# Land Grabbing in Tourism

## An Analysis of Drivers, Impacts and Shaping Factors
## of Tourism-Induced Adverse Land Deals

**Masterarbeit**

**zur Erlangung des Grades eines „Master of Arts" (M.A.)**

an den Fachbereichen Nachhaltige Wirtschaft und

Landschaftsnutzung und Naturschutz

im Masterstudiengang „Nachhaltiges Tourismusmanagement"

der

Hochschule für nachhaltige Entwicklung Eberswalde (FH)

**vorgelegt von**
**Diana Ojo**
**11207746**

**Erstgutachter: Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Strasdas**
**Zweitgutachter: Prof. Dr. Martin Welp**

Eberswalde, den 17. September 2013

## ABSTRACT

Across the developing world, land grabbing is an emerging process of deep importance as it causes radical changes in the use and ownership of land. It involves either the extensive alienation of land and water resources, or the restructuring of rules and authority in the access, use and management of resources that may as well have alienating effects. The production and export of farmland crops for food and energy security in the developed and emerging world are frequently highlighted as the main drivers for the foreignization of space. However, there are several other equally important industries involved, whether historically established as mining or recently emerging green grabs for climate and biodiversity protection. Much less attention has been paid to the role of tourism as a means of resource allocation and dispossession. This study examines how tourism as a form of land use and frequently promoted tool for sustainable development struggles with neoliberal policies, land rights, and the commoditization of natural resources. Questions have been raised about the effectiveness of participatory tourism approaches, and particularly ecotourism has been criticized for largely failing to materialize its objectives related to the wellbeing of local and indigenous communities. Two processes of tourism-induced displacements have been identified in this study. Both are related to the "empty land" philosophy, where the tourism setup allegedly depends on largely excluding human activities, such as areas designated to wildlife or biodiversity conservation or the creation of tourist enclaves. The result is either the physical dispossession of local communities from landscapes used by the tourism industry or the restricted access to reduce pressure due to competing land uses in high-value areas. These developments pose a number of questions on the land governance in these countries and many cases reveal a confusing picture regarding local tenure situation, national land rights constitutions and enforcement, and the territory claims of tourism business. This study aims at developing an overview of the main features of tourism-induced displacements. It uses an extensive case-study design to outline the drivers and motives of the involved stakeholders, to examine the impacts on local level, and to point out the stakeholders deficits at constitutional and implementation level. Finally, the thesis offers a definition for land grabbing in tourism that largely overlaps with common characteristics in the current general debate on land grabbing. In this way, the study argues that land grabbing for tourism purposes does not differ significantly from other driving forces of land grabbing. Its character might be non-extractive, but it is still a land-intensive export of intangible assets for mostly foreign consumers.

## ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| BRICS | Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (Emerging Countries) |
| CDM | Clean Development Mechanism |
| CSR | Corporate Social Responsibility |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Profit |
| EIA | Environmental Impact Assessment |
| FPIC | Free, Prior and Informed Consent |
| FRA | Forest Rights Act |
| ILC | International Land Coalition |
| IRR | Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction |
| LDPI | Land Deal Politics Initiative |
| NP | National Park |
| NTFP | Non Timber Forest Produce |
| REDD | Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation |
| SEZ | Special Economic Zones |
| UN | United Nations |

**FIGURES**

**TABLES**

**BOXES**

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Motivation

Over the past five years, the convergence of multiple global crises in food, energy, and finance, has driven a significant redefinition of land ownership, commonly called land grabbing (BORRAS et al. 2011: 209). Supposedly "idle" lands were acquired and cleared of existing inhabitants by powerful transnational and national economic actors from corporations to national governments to serve the growing demand of alternative energy production, food crops, mineral deposits, and carbon sequestration. Struggles over land have been recorded for centuries, but the current land grabbing debate has attracted global attention due to the massive land surface that changed hands (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 10). The global land grabbing is the reflection of reigning economic and political policies that support privatization of land and resources. It broadly happens in the name of modernization, economic growth and job creation (FAIRHEAD et al. 2012). While certain groups or individuals benefit from the immense transfer of resources, the majority of residents in affected regions is excluded from the prospective development and in consequence their livelihoods are threatened.

Most studies in land grabbing have revolved around large tracts of farmland being acquired in developing countries and regions to grow crops for the food-feed-fuel complex of the developed or emerging world (ANSEEUW et al. 2012; BORRAS et al. 2011). However, there are several other equally important industries driving the current global land grab and much less attention has been paid to the role of tourism as a means of resource concentration and dispossession (GARDNER 2012: 379). Questions have been raised about the effectiveness of tourism as an inclusive tool to sustainable development. Particularly ecotourism has been criticized for blurring boundaries between international tourist operators, conservation agencies and the governments to alienate indigenous groups from their ancestral lands (JOHNSTON 2006: 12). In many instances tourism establishes an enclave economy in high-value land, particularly coastal and protected areas. Competing uses increase the pressure on land and resources and cause major consequences not only on local livelihood alternatives, but also on cultural development and the environment.

In this context, it is important to be clear what is meant by land grabbing. If land is being allocated to a purpose related to tourism, such as conservation, is it always necessarily a grab? Where is the grey line between land alienation and missing local linkages or participation? And what role does the allocation of water and marine resources play?

There is a huge diversity of contexts in tourism-induced land grabbing: large or medium, driven by international interests or domestic ones, for a purposely noble cause or for unethical operations. The study answers these central questions by evolving a tourism-specific definition based on the research results.

The main purpose of this study is to develop an understanding of the main features of land grabbing for tourism ventures. It uses an extensive case-study design and systematically reviews the data to outline the drivers and motives of the involved stakeholders, to examine the impacts on local level, and to point out the stakeholders deficits at constitutional and implementation level. And despite having largely identical characteristics, some aspects are identified to distinguish tourism-induced displacements from the overall debate on land grabbing.

## 1.2 Approach and Objective

In the first part of this section, the report structure throughout the chapters is explained and the study objective, i.e. the research question formulated. The second part contains theoretical and methodical considerations concerning the research design and research scope. Case parameters and limitations of the research approach are outlined.

### 1.2.1 Objective: Research Question and Report Structure

The objective of this research work is to draw a comprehensive picture of the features of land grabbing in tourism, to outline how it differs from general land grabbing, to present, summarize, and interpret the evidence that has emerged so far on a meta level. The research work is not understood as a catalogue and makes no claim to be complete regarding the number and variety of cases. There is no sophisticated scientific model behind the analysis. Much data was based on protest literature that alerted the world to the losses of indigenous groups, hence the data basis is deficient to establish universally valid statistics.

The aim is to draw conclusions from this body of evidence as to the key motives of land grabbing for tourism, the outcomes that it is having and the contextual factors that are shaping these outcomes. At the end, a definition of land grabbing for tourism is produced, based on the results of the case-based literature analysis and experts knowledge. In the literature review in Chapter 2 three major categories (driving aspects, impacts and shaping factors) were identified. They form the frame for the research question:

**How** do land deals for **tourism differ** from the majority of current land acquisitions and what are the **drivers**, **impacts** and **shaping factors** that **define** different types of land grabbing for **tourism purpose** in **developing countries**?

The overall structure of the study takes the form of five chapters, including this introductory chapter that covers motivation, approach and objectives. The second chapter is a comprehensive and general literature review on the phenomenon of contemporary land grabbing as it outlines the key issues and competing perspectives and definitions. Three main features of land grabbing were identified: drivers, shaping factors, and impacts. The drivers are first rooted to involved industries and their demands, e.g. food or energy, later to the motives of the stakeholders. The characteristics and origins of the two main stakeholder groups are analyzed, the land acquiring countries and the host countries. In the second step, shaping factors that lead to rather negative outcomes of land acquisitions are scanned thoroughly, such as land governance in the host countries. At last, the socio-economic and environmental impacts of land grabbing are examined on the local level, with the perception that human rights violations seem to play a major role.

The third chapter is concerned with the methodology used for this study. Primary and secondary research methods are elaborated and their practical transition into expert interviews and case study assessment based on grounded theory is illustrated.

The fourth chapter presents the findings of the broad case study analysis and expert interviews, focusing on the three key themes that have been identified in the literature review: drivers, impacts, and shaping factors. The stakeholders' origins and characteristics are not assessed, as too little information was given to draw a valid quantitative picture. At first, the motives of governments, tourism enterprises and local communities are outlined, with special consideration of conservation models. Policies for economic growth in a neoliberal sense and the exploit of nature and wildlife for tourism go hand in hand and seem to override community interests. Secondly, the local impacts of the tourism-induced land deals are discussed, considering both positive and negative impacts on socioeconomic, cultural and environmental level. The majority of reports attested severe livelihoods impacts experienced by local communities, all related to either physical or economic displacement with several knock-on effects. The prospective positive impacts are yet to be experienced at large scale. Contextual factors such as strategies to divide community interests, a common lack of transparency in land tenure, and the overall performance of constitutional framework are presented in the last part. It

appears not to be a lack of appropriate policies, laws, and institutions that fosters land grabbing, but rather limited capacities and weak implementation within the concerned countries. The role of ecotourism and the human rights are highlighted particularly in Info Boxes and two case studies were spotlighted in Case Boxes.

