
Mobilising people at the parish level		
Protecting only the interests of the village where the association is located		
Protecting interests of the entire Parish		
Provided activity opportunities for young people		
Facilitate employment opportunities		
Permit residents to be involved in decisions about community development		
Provided cultural and traditional events and activities, e.g. folklore groups		
Other. Which?		

22. Do you think that local associations should be involved in each of the following activities? Please rank in order of importance the five activities that you think would benefit the community most if associations focused their attention on them.

Statement	Yes	No	Don't Know	Please rank the top 1 items (1 st and 2 nd)
Providing local residents with good recreational areas				
Facilitate a better community life.				
Organise more cultural and traditional events.				
Improve employment opportunities				
Encourage investment in the local economy				
Promote sensible use of the natural resources of the community				
Developing/protecting the social cohesion of the community				
Preserving built heritage				
Developing the economic base of the community				
Providing suitable training for potential entrepreneurs				
Preserving traditional local knowledge				
Associations get very little done.				

23. Please use the following table to express your opinion concerning how associations are run in the parish and who is involved in the decision-making. Please look at the statements on the left hand side of the following table. Check one of the boxes that corresponds the closest to how you feel about the statements. If you have not formed an opinion about an issue or if you are not sure how the statement applies, please check the corresponding column.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Decided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
Associations are run by people looking to promote their own interests						
Associations can work best when only a few people take leading roles						
Community improvement should be the concern of only a few leaders						
Only those who have the most time assume the responsibility for the common or public good						
Only the so-called "good men" of "good families"—lead and run the associations.						
Those individuals (of the parish) who have lived in another country(ies) and returned have a very active role in running the associations.						
Those individuals (of the parish) who have lived elsewhere in Portugal outside this Parish and returned have a very active role in running the associations						
Associations have open, egalitarian and "democratic" structures						
Most members of the associations lack the necessary skills and experience to assume a decision-making roles.						
All members have an equal opportunity and vote in the association.						
Educated individuals want nothing to do with the associations.						
The so-called "good men" of "good families"— want nothing to do with the associations.						
Those individuals (of the parish) who have lived in another country and returned want nothing to do with the associations						
Those individuals (of the parish) who have lived elsewhere in Portugal outside this parish and returned want nothing to do with the associations						

24. Why do you feel some members are more active than others in parish based associations? Please give two reasons in order of importance.

1st

2nd

25. Why do you feel some people in the parish are members of associations and others are not? Please give two reasons in order of importance.

1st

2nd

37. Tourism development can cause both positive and negative changes. Please write the most important positive changes that you feel have resulted from the development of tourism in this parish. Please give two reasons in order of importance.

1st _____
2nd _____

38. Please write the most important negative changes that you feel have resulted from the development of tourism in this parish. Please give two reasons in order of importance.

1st _____
2nd _____

39. Have parish based associations played any part in the past in tourism development?

Yes No (*please go to question 46*) Don't know

40. What is the best example, in your view, of a parish based association being involved in tourism development?

41. What part was played by the association(s)? _____
_____ Don't Know

42. How did the association(s) try to influence (the method used)? _____
_____ Don't Know

43. What was the association trying to achieve? _____
_____ Don't Know

44. Was it successful? Yes No Don't Know

45. Why was it successful/not successful? _____
_____ Don't Know

46. Do you think that, on balance, further tourism development will have either positive or negative impacts for the residents of the parish?

Positive Negative (*please go to question 48*) No opinion (*please go to question 49*)

47. What are the two most important positive impacts you feel the parish will experience in the future as a result of tourism development?

1st _____
2nd _____

48. What are the two most important negative impacts you feel the parish will experience in the future as a result of tourism development?

1st _____
2nd _____

49. What part should local associations play in future tourism development in this Parish?

Actively contributing generally influencing Actively opposing
 no part at all No opinion

50. Please give two reasons to explain your response to the previous question.

1st _____
2nd _____

Tourism in the National Park. We would like your opinion about what role the National Park has in the general development of communities and whether it has been a constructive factor for developing tourism locally.

51. The National Park has done enough in terms of: (Please look at the following statements of the following table. Check one of the boxes that corresponds the closest to how you feel about the statements. If you have not formed an opinion about an issue, or you are not sure how the statement applies, please check the corresponding columns).

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Decided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know
Creating or providing tourist accommodation units						
Creating or assisting shops selling local products						
Creating and/or improving tourist attractions						
Organizing local events						
Providing suitable training for potential entrepreneurs						
Preserving traditional economic activities						
Preserving traditional cultural activities						
Creating recreational activities for tourists and residents						
Promoting the area as a tourist destination						
Providing information and interpretation for tourists						
Improving access to villages by road						
Preserving built heritage						
Maintaining the landscape						
Promoting environmental education for local people and visitors						
Valuing traditional local knowledge						
Contributing to local employment						

52. What is the most important example, in your view, of the National Park being involved in tourism development?

53. What part was played by the National Park? _____ [] Don't Know

54. How did the National Park try to influence (the method used)? _____ [] Don't Know

55. What was the National Park trying to achieve? _____ [] Don't Know

56. Was it successful? [] Yes [] No [] Don't Know

57. Why was it successful/not successful? _____ [] Don't Know

58. Should local associations try to influence future actions by the National Park authority? [] Yes [] No

59. What is the most important aspect of the work of the national park that associations should try to influence? _____ [] Don't Know

60. In which direction (support or oppose) should associations try to influence this aspect? _____ [] Don't Know

61. Why should associations try to influence it in that way (the direction)? _____ [] Don't Know

62. Do any members of your immediate family work for the National Park? Yes No

63. Have you ever been invited by the National Park to comment on their work? Yes No

If yes, please give details (i.e. for local meetings, questionnaire, etc.): _____

Socio-demographic information. The next few questions are intended to measure and compare the responses of residents based on length of residence, occupation, and socio-demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, and place of residence.

64. Where were you born: Country: _____ Municipality: _____ Parish: _____

65. What is your age? _____

66. Gender? Male Female

67. Marital status: Single Married Widowed/divorced/separated cohabitant

68. What is the highest level of education you have already completed?

- | | | |
|--|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cannot read | <input type="checkbox"/> Primary school | <input type="checkbox"/> Between 5 and 6 years |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Between 7 and 9 years | <input type="checkbox"/> Between 10 and 12 years | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Some College | <input type="checkbox"/> College Graduate | <input type="checkbox"/> Post-Graduate Study |

69. Which of the following categories best describes your current occupation? (*Please check all options that apply.*)

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Self-employed | <input type="checkbox"/> Employed |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unemployed | <input type="checkbox"/> Student |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Retired | <input type="checkbox"/> Housewife |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Employed full time. Please specify occupation: _____ | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Employed part time. Please specify occupation: _____ | |

70. What is your principal source of income? _____

71. Does your income depend on tourism? Yes No

If yes, what percentage: less than half approx. half more than half all

72. Does your household income depend on tourism? Yes No

If yes, what percentage: less than half approx. half more than half all

Thank you for your valuable time and cooperation in this research.

APPENDIX 2

SURVEY INSTRUMENT (PORTUGUESE)



Questionário sobre a participação local no desenvolvimento turístico no Parque Nacional da Peneda Gerês

Estou neste momento a desenvolver uma pesquisa para o Instituto Politécnico de Viana do Castelo sobre o tema da participação local no desenvolvimento turístico no Parque Nacional da Peneda Gerês. Ficaria muito agradecido se pudesse dispor de alguns minutos para responder a algumas perguntas, a fim de avaliar a sua opinião sobre assuntos gerais ligados ao desenvolvimento turístico e à participação dos cidadãos, sobretudo no que se refere à sua região. As suas respostas são muito importantes, dado que a sua opinião representará a opinião de muitos outros, que não podemos entrevistar. Não estamos interessados em identificá-lo no questionário, por isso toda a informação disponibilizada será totalmente confidencial. Para preencher o mesmo deverá ter, pelo menos, 16 anos.

Viver fora da freguesia. Esta primeira secção do questionário pretende avaliar se alguma vez viveu fora da sua actual freguesia de residência, quer tenha sido em Portugal ou no estrangeiro, e em que período da sua vida tal ocorreu.

1. Local de residência: lugar _____ freguesia _____
2. Há quanto tempo vive nesta freguesia? Há _____ anos [] Vivi sempre aqui (p.f. avance para a pergunta 15)
3. Já alguma vez viveu fora desta freguesia por um determinado período de tempo?
 - a) Noutra freguesia em Portugal [] Sim [] Não (p.f. avance para a pergunta 15)
 - b) Noutro país [] Sim [] Não (p.f. avance para a pergunta 15)
4. Tinha 16 anos, **ou menos**, quando viveu fora da sua freguesia ?
[] Sim [] Não (p.f. avance para a pergunta 5)
 - a) Noutra freguesia em Portugal Qual ? _____ Durante _____ anos, entre _____ e _____
 - b) Noutro país Qual ? _____ Durante _____ anos, entre _____ e _____ (p.f. avance para a pergunta 6)
5. Se viveu noutra freguesia em Portugal, qual aquele onde viveu mais tempo em fase adulta ?
 - a) Nome da freguesia/concelho: _____ / _____ Durante _____ anos, entre _____ e _____
 - b) Nessa freguesia, e como adulto, qual era a sua situação face ao trabalho ?
[] Empregado por conta própria [] Empregado por conta de outrem
[] Desempregado [] Reformado
[] Estudante a tempo inteiro (p.f. avance para a pergunta 7)
 - c) Nessa freguesia, e como adulto, qual foi o último sector de actividade em que trabalhou e cargo respectivo?
Sector de actividade: _____ Cargo: _____
6. Se viveu noutro país, qual aquele onde viveu mais tempo em fase adulta ?
 - a) Nome do país: _____ Durante _____ anos, entre _____ e _____
 - b) Nesse país, e como adulto, qual era a sua situação face ao trabalho ?
[] Empregado por conta própria [] Empregado por conta de outrem
[] Desempregado [] Reformado
[] Estudante a tempo inteiro (p.f. avance para a pergunta 7)

c) Nesse país, e como adulto, qual foi o último sector de actividade em que trabalhou e cargo respectivo ?

Sector de actividade: _____ Cargo: _____

7. Foi membro de alguma associação enquanto viveu fora desta freguesia ?

- a) Noutro concelho em Portugal Sim Não
 b) Noutro país Sim Não
 c) Nunca pertenci a nenhuma associação Sim Não Se sim, porquê ? _____
 _____ (p.f. avance para a pergunta 15)

(Nota: no âmbito deste estudo, uma “associação” é considerada uma organização onde, voluntariamente, as pessoas se juntam a fim de; ou intervir mais nos assuntos da comunidade; ou desenvolver / fortalecer as parcerias locais; ou obter recursos financeiros para projectos e iniciativas locais; ou disponibilizar determinado tipo de serviços (de âmbito social, cultural ou desportivo); ou mobilizar a população local, contribuindo para aumentar os canais de comunicação entre as populações locais).

8. Tendo em conta a(s) associação(ões) a que pertenceu, enquanto viveu fora da freguesia, por favor assinale com uma cruz quais das seguintes frases se aplicam às mesmas:

Frases relativas às associações	Noutra freguesia (p.f. responda às questões 9-11)	Noutro país (p.f. responda às questões 12-14)
Promovem o contacto com pessoas do meu país de origem		
Promovem o contacto com as pessoas da minha freguesia de origem		
Motivam o envolvimento das pessoas nas decisões relativas ao desenvolvimento da comunidade		
Promovem as parcerias locais		
Fortalecem as parcerias locais		
Angariam recursos financeiros para iniciativas locais de desenvolvimento		
Promovem actividades recreativas apenas para os seus sócios/membros		
Promovem actividades recreativas para a população em geral		
Fortalecem a comunicação entre as populações locais		
Mobilizam as populações locais		
Protegem os interesses da comunidade		
Organizam actividades para os mais novos (jovens)		
Promovem a criação de oportunidades de trabalho		
Organizam eventos culturais e actividades tradicionais, p.e. grupo de folclore		
Outras. Quais?		

9. Ainda relativamente a essa(s) associação(ões) em Portugal, qual a ideia com que ficou no que se refere à forma como são geridas, e quais pensa serem os factores que contribuem para o sucesso da(s) mesma(s) ?

Forma de gestão: _____

Factores de sucesso: _____

10. Porque é que integrou essa(s) associação(ões) em Portugal, enquanto viveu fora da freguesia? _____

11. Pensa que o facto de ter vivido noutra freguesia em Portugal influenciou a sua atitude face relativamente ao papel desempenhado pelas associações locais ? Sim Não Porquê ? _____

12. Ainda relativamente a essa(s) associação(ões) doutro país, qual a ideia com que ficou no que se refere à forma como são geridas, e quais pensa serem os factores que contribuem para o sucesso da(s) mesma(s)?

Forma de gestão: _____
Factores de sucesso: _____

13. Porque é que integrou essa(s) associação(ões) noutra país, enquanto viveu fora da freguesia?

14. Pensa que o facto de ter vivido noutra país influenciou a sua atitude face relativamente ao papel desempenhado pelas associações locais? Sim Não Porquê ?

A comunidade e as associações. Nesta secção gostaríamos de ter a sua opinião relativamente a alguns aspectos ligados à sua comunidade e a participação nas associações locais. Recorde que todas as respostas são confidenciais.

15. Para si, o que significa “comunidade” e “desenvolvimento da comunidade”. Por favor escolha três palavras que identificam cada um dos termos.

Comunidade: _____

Desenvolvimento da comunidade (que tipo de desenvolvimento) :

16. Tendo em conta as frases incluídas na tabela seguinte, assinale com uma cruz a opção que se encontra mais próxima da sua opinião pessoal. Se não tiver opinião formada sobre uma determinada frase, assinale a coluna central.

Frases	Concordo inteiramente	Concordo	S/ opinião formada	Discordo	Discordo inteiramente
Estou mais ligado ao meu lugar que à minha freguesia					
Há um sentido mais forte de comunidade ao nível da freguesia do que ao nível do lugar					
As pessoas trabalham em conjunto para obterem o que pretendem mais ao nível da freguesia do que do lugar					
As pessoas dar-se-iam melhor se cada um se preocupasse apenas com os seus assuntos, e os outros dos seus.					
Eu nunca pertencerei a nenhuma associação desta freguesia que não seja do meu lugar					
Não me preocupa o que acontece nos outros lugares da minha freguesia					
Eu nunca participo em actividades que sejam realizadas noutros lugares da freguesia					

17. Já fez parte de uma ou mais associações da freguesia que assumam posições face a assuntos ou problemas da freguesia? Sim **(p.f., avance para a pergunta 19)** Não

18. Se **nunca foi membro** de nenhuma associação desta freguesia, por favor indique as duas razões principais para tal ter sucedido, por ordem de importância.

1ª _____

2ª _____

(p.f., avance para a pergunta 22)

19. De quantas associações é sócio/membro? _____

20. Por favor indique as duas associações onde tem uma participação mais activa.

1 _____
 2 _____

21. Relativamente às associações que identificou, p.f. assinale com X as actividades que as mesmas desenvolvem.

Actividades	Associação	Associação
Desenvolvimento de parcerias locais		
Fortalecimento de parcerias locais		
Angariação de recursos financeiros para iniciativas locais de desenvolvimento		
Organização de actividades recreativas para os residentes em geral		
Fortalecimento da comunicação entre as populações locais		
Mobilização da população do lugar onde a associação está situada		
Mobilização da população ao nível da freguesia		
Protecção do interesse do lugar onde a associação está situada		
Protecção do interesse da população de toda a freguesia		
Promoção de actividades de recreio/lazer para os mais novos (jovens)		
Promoção da criação de oportunidades de trabalho		
Envolvimento da população residente nas decisões relativas ao desenvolvimento local		
Organização de eventos/actividades culturais e tradicionais, p.e. grupo de folclore		
Outras. Quais?		

22. Tendo em conta o quadro seguinte, por favor indique se concorda ou não com o facto das associações estarem envolvidas nas actividades aí descritas. Por favor hierarquize as duas principais actividades que mais beneficiariam a comunidade onde está inserido.

Frases	Sim	Não	Não sabe	Hierarquização (1º e 2º)
Disponibilizar à população local boas áreas e actividades de lazer				
Promover uma melhoria da qualidade de vida da população local				
Organizar mais eventos culturais e tradicionais				
Promover novas oportunidades de emprego				
Promover o investimento na economia local				
Promover a utilização adequada dos recursos naturais da comunidade				
Preservar o património construído				
Promover a formação adequada, necessária aos potenciais investidores				
Preservar as tradições, os usos e costumes locais				
As associações fazem muito pouco				

23. Por favor utilize a tabela seguinte para expressar a sua opinião relativamente à forma como as associações da sua freguesia são geridas, e quem está envolvido no processo de decisão. Assinale com uma cruz a opção que se encontra mais próxima da sua opinião. Se não tem opinião formada sobre determinado assunto, ou não sabe como pronunciar-se, assinale a cruz nas colunas correspondentes.

Frases	Concordo inteiramente	Concordo	S/ opinião formada	Discordo	Discordo inteiramente	Não sabe
As associações são geridas por pessoas que visam defender os seus próprios interesses						
As associações funcionam melhor se as decisões forem tomadas por um reduzido número de pessoas						
Melhoramentos na comunidade devem ser preocupação de apenas alguns líderes						
Apenas os que têm mais tempo disponível devem assumir a responsabilidade de contribuir para o bem geral da comunidade						
Apenas pessoas com estudos devem gerir e liderar as associações						
Apenas os chamados “homens-bons” de “boas famílias” devem gerir e liderar as associações						
Os indivíduos (da freguesia) que viveram noutros países tem um papel bastante activo na gestão das associações						
Os indivíduos (da freguesia) que viveram noutras áreas de Portugal, E que voltaram, tem um papel bastante activo na gestão das associações						
As associações funcionam de forma democrática e de igualdade de direitos para todos os sócios						
A maior parte dos membros das associações não possuem a experiência e técnicas necessárias para assumirem o papel de decisores						
Todos os membros das associações têm igualdade de oportunidades de voto						
Pessoas com estudos não querem ter nada a ver com as associações						
Os chamados “homens-bons” de “boas famílias” não querem ter nada a ver com as associações						
Os indivíduos (da freguesia) que estiveram no estrangeiro, e que voltaram não querem ter nada a ver com as associações						
Os indivíduos (da freguesia) que viveram noutras áreas de Portugal, e que voltaram, não querem ter nada a ver com as associações						

24. Porque é que acha que alguns membros das associações da freguesia são mais activos que outros? Por favor indique duas razões por ordem de importância.

1 _____
2 _____

25. Como explica que algumas das pessoas da sua freguesia sejam membros de associações e outras não? Por favor indique duas razões por ordem de importância.

1 _____
2 _____

Opinião dos residentes sobre o turismo. Na secção seguinte estamos interessados em saber a sua opinião sobre o turismo, como forma de desenvolvimento de comunidades similares àquela onde vive, bem como qual o seu grau de familiaridade com essa actividade, e quem julga dever estar envolvido no processo do seu desenvolvimento. Por favor indique a sua opinião sobre cada uma das questões. Não existem respostas certas ou erradas, mas sim a sua opinião. Se não tiver opinião formada, poderá escolher essa mesma opção.

26. É a favor do desenvolvimento turístico desta freguesia ? Por favor indique duas razões por ordem de importância.

Sim Não Sem opinião

1 _____
2 _____

27. Qual é a sua opinião sobre como o turismo tem vindo a ser desenvolvido nesta freguesia ? Por favor indique duas razões por ordem de importância.

Muito positiva Positiva Nem positiva nem negativa Negativa Muito negativa

1 _____
2 _____

28. Pensa que é importante a população local ser envolvida nas decisões relativas ao planeamento e desenvolvimento turístico desta freguesia ? Por favor indique duas razões por ordem de importância.

Sim Não Sem opinião

1 _____
2 _____

29. O quanto é importante para si ser envolvido nas decisões relativas ao planeamento e desenvolvimento turístico desta freguesia ? Por favor indique duas razões por ordem de importância.

Muito importante Relativamente importante Pouco importante Nada importante
 Sem opinião

1 _____
2 _____

30. Sente que tem tido oportunidade de influenciar as decisões tomadas relativas ao sector do turismo nesta freguesia?

Não tenho tido oportunidades Tenho tido poucas ou as suficientes (p.f. avance para a pergunta 32)

31. Preocupa-o não ter tido essa oportunidade ? Por favor indique duas razões por ordem de importância.

Sim Não

1 _____
2 _____

(p.f. avance para a pergunta 36)

32. Qual a principal decisão tomada em que teve oportunidade de intervir?

33. Como tentou influenciar essa decisão? _____

34. Foi bem sucedido? (o que tentou defender foi alcançado ?) Sim Não

35. Explique a razão pela qual foi, ou não, bem sucedido _____

36. Como pensa que a oportunidade para você, ou pessoas como você, pode melhorar para participar e influenciar as decisões sobre esta freguesia?

a) Através daqueles que tomam as decisões Sim Não Como? _____

b) Através dos próprios membros da freguesia Sim Não Como? _____

37. O desenvolvimento turístico pode provocar impactes positivos e negativos. Por favor indique quais os dois mais importantes impactes positivos, que resultaram desse desenvolvimento na freguesia.

1 _____
2 _____

38. O desenvolvimento turístico pode provocar impactes positivos e negativos. Por favor indique quais os dois mais importantes impactes negativos, que resultaram desse desenvolvimento na freguesia.

1 _____
2 _____

39. As associações da freguesia desempenharam algum papel no desenvolvimento turístico?

Sim Não (p.f. avance para a pergunta 46) Desconheço

40. Sob o seu ponto de vista, qual é o melhor exemplo de envolvimento de uma associação da freguesia no desenvolvimento turístico? _____

41. Qual o papel desempenhado por essa mesma associação? _____
_____ Desconheço

42. De que forma a associação influenciou/participou (que métodos usou)? _____
_____ Desconheço

43. Quais os objectivos que a associação pretendeu alcançar? _____
_____ Desconheço

44. Foi bem sucedida? Sim Não Desconheço

45. Explique a razão pela qual foi, ou não, bem sucedida _____
_____ Desconheço

46. Que impactes acha que novos passos relativos ao desenvolvimento turístico da freguesia trarão?

Positivos Negativos (p.f. avance para a pergunta 48) Sem opinião (p.f. avance para a pergunta 49)

47. Por favor refira os dois impactes positivos mais importantes, que julga, irão suceder como resultado desse desenvolvimento.

1 _____
2 _____

48. Por favor refira os dois impactes negativos mais importantes, que julga, irão suceder como resultado desse desenvolvimento.

1 _____
2 _____

49. Que papel as associações da freguesia devem ter no futuro relativamente ao desenvolvimento turístico?

Contribuírem activamente Influenciarem na generalidade Oporem-se activamente
 Não se envolverem Sem opinião

50. Indique duas razões que justifiquem a sua opinião na questão anterior.

1 _____
2 _____

O turismo no Parque Nacional. Nesta secção gostaríamos de ter a sua opinião sobre o papel do Parque Nacional no desenvolvimento da população residente, quer na generalidade, quer especificamente no desenvolvimento do turismo.

51. O Parque Nacional desenvolveu uma actividade positiva em termos de: (Por favor leia todas as afirmações da tabela seguinte e assinale com uma cruz a opção que se encontra mais próxima da sua opinião. Se não tem opinião formada sobre determinado assunto, ou não sabe como pronunciar-se, assinale a cruz nas colunas correspondentes.

Frases	Concordo inteiramente	Concordo	S/ opinião formada	Discordo	Discordo inteiramente	Não sabe
Criar e disponibilizar unidades de alojamento turístico						
Criar ou apoiar lojas que vendam produtos locais						
Criar e/ou melhorar atracções turísticas						
Organizar eventos localmente						
Disponibilizar a formação necessária aos potenciais investidores						
Preservar as actividades económicas tradicionais						
Preservar as actividades culturais tradicionais						
Criar áreas de lazer para turistas e residentes						
Promover a área como destino turístico						
Disponibilizar informação e formas de interpretação do local para os turistas						
Melhorar as acessibilidades rodoviárias das aldeias						
Preservar o património construído						
Preservar as características da paisagem						
Promover a educação ambiental das populações e turistas						
Valorizar o saber popular das comunidades locais						
Contribuir para o aumento local das oportunidades de emprego						

52. Na sua opinião, qual é o melhor exemplo de envolvimento do Parque Nacional nas questões ligadas ao desenvolvimento turístico? _____

53. Qual o papel desempenhado pelo Parque Nacional? _____ Desconheço

54. De que forma o Parque Nacional influenciou/participou (que métodos usou?) _____ Desconheço

55. Quais os objectivos que o Parque Nacional pretendeu alcançar? _____ Desconheço

56. Foi bem sucedido? Sim Não Desconheço

57. Explique a razão pela qual foi, ou não, bem sucedido _____ Desconheço

58. Devem as associações influenciar futuros projectos promovidos pelo Parque Nacional? Sim Não

59. Qual o mais importante aspecto do trabalho desenvolvido pelo Parque Nacional, que as associações devem tentar influenciar? _____ Desconheço

60. De que modo esse aspecto deve ser influenciado? _____
_____ [] Desconheço

61. Porque é que as associações devem influenciar o Parque Nacional dessa forma? _____
_____ [] Desconheço

62. Algum membro do seu agregado familiar trabalha para o Parque Nacional? [] Sim [] Não

63. Alguma vez foi convidado pelo Parque Nacional para se pronunciar sobre o trabalho por ele desenvolvido?
[] Sim [] Não

Se respondeu sim, por favor indique em que situações _____

Informação sócio-demográfica. As perguntas seguintes pretendem reunir um conjunto de informações pessoais, a fim de permitir a sua comparação entre inquiridos de diferentes locais, e com diferentes características de índole social e económica.

64. Onde nasceu? País: _____ Concelho: _____ Freguesia: _____

65. Que idade tem? _____

66. Sexo: [] Masculino [] Feminino

67. Estado civil: [] Solteiro [] Casado [] Viúvo/divorciado/separado [] União de facto

68. Qual é o seu percurso académico?

[] não sei ler [] Escola primária [] ciclo (5º e 6º ano)
[] entre 7º e 9º ano [] entre 10º e 12º ano
[] Frequentei a Faculdade [] Licenciado [] Pós-graduação

69. Qual das seguintes categorias melhor descreve a sua ocupação actual? (**por favor indique todas as opções que se apliquem ao seu caso**)

[] Empregado por conta própria [] Empregado por conta de outrem
[] Desempregado [] Estudante
[] Reformado [] Doméstica
[] Empregado a tempo inteiro. Por favor indique a sua profissão _____
[] Empregado a tempo parcial. Por favor indique a sua profissão _____

70. Qual é a sua principal fonte de rendimento? _____

71. O seu rendimento depende do turismo? [] Sim [] Não

Se sim, em que percentagem?

[] menos de metade [] aproximadamente metade [] mais de metade [] Todo

72. Os rendimentos do seu agregado familiar dependem do turismo? [] Sim [] Não

Se sim, em que percentagem?

[] menos de metade [] aproximadamente metade [] mais de metade [] Todo

Muito obrigado pelo seu tempo e colaboração neste inquérito.