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RETHINKING COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM:  
NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM  
IMPLEMENTATIONS ON THE COMMUNITY MEMBERS

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**ABSTRACT**

Community-based tourism (CBT) provides financial benefits to rural communities nonetheless can also result in unintended negative consequences. This qualitative research examines the cultural, economic, environmental, and social impacts of CBT and suggests potential solutions. Using a comparative case study approach, interviews were conducted with six CBT actors in various locations including Sirubari Village (Nepal), Nkotsi Village (Rwanda), Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Jamaica, and the Cordillera Region (Philippines). The findings reveal common negative impacts categorized into three tiers based on income dependency, ranging from complementary to heavy reliance on tourism. As communities progress through the tiers, CBT transforms from community-based tourism to a tourism-based community, intensifying the impacts. One example is the prioritization of hygiene standards to meet tourist requirements rather than addressing community needs. Resolving these challenges require collaborative efforts among CBT actors and a redefinition of CBT goals to prioritize community development. To minimize the negative impacts, CBT should be viewed as a complementary activity that enriches existing cultural practices and genuinely reflects the local daily lives and occupations.

**Keywords:** community-based tourism, sustainable tourism, negative impacts, community members, tourism-based community, cultural impact, economic impact, environmental impact, social impact, sustainable communities, community development

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## INTRODUCTION

Community-based tourism (CBT) is a sustainable form of tourism where local communities invite travelers to experience their culture and daily lives, fostering authentic and meaningful interactions (Richards, Suansri, Hee, & Davis, 2021). CBT aims to improve the living conditions of communities through sustainable development across social, cultural, environmental, and economic dimensions while ensuring the preservation of the natural environment (CBI, 2023). By engaging in CBT, communities directly benefit through income generation, economic diversification, cultural heritage preservation, environmental conservation, and educational opportunities.

Active community participation is a fundamental aspect of CBT, where residents take on roles as employees, entrepreneurs, or service providers to establish a sustainable tourism industry (Hall, 1996). Blackstock (2005) emphasizes the importance of community development in ensuring that tourism activities empower rather than harm the local communities. However, the term ‘community’ within the context of ‘community-based tourism’ lacks a clear definition in tourism literature, often assuming shared interests and collective consensus (Blackstock, 2005). Nevertheless, conflicting individual agendas driven by power dynamics can overshadow ‘community’ interests, resulting in conflicts, divisions, and negative social impacts within the community itself (Verbole, 2000; Blackstock, 2005). Consequently, community members may disengage from CBT involvement, leading to the failure of CBT initiatives.

Community-based tourism offers travelers unique opportunities for cultural exchange, exploration of natural environments, and gaining new perspectives (Suansri, 2003). Visitors

actively engage in learning about the daily activities of local people, sharing homes and meals, and immersing themselves in local culture. This growing demand for authentic experiences and meaningful interactions with locals has contributed to the increasing popularity of CBT (Grayson & Martinec, 2004). CBT provides an excellent opportunity for tourists to gain a better understanding of local communities and their way of life while contributing to their sustainable development. Nevertheless, some studies reveal CBT causes cultural negative impacts, including the loss of cultural identity, with studies indicating that 39% of ethnic-minority perceive a sense of assimilation (Yang and Wall, 2009; Cuong, 2020).

These negative impacts can lead to resistance and frustration among residents, resulting in CBT failures (Ap, 1992; Lee, 2013). Suansri (2003) has highlighted the negative impacts of community-based tourism on various aspects of local communities, including culture, economics, social, and environment which are further explored in the literature review section.

There is insufficient empirical research that examines the overview of CBT's negative impacts on local community members. Therefore, this research aims to fill this gap, providing a generalizable overview by examining the negative impacts of community-based tourism implementation on the culture, environment, economic, and social aspects of local community members. The research question guiding this study is as follows:

***What are the negative impacts of community-based tourism implementation on the culture, environment, social, and economic aspects of the local community members?***

The findings of this research are valuable for various stakeholders involved in the development and promotion of community-based tourism, including CBT actors, policymakers, tourism educators, facilitators, and trainers such as government, non-profit organizations, and academic institutions. Limited preparation in CBT ventures can result in underachievement, resource waste, and negative impacts (Richards et.al., 2021). Hence, the research results can contribute to better preparations in host communities. By creating awareness and providing insights into the overview of CBT negative impacts observed across six case studies in different countries, this research supports social enterprises, government, and community leaders in preventing and mitigating these issues. Through a comprehensive examination of the overall negative impacts of CBT in various communities, stakeholders can implement more informed measures to ensure the success and sustainability of CBT initiatives.

While there is existing research, assumptions, and identified gaps regarding the effects of community-based tourism, this study specifically focuses on investigating and identifying the negative impacts on community members. This approach aims to prevent harmful side effects and guide the stakeholders in implementing appropriate measures to address and mitigate these issues.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The literature review conducted in this research is a comprehensive exploration of the negative impacts of community-based tourism on local community members. The review is divided into four distinct parts, each focusing on a specific aspect of these impacts. To provide clarity, it is important to establish the definition of impact as “a marked effect or influence,” according to Oxford Languages. In the context of this research, the term ‘community members’ refers to all of the residents of host communities who offer community-based tourism experiences to travelers, including the residents who are not involved in providing CBT activities and services.

Table 1 presents the operationalized theories sourced from various scholars that shed light on the negative impacts of CBT across cultural, economic, environmental, and social dimensions (see the table with source in Appendix 2). These theories serve as a foundation for the subsequent discussions in each aspect which are discussed further in the following section.

Concept	Themes	Indicators
Cultural	Cultural degeneration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New lifestyle to cope with tourism</li> <li>• New activities created for tourism</li> <li>• Change of characteristics, culture and belief so as similar to those of outsiders</li> <li>• Change in livelihood activities (abandoning old occupations)</li> <li>• Misunderstanding of local culture</li> </ul>
	Commercialization of culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community becoming less attractive to visitors</li> <li>• Disappearance or modification of cultural activities</li> </ul>
Economic	Internal capability constraints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Struggles with utilizing modern equipment, new techniques or complicated work procedures</li> <li>• Management problem</li> <li>• Reluctant to get involved due to skepticism and suspicion</li> </ul>
	Dependency on tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unsteady income to the community</li> <li>• Tourism is seasonal</li> </ul>
Environmental	Loss to communities' key resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of lands</li> <li>• Loss of resources that are often used for other purposes</li> </ul>
	Pollution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traffic congestion</li> <li>• Noise pollution</li> </ul>
	Ecological degradation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overcrowding places in the community</li> <li>• Irresponsible tourist behavior</li> <li>• Endanger wildlife habitats and species</li> <li>• Inadequate tourism facilities infrastructure</li> </ul>
Social	Conflicts within communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflict of interests: community act out of self-interest rather than for collective good</li> <li>• Build exclusive rather than inclusive social capital</li> <li>• Lack of commitment to the community development's of social justice and empowerment</li> </ul>
	Community division	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community members opposing tourism</li> <li>• Division between those who are considered part of the community and those who are not</li> </ul>
	Alienation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vulnerable locals feel discomfort and react passively to tourism</li> <li>• Not ready and not willing to enhance skills and knowledge to meet minimum standards</li> </ul>

*Table 1. Negative impacts of CBT in cultural, economic, environmental, and social dimensions*

## **Failure of CBT in the cultural aspect**

The cultural impact of CBT explores how the influx of tourism can influence and potentially alter the cultural heritage of the host community. The intended impact of tourism in the cultural aspect includes fostering community identity, pride, unity, and the preservation of heritage (Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2021). The aim is to create cross-cultural exchanges and meaningful interactions between locals and visitors (Yoon, Gursoy, & Chen, 2001). However, the monetization of culture in rural communities can have consequences.

Reid, Mair, and George (2004) reveal that CBT can harm both the community's way of life and visitors' experiences. Cuong (2020) explains that community alienation occurs when ethnic minorities (local communities) become disconnected from their commercialized traditions and heritage, leading to a loss of cultural identity and overall community alienation. Negative impacts are faced by all community members in various ways, regardless of their participation in tourism. In the short term, there may be variations in the degree of assimilation among locals, but in the long term, the entire community either assimilates or faces the need to relocate, resulting in complete alienation. Various factors and degrees contribute to the alienation process within the local community.

Preserving the community's identity and authenticity is crucial for both locals and visitors (Ryan, 2002). While there are potential benefits in the cultural aspect of CBT, there are also risks, such as changes in local culture when it is shared with visitors and the inappropriate use of community culture (Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2021). The commercialization of cultural elements and objects in the environment becomes inevitable in CBT, and intensive interaction can make



community members less appealing to visitors (Cuong, 2020). While locals possess their own identities, they seem to be guided to present an authentic experience to satisfy the expectations of tourists (Cuong, 2020). MacCannell (1973) coined the term ‘staged authenticity’ to describe the outsiders’ perceived touring objects as genuine and real, with an organic relationship to their identity values. Additionally, many locals need to change their livelihood activities to align with tourism development, gradually abandoning their traditional occupations, such as agriculture, which inherently have limited economic effectiveness. Over time, the pressure of tourism disrupts the traditional social structure and devalues local culture (Cuong, 2020).

Even if there are community members who oppose tourism (Ayres, 2002), they are still visited and observed by numerous tourists, causing discomfort and passive reactions among vulnerable natives. Economic pressure often pushes them to adapt and acquire new skills to participate in the monetized society of tourism. While this may contribute to short- and medium-term success in CBT, in the long term, the assimilation process begins, leading to gradual changes in the attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs of locals. Community representatives leave behind non-traditional legacies that strongly influence future generations, eventually resulting in the assimilation of the entire community (Cuong, 2020).

### **Failure of CBT in the economic aspect**

The second dimension is the economic impact of CBT which investigates the potential economic benefits and drawbacks of CBT for the local community members. The income generated by tourism creates employment, supports entrepreneurship and has multiplier effects on the local economy, and contributes to poverty reduction (Richards et.al., 2021; Manyara & Jones, 2007;

Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2021). However, CBT advocates often employ language that indicates a primary emphasis on economic profitability rather than local empowerment (Blackstock, 2005).

Failure to involve residents could have significant implications for industry profitability (Murphy, 1988). This may be caused by skepticism and suspicion among locals which can also discourage engagement in tourism programs, limiting the growth of CBT ventures (Hall, 1994; Goodwin and Santilli, 2009). Moreover, internal capability constraints, such as limited access to modern equipment, new techniques, and complex work procedures, can hinder the financial success of community members in CBT ventures (Reid, Mair, and George, 2004; Addison, 1996). Social factors, including conflicting interests, lack of business experience, inadequate management, tourism, and marketing contribute to management issues in CBT implementation (Addison, 1996).

Taylor (2016) highlighted that CBT initiatives in developing countries often face low occupancy rates initially and in the long term, leading to negative economic impacts and unsteady income for communities. For communities relying on agriculture, tourism serves as a complementary income source. However, the challenge arises when the tourism operating season is short and fluctuating income raises concerns about the sustainability of cash flow and dependency on a seasonal industry (Taylor, 2016).

### **Failure of CBT in the environmental aspect**

The third dimension delves into the potential environmental consequences that arise from increased tourism activities in host communities. CBT may bring positive environmental impacts by preserving historic and cultural resources, providing recreational opportunities for visitors and residents, and improving infrastructures (Yoon et.al, 2001). However, despite the potential benefits, local communities express concerns about the negative environmental impact of tourism (Yoon et.al, 2001; Chen, 2000). Natural resources are used for tourist attractions and provide revenue. The presence of CBT can damage environmental and natural resources (Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2021). Introducing tourism activities usually requires land and resources that are already utilized for other purposes, potentially limiting community access to key resources (Ashley, 2000; Stone & Nyaupane, 2017). Moreover, research by Yankholmes (2013) reveals a lack of social infrastructure in communities and therefore inclines large-scale tourism development to remedy the situation.

Tourism activities, such as flower picking, wildlife disturbance, and pollution, contribute to adverse environmental impacts (Chang, 2010; Alessa et al., 2003; Kim et al., 2011; Ballantyne et al., 2011; Chen, 2011; Logar, 2010; Teh & Cabanban, 2007). Additionally, overcrowding and traffic congestion can lead to the deterioration of amenities and the rural atmosphere (Dickinson & Robbins, 2008; Poitras & Getz, 2006). These impacts ultimately result in the ecological degradation of the destination (Dawson, Stewart, Lemelin, & Scott, 2010).

## **Failure of CBT in the social aspect**

The last aspect examines the social impact in terms of potential social changes and challenges that can occur within host communities as a result of tourism activities. CBT attracts support from government and development organizations to address social issues in underdeveloped areas (Caribbean Tourism Organization, 2021). Challenges arise in achieving community cohesiveness in CBT development and can result in negative outcomes. Despite the term ‘community’ being used in much tourism literature, the term is often undefined (Blackstock, 2005). Assumptions are made that CBT reflects shared interests and consensus, but individual agendas driven by power can overshadow collective interests (Verbole, 2000; Blackstock, 2005). This may lead to self-interest prevailing over the collective good, promoting exclusive social capital instead of inclusive social capital (Ireland, 1993; Silk, 1999; Winter, 2000). Failure to promote assimilation and shared goals can give rise to conflicts and divisions within the community (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Caceres-Feria, 2016).

Regardless of the community members’ participation in tourism, they experience various short-term negative impacts that can result in long-term alienation. Alienation involves the separation from heritage and commercialized traditions, leading to the erosion of cultural identity (Cuong, 2020). This is evident in residents who oppose tourism but are compelled to adapt and cope with its presence, causing discomfort for both the residents and visitors (Dickinson & Robbins, 2008; Ayres, Apostolopoulos, & Gayle, 2002). Economic pressures often push community members to acquire new skills, but not all residents have the knowledge or willingness to improve (ASEAN, 2016).

Furthermore, CBT often falls short in its transformative intentions compared to community development approaches. Rather than prioritizing social justice and empowerment as means of ensuring the long-term viability of a profitable tourism industry, CBT tends to focus on gaining acceptance among residents (Blackstock, 2005). Gilchrist (2003, p.22) defines community development as ‘building active and sustainable communities based on social justice and mutual respect.’ In the absence of community development, residents may become disengaged from CBT, resulting in failed CBT initiatives and negative social and economic consequences.

## METHODOLOGY

In order to monitor an overview of the negative impact of community-based tourism, qualitative research was conducted. This research approach was abductive, combining the existing theories with empirical data, the better to gain new, more plausible insights into unexplained phenomena (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2007; Tavory and Timmermans, 2014). Case studies yield in-depth information on a subject and help uncover theories that might not be included in the existing literature (Eisenhardt, 1989; Lijphart, 1971). This approach aims to test theory (Pinfield, 1986) or generate theories (Gersick, 1988), in this case, further factors to be identified that help determine the negative outcomes of CBT implementation on local communities. In this paper, case studies in a community in each of the six countries will be compared: Sirubari Village in Nepal, Jamaica, Jordan, Kyrgyzstan, Nkotsi Village in Rwanda, and the Cordillera region in the Philippines (Table 2).

The negative outcomes of CBT were defined and operationalized based on existing literature as guidance to get familiar with the indicators the researcher should be looking for during the data collection and analysis (Table 1). The theoretical framework was used to form the interview guide and questionnaires which led the respondents to touch upon the indicators of CBT's negative impacts (Appendix 1). The data collected from the interviews is the reflection of CBT implementations according to the respondents' area or region. The interview covered the four aspects; cultural, economic, environmental, and social impacts of CBT implementations, aligned with the theoretical framework. Some case studies encountered and emphasized more on one aspect to another. Thus, the researcher asked the questions in different orders during the interview according to the most appropriate to discuss with each respondent. As a result, the

answers varied according to their personal and professional experiences. Some respondents appeared to be more open to sharing than others, and some respondents also focused more on the barriers than sharing the influences of CBT on the community.

## **Data Collection**

The data was collected through semi-structured interviews with 6 CBT actors covered various dimensions, including social, cultural, environmental, and economic aspects. The background of the respondents and CBT implementations in their organizations were also collected during the interview and presented in the results section. Possible actors in CBT include the local community, government organizations, international aid agencies, NGOs, the tourism industry, other businesses, and academics (Hamzah & Khalifah, 2009). The respondents (R) included two community members, two founders of private organizations, and two community officers from the governmental agencies in their regions as shown in Table 2. All of the respondents have worked together with the local community members in their countries. The data based on the variation of roles provided the research with a bigger overview and different perceptions of CBT impacts on their community members.

All of the CBT ventures selected as case studies fulfilled these criteria: they have adopted CBT for at least a decade because the implementation of CBT is a long-term based approach (Hamzah & Khalifah, 2009). The range selected was based on an assumption of initial CBT application. In order to understand the negative impacts of CBT, collecting data from mature CBT communities is essential. The more mature their CBT programs are, the more likely they have overcome the negative impacts and thus, they would be more open to sharing. In addition, the respondent needs

to have hands-on experience and be well connected with the locals, and still have the full picture of CBT in their region to get an overview of the CBT complications.

R	Roles	Community's area/region	Country	Date, Duration
1	Community member	Sirubari Village	Nepal	12th April 2023, 90min
2	Community member	Nkotsi Village	Rwanda	19th April 2023, 40min
3	Founders of private CBT organization	Amman	Jordan	17th April 2023, 45min
4	Founders of private CBT organization	Bishkek	Kyrgyzstan	26th April 2023, 60min
5	Community tourism officer	Jamaica tourism board	Jamaica	18th April 2023, 60min
6	Community officer	Cordillera Region	The Philippines	5th May 2023, 45min

*Table 2. Interviewees Overview*

## **Data analysis**

The collected data were analyzed using thematic coding, which was selected for its flexibility and adaptability (Guest, Macqueen, & Namey, 2012). Multiple coding rounds to be conducted to ensure a comprehensive analysis. Interviews were transcribed and coded using the theoretical framework outlined in Table 1, by highlighting keywords, sentences, and paragraphs. A coding scheme in Microsoft Excel was made and the key content of the interviews is presented in Appendix 3. The coding process also enabled the identification and development of themes, contributing to a deeper understanding of the collected data (Given, 2008). Hence, multiple coding rounds were conducted to enhance data comprehension.

During the final coding round, insignificant data was excluded, and emerging codes not initially included in the framework were examined. The collected and sorted codes were analyzed to identify common phenomena, which were then categorized into themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006).



These themes captured the overarching negative impacts of community-based tourism across countries. Additional themes that emerged from supporting codes were integrated into the theoretical framework presented in Appendix 2, providing a comprehensive understanding of negative CBT impacts.

To identify patterns across the different cases, cross-case analysis was performed by selecting pairs of cases and comparing the similarities and differences in the codes and themes (Eisenhardt, 1989). This analysis sought to identify common indicators of negative impacts as reported by the community members, as well as private and public organizations representatives. In order to identify prevalent negative impacts across the case studies, the common themes were categorized into tiers and visualized in an overview presented in the results section (Figure 1).

## RESULTS

The theoretical framework and data collected from six case studies in different countries identified several negative impacts on their community members. The result section begins with the introduction of the respondents (R) and short background descriptions of each community and organization the respondents are representing. The information was gathered from the respondents during the interview. Then it is followed by the four negative impacts of CBT, divided according to the four dimensions from the theoretical framework. Each aspect highlights the common indicators that emerge during coding.

### **The respondents' background**

#### ***R1: Sirubari Village in Nepal***

Sirubari Village in Nepal is known as the first tourism village in the country, introduced by the late Captain Rudraman Gurung in 1980. The respondent was born in another district but later moved to Sirubari Village with her husband. They offer homestay services and engage visitors with welcoming activities, cultural performances, and information about their village's tourism history and surrounding environment. The tourists came to Sirubari village for trekking and hiking activities. Their homestay is run by the housewives and youth community in the village and they could accommodate up to 120 guests daily.

#### ***R2: Nkotsi Village in Rwanda***

The community is located in Musanze District which is 23 km away from the main national parks. The interviewee attempts to decentralize tourism from the main national parks to expand it across the country. The respondent has been organizing tours in Rwanda since 2012, exploring the natural beauty and wildlife of the country.

***R3: Private travel agency based in Amman, Jordan***

Since 2013, their company has been specializing in soft adventure tours, including hiking, cycling, and experiential cultural and sightseeing tours. The respondent's background in tourism and experience as a tour guide for several years has helped shape the company's focus. They played a significant role in developing the Jordan hiking trail and later designed the Jordan Bike Trail, which has become the national biking trail in Jordan. They collaborate closely with over 65 local communities and villages across the country. Their offerings include authentic experiences with local families, homestays, craft workshops and cooking classes, providing a diverse, and authentic approach to tourism.

***R4: Private travel agency based in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan***

The respondent is the co-founder of a private travel company specializing in cultural and sustainable tours in Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia. With a background in English language and literature, she began her career as a guide at the university. Aisha later joined a community-based tourism association project, working there for 13 years. Inspired by the concept of supporting local communities and rural development, she co-founded her own company. The company offers various services including accommodation in guest houses and yurts, horseback riding, handicraft masterclasses, and cultural activities. Their goal is to create cross-cultural experiences while generating additional income for rural villagers and supporting regional development.

***R5: National tourism board in Jamaica***

The interviewee is a Community Tourism Officer at a public organization focusing on tourism development in Jamaica. Their organization is responsible for preserving, promoting, maintaining, and developing the tourism product in Jamaica. They focus on attractions such as beaches, rivers, waterfalls, and the Blue Mountains, as well as licensing accommodations and attractions. The community tourism unit specifically facilitates the development of communities through tourism, aiming to involve community members in the development of their communities. They utilize a cluster development initiative, building tourism experiences around existing community-based organizations. They provide support in training, capacity building, heritage development, signage, compliance, and funding to these community-based organizations.

***R6: Tourism board of Cordillera Region in the Philippines***

The respondent is working for the government agency that collaborates with tourism stakeholders and municipalities to focus on product market development and tourism planning. Community-based tourism (CBT) has been implemented in the Philippines for over a decade, with active involvement from local communities. In the Cordillera region, their main products revolve around culture, nature, and farm tourism. Situated in the mountainous northern part of the country, the Cordillera region offers unique nature-based and culturally immersive experiences, showcasing the renowned rice terraces of the Philippine Cordilleras. These distinctive features make the region competitive in the tourism industry, emphasizing cultural immersion and nature-based attractions.

<b>R</b>	<b>Role</b>	<b>Respondent's area/region</b>	<b>Length of CBT implementation</b>	<b>Intensity of tourism</b>
R1	Community member	Sirubari Village, Nepal	25 years	Daily
R2	Community member	Nkotsi Village, Rwanda	16 years	Once in 3-4 weeks
R3	Founder of private CBT organization	Based in Amman, Jordan	10 years	Daily
R4	Founder of private CBT organization	Based in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan	35 years	Seasonal
R5	Community tourism officer	Jamaica	Since the 90s	Daily (annual tourists > population)
R6	Community tourism officer	Cordillera Region, The Philippines	At least 10 years	N/A

*Table 3. The respondents background information*

The overview of the result captured the negative effects of CBT on the cultural, economic, environmental, and social aspects, presented in Figure 1 below. Although not all indicators were covered during the interviews, some interviewees were more willing to discuss the negative aspects than others.

During the interviews, community members R1 and R2 shared similar perceptions of CBT. Despite being at different stages of CBT implementation, both expressed positive views and appreciated the cross-cultural experiences. They did not perceive the problem of commercializing their cultures and homes but benefited from the basic infrastructure developed to support tourism in their communities (e.i. new toilets and Wi-Fi connections). However, they also acknowledged that CBT created division within the community, as some members initially

opposed tourism and did not recognize its benefits. They also observed changes in the behavior of residents after adopting CBT, noting a lack of readiness and willingness to learn or invest.

Figure 1 also revealed that representatives from private and public organizations who were interviewed had a broader understanding of the impact of CBT on communities, particularly in the economic, environmental, and social aspects. Although the community members did not mention any environmental damage in their surroundings, this issue seemed to be acknowledged by the other respondents. This could be attributed to their general knowledge of business and tourism and their emphasis on implementing sustainable practices and considering the environmental impacts of CBT. Additionally, they actively promoted new activities to cater to tourism demands.

The following section discussed the common indicators that emerged from most of the case studies. The results, along with citations from the interviews, were presented in codes in Appendix 4. These findings highlight recurring phenomena observed in specific case studies.

X = indicator occurs

(X) = indicator occurred and solved

Concept	Themes	Indicators	Community member		Private organization representatives		Public organization representatives	
			R1: Sirubari Village, Nepal	R2: Nkotsi Village, Rwanda	R3: Jordan	R4: Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan	R5: Jamaica	R6: Cordillera Region, The Philippines
Cultural	Cultural degeneration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Misunderstanding of local culture</li> <li>Change of characteristics, culture and belief so as similar to those of outsiders</li> <li>Change in livelihood activities (abandoning old occupations)</li> <li>New activities created for tourism</li> <li>New lifestyle to cope with tourism</li> </ul>	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Commercialization of culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community becoming less attractive to visitors</li> <li>Disappearance or modification of cultural activities</li> </ul>			X		X	
Economic	Internal capability constraints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Struggles with utilizing modern equipment, new techniques or complicated work procedures</li> <li>Reluctant to get involved due to skepticism and suspicion</li> <li>Management problem</li> </ul>	X	X		X	X	
	Dependency on tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Unsteady income to the community</li> <li>Tourism is seasonal</li> </ul>			X	X		X

Figure 1. Data collection result (1/2)

Concept	Themes	Indicators	R1: Sirubari Village, Nepal	R2: Nkotsi Village, Rwanda	R3: Jordan	R4: Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan	R5: Jamaica	R6: Cordillera region, The Philippines
Environmental	Loss to communities' key resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Loss of lands</li> <li>Loss of resources that are often used for other purposes</li> </ul>			X			
	Pollution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Traffic congestion</li> <li>Noise pollution</li> </ul>						
	Ecological degradation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Overcrowding places in the community</li> <li>Irresponsible tourist behavior</li> <li>Endanger wildlife habitats and species</li> <li>Inadequate tourism facilities infrastructure</li> </ul>	X	X	X	X	X	X
Social	Community division	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Community members opposing tourism</li> <li>Division between those who are considered part of the community and those who are not</li> </ul>	(X)	X		X		X
	Lack of cohesiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Conflict of interests: community act out of self-interest rather than for collective good</li> <li>Build exclusive rather than inclusive social capital</li> <li>Lack of commitment to the community development's of social justice and empowerment</li> </ul>	X		X	X	X	X
	Alienation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Vulnerable locals feel discomfort and react passively to tourism</li> <li>Not ready and not willing to enhance skills and knowledge to meet minimum standards</li> </ul>	X	X		(X)		X
Total			8	6	10	15	12	8

Figure 1. Data collection result (2/2)



## Negative cultural impact

The interview revealed new cultures and lifestyles emerging within the local community to cope with tourism. R1 stated: *“It's compulsory for the villagers to learn cultural dance and song to be showcased to tourists.”* In order to fulfill the visitors' needs, new facilities were added in their homestays: *“[...] started a WiFi campaign so our guest can work from the village (R1)”*, and they adopt a service-oriented approach, perceiving guests as ‘god’:

*“We are always concerned about our guests. We always give respect, because we think that guests are our god (R1).”*

Meanwhile, R5 highlighted that community members understand tourism's value as the largest employer in Jamaica. Consequently, tourism has shaped a new culture of hospitality: *“We are very customer service-oriented because it is a service industry. Before tourism became our major part of the economy, it would not have generally been there (R5).”* Additionally, a new ‘hustling’ culture is created from tourism in which locals would approach the tourists: *“When visitors come off the cruise ship port, they will try to walk in the town. There are people who would try to say ‘come and buy from me (R5).’”* The tourists' safety also has become a priority:

*“We have a unit called Visitor Safety and Experience department which focuses on keeping the visitors safe and secure (R5).”*

New lifestyles to cope with tourism was also identified by R2 and R4. R2 stated: *“They start to spend too much money on buying things you're not used to buying.”* On the other hand, Jordan

was not a top cycling destination, nor was cycling a prevalent cultural activity: *“The reason is that there was not much content about cycling in Jordan online and there were no clear trails and GPS coordinates available (R3).”* However, over the years, this new tourism activity has gained popularity and created opportunities for surrounding communities. As the Jordanians are more comfortable with the presence of tourists, women’s roles in CBT emerged: *“I see the more they work in tourism, they get more relaxed about women working with travelers [...] They still have some restrictions culturally, not religious wise or anything (R3).”* The regional tourism organization of the Philippines also encourages new tourism activities to the municipalities, indicating that tourism products emerge when introduced to the locals: *“[...] encouraging them to come up with their new products (R6).”* CBT in most case studies has resulted in cultural degeneration of the local community members due to the emerging lifestyles and activities to accommodate and complement tourism.

The indicator of disappearance or modification of cultural activities appeared in both case studies of Kyrgyzstan and Jamaica, each with its own contextual variations. R4 revealed that the community members struggled to monetize their traditional hospitality culture, finding it challenging to strike a balance between community and “commercial” based tourism:

*“[...] these days, sometimes in some places it's no longer hospitality since it's mostly like a commercial thing. I'm making a joke that it's not community-based or that it is commercial-based tourism (R4).”*

This led to a gradual erosion of the authentic hospitality that was once deeply ingrained in their culture. Meanwhile, in Jamaica, the modification of cultural activities manifested in how locals consciously narrated their history:

*"We are a little careful in not offending our visitors. Sometimes certain attractions do not talk so much about the colonial and slavery part of our history [...] It's more of a narration of our history (R5)."*

The fear of discussing the colonial and slavery aspects of their past was evident, as they aimed to be cautious and sensitive to the preferences of visitors. Both case studies highlight how the pursuit of commercialization can alter or dilute cultural practices and narratives, ultimately influencing the community's identity and traditions over time. Additionally, a cultural misunderstanding occurred in Jamaica:

*"Reggae music is big, but not everybody in Jamaica listens to reggae music. Not everybody in Jamaica is Rasta. Not everybody in Jamaica smokes weed. I don't, but these are some of the stereotypes that are caused by tourism. So I would say culturally it's more related to our image. But those are some of the errors."*

### **Negative economic impact**

Community-based tourism, despite its potential benefits, can create negative economic impacts on local communities by constraining their internal capabilities which leads to impediment to financial growth. In the interview with R1 and R4, the government and tourism board showed

skepticism and reluctance to provide financial support: *“The tourism board government did not believe because the village is very rural and refused to give money (R1).”*

According to R2, skepticism and fear of financial risks also deterred local communities from actively investing in tourism ventures:

*“People see in different ways. They want to make it but they do not want to get their hands dirty. They are so scared of touching their pocket and their wallet. They don't want to think about the next six months. People are still afraid to invest in tourism (R2).”*

CBT has negatively affected the communities that depend on tourism as their main income. R1 and R2 have encountered the economic setback of CBT which is that tourism is seasonal in their regions: *“In Kyrgyzstan, the best season is summer months. So they earn good money on tourism only for three months and the rest of the month you have no money. It's also one of the threats of CBT, especially in the rural areas.”* The pandemic had affected the economy in the Philippines and the livelihood of the tourism workforce, making them realize how dependent they are on tourism: *“That's why if you don't have tourists, no income for our tour guides (R6).”*

### **Negative environmental impact**

Community-based tourism can lead to negative environmental impacts through ecological degradation, as evidenced by all of the case studies. Irresponsible tourist behavior poses a significant challenge. In Jamaica, the delicate heritage sites are at risk of damage when tourists

mishandle artifacts or remove items from ruins: *"Heritage is very delicate. If somebody goes and picks up a brick that is a part of our ruin, that damages it (R5)."* Similarly, in Jordan, tourists' excessive water usage, particularly during showers, can strain local resources: *"I wish they know how to use the showers in Jordan with not very long showers. I wish they all bring their reusable plastic bottles with them (R3)."* Encouraging tourists to bring reusable bottles can reduce plastic waste. R6 described how educating tourists about cultural norms and respecting local customs becomes crucial to prevent behaviors that are unacceptable in the area: *"We would like for the tourists to know what are the dos and don'ts, especially in in terms of culture in that area, so they won't do what are not accepted in the area (R6)."*

Due to the rising demand of CBT, some case studies found that their facilities were inadequate to accommodate tourists. R1 highlighted a proposal to create a park for guests: *"The park is made for the guest to walk in the morning, do yoga, and read a book. It's 5 minutes from the village. The park is my idea and bring this up to the government. I need to convince the government and provide many documents like proposals."* Similarly, R3 mentioned that the construction of new accommodations in small villages, like homestays near Petra was needed. R4 stated that the acceptance of tourists has prompted service providers to invest in improved amenities, including proper toilets, hot water, and Wi-Fi, which can put additional strain on resources:

*"The people who are accepting tourists, they understand that If they provide better service, they can earn better money. So that everyone tried to make service on the good level, with a flash toilet, with hot water, with a Wi-Fi connection and all these things."*

The community at Village Nkotsi in Rwanda focuses on enhancing hygiene standards within communities rather than constructing large facilities: *“We're not thinking about putting up resorts or hotels but improving our community's standards of living but more hygiene-wise.”* However, infrastructure development requires significant resources and efforts, as acknowledged by R5, where limited government resources pose a challenge: *“it takes more time, energy and effort to get community tourism products to develop because sometimes the development includes building infrastructure like bathrooms.”* Furthermore, R5 mentioned how tourism could endanger wildlife habitats and species: *“plastic waste goes sometimes into the sea which can have a major effect on coral reefs.”*

### **Negative social impact**

Community-based tourism can have negative social impacts on local communities due to a lack of cohesiveness, as evident from the case studies. One indicator of this theme is a conflict of interests in which community members act out of self-interest rather than for the collective good. R5 highlighted a breakdown of organization groups due to a lack of trust among community members, hindering harmonious collaboration: *“I believe one of our legacies of slavery and colonialism is distrust among each other.”* This lack of belief in equitable benefits creates a significant issue, undermining the unity necessary for community-based tourism to thrive:

*“Getting our community members to work together and they're not believing that, you know, they're not going to benefit enough or somebody is going to benefit more. That is the number one issue (R5).”*

In Kyrgyzstan, the pursuit of personal financial gain leads to the artificial exclusion of community members from tourism activities: *"[...] because everyone wants to earn money, they start artificially shortening the members of the community working with them because they think, 'let's have our own tourists and we do have not enough tourists to share with the other villagers, so let's shorten the number of the members of the community.'"* The fear of not having enough tourists to share with others prompts some individuals to limit collaboration, disregarding the principles of transparency and open management crucial to community-based tourism:

*"Conflict arises when money is involved, and CBT philosophy (and values; transparency and openness) is forgotten (R4)."*

This deviation from the core philosophy of CBT is unfortunate, as it erodes the sense of unity and shared benefits within the community.

Furthermore, four case studies (R1, R2, R4, R6) showcased a lack of readiness and willingness among local communities to enhance their skills and knowledge to meet minimum standards of CBT. R1 stated the residents' desire for easy money was prevalent, leading to a reluctance to adhere to cleanliness standards: *"The community wants to get money easily, [...] all guests need to sleep in a clean white bed sheet so that when another guest comes, they make sure they clean the bed sheet and not being lazy."* Similarly, R4 mentioned the community members' resistance to commercializing tourism due to a lack of mentality for selling products or promoting their home as a destination: *"It is very hard for people to take money from the first tourist because it was not good to sell something for the guest, it was something different. They don't want to*

*commercialize it because they do not have that kind of mentality yet to sell products or to sell the place in their home."*

Despite the potential benefits, R2 stated that many individuals were hesitant to make the necessary investments which prevented them from actively participating in community-based tourism initiatives: *"People are still reluctant with getting their hands dirty and invest in CBT"*. Moreover, R6 emphasized how municipalities hindered CBT development: *"Some of our municipalities are not into tourism. I guess it's not part of their priority. So that's why we are always campaigning for community-based tourism."* Ongoing campaigns were required to educate and promote the benefits of community-based tourism to these communities.

### **Additional indicators of negative impacts**

Two additional indicators that should be considered under the negative environmental impacts of CBT are the lack of knowledge and infrastructure for waste management and environmental neglect (Appendix 2).

#### ***Insufficient knowledge and infrastructure of waste management***

The presence of tourism in a community leads to an increase in waste generation, necessitating the development of adequate infrastructure to address this issue. During the interview, R3 revealed the importance of education in reducing waste and sustaining the community:

*"We try to educate. I believe education goes a long way in countries like ours. If you educate the community, they reduce and that's how we sustain. We try to look at our*



*operations in general like we can make sure that the campsites we're using are not impacted by the campers who stay there, the way we process our waste in general."*

Efforts have been made to ensure sustainability over time by educating the community and implementing waste processing measures at campsite locations: *"We do campaign cleaning campaigns every season (R3)."* Waste management remains a significant challenge in the Cordillera region, the Philippines, where improper disposal and littering are major issues: *"One of our main problems here is the proper disposal of their garbage [...] garbage that's being thrown everywhere (R6)."* Similarly, R5 highlighted the difficulties faced by the tourism board in managing waste from the tourism sector:

*"We do not have the best waste management and disposal systems [...] The volume of waste coming from the tourism sector is not able to be managed properly because the agencies that are responsible for solid waste management are not given adequate resources."*

In summary, the case studies consistently indicate that insufficient knowledge and infrastructure for waste management can result in pollution and environmental damage within the community.

### ***Environmental neglect***

Another aspect to consider is environmental neglect, where the local community fails to recognize the importance of preserving and maintaining their natural and cultural resources. For

example, R3 mentioned: *"The main struggle was to implement sustainability practices."* The community struggled to implement sustainability until they realized the cost-saving benefits:

*"Let's say to buy 100 water bottles, it costs \$100. But if he goes to a filtration center he would get the same amount of water without the bottles for \$20. So I did the calculations for him, I multiplied by 200 groups that he's hosting a year and then he found that he would be saving a fortune (R3)."*

The absence of environmental consciousness can hinder the community's access to funding and support for sustainable tourism development while it is crucial for securing financial resources and promoting the growth of CBT: *"The environment is one of the main parts of sustainable tourism development and people still need to understand that they are the main assets in tourism (R4)."*

## DISCUSSION

Adopting a case study approach and thematic analysis allows for a comprehensive understanding of the negative impacts of CBT. The finding reveals that the length of CBT implementation does not indicate the maturity of its development. This is evident in Jordan, the private company has been successfully collaborating with over 65 local communities for 10 years, while the Nkotsi Village in Rwanda has been implementing CBT for 16 years with visitors coming once in 3 to 4 weeks. Additionally, the Cordillera region in the Philippines has a well-regulated tourism board that provides support to communities, indicating a more advanced stage of CBT development compared to Rwanda where government support is insufficient.

Although CBT has successfully brought economic benefits to the local community, the findings exhibit a consistent pattern of negative impacts based on the communities' reliance on tourism income and the intensity of visitor's presence. A comparative analysis of Jamaica and Nkotsi Village in Rwanda, which have different levels of tourist intensity, highlights contrasting outcomes. The negative impacts vary among communities depending on the economic pressure exerted by CBT and the degree to which they rely on tourism as either a primary or supplementary source of income. These common negative impacts have been categorized into three stages (Tier 1-3), as illustrated in Figure 2.

Communities in Tier 1 are in the early stage of CBT, where tourism still serves as a complimentary source of income (i.e. Nkotsi Village in Rwanda). In Tier 2, communities begin to rely on tourism income but perceive it as an unstable source (i.e. Jordan, Sirubari Village in

Nepal, Kyrgyzstan, Cordillera Region of the Philippines). Tier 3 represents communities that heavily depend on tourism as their primary source of income (i.e. Jamaica).

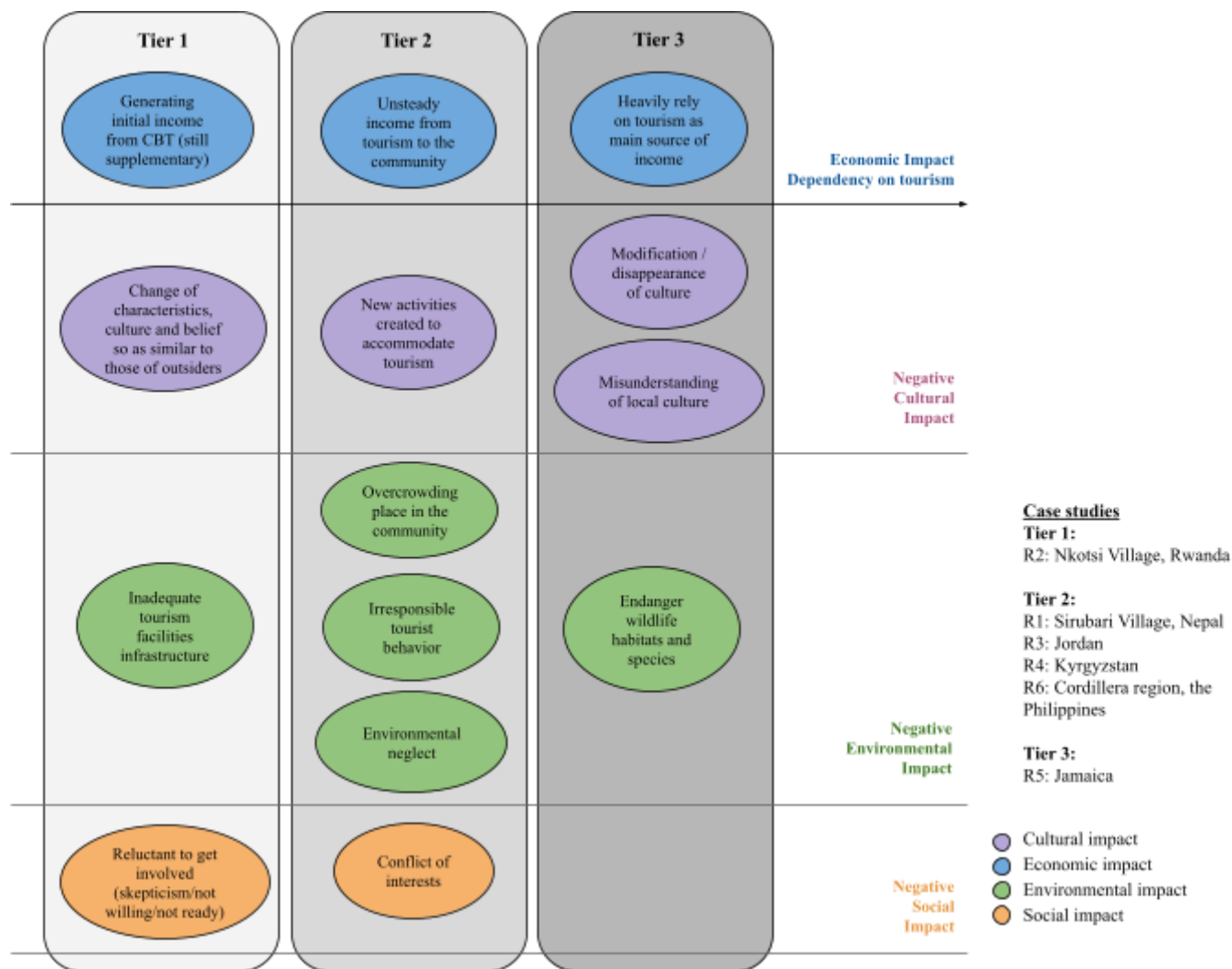


Figure 2. Negative impacts of CBT based on the community's income dependency on tourism

## Tier 1

The community at Nkotsi Village in Rwanda receives tourists every 3 to 4 weeks and is not relying on tourism as their main income. They have experienced positive outcomes such as the ability to send their children to school, engaging in cross-cultural experiences, and a lack of significant waste issues compared to other case studies. This could potentially be attributed to the

fact that tourism at Nkotsi Village in Rwanda is not dominant but rather complementary to the community's existing activities. There is a desire for the community members to invest in tourism; however, skepticism and financial risks pose a significant concern for the community. Additionally, the government's role appears to be absent in this tier due to skepticism of CBT ventures in rural areas. Nonetheless, the case study in Rwanda exhibits fewer negative impacts compared to the other cases.

### *Accommodating tourists > accommodating locals*

An interesting observation is that upon the emergence of CBT, the government and support organizations exhibit a tendency to prioritize the advancement of fundamental infrastructure across all the case studies. This is evident in initiatives such as the construction of bathrooms and improvements in hygiene standards, which are implemented solely due to the presence of tourism in the community. It is ironic to recognize that the enhancement of hygiene standards is primarily driven by the need to meet the requirements of tourists, rather than addressing the essential needs of the community. This development has been experienced by all the case studies in Tier 2 and 3 before reaching their current stage of CBT implementation.

## **Tier 2**

The negative impacts experienced by the Nkotsi community were previously encountered and overcome by the CBT initiatives in Tier 2. In this tier, impacts arise from the economic dependence on tourism and result in cultural, environmental, and social consequences (Figure 2). Tourism at this stage has caused economic pressure, as observed by Cuong (2020), where it disrupts the traditional social structure and gradually devalues local culture over time. The

expression of negative impact varies across the case studies and depends on the communities' background.

This category reveals a shift in the practice of CBT, where cultural elements are unintendedly and intendedly modified or newly created to meet tourist demands and ensure the long-term survival of CBT (Blackstock, 2005). R1 recognized their cultural offerings were insufficient and decided to learn dances to entertain visitors, exemplifying the concept of 'staged authenticity' discussed by MacCannell (1973). While the primary goal of CBT was to offer visitors genuine insights into the culture and daily lives of local communities (Richards et.al, 2021), certain case studies have demonstrated a deviation towards the creation of new activities to fulfill tourists' expectations of CBT, as noted by Cuong (2020). The 'staged authenticity' may have unintentionally emerged due to insufficient tourism knowledge among the community members, leading to a misunderstanding of the CBT concept. Consequently, this caused confusion among community residents in Kyrgyzstan regarding which aspects of their culture should be commercialized and which should not. Nonetheless, some communities in Kyrgyzstan have realized the importance of preserving their original cultures for successful CBT initiatives.

Furthermore, although the homestay at Sirubaru Village could accommodate 120 tourists daily, R1 only highlights the struggles of involving communities in CBT and does not mention any emerging lifestyles adopted by the residents to adapt to the presence of tourists. This behavior suggests that the community leader prioritizes the acceptance of tourism initiatives among residents, as mentioned by Blackstock (2005). It is unlikely that the lifestyle of the community residents has remained unchanged since the arrival of tourists. One possible explanation is that

CBT has become ingrained in their way of life, perceived as 'god,' leading to a shift towards fulfilling the needs of tourists' rather than their own.

Conflicting interests driven by financial gains often result in the community division. This is evident in Kyrgyzstan, where certain members were deliberately excluded from the CBT associations due to the lack of visitors. The monopolization of the term CBT has created a rift between the association's members and non-members, diverting from its initial purpose of community empowerment for collective well-being. This misuse of the term 'community' creates an exclusive 'club capital' instead of inclusive social capital (Winter, 2000). Moreover, the absence of government support and skepticism hinders community engagement in rural tourism initiatives.

Another aspect related to negative impacts on local communities is the issue of ecological degradation resulting from CBT activities. Irresponsible tourist behavior poses a significant challenge in various destinations. In Jamaica, tourists who mishandle or remove artifacts from heritage sites can cause damage. Similarly, in Jordan, the excessive use of water during showers by tourists can strain local resources. Educating tourists about cultural norms and acceptable behavior in the Philippines becomes essential to prevent actions that go against local customs.

Local communities are still yet to understand that the environment is also their main asset in CBT. This contradicts the study conducted by Chen (2000) and Yoon et.al (2001), which indicate that local communities are highly concerned with the negative impact of tourism development on the environment. In some case studies, the lack of understanding leads to inadequate waste management and a tendency to opt for convenient solutions for travelers by increasing the use of

single-use plastics. Failure to recognize the environment as their main asset results in pollution and eventually harms the environment and endangers wildlife habitats in the long term, as described in Tier 3.

### **Tier 3**

This tier represents the advanced stage of CBT ventures, where negative impacts from Tier 1 and 2 have accumulated and resulted in long-term consequences that may be irreversible. At this stage, community-based tourism has transformed into a tourism-based community, characterized by indicators such as the modification, disappearance, and visitors' misunderstanding of local cultures (Yoon et al., 2001), as well as environmental compromises made to gain financial benefits from tourism.

This case study in Jamaica serves as an exemplar of this situation, where the annual number of tourists surpasses the local population. Despite the insufficient documentation, R5 stated that CBT programs have been implemented since the 90s. Over time, the maturity of CBT, coupled with the influx of tourism, has led residents to heavily rely on tourism as their primary source of income.

The data collected reveals a prevalent pattern of communities adopting a service-oriented culture, where new lifestyles and activities are created solely to accommodate tourists. The real communities and culture are underrepresented due to Jamaica's cultural stereotypes (e.i. Reggae music). The shift towards commercialization and the adjustment of cultural and historical



narratives highlight the evolving dynamics of tourism in Jamaica. Furthermore, R5 stated how tourism-generated waste has led to ocean pollution and the endangerment of coral reefs.

### **Redefining the goals of community-based tourism**

The objectives of community-based tourism need to be reevaluated and realigned to address the challenges it currently faced. It is essential to shift perspective and prioritize local empowerment as the primary shared objective of CBT. Instead of focusing solely on profitability and catering to tourist preferences, CBT should serve as a means to achieve sustainable development that benefits the local community as a whole (Ruiz-Ballesteros & Caceres-Feria, 2016).

Redefining the purpose of CBT involves finding a balance between economic growth, community development, the preservation of cultural heritage, and environmental sustainability. Before initiating any tourism development, it is crucial to assess and address the community's needs to enhance their living standards. Providing basic social amenities and infrastructure is essential for the host communities as they contribute to the overall destination development. In this context, government involvement plays a crucial role in providing social infrastructure for destination development (Cater, 1987).

Moreover, instead of adding or modifying the community's culture solely for tourism purposes, CBT should be viewed as a complementary activity that enhances existing cultural practices and reflects the reality of local daily lives and occupations. The concept of 'staged-authenticity' should be avoided, as preserving the community's identity is of utmost importance to create

cross-cultural exchanges and meaningful interactions between locals and visitors (Yoon et al., 2001; Ryan, 2002).

Prioritizing community development, sustainability practices, and capacity-building initiatives within community members are essential in equipping them with the necessary knowledge and skills to engage effectively and authentically in tourism activities. Successful implementation of CBT in Nepal, for example, required the guidance of a leader who initiated homestay programs and education initiatives. Similarly, in Jordan, communities must understand the importance of transparency and fair pricing to sustain CBT ventures. Governments and supporting organizations should also have a deep understanding of the intended goals of CBT to provide support through facilitating basic social infrastructure before initiating any tourism activities. Additionally, educating tourists about local cultures before they visit communities is crucial to avoid incorrect expectations and irresponsible tourist behavior.

## CONCLUSION

The qualitative study aims to address the research question: “*What are the negative impacts of community-based tourism implementation on the culture, environment, social, and economic aspects of the local community members?*” To answer this question, an extensive literature review was conducted on the four aspects, which were then operationalized and presented in Table 1. Primary data was collected through six interviews conducted in different communities, and the data were analyzed using comparative case studies and thematic coding techniques.

The findings of the study revealed that the negative impacts on cultural, environmental, and social impacts varied depending on the extent to which communities rely on tourism as an income source. The results were illustrated in Figure 2, where common patterns observed in the case studies were categorized into three tiers based on the community’s financial reliance on CBT. The higher the tier is, the negative impacts become more significant and potentially irreversible, particularly in terms of cultural and environmental aspects.

Ultimately, when CBT ventures reached Tier 3, their heavy dependence on tourism income transformed the main goal of CBT transformed towards a tourism-based community intentionally or unintentionally. In this scenario, communities strive to maximize financial benefits from tourism while facing pressures to meet the tourists’ expectations. Consequently, there was a tendency to create artificial cultural displays, known as ‘staged-authenticity,’ instead of genuine expressions of community identity and the reality of their daily lives, which could ultimately result in the alienation and disappearance of cultural heritage over time.

This deviation from the essence of CBT has led to unintended consequences and transformation toward profit-driven tourism. While economic growth is important, it should not overshadow the importance of preserving community heritage, fostering social cohesion, and maintaining the natural environment. Responsible tourist behavior, sustainable infrastructure development, and a focus on the well-being of local communities should be prioritized to create a more balanced and inclusive form of community-based tourism.

To ensure positive the long-term impact of CBT, community involvement is essential (Murphy, 1988). Instead of pushing CBT on residents and causing discomfort and division, CBT actors should engage in community development and achieve cohesiveness through consensus and shared goals. Having a leader that focuses on the collective benefits is therefore crucial. Most importantly, providing basic social amenities and infrastructures to enhance the community's living standards should be the priority before engaging in tourism activities.

Moreover, when introducing CBT to locals, CBT actors must have a common understanding of the goals, which is to foster cross-cultural exchange, showing travelers part of their daily lives as 'authentic' offerings that the communities could provide (Richards et.al, 2021). CBT should be seen as a complementary activity that enhances existing cultural practices and reflects the reality of the locals' daily lives and occupations. Understanding that their environment, people, and cultural heritages are key to successful CBT initiatives is key. This approach allows communities to develop CBT to regain its purpose of empowering local communities, focusing on collective good, and practicing sustainability.

Tourists also play a significant role in the success of community-based tourism. They should respect, appreciate, and be aware of the local customs before visiting the local communities in order to experience genuine cross-cultural exchange. Collaborative efforts from various stakeholders, including communities, tourists, and CBT actors, are essential. By committing to authenticity, and prioritizing the preservation of community identity and the surrounding environment, community-based tourism can become a transformative force for positive change. It has the potential to foster a future where tourism becomes a catalyst for inclusive growth, empowerment, and the preservation of community identity for future generations.

### **Limitations and further research**

This study has limitations in terms of time constraints and location, necessitating further research to investigate the negative impacts of community-based tourism on cultural, environmental, economic, and social aspects. To comprehensively explore these impacts, additional samples should be gathered from community members, leaders, supporting organizations, and even residents who oppose tourism. Field research, including participant observation, is crucial to establish closer contact with all local community residents, including those not involved in CBT services, to gather in-depth data on the cultural, social, and environmental changes caused by tourism. This inclusive approach, along with perspectives from various stakeholders, will enhance the generalizability of the findings. It is also important to consider potential discomfort among interviewees, particularly government staff, in sharing negative outcomes of CBT due to professional reasons. In contrast, respondents from private organizations may be more willing to discuss challenges, community lifestyle, and the role of government in CBT.

Furthermore, it is necessary to clarify the extent of income dependency and explore preventive measures at each stage. By gauging the perspectives of community members regarding CBT goals, it becomes possible to assess whether the focus is on community development or solely on financial benefits. This understanding enables the implementation of preventive measures before communities reach a tipping point where the impacts become irreversible. Ultimately, addressing these research gaps and considering multiple perspectives will lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the negative impacts of CBT, and facilitate the development of effective mitigation strategies.

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## APPENDIXES

### Appendix A. Interview Guide

The interview time is 45-60 minutes.

The questions are made based on the four aspects (cultural, social, economic, and environment) and some questions are overlapping with each other. The first segment after introduction of the CBT program is about the affect on the local community, second, the economics, followed by the environment and ended with open questions or additional remarks.

Equipment: voice recorder for WhatsApp video call interviews (some interviewees do not own a laptop)  
The order of the questions can be changed according to the interviewees' answers.

#### Introduction of the research

“Hi, my name is Danna and I’m studying Sustainable Entrepreneurship in the Netherlands. For your information, this call is being recorded for the data analysis later. The interview is going to be anonymized. Your name will not appear in the research. You can also choose to not answer some questions. I will send the consent form and please sign it and send it back so I could use this interview for the research.

I’m sure there are a lot of good things that affect the locals through tourism. But on this research, I hope you can be open sharing about the challenges and difficulties when implementing CBT program in your area. The questions are based on the four aspects that are impacted through CBT; social, economics, environment, and culture. The reason is so other organizations or communities who would like to implement CBT can be aware and avoid the negative effects at all cost.”

#### General opening questions:

Could you introduce yourself, your role, and which organization you are working for?  
How did you get involved in CBT and for how long?

#### The intended impact of CBT implementation in their area:

How long has CBT been implemented in your area? What was the initial idea or goal behind it?  
Now that the program has been going, does the goal stay the same? Why or why not?

#### Social & cultural oriented questions:

What kind of activities do you offer? What is your area known for?  
Who from the village/area are the main contributors to the CBT program? Who is managing it?  
Could you explain briefly about the system of distributing the benefit/income from tourism in your area?  
How would the community manage or resolve the conflict that arises?

Where do the tourist mainly come from?

How do the locals perceive tourists? What do they think about having tourists in the area?

Is there anything that changed in the local’s lifestyle since the CBT program is implemented? If yes, what are they?

What about the local's **lifestyle** who are not involved in the program? For example, the families, kids, are they impacted by the program? In what way?

(If the interviewee mentions that they offer homestay) What are the influences of the tourists to the family?

Were there any knowledge or **traditional culture** that is replaced through the presence of people outside the community? If yes, how?

In your opinion, what are the **values** that have changed within the people after the presence of tourism in the area?

### **Economics oriented questions:**

Is there other communities/villages near your area that are doing similar things (tourism attractions)? How is your relationship with them?

Who handle the promotion of the tourist attractions? Are there any challenges?

How supportive is the government with regards to tourism in your area?

Is there any changes in terms of goods pricing or other living costs that are increased after your community opens up to tourism? If yes, what have changed?

### **Environmental oriented questions:**

What are the resources from the environment that you rely on or play an important role in making the tourism activities happen?

What are the changes made in terms of infrastructure to facilitate the tourism activities?

Was there anything you did not expect that happened due to the tourists presence? Perhaps does it has anything to do with natural resources in your area; water, forest, air, soil?

Is there any harm caused by the tourist that you notice since there are tourists coming to your area?

If yes, what are they?

If no, how did you prevent that?

Is there any environmental damage you could have prevented on the start of the program?

### **Closing**

What are the things you would do differently if you could reintroduce tourism to the community?

What are the things you wish the tourist would have known better before visiting your area?

## Appendix B. Theoretical Framework

Concept	Themes	Indicators
Cultural	Cultural degeneration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New lifestyle to cope with tourism</li> <li>• New activities created for tourism</li> <li>• Devaluing local culture (Cuong, 2020)</li> <li>• Change of characteristics, culture and belief so as similar to those of outsiders</li> <li>• Change in livelihood activities (abandoning old occupations)</li> <li>• Misunderstanding of local culture (Yoon et al., 2001)</li> </ul>
	Commercialization of culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community becoming less attractive to visitors</li> <li>• Disappearance or modification of cultural activities</li> </ul>
Economical	Internal capability constraints	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Struggles with utilizing modern equipment, new techniques or complicated work procedures (Addison, 1996; Cuong, 2020)</li> <li>• Reluctant to get involved due to skepticism and suspicion (Hall, 1994, Goodwin and Santilli, 2009)</li> <li>• Management problem (Addison, 1996)</li> </ul>
	Dependency on tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unsteady income to the community (Ashley, 2000; Stone &amp; Nyaupane, 2017).</li> <li>• Tourism is seasonal (Taylor, 2017).</li> </ul>
Environmental	Loss to communities' key resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Loss of lands</li> <li>• Loss of resources that are often used for other purposes (Ashley, 2000; Stone &amp; Nyaupane, 2017)</li> </ul>
	Pollution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Traffic congestion (Dickinson &amp; Robbins, 2008)</li> <li>• Noise pollution (Logar, 2010; Teh &amp; Cabanban, 2007)</li> <li>• Insufficient knowledge and infrastructure of waste management*</li> </ul>
	Ecological degradation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Overcrowding places in the community (Poitras &amp; Getz, 2006)</li> <li>• Irresponsible tourist behavior (Chang, 2010)</li> <li>• Endanger wildlife habitats and species (Alessa et al., 2003; Ballantyne, Packer, &amp; Falk, 2011; Ballantyne, Packer, &amp; Sutherland, 2011; Chen, 2011)</li> <li>• Inadequate tourism facilities infrastructure</li> <li>• Environmental neglect*</li> </ul>
Social	Lack of cohesiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflict of interests: community act out of self-interest rather than for collective good (Ireland, 1993; Silk, 1999)</li> <li>• Build exclusive rather than inclusive social capital (Winter, 2000)</li> <li>• Lack of commitment to the community development's of social justice and empowerment (Mayo, in Craig, 2003)</li> </ul>
	Community division	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community members opposing tourism (Ayes, 2002)</li> <li>• Division between those who are considered part of the community and those who are not (Ruiz-Ballesteros &amp; Caceres-Feria, 2016)</li> </ul>
	Alienation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Vulnerable locals feel discomfort and react passively to tourism</li> <li>• Not ready and not willing to enhance skills and knowledge to meet minimum standards (ASEAN Secretariat, 2016)</li> </ul>

\*additional indicator

Table B1. Theoretical framework with sources

## Appendix C. Interview Results Overview

Themes	Indicators	Nepal	Rwanda	Jordan	Kyrgyzstan	Jamaica	The Philippines
Culture degeneration	Misunderstanding of local culture	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	Not all Jamaican listen to reggae music, engage in drug use, despite these stereotypes being promoted by tourism. It highlights the cultural image and the erroneous assumptions associated with it	N/A
	Change of characteristics, culture and belief so as similar to those of outsiders	N/A	The indirect impact is evident at the end of the day through their appearance and leaving bad habits by learning from the tourists they stay with (e.g. changing clothes for weeks, neglecting showers, and skipping breakfast)	Travelers demand women's involvement in tourism. Locals adapt culturally, evolving roles and opportunities for women as tourism develops. Progress is still needed to involve women in tourism projects, achieved through women-only campaigns	Globalization made people realize their interest in their own culture through tourism. This has a dual effect: some desire to live abroad while others reconnect with their roots.	We treat tourists better than we treat locals. We acknowledge the significant economic impact of tourism in the country, being the largest sector and employer.	N/A
	Change in livelihood activities (abandoning old occupations)	The main problem is many teenagers and youth are lazy about agriculture. We have land available but cannot grow them but the mindset has changed.	N/A	Youth nowadays aim to go outside their city (big cities) to earn more money – urbanization but most youth want to stay in their communities because they find opportunities now	N/A	We work in a supporting sub-sector, such as agriculture or entertainment, which is closely related to tourism.	N/A
	New activities created for tourism	We learned to dance to showcase to tourists.	N/A	We found that Jordan is not a top cycling destination for cyclists due to lack of resources and infrastructure  We are lobbying for more relaxed regulations (e.g., e-bikes use)	Hospitality is part of their culture. In the beginning, villagers find it difficult (do not have the mentality) to commercialize their culture.  Find it difficult to balance community and commercial-based tourism	Visitors are being approached by locals who try to persuade them to buy products or services.  We created unofficial police invigilators to pay to protect tourists (Jamaica)	We encouraged people to develop new marketable products.
	New lifestyle to cope with tourism	We are respectful towards our guests because we think that guests are our god. We accommodate them with new facilities (e.g. wifi, parks)	The local family starts to change their eating schedule and habits because of the tourists who come stay with them.	As locals work more in tourism, their attitude towards women working with travelers becomes more accepting, as they no longer view tourists as strangers. However, cultural restrictions still persist.	Initially, cultural challenges hindered profit from tourism while honoring hospitable culture. Balancing commercialization and community-based approaches is crucial. Recognition of the significance of cultural attractions and acceptance of this balance has grown.	Locals are pleasant, helpful, and protective of visitors during their stay.  Tourism has made us customer service-oriented as it is a significant part of our economy.	N/A
Commercialization of culture	Community becoming less attractive to visitors	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Disappearance or modification of cultural activities	N/A	N/A	N/A	In some places, tourism has become more commercialized, deviating from the authentic community-based and hospitality culture.	We are cautious not to offend visitors, so some attractions avoid extensive focus on colonial and slavery history, as these topics can be sensitive.  There is apprehension when discussing slavery and colonialism, acknowledging the enslavement of black people by white individuals, resulting in narrating our history.	N/A

Figure C1. Negative cultural impact of CBT - interview results overview



Themes	Indicators	Nepal	Rwanda	Jordan	Kyrgyzstan	Jamaica	The Philippines
Internal capability constraints	Struggles with utilizing modern equipment, new techniques or complicated work procedures	N/A	N/A	N/A	Sometimes, if it's modern, Western, or urban, people may struggle to accept it.  We should solve the problem without importing solutions from big cities or consultants that the community may reject or do not meet the community's needs.	N/A	N/A
	Reluctant to get involved due to skepticism and suspicion	People found it hard to believe in rural tourism villages, including the government. The tourism board didn't believe or support my father-in-law financially due to the village's rural nature.	People have different perspectives. They want to make it without getting their hands dirty or touching their wallets. They fear thinking about the next six months and investing in tourism.	N/A	Unfortunately there are no governmental programs to support the rural tourism villagers	N/A	N/A
	Management problem	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	We visit stakeholders and hold meetings to address issues. Some places faced management challenges and we helped them develop a management system to tackle those issues.	N/A
Dependency on tourism	Unsteady income to community	N/A	N/A	N/A	Community-based tourism members pay feegenerating association generates some income but not significant.	N/A	Everyone felt the impact of no tourists, affecting the economy and the livelihood of our tourism workforce. Without tourists, our tour guides have no income.
	Tourism is seasonal	N/A	N/A	If we neglect our sustainability practices during peak seasons, we encounter significant challenges.	Tourism in Kyrgyzstan is highly seasonal, depending solely on tourism is not feasible due to its seasonal nature and the associated financial constraints. Villagers rely on other sources such as agriculture, cattle breeding, and their own household activities for sustenance.	N/A	N/A

Figure C2. Negative economic impact of CBT - interview results overview

Themes	Indicators	Nepal	Rwanda	Jordan	Kyrgyzstan	Jamaica	The Philippines
Loss to communities' key resources	Loss of lands	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Loss of resources that are often used for other purposes	N/A	N/A	Jordan was not a (top) cycling destination to begin with. There was no cycling culture and infrastructure supported therefore new development was necessary.	N/A	N/A	N/A
Pollution	Traffic congestion (air)	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Noise pollution	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Lack of knowledge and infrastructure of waste management*	N/A	We have fewer tourists compared to neighboring countries. It may change in the future, but currently, there is no damage done.	Locals seek easy facility solutions for travelers by increasing use of single-use plastics. We educate the community to reduce impact and ensure sustainability over time (e.g. cleaning campaign, campsite waste processing)	Villagers lack resources to sort garbage, they are typically available only in larger towns. Locals struggle to sort tourists' foreign objects in garbage.	Our waste management systems need improvement. Insufficient resources hamper the proper management of waste from the tourism sector.	One of our main problems is proper waste management and littering
Ecological degradation	Overcrowding places in the community	N/A	N/A	N/A	The capacity of natural areas, including protected ones, was not calculated properly after the Soviet era. The number of visitors allowed in certain areas remains unclear.	Some tourist attractions are overrun and delicate. The ecosystem can easily be affected by excessive visitation in a short time.	N/A
	Irresponsible tourist behavior	N/A	N/A	I wish tourists knew how to conserve water in Jordan and bring reusable plastic bottles.	N/A	Heritage is delicate; picking up a brick can cause damage to our ruins.	We want tourists to be aware of the cultural norms in the area, so they don't engage in unacceptable behavior.
	Endanger wildlife habitats and species	N/A	-	N/A	N/A	The volume of sewage and waste from resorts and hotels impacts our coral reefs and requires tree cutting for their construction.	N/A
	Inadequate tourism facilities infrastructure	We convinced the government to build a park near the village to facilitate visitors' activities.	Improve community living standards by enhancing accommodation hygiene, such as adding more beds and focusing on small details.	We identified locations with limited accommodation options, such as a small village near Petra. We built a homestay and provided equipment for the suppliers.	People accepting tourists understand that better service leads to higher earnings. They strive to provide good-level service with facilities like flash toilets, hot water, and Wi-Fi.	Developing community tourism products requires time, energy, and effort, including building visitor spaces and bathrooms. We lack the resources for infrastructure development in our communities and government. Private investment is key.	Government conducted a national competition to address problems of infrastructure and encourage provinces to submit their proposals.
	Environmental neglect*	N/A	N/A	The main struggle was implementing sustainability practices and making the community understands that it helps being cost effective	The environment is crucial for sustainable tourism development. People need to recognize that the environment and its inhabitants are valuable assets in tourism.	We funded a beautification project focused on environmentalism to make the community happy and emphasizing its importance.	N/A

Figure C3. Negative environmental impact of CBT - interview results overview

Themes	Indicators	Nepal	Rwanda	Jordan	Kyrgyzstan	Jamaica	The Philippines
Community division	Community members opposing tourism	The leader faced initial resistance when introducing the tourism concept to the community.	Initially, they struggled to grasp the concept of farming as a tourism product. Many community members value tangible experiences over verbal explanations.	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
	Division between those who are considered part of the community and those who are not	N/A	N/A	N/A	CBT is simply a label and abbreviation used by the association, representing the same concept, community members, and philosophy to support rural areas. However, there are cases where the association monopolizes the use of the CBT abbreviation.	N/A	Obtaining support and participation from stakeholders is crucial for successful product development in CBT. This involves uniting private stakeholders and all involved community members.
Lack of cohesiveness	Conflict of interests: community act out of self-interest rather than for collective good ,	N/A	N/A	N/A	Some try to artificially limit the community members working with them to have their own exclusive tourists. This goes against the principles of transparency and management in community-based tourism.  In the pursuit of earning money, the basic philosophy of CBT, including transparency and openness, is sometimes forgotten, leading to conflicts.	Distrust hinders collaboration among organization groups in Jamaica.  Historical legacies contribute to a lack of trust within communities.  The main issue is the belief that not everyone will benefit equally from working together.	Securing support and participation of stakeholders for successful CBT product development, uniting all involved parties.
	Build exclusive rather than inclusive social capital	N/A	N/A	Private companies offer more control and direct contact with suppliers, making it easier to improve operations.  Some locals in rural areas are uncomfortable involving women in the tourism business.	When the General Assembly establishes rules and duties, they may not address all the challenges faced by local villagers. This can lead to misunderstandings and the community association may not represent the entire village. However, people can still initiate change and address problems at the community level.	N/A	N/A
	Lack of commitment to the community development's social justice and empowerment	In our village, many educated individuals hold government positions but contribute little to the community.	N/A	N/A	N/A	Tourism effectively supports communities, but it needs to include more vulnerable groups like divorced women, youth, and disabled individuals.	N/A
Alienation	Vulnerable locals feel discomfort and react passively to tourism	N/A	N/A	N/A	It was difficult for people to accept money from the first tourist as they didn't want to commercialize their home or sell products to guests	N/A	N/A
	Not ready and not willing to enhance skills and knowledge to meet minimum standards	The community desires easy income from tourism while being lazy (e.g changing bedsheets)	People want to get involved but are hesitant to invest or take risks in tourism.  When discussing community tourism, it's important to acknowledge the existing cultural aspects. People need to understand how to package this within the framework of CBT or conservation programs.	N/A	People outside tourism don't understand the dedication of those working in this sector, often perceiving them as driven solely by financial gain. People now recognize tourism's income potential but fail to grasp the extensive work involved, including the responsibility for quality service and authentic experiences.	N/A	Some municipalities in the region are not prioritizing tourism. Therefore, we continuously campaign for community-based tourism.

Figure C4. Negative social impact of CBT - interview results overview

## Appendix D. Consent Form



### Research Consent Form

Participant:

The purpose of the research is to investigate the negative impacts of community-based tourism implementation on the culture, environment, economic and social aspects of the local community members. Participation in the research is voluntary. The interviews were recorded and transcribed, however, participants' and enterprises' names will be changed for anonymity. In case of any discomfort, the participant has the right to not answer any of the questions or terminate the interview at any point without consequences.

I would like to get the results of the research:

- Yes
- No

By signing this form, I give my informed consent to participate in the interview.

Signature:

**Researcher**

**Participant**

Danna C.T. Mulya

Date: 9<sup>th</sup> May 2023