The final chapter concludes the thesis by making a number of conclusions and recommending further research and investigation areas.

## 1.2.2 Approach: Research Design and Scope

According to the current status quo of research the topic of land grabbing for tourism is a comparatively unexplored area of investigation. Prior examinations were conducted with focus on conservation areas only and the term land grab was not used then. Unlike land grabbing in general, especially with focus on agrarian land use, where a significant number of scientific research papers has been published, there are no such publications for the tourism sector. It seems to have a trivial to non-existing part in research. The mere knowledge that land grabbing for tourism occurs, arises from a few media reports about cases of land use change for tourism, which are amongst others endorsed with the term land grabbing. Consequently, there is no tourism-specific definition available, but numerous definitions and conceptual theories for land grabbing in general or agrarian land grabbing respectively. Therefore the research design of this work has to be exploratory in terms of the unknown field and inductive in terms of non-existing theories for this field.

Exploratory and inductive studies characteristically include expert interviews and qualitative analysis of relevant texts or other objects (BORTZ & DÖRING 2009: 50). Both methods were employed to support this research. The qualitative analysis was based on individual case studies from which hypotheses will be derived. The validity of these hypotheses was then tested in the expert interviews. Both phases were merged in the tourism analysis chapter, because expert opinions and case specifics were not in focus but assisted to draft the characteristics of land grabbing for tourism.

The research scope is widely reflected in the case parameters. Following limitations are made to the selection of case studies:

| Industry Scope | clear reference to tourism projects and tourism operators |
|---|---|
| Geographical Scope | cases where developing and emerging countries are host nations |
| Time Scope | cases occurring between the years 2000 and 2013 + historical reference |
| Language Scope | literature sources and interviews in English or German language |
| Validity Scope | cross-referenced, at least two different sources per case study |
| Stakeholder Scope | focus on locally involved stakeholders |
| Capacity Scope | cap at 50 cases |

As land grabbing for tourism is the research topic, tourism is the scope industry. Many cases may appear to be driven by several industries. Hence only cases with clear evidence of land use change in the name of tourism operations are considered.

The geographical scope to developing and emerging countries gives account to the fact that the vast majority of land grabbing in general occurs in those countries (see 3.2). This is assumed to be the same situation in the tourism sector. The United Nations country classification[1] was applied to determine whether a country belongs to the group of developing countries.

The time scope is set narrow between 2000 and 2013 to find cases of contemporary land grabbing, i.e. cases from colonial and early post-colonial times should be excluded. However, if cases can be dated back to colonial or post-colonial times, but are still not solved or their impacts are only recently felt as recent media reports prove, they are included in the time scope.

The restriction to conduct literature research and expert interviews only in German and English language is a clear limitation in this approach. There is probably a quite big gap in the research grid, since many case studies that are published in other languages, especially French, Spanish, Portuguese and Asian languages that are excluded from the analysis. The finally selected case studies prove that some Asian cases were published in English as well, but only very few cases from Latin America and the francophone Africa. This will affect the overall global distribution of case studies (see Annex I).

---

[1] The UN country classification list can be accessed in the statistical annex of the World Economic Situation and Prospects 2012 report (UN 2010: 135).

The query for cross-referenced cases is an obligation to avoid one-sided or biased information. At least two different sources for the same case have to be involved to ensure the quality of information. Generally, a diversity of sources was sought, including scientific publications, media reports, company sources and government sources when available.

Among the potential stakeholders involved in tourism-driven land grabbing, only the locally operating will be examined. Available information about the traveler or the tour operators in this context is too scarce. Figure 1 illustrates the focus on locally operating tourism businesses, the local communities, the governments, and to some extent the Civil Society Organizations.

**Stakeholders in Tourism-Induced Land Grabbing**
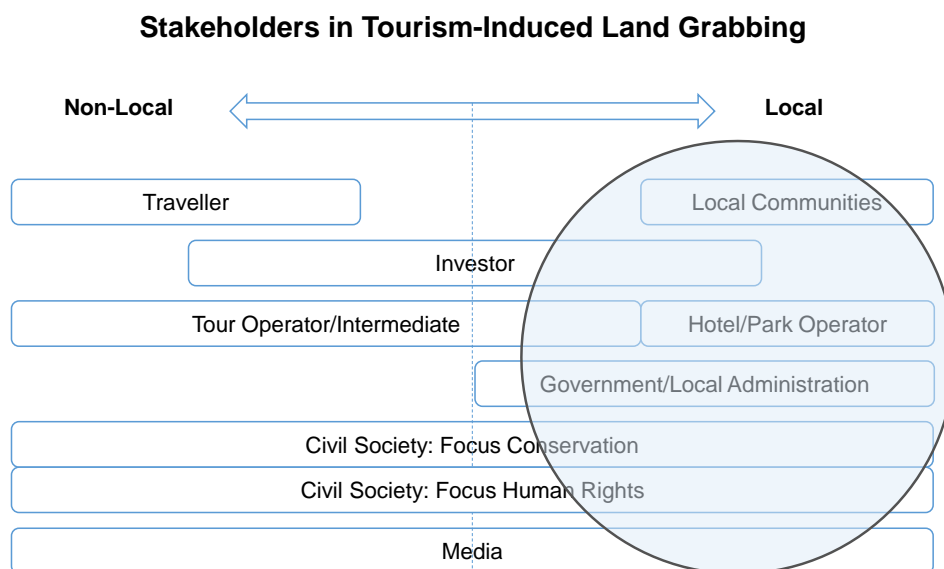


Figure 1: Stakeholders in Tourism-Induced Land Grabbing (own chart)

The last mentioned scope, capacity, was set to limit the number of cases and avoid time constraints during the assessment. Each case study would have at least two sources to examine, mounting up to at least 100 sources with a maximum 50 cases given.

## CHAPTER 2: BACKGROUND – THE FEATURES OF LAND GRABBING

### *"Buy land, they're not making it anymore." (Mark Twain)*

The process of dispossession for economic development or environmental conversation is not a new phenomenon. It certainly builds on long and well-known history of colonial and neo-colonial resource alienation (MARGULIS et al. et al. 2013: 2; FAIRHEAD et al. 2012: 239). Up to the last decade, the term of "development-induced displacement and resettlement" (ZOOMERS 2010: 437; BROCKINGTON & IGOE 2006: 451) has been used frequently to pronounce the process of relocation for new businesses. The term land grabbing has occurred only recently to emphasize the pace and scale, the new drivers and the new tactics that distinct the current wave of land deals from previous eras. Although land grabbing has become a well-established phenomenon, there are varying estimations of the quantity of land surface that has been transacted during recent years, from a low of 45 million hectares by the World Bank (DEININGER et al. 2010) over a medium of 80 million hectares by the Land Matrix (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 4) to a high of 227 million hectares by Oxfam (OXFAM 2011: 1). This makes clear that approaches to counting differ and generally, the study of land grabbing is a complicated field due to the scarcity and unreliability of data. Also, the size of published figures reflects the interest of the organization behind (HANLON 2011) and should be treated with caution.

This chapter gives a comprehensive introduction into the issue of contemporary land grabbing. It starts with a review of several definitions and the clarification of terms that are relevant in the context of this work. The key driving industries and their influence on land acquisitions are outlined and information about the location and characteristics of involved stakeholders are provided. It seems difficult to separate the driving industries from the motives of the land acquirers because they are strongly interlinked. But these aspects are dealt with in two successive chapters and the separation aims to unbundle the corpus of the land grabbing myth and offers a multidimensional view. At the end, the impacts of land deals are described on different levels, local and international as well as social, economic and environmental. Where it fits, a few brief outlooks are provided in terms of forecasts and how the current land grabbing could be turned into a positive story.

### 2.1 Definition and Terminology

The word "land grabbing" implies a process with at least two involved stakeholders of which one takes advantage by overtaking land of the other. More in detail, the word "to

grab" means *to seize, grasp or try to get hold of something suddenly, quickly or roughly*; and the suffix "-grabbing" means *to getting or taking a lot of the stated thing*[2]. Thus the term land grabbing could be interpreted as *taking a lot of land roughly*, with the process being influenced by strongly uneven power distributions that result in a win-lose situation. These interpretations give the term a negative connotation and it does not surprise that the majority of definitions appears to focus on the detrimental impacts of land acquisitions. The next two subsections portray the status quo regarding definitions and terms that occur in the debate about land grabbing.

### 2.1.1 Definition of Land Grabbing

In the past five years, a significant number of non-governmental organizations, political and financial institutions, research centers and intergovernmental organizations have published studies and papers on the current phenomenon of land deals and land use change. Yet, only a few have attempted to define the subject of land grabbing. Depending on their motives, some see land grabs as a major threat to the livelihoods of the rural poor, and oppose such commercial land deals. Others see economic opportunities for the rural poor, although they are aware of corruption and negative consequences, and hence call for improving land market governance. Naturally, there is a range of intermediate views between these two positions.

Generally the definitions developed and used by NGOs, policymakers and some academics tend to take a very narrow view of land grabbing which is mainly descriptive and include only some features of the land grab like size of the land, certain actors, or certain drivers for the land use change. The members of the International Land Coalition (ILC)[3], a global alliance of civil society and intergovernmental organizations who holds the most comprehensive inventory of land grabbing cases up to date, agreed on a definition popularly known as the Tirana Declaration. The Declaration defines the term land grabbing

> *"[…] as acquisitions or concessions that are one or more of the following: (i) in violation of human rights, particularly the equal rights of women; (ii) not based on Free, Prior and Informed Consent of the affected land-users; (iii) not based on a thorough assessment, or are in disregard of social, economic and environmental impacts, including the way they are gendered; (iv) not based on transparent*

---

[2] Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary, Third Edition, Cambridge University Press 2008
[3] The ILC currently counts 116 members and involves international financial institutions (World Bank, IFAD), intergovernmental institutions (e.g. FAO), aid donors, and a number of NGOs (e.g. Oxfam) (ILC 2013: 5).

*contracts that specify clear and binding commitments about activities, employment and benefits sharing, and; (v) not based on effective democratic planning, independent oversight and meaningful participation.*" (ILC 2011: 2)

This definition clearly points at the governance deficits in the context of land deals that are basically expressed in the lack of transparency, planning and participation. The ILC definition obviously does not criticize land acquisitions as a development opportunity and there are no claims of neoliberalism found in their publications. They rather review the surrounding circumstances or "shaping factors", which lead to a win-lose situation. Nearly all definitions identify land as the only source of interest in land deals, but a significant number of land grabbing cases produce evidence of especially water resources being the scope of land acquisitions. With respect to an existing definition for water grabbing (MEHTA et al. 2012: 193), currently there is only one definition that stresses resources in general to be the purpose of land grabs. The Land Deal Politics Initiative (LDPI), a loose research and action network, identified three interlinked key features of contemporary land grabbing and state that "land grabbing is essentially 'control grabbing' in terms of land and other associated resources such as water" (BORRAS et al. 2012: 850). They comprise their key findings in the following definition:

*"In short, contemporary land grabbing is the capturing of control of relatively vast tracts of land and other natural resources through a variety of mechanisms and forms that involve large-scale capital that often shifts resource use orientation into extractive character, whether for international or domestic purposes, as capital's response to the convergence of food, energy and financial crises, climate change mitigation imperatives, and demands for resources from newer hubs of global capital."* (BORRAS et al. 2012: 851)

The complexity and multidimensional drivers of land grabbing are made very clear. Although it misses the possible impacts and does not mention the governance difficulties, it is the most adequate and motive-free definition to describe the current phenomenon of land grabbing. This research work will stick to this definition because it covers several industries and drivers, includes various resources and hence leaves space for a tourism specific adoption.

**2.1.2 Terminology**

As stated in the last section, land grabbing has many faces and the existence of a definition for water grabbing makes clear that land grabbing is only an overall term that is used to describe the multiple resource allocation resulting from current land acquisitions. Water grabbing refers to water resources already used by local communities or feeding aquatic ecosystems, and it overlaps with sea grabbing, but the latter rather stands for the privatization of coastal areas including their beaches and the marine ecosystems. Scientific literature has created the term green grabbing as a narrative for the appropriation of land and resources for environmental ends, such as biodiversity conservation, carbon sequestration, biofuels, ecosystem services or ecotourism (FAIRHEAD et al. 2012: 239). As Figure 2 suggests, the list of land grabbing related terms could be expanded further to mineral grabbing and other commodities (cf. MARGULIS et al. 2013: 2). With these terms all aiming to highlight different kinds of dispossession of resources, it is surely essential to elaborate on them, because it is difficult to separate land grabbing from other forms of resource grabbing (BLOMLEY et al. 2012: 6). However, for the sake of simplicity, the term land grabbing will be used mostly this work, well acknowledging that tourism comprises other "grabs" as well.
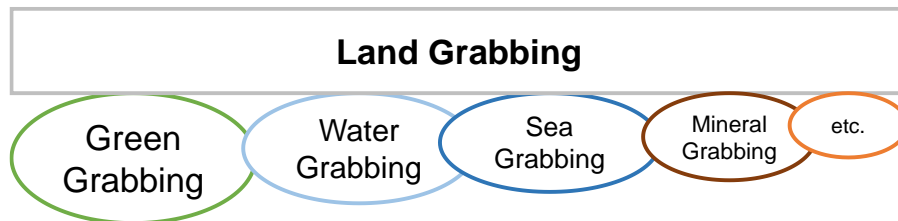


Figure 2: Land Grabbing and its Related Terms (own chart)

The last section also revealed that definitions of land grabbing vary fundamentally and the motives of the defining institutions have to be considered thoroughly. Correspondingly, the usage of major terms in that context differs and needs to be discussed. Commonly used terms to describe land grabs are "large-scale land acquisitions", "land deals", "cropland expansion", "investments" and "the global land rush" (COTULA et al. 2009; LAY & NOLTE 2011; DEININGER et al. 2011; ANSEEUW et al. 2012). While many publications do not discuss these terms, only the aforementioned ILC and the LDPI researchers seem to have strong arguments.

The International Land Coalition prefers the terms "land acquisition" to refer to any kind of purchase, lease or concession. The ILC considers the term "investors" to be inadequate,

because many land acquisitions were either speculative or involved production only on a small proportion of the land acquired (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 21). The arguments of the ILC are challenged by LDPI. For Borras and Margulis the term "acquisition" is of technical and administrative nature and it is used to depoliticize contemporary land grabbing. In other words, they claim the term "acquisition" to be part of a legitimizing discourse by the policy-making institutions (BORRAS 2011: 11; MARGULIS et al. 2013: 16). Regardless of these debates, this research work will generally apply the neutral term "land deals" to cover all mechanisms and forms of land transactions, but will also reproduce the terms that were predominantly mentioned in the case-related literature.

This study will frequently use the term of indigenous peoples and local settlers or communities. Given the diversity of indigenous peoples and local communities, a universal definition is neither necessary nor desirable (ILC 2013a). Particularly concerning indigenous groups, there are certain characteristics that clearly identify them as "indigenous", such as the status as descents from populations, who inhabited the region before current boundaries were set up or the maintenance of their own distinct social, economic, cultural and conditions and institutions (ibid). In this research work, these peoples are called by their by nationally or locally known terms such as hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, hill tribes etc., or simply by the name of the specific people (Maasai, San, Batwa, etc.).

## 2.2 Drivers for the Increasing Demand of Land Resources

This chapter gives insight to the drivers for the recent increase of land for economic purpose. Understanding the role of different industry sectors is key to grasp the complexity of the land grabbing issue. A wide range of industries have been identified to contribute to the pressure on land, but only a few have been focused on in-depth. The fact that most of the research is dedicated to food and biofuels is statistically backed up in the Land Matrix[4] records (Figure 3). The record set comprises more than 2,000 reported deals worldwide between 2000 and 2010 amounting to a total of 203 million ha of land (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 19). According to the Land Matrix the global food-feed-fuel complex accounts for three quarters of the reported land deals, whereas the other sectors (tourism, forestry/timber, livestock, non-food commodities, mining, and industry) are likely to be underrepresented in the data, as these cases are not dominant in media and research.

---

[4] The figures from the Land Matrix report are going to be used throughout this chapter. The report currently offers the only comprehensive set of figures on worldwide land deals. The Land Matrix figures are based on cross-referenced data, not on originally reported land deals (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 18). It has to be noticed that the Land Matrix describes land acquisition cases, this does not imply all of these cases to be land grabbing in the context of this research work.

## Industry Shares in Global Land Acquisitions
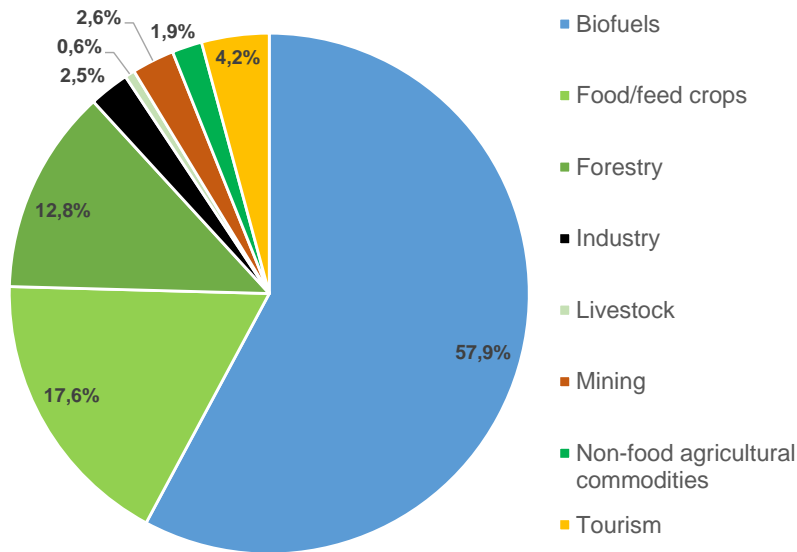


Figure 3: Industry Shares in Global Land Acquisitions (Figures based on ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 24)

Media reports emphasize the drivers of rising competition for land to be global population growth and increasing consumption by a global minority. However, several studies (MARGULIS et al. 2013: 2; BORRAS et al. 2011: 5; MCMICHAEL 2013: 57) enhance this perspective by linking the economic growth, population growth and increased consumption to limited fossil resources and climate change policies, claiming that both contribute to the boost of renewable resources. This trend increases the pressure on fertile land and causes the growing shortage of the vital resources land and water. The hereafter listed driving and elaborated industries are partly adopted from the Land Matrix records in Figure 3 (food/feed crops, biofuels, non-food agricultural commodities, tourism, industry and mining) with food being mentioned first before biofuels despite it has lesser overall share. Livestock is left out due to its very small share (0.6%) and infrastructure has been added, because the large number of reported cases in media makes it an important driver (ROMERO & KEPPELER 2012: 36; GORVETT 2011: 29, see 2.2.3). The share of financial markets is not made clear in the Land Matrix figures as a result of an intransparent situation regarding acquisition details and locations of acquirers. However, the financial market actors have to be mentioned here, as they have entered the land market strongly after other commodities lost attractiveness (see 2.2.4).

### 2.2.1 Food Industry

The sudden rush for farmland that appeared to peak in 2009 was triggered primarily by the food price crisis of 2007 and 2008 (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 24; KAPHENGST & BAHN

2012: 26) that witnessed a dramatic increase in the price of staple foods such as rice, wheat, maize and sugar. The market mechanisms at that time led to discussions about protectionist measures and a general export ban in many producing countries. The dependence of some net food importers on the world market prices was made evident. These countries, particularly the Gulf States, India, China and South Korea with import rates up to 60% (FRITZ 2010: 61 and ANSEEUW et al.: 2012: 21), struggle with fast growing population and/or limited arable land and water resources, hence their potential for expanding food production is constrained. Although some governments had previous experiences with this situation[5], they hardly had any measures to react on the sudden price increases. With their national food security depending solely upon unpredictable world markets some, of these countries have embarked on a new strategy that targets the controlled shift of food production abroad (LIBERTI 2012: 59) and results in a holistic "outsourcing" (FRITZ 2010: 10). Though food farming appears to be the main topic in discussions about the phenomenon of land grabbing, it actually accounts for only 18% of globally acquired land in the last decade (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 24).

There are, however, not only food crops grown abroad, but also animal feed. Indeed one third of all agricultural areas worldwide[6] are grown for animal feed, especially soy beans (BÖRNECKE & BESTE 2012: 27). Therefore intensive livestock farming is indirectly the world's largest land user based on the enormous and further growing demand on feeding stuffs, adding intensively on the comparably small land surface share of livestock farming. The quadrupling of global meat production between 1961 and 2009 is mainly driven by significant changes in consumer behaviour in populous emerging economies such as China and India that causes an enormous demand (KAPHENGST & BAHN 2012: 29). Considering that the so called flex crops, particularly soy beans, sugarcane and oil palm can be used for all purposes within the food-feed-fuel complex, feed farming should count another driver for large scale land acquisitions.

### 2.2.2 Climate Protection and Energy Industry

The biggest driver for land acquisitions in the past years is the complex and interrelated bundle of climate protection, carbon markets and the energy sector. Since limited energy sources such as crude oil and gas are being substituted gradually by renewable sources the energy sector has linked up heavily to land issues, because both biofuels and biomass

---

[5] Saudi Arabia once targeted to the self-sufficiency in food production in order to hedge against boycotts as a result of the oil boycott of 1973. Although the country's requirements could be partly met, the subsidies have been reduced later due to economical inefficiency. Thus Saudi Arabia again became one of the world's largest net importers of rice, barley and wheat, and was unable to purchase the required quantities on the world market in 2008. (LIBERTI 2012: 57 and FRITZ 2010: 61)
[6] This figure does not refer to land grabbing cases but to overall farmland usage worldwide.

require large tracts of farmland. In addition, forest conservation projects are set up to gain carbon credits in the pollution rights markets. They demand large forest areas in developing countries to fulfill the carbon reduction commitments of the industrialized countries. These sectors, except the fossil based energy sector, largely cover the aforementioned scope of "green grabbing", a paraphrase for the appropriation of land for sustainable and mostly carbon neutral use (FAIRHEAD et al. 2012: 239).

*Biofuels and Biomass*

According to the International Land Coalition the production of biofuels for the transport sector is currently the strongest impetus for the global land rush, accounting for 58% of all land acquisitions considered as land grabbing (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 24). Rising fuel consumption worldwide and increasing oil prices can be seen as major causes for the increasing demand for biofuels, combined with the industrial countries' dependence on imported oil and the commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions produced by fossil fuels. The European Union plans to increase the share of renewable energy sources in the transport sector to 10% until 2020, mainly with the help of biofuels[7]. Governmental subsidies of renewable biomass are expressed by statutory blending quotas und tax incentives and have led to high profit expectations in the bio energy sector (KAPHENGST & BAHN 2012: 36). But due to limited land resources the EU will have to import approximately 60% of the needed biofuels from farmlands outside the EU boarders in order to cover the required land of almost 30 million hectares (KAPHENGST et al. 2012: 14). Considering the biofuel production plans of the emerging countries, especially Brazil, China and India, a further increase of land leases or land acquisitions for biofuels has to be expected.

Biofuels are mainly used for transportation devices on road and track, but air traffic, currently the fastest growing transport sector, will add its share in biofuels rapidly. This is an indirect link to the tourism industry which is widely dependent on the transport sector. Due to the inclusion of the aviation industry into EU emission trading in 2012, airlines approaching the European Union have to obtain additional emission rights to the permitted carbon emissions. This motivated the international airlines to decrease their carbon emissions[8], mainly by using biofuels from renewable resources. A number of airlines started research to find appropriate energy crops and possible farmlands. Next to

---

[7] The 10% share of renewable energy in the transport sector is a sub-goal of the "20-20-20" targets to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and the EU's dependence on imported energy (1. 20% reduction in EU greenhouse gas emissions from 1990 levels; 2. Raising the share of EU energy consumption produced from renewable resources to 20%; 3. A 20% improvement in the EU's energy efficiency. European Commission 2012)

[8] In June 2009, IATA airlines decided a set of targets including the carbon-neutral growth from 2020 and the reduction in carbon emissions of 50% by 2050, relative to 2005 levels (IATA 2009: 3).

palm oil and sugar, a major part of the biofuels mixture is oil gained from the jatropha plant. Jatropha is not edible and is said to be growing on modest soil and therefore its farming would not be a threat for local subsistence farmers. Despite successful long-term trials testing jatropha oil in flight operations the airlines have doubts whether the market was capable to provide the required quantities of sustainably produced bio energy to serve the demand of the aircraft industry. Hence a number of biofuel companies started to grow Jatropha on fertile land which makes the farming of bio fuels for air transport an additional competitor for the local farmers in developing countries (NEWINGER-ADDY 2010, 40; SCHENK 2008: 32; BÖRNEKE & BESTE 2012: 29).

Wood is the second important source for energetic utilization next to the production of energy crops. The so called soft commodities in the second generation will play a major role in the future of energy supply. Currently the biggest energy wood exporting countries are industrial countries like Norway, Canada, Russia and the USA, but emerging countries like Brazil are entering the market for energy wood and increasingly Africa becomes the scope for timber plantations. Driving forces are not only the low prices and availability of land but also the comparably higher growth rates of trees in tropical countries (KAPHENGST & BAHN 2012: 32), given the favorable climate conditions.

*Forestry and Carbon Markets*

The second climate-related driver of land acquisitions concerns the establishment of pollution rights markets and carbon credits. These instruments are responses to the commitments made by the industrial nations in the Kyoto Protocol to reduce carbon emissions (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 27). The Kyoto Protocol and subsequent agreements brought up a few market-based climate change mitigation measures like the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) and Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD). CDM allows industrialized countries or companies from industrialized countries to meet part of their commitment to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions in emerging and developing countries. An example of such investments is the construction of reservoir dams. Despite the economic advantage of urban and rural electrification and energy security, the construction often causes environmental and social complications. Land use conflicts intensify as in many cases people have to be relocated for the construction of dams and fertile farmland on the banks is destroyed (ENGELHARDT 2010: 32). Under certain circumstances afforestation and reforestation projects can also be credited under the CDM, due to the carbon bound by wood biomass.

Initial developments show that in the context of afforestation projects it is probable that people will be displaced from their land and their food crops.

The basic idea of REDD are performance-based compensations for measurable and verifiable carbon emission reductions through forest conservation. It is created as financial incentive for preservation of forests as carbon sinks. The revised model, REDD+, involves protection management, forest density and social aspects. On the one hand, environmental protectionists welcome REDD as a large opportunity to finance the protection of rain forests (PEARCE 2012: 327 and BORRAS et al. 2011: 42). On the other hand, the program could have a strong impact on indigenous peoples who use the forest as a habitat (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 27 and KAPHENGST & BAHN 2012: 41), because it is widely ignored that the target forests are under customary ownership[9]. Indigenous networks and movements reject REDD radically by saying REDD mechanisms applied in developing countries restrict the rights and natural bounds of the indigenous population with the forests (IEN 2013 and VIGNA 2011).

### 2.2.3 Other Industries

*Non-food Agricultural Commodities*

The global dependency on fossil commodities is not limited to the energy sector, but also affects the chemical industry, because most synthetics are based on crude oil. Institutions in industrial countries research to substitute oil intensive synthetic materials by so called bio plastics, containing starchy and cellulosic plants like maize, sugar cane and wood (FNR 2011a: 10). The replacement of finite resources with renewable resources in the cosmetics industry is realized mainly through palm oil. According to FNR (2011b) the chemical industry accounts for nearly a quarter of worldwide palm oil production, making it another important player in the run for global farmlands. However, the vast majority of non-food crops are not grown for the chemical industry, but amongst others for the textile industry (cotton), the rubber industry or the industrial timber industry (PEARCE 2012: 247; KAPHENGST & BAHN 2012: 37 and ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 27). The IIED further counts in premium products like coffee, cocoa and tea to the section of non-food agricultural commodities (COTULA et al. 2009: 56).[10]

---

[9] According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO 2011) 300 million indigenous people are living in and around forested areas and almost wholly depend on forests for their livelihoods.

[10] The list is far from complete, other sectors have not been in focus of the current land grabbing analyses. For instance the floral industry can be counted in as important non-food agricultural product with great land demand as the new centers of production are in typically developing countries (VIDEA 2002: 2).

*Extractive Industries*

Mining companies have a long history in acquiring lands or sea territory since commodities like crude oil, natural gas and coal have been exploited for decades, comparing to the rather short history of food and biofuel land deals. The exploration for fossil energy sources seems unstopped despite recent developments to renewable sources. But the energy sector is only one player, other raw materials like aluminum, uranium, platinum, copper, gold, silver and diamonds contribute to the land demand of the extractive industry. The general trend of displacing small-scale agriculture in favor of mining sites holds on as governments of developing countries continue granting prospecting rights or mining concessions. This form is exemplified in the cases of Angola (HALL 2011: 198) and Peru (MEENTZEN 2010: 23), where local communities have been forcefully dispossessed to make way for mining, as well as for oil and natural gas exploitation. These processes tend to be highly militarized, being enforced through state military or private paramilitary forces that are employed by mining corporations, as reported in cases in Angola and Papua New Guinea (SEIB 2010: 31). It is rather uncertain that possible models like the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative will be successful in enforcing local law more effectively. The Initiative attempts to bind participating governments and companies to certain standards in mining and oil activities, (LAISHLEY 2009: 22).

*Industrial Development*

Governments establish free trade zones, export processing zones and industrial parks, generally called Special Economic Zones (SEZs) and huge industrial corridors, to build factories. The goal is the global competitiveness of the manufactured goods by applying liberalized regulations outside the federal law. Thereby the SEZs are an instrument to attract foreign direct investments and indirectly subsidize their production. Although industry projects usually do not occupy large land areas, they can be a significant competitor for land in areas where the competition about land is already intense. Asia seems to be the center for industrial development projects. More than 500 SEZs have been planned in India, covering over 140,000 hectares in total (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 27) and 59 SEZ land concessions covering nearly 1 million hectares have been designated in Cambodia (ZOOMERS 2010: 437). The implementation of the SEZs led to conflicts with displaced land users in a number of cases, because many of the approved sites are located on prime agricultural land. (LEVIEN 2011: 16). SEZs are expected to have huge demands for raw materials from surrounding areas, in many cases they are

closely linked to mining projects; hence increasing the pressure on the local population that depends on natural resources.

*Infrastructure*

The development of infrastructure for transport, power plants, grids and settlements are another driver for land acquisitions and evictions. A number of cases in Ethiopia (LIBERTI 2012: 50; ENGELHARDT 2010: 32), Peru (MEENTZEN 2010: 23), Kenya (KOISSABA 2013) and Chile (CALFUANO 2011: 46) have been published where reservoir dams, geothermal power plants and transport infrastructure have been built without considering the social and environmental impacts. When arable lands turn dry due to dam constructions, the local population often has no more means to grow their own food and is forced to leave the area. The setup of settlements is another land intensive sector. Not only rural land is used to build new settlements, but also unrecognized villages as in the case of Bedouins who have to make space for new Israeli settlements (KESTLER-D'AMOURS 2012); or long-time established settlements as in Cambodia's capitol, where a lake and its neighboring settlers have been covered by sand to build business buildings (GORVETT 2011: 29). The biggest settlement project is planned in Honduras where a coastal community probably has to relocate for a whole Charter City based on the model of Singapore (ROMERO & KEPPELER 2012: 36).

*Tourism*

Unlike large-scale land acquisitions for farming purpose, tourism ventures usually do not appear to occupy vast tracts of land areas. They rather seem another source of competition for high-value land, in particular in coastal areas, biodiversity hotspots and heritage sites (ZOOMERS 2010: 438). But the land consumption for tourism purpose becomes clear when considering the spatial consumption of protected areas and game reserves, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. According to the Land Matrix (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 25) tourism accounts for roughly 4% of the current land deals. It seems to be a minor factor in Asia and Latin America, but makes up almost 10% of all registered land deals in Africa. As land grabbing for tourism purpose is the main research topic in this work, the dimensions will elaborated further in the fourth chapter.

## 2.2.4 Financial Markets

The global financial crisis of 2008 and the weakness of real estate and equity markets in recent years have directed the interest of the financial sector to farmland. Since 2008 annual international conferences are held, where farmland and agribusiness are touted as

an attractive investment of money. The actors of the financial sector anticipate a good business with high returns, mainly motivated by expectations of rising land values as a result of rising demand. Minimal purchase or lease prices by some governments, particularly in Africa, deliver favourable conditions and make land in the global South increasingly attractive as an object of speculation (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 28). Not all acquisitions result in cultivation of farmland, many actors of the finance industry buy off land to sell it profitably ten years later.

Land is being used as a tool of speculation and the projection of secure returns from land far in the future is of great importance. Particularly pension funds and sovereign wealth funds with a long horizon (KÜNNEMANN & MONSALVE SUAREZ 2013: 129; DEININGER et al 2011: 2) are among the long-term players in the financial and insurance sector. The complexity of the financial markets involvement becomes clear when looking at the stock market engagements and shareholder structures of the above mentioned numerous industry players (BÖRNEKE & BESTE 2012: 31). The OECD (2010: 1) estimates that the total amount of capital invested by the private financial sector in farmland and agricultural infrastructure varied between USD 10-25 billion[11] and assumes the volume could triple in future. Many of the fund investment strategies emphasize that investments target a sustainable and responsible farming and create an overall win-win situation. However, a number of facts are not addressed, e.g. the impacts of highly industrialized farming, such as soil degradation in the long term, or the eviction of small farmers without compensation. Kaphengst & Bahn (2012: 43) state that the financial sector refuses to account for the impacts caused by land deals and rather shift responsibility to locally operating business corporations.

In this subsection it became obvious that there is a high number of industries involved. The recent increase of land deals is not only about food security, and not only a response to high food prices. It appears to be driven by a range of factors, all ultimately linked to rising demand levels of food, energy, carbon, mineral and leisure consumption by a part of the world's growing population, in the context of policies created due finite natural resources and ecosystem services. The acting stakeholders and their intentions interlinked to these industries are illustrated in the next subsection.

---

[11] This figure does not consider the public sector investments by governments or semi-public investments.

## 2.3 Stakeholder Characteristics and Motives

After having enumerated the various driving industries for modern land deals, the next step has to be the characterization of the stakeholders involved in those deals. This chapter outlines the stakeholders' identity, their geographical locations, their motives and what shaping factors promote the current increase of land deals. Cases analyzed by the Land Matrix show that land grabbing occurs across various land property rights regimes, such as private, state or community, through a variety of acquisition mechanisms, such as purchase, lease, contract farming or value chain capture (BORRAS et al. 2011: 5; ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 11) and is operated by a variety of institutional forms.

The actual content of land deals is not part of this research, but the majority of contracts that have been analyzed so far tend to be short and simple compared to the economic reality of the transaction (COTULA et al. 2009: 7) and the circumstances under which they are concluded are rather not transparent (KAPHENGST & BAHN 2012: 48). The ILC reports that many deals have failed to materialize or delayed seriously due to the investors' underestimation of the difficulties that can occur when operating large plantations in complex contexts (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 32).

### 2.3.1 Land Acquirers

It has so far been difficult to get a comprehensive picture of the type of land acquirers involved in recent land deals. The case studies and research papers reveal a great diversity of actors, who are mostly representatives of the above-mentioned driving industries. Transnational corporations and private-public partnerships, large national companies venture capitalists and sovereign wealth funds could be presumed to be involved (BORRAS et al. 2011: 23 and LAY & NOLTE 2011: 2). But commodity traders, business entrepreneurs, private green activists, conservation organizations and state agencies are also among, just to mention a few. They interact in a range of relationships that link across local and global scales to pursue profits of different nature. Their geographical origin and motives are illustrated in the next two subsections.

*Geographical Origin*

The Land Matrix identifies three separate groups of land acquirers' origin (ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 37): The emerging countries, especially the BRICS states (without Russia) and Asian countries; the Gulf States; and countries from the Global North, such as USA and EU member states. Some of the emerging countries in Latin America and Southeast Asia appear to be both the origin and target of investment flows. The statistics in Figure 4

confirm that investors from all world regions are involved in the land deals, especially when looking at the diversity of origins in African and South American land deals. But it also suggests the trend of regionalism, i.e. the land seeking countries enforce deals in the geographical neighborhood.
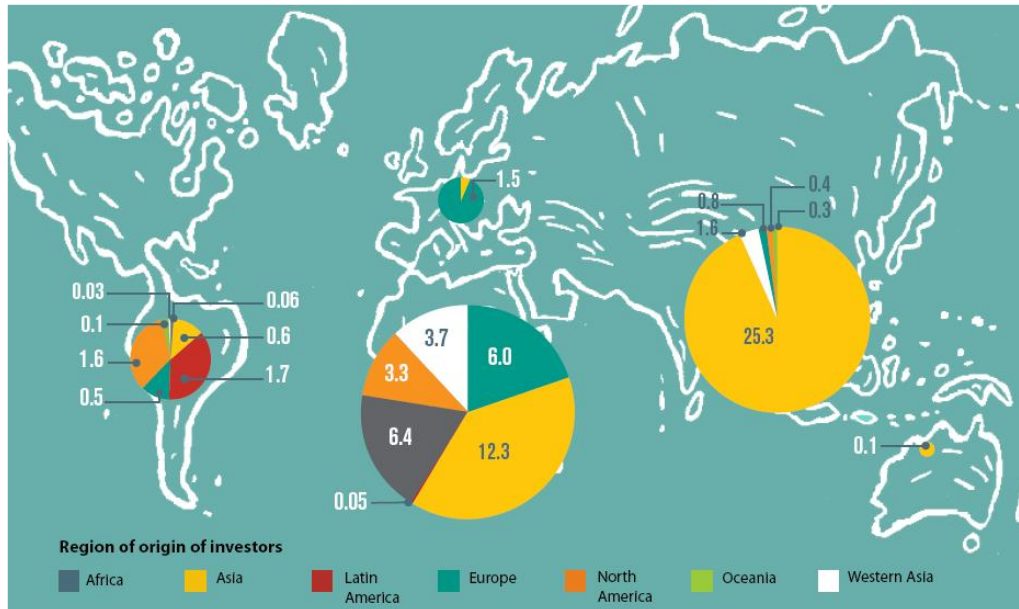


Figure 4: Geographical Origin of Land Acquirers and Size of Land Deals in million ha (Source: ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 22)

Land deals are increasingly linked to regional trade agreements and to geopolitical considerations of the land acquiring countries (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 22). Eventually, these strategies target at the reduction of transport and transaction costs. But their selection is also based on cultural background. The number of registered deals implies that the Gulf States have a special interest in land deals with Islamic dominated countries or with strong Islamic stakeholders in African countries (GRAIN 2008: 5; LIBERTI 2012: 89). This clearly reflects their geopolitical considerations and efforts to establish long-term relations with culturally similar countries.

In terms of investments scale, intra-regional investments are far more extensive and vibrant in Latin America and the Caribbean (BORRAS et al. 2011: 27) than seen in Africa or former Soviet Eurasia. It is comparable to Southeast and East Asia, where almost 90% of land acquisitions are made by regional players, especially within the context of growing regional integration. In Latin America 37% of land deals have been concluded between neighboring countries. Intra-regional trade in Africa, which is controlled by South African actors, after all accounts for 20% of all registered land deals (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 22).

The often used "foreignization of land" narrative offers incomplete perspective as domestic companies, though sometimes backed by foreign capital, and private actors from the diaspora also conclude land deals with their own governments or local institutions. The land areas involved in individual transactions tend to be smaller and national actors often fall below the radar of global-level studies because they are rarely facilitated by public agencies (COTULA et al. 2009: 18 and ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 21).

*Motives*

Unlike the financial sector, whose stakeholders engage in land deals primarily with a view to profiting from rising land values per se, there is no clear evidence that major investors are following these motives. China's interest seems largely linked with securing supplies of agricultural commodities, connected with opportunities for Chinese companies to profit in regional markets (COTULA et al. 2009: 57). In the case of the Gulf States, as explained above, the interest is more in securing food supplies; contrasting to European and North American land deals that are rather motivated by energy security as a result of the climate change and renewable energy policies. Production for domestic markets in the host countries are of marginal concern but a few companies produce for local and regional markets as well (LIBERTI 2012: 48).
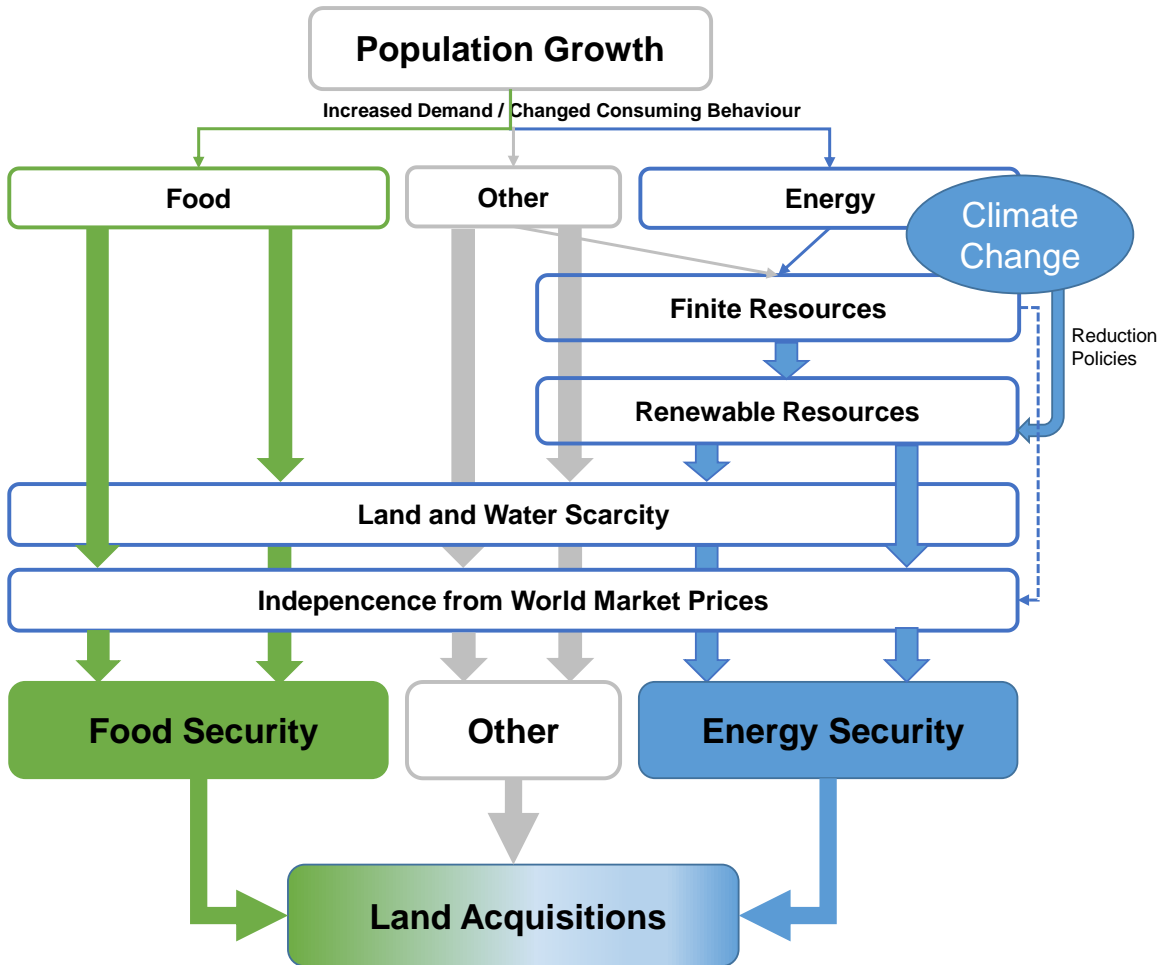
Figure 5: The Multiple Motives for Land Deals from the View of Land Acquirers (own chart)

Figure 5 illustrates the main motives of the investor countries, food security and energy security. These objectives emerge from their dependence on volatile world market prices for fossil commodities, their ambitious climate policies and their inability to produce the demanded supply due to shortage of water and arable land. This is especially reflected with the stakeholder groups of Arab countries (shortage of water and arable land) and the European Union (ambitious climate policies). Therefore they have to outsource the production and import the produce from other countries with comparably high land productivity, which can be set equal to importing the land itself. According to the Sustainable Europe Research Institute (2011: 14) the land import shares for some industrial countries[12] vary between 40 - 60%. This endorses their massive resource demand.

However, not only land is being imported, but virtually also water. It seems that the existence of sufficient freshwater resources is a prerequisite for investments. Land deals

_____

[12] The import shares of Finland, Norway and the USA, three western countries with low population density, are estimated between 40% and 60% (SERI 2011: 14).

are of no interest for investors if not accompanied by comprehensive water rights (DIETSCHY 2011: 11 and KAPHENGST & BAHN 2012: 55). The issue of the so called water grabbing will be elaborated further in the tourism-related analysis of chapter 4.

### 2.3.2 Host Countries

Different to the era of colonialism, the current profile of land deals occurs in a world of sovereign states who at least formally exercise territorial control. They feature different constitutional settings and cannot generally be described as countries with either weak or fragile governance structure, as the dominant narrative on land grabbing assumes. The World Bank (DEININGER et al. 2011: xxxi) stated that land acquirers exploit weak land tenure systems to their advantage so as to have easy and cheap access to land; and in deed the recent Land Matrix report has scientifically verified this claim (ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 56). This section locates the target countries and explains their motives to engage in land deals.

*Geographical Targets*

The host countries are located in the Global South and Eastern Europe including only low and middle income countries. The majority of reported acquisitions are concentrated in a few countries[13].
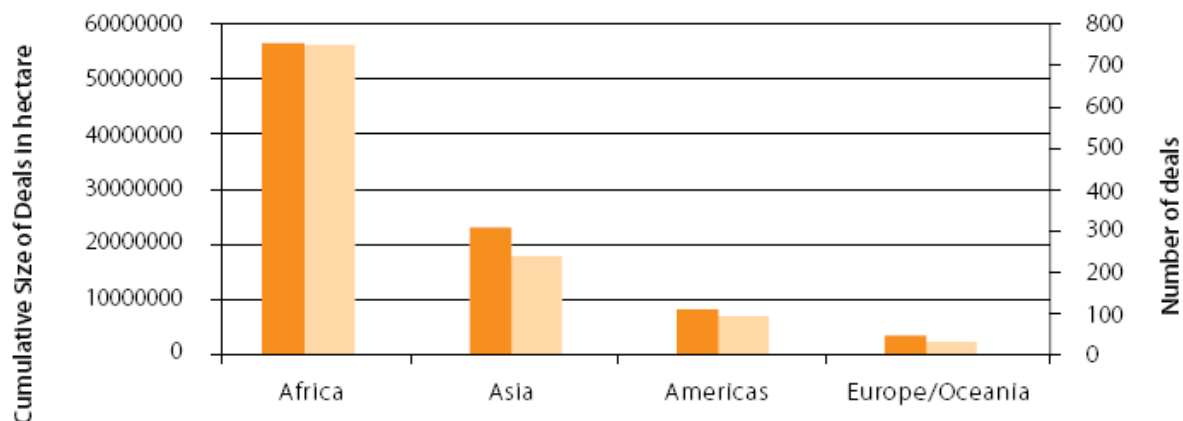


Figure 6: Land Acquisitions by Region, Number of Projects and Size (Source: ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 23)

The countries of Africa appear to be the main target of land acquisitions (Figure 6). The land deals in Africa concern an area equivalent to almost 5% of Africa's total agricultural area, comparable to the land surface of Kenya. The latest Land Matrix data (ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 10) locates 67% of all global land deals in Africa. This compares with 21%

---

[13] Out of 84 target countries just 11 of them concentrate 70% of the land deals' surface (ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 10).

reported for Asia, 8% in Latin America and 3% in other regions, particularly Eastern Europe and Oceania.

Contrary to countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, where land deals are said to be of non-transparent and manipulative character, the political conditions of the Latin American land grabbing sites are markedly different (BORRAS et al. 2011: 7). Still, Borras admits the fact that all regions affected by land grabbing have been slowly integrated into the process of neoliberal globalization during the past decades, even though in different ways and extent. Looking at the African and few South-East Asian cases it is sure to say the majority of host countries are among the poorest, rank low in Human Development Index, are rather poorly integrated into the world economy and offer weak land institutions (ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 11).

*Motives*

One of the main reasons for increased land acquisitions particularly in developing countries is the recent liberalization of land markets. Foreign direct investments have been made for more than fifty years, but many developing countries had strong limitations to foreign investors, keeping the number of investments quite small. Yet, in their continuous efforts for economic growth, many indebted governments became exceedingly vulnerable when facing bankruptcy and international trade restrictions. As a result they succumbed to the forces of international financial institutions and agreed to policies requiring the liberalization of markets and the privatization of public assets, as witnessed from the 1980s across the global South (FAIRHEAD et al. 2012: 245).

It could be assumed that host governments would charge high leasing fees to land acquirers for the use of public lands and natural resource. For developing countries with high unemployment rates and fertile lands, agriculture could be used as a source of employment, growth and revenue as well as to solve more long-standing concerns about food security and eventually poverty alleviation. The attraction of foreign capital is a necessary condition for economic growth and many governments have tried to create a transparent entrepreneurial climate in the context of good governance (ZOOMERS 2010: 433). Looking at their main motives, portrayed by the example of Ethiopia (cf. LIBERTI 2012: 27 and ENGELS & DIETZ 2011: 408) in Figure 7, a reasonable taxation of rents could generate considerable revenues to reach the goals gradually.

However, land fees and other monetary transfers are not the main host country benefits and there is little indication that those governments are seeking to capture rents in this way. Instead, many governments provide tax exemptions and allocate land for little or no rent fees, as part of efforts to attract the capital that is needed to create jobs and develop infrastructure (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 33 and COTULA et al. 2009: 6). In this context, foreign investment is seen as capable of bringing new technologies, developing productive potential, facilitating infrastructure development, and creating employment and supply of food to local markets. Further elaborations could lead to the assumption that host governments, particularly many African countries, leave the implementation of their development goals in the hands of the investing institutions but miss to manifest them properly in the documented land deals.
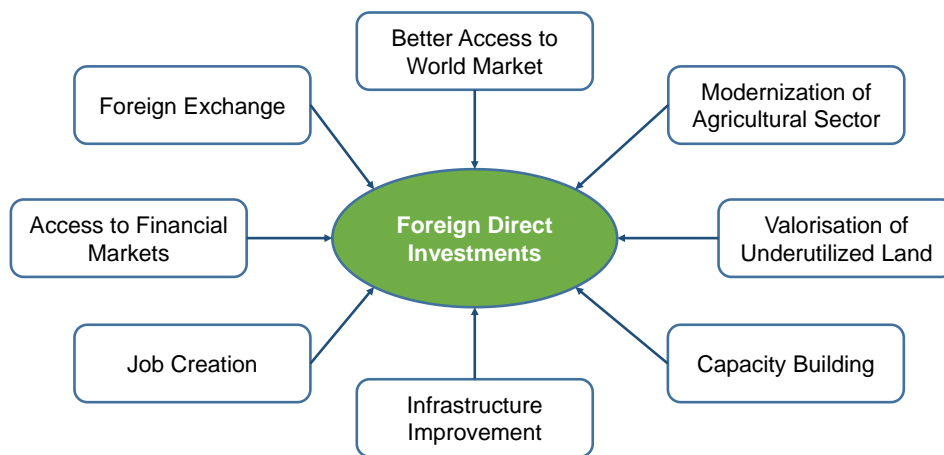


Figure 7: Key Motives of Host Country Governments (based on LIBERTI 2012 and ENGELS & DIETZ 2011)

## 2.4 Shaping factors

Foreign and domestic large-scale land deals are not per se a negative process. But they significantly increase the pressure on land use in the host countries. Many regions in developing countries face challenges of climate change, such as progressive desertification, and immense population growth with growing demand for food and livestock (WANJIRU 2009: 10). In this difficult setting, the acquiring and hosting parties target already pressurized land and provide an operational framework that leaves limited playground for groups with less power. These shaping factors are described in the coming two subsections.

### 2.4.1 Factors influenced by the Land Acquirers

The agricultural land acquirers tend to target land with particularly fertile soil where additional inputs such as water, fertilizers, seeds, infrastructure and know-how may create

greater yields (ANSEEUW et al: 2013: 11). Usually, these croplands are also used by the local smallholder population, but with less additional inputs. In this context, maximizing the yield gap could be a favourable development for local food security. Yet, the maximized output is rarely produced for local markets. The land acquirers' focus seems to be solely on economic output and stable operating framework (such as a contract with an official legal institution) that relies on the local governance. As stated above the circumstances under which land deal are concluded are rather intransparent. This does not only cast light on the governing structures, but also on missing due diligence of the land acquirers.

### 2.4.2 Factors influenced by the Host Nations

The literature review on shaping factors in the host nation revealed several aspects, with land tenure systems and governance failures being in focus. Land tenure systems differ in each country, but can be categorized regionally. In Latin America, particularly in those countries that have missed a profound land reform after independence, large parts of the countries are still in the hands of a few large landowners and globally seen only few attempts at land reforming did succeed in reducing insecurity and the inequality of rights (ZOOMERS 2010: 431). Many African countries are characterized by dual land tenure systems where customary land rights co-exist with formal property rights[14]. Large amounts of land are being used by smallholders on the basis of customary or communal use rights, but most likely these farmers do not own the land formally. Such dual systems, with the traditional rights predominating in many places, may become problematic in the context of large-scale investment projects. The lack of formal recognition of customary rights might lead to local populations losing access to land without adequate compensation, and it may even be a trigger of greater conflicts (ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 56).

The weak record system of customary rights leads to what is being termed the "myth of the unused land" (KAPHENGST & BAHN 2012: 46), "idle" land (HALL 2011: 195) or "empty, marginal land" (BORRAS et al. 2011: 29). One of the key reasons for Africa's and to some extent also Southeast Asia's attractiveness to outside investors is the supposed abundance of land and the perception that large tracts of land can be acquired from governments with little or no payment (COTULA et al. 2009: 59; ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 22 and MOUSSEAU & MITTAL 2011b: 24). Yet systematic empirical data on land availability in Africa remains limited, as many governments do not keep proper statistical

---

[14] Formal property rights are mostly limited to certain stakeholders. In some countries private land property is made difficult by high application fees (Mali, Cameroon) and hence is available only for financially strong actors; in Ethiopia private land property is generally prohibited, the state is the only land owner (LIBERTI 2012: 24); and throughout Western Africa very different legal and normative systems, including traditional chiefs, religious leaders, local authorities and government administrations are involved in land issues (WANJIRU 2009: 6)

records. The World Bank stated that "many countries have suitable land available that is either not cultivated or produces well below its potential" (DEININGER et al. 2011: xiii) and national indicators may suggest large reserves of suitable land. Yet, every second investment targets already cultivated farmland, in most cases local subsistence farmers. Additionally, many areas are important dry season grazing reserves, shifting cultivation systems or sacred sites (BEDELIAN 2012: 1). Therefore these "idle" lands are not unoccupied lands, but lands used in ways that are not perceived as productive by governments (COTULA et al. 2009: 62). As a result governmental institutions index and sell marginal lands as unused public land although they are actually used by smallholders or nomads (ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 13). These land governance practices, widely recognized as part of agrarian restructuring and redistribution policies, are recently discussed in the context of neoliberal globalization (cf. MARGULIS et al. 2013; MCMICHAEL 2013). The assumption that these farmlands might be underutilized due to traditional, non-industrial production methods may be debatable. Yet, there is lack of evidence that the land redistribution is beneficial to the welfare of the citizens and contributive to the fulfillment of the further government goals depicted in Figure 7.

Whilst farmland is in focus, also forested and coastal areas are highly affected by land acquisitions. Land that has been previously set aside for conservation is being converted to other uses, including officially recognized protected areas (BLOMLEY et al. 2013: 5). About one quarter of the land deals are located in forested areas (ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 11), which is a habitat for many indigenous people. Pastoralists, fisher folk, hunter-gatherers, and forest-dependent people are the most vulnerable groups. Their land use and management practices are not recognized as productive, it usually requires large tracts of land and ecosystems that are also of interest for industrial stakeholders.

Data from the Land Matrix reveals that only very few project implementation schemes are based on the principle of Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC)[15]. And in those cases where acquirers engage in consultations with local communities, the consultation process is typically described as "limited" (ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 13). In total, the International Land Coalition summarizes four key failures of governance (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 5). Apart from the land tenure problem, they count in lack of democracy and transparency, power imbalances, and distribution strategies. The World Bank (DEININGER et al. 2010: xv) states that these weaknesses have to be tackled first before larger-scale farming can provide real opportunities for poor countries, especially for those with large agricultural

---

[15] FPIC is a key principle in international law and jurisprudence related to indigenous peoples. The principle describes the community's right to give or withhold its consent to projects that may affect the lands they customarily own, occupy or use otherwise (UN 2005).

sectors and vast tracts of fertile land. To make the most of these opportunities, countries will need to secure local land rights and improve their overall land governance. The adaptation of an open and proactive approach to dealing with land acquirers is also needed. It will finally ensure that large-scale land acquisitions contribute to broader development objectives and reduce advert impacts to local population.

When summarizing the key factors that shape the socioeconomic outcomes of land acquisitions most publications on land deals point at land rights and land governance in target countries. Many developing countries are known for having deficient land governance systems, especially in the context of the current pace of land acquisitions. Although on paper some countries have progressive laws and procedural mechanisms to protect local rights and seek to increase local participation, their law enforcement and processes to negotiate land access with communities remain unsatisfactory (COTULA et al. 2009: 7).

## 2.5 Impacts of Land Grabbing

The effects of large-scale land acquisitions can be conceptualized in several dimensions. According to the International Land Coalition the consequences may be felt at a local level, at a national level, or even at a global level through world markets and global ecosystems (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 30). Enumerations of direct outcomes should not be limited to negative aspects such as dispossession and loss of access to a resource, but also reflect improvements or neutral changes such as new employment. Examples for indirect impacts are improved food or energy security, locally in the host nation or in the investment originating regions. In the very simplified Figure 8 below negative outcomes are depicted in red color, positive outcomes in green color and rather neutral outcomes in black color. The underlying assumption of this chart is that acquirers are of foreign origin or at least have a focus on exclusive production for export. As explained above, food and energy security are not the only objectives and outcomes of land acquisitions, but are highlighted here to communicate a comprehensible picture of a deeply complex issue.
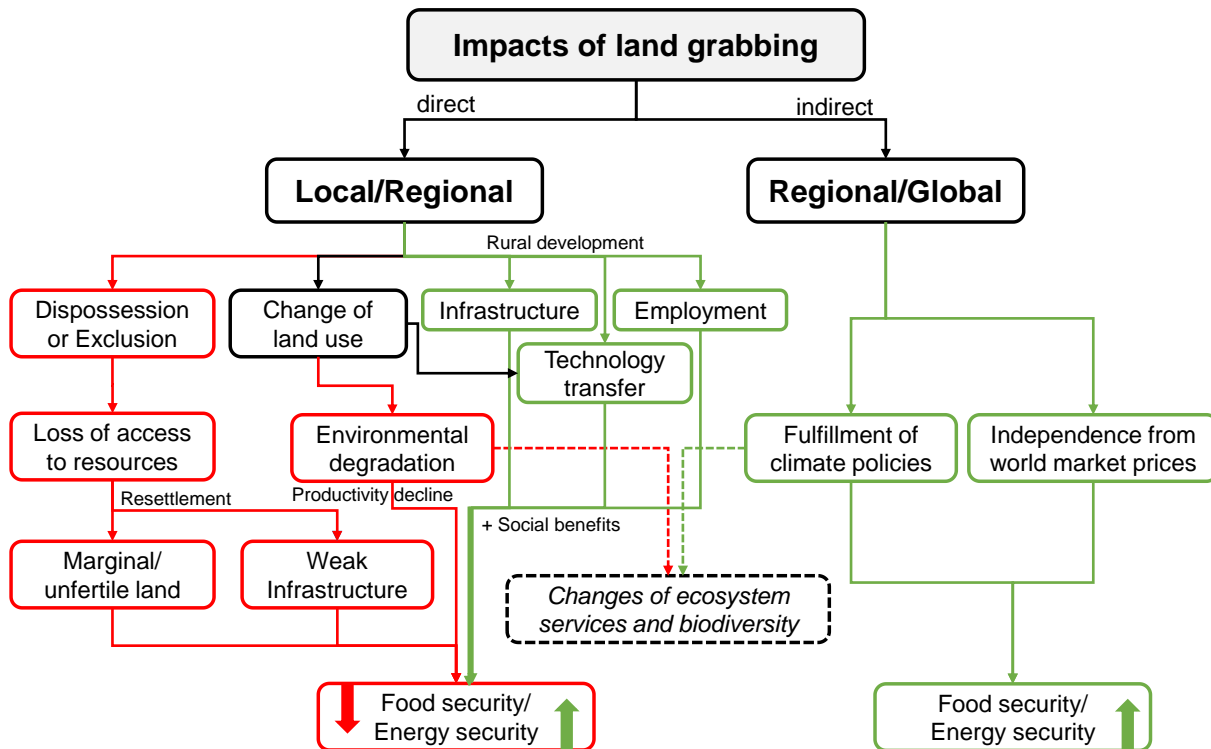
Figure 8: Impacts of Land Grabbing (own chart)

### 2.5.1 Impacts for Land Acquirers and Host Governments

Recognized positive impacts for the host governments from land deals in terms of financial revenues such as lease fees are negligible. Income generated by fees and taxes are often replaced by the acquirers' commitment to develop infrastructure such as irrigation systems, roads, and social facilities for affected communities. In some cases these promises have not materialized to full extent or not at all. And except the aforementioned implementation struggles, substantially negative impacts for the investing countries have not been reported so far. Thus the ILC suggests further investigation into the real macroeconomic and food security effects of the land acquisitions on a long-term basis, in the host states as well as in the investing countries (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 31).

### 2.5.2 Impacts on Local Level

The impacts witnessed locally and direct are far better documented. Aspects such as possible employment creation, inadequate compensation schemes, food insecurity and finally relocation or migration, all subsumed under socioeconomic impacts, have been frequently recorded. Furthermore, detrimental effects on the environment were repeatedly observed in land use changes for industrialized agriculture. Excessive fresh water use and land degradation were the main impacts. The coming two subsections of this literature

review outline all identified socioeconomic and environmental impacts in large-scale land deals.

*Socioeconomic Impacts*

One of the most important potential benefits for the local community members is employment creation. However, these jobs are often low-paid with insecure working conditions, and some incorporation into the emerging commercial farms happen adversely (BORRAS et al. 2011: 8). The Land Matrix figures (ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 63) suggest that the number of jobs created can be substantial, but is likely to be exaggerated since the overall employment impact of the projects is difficult to judge. The distinction between additional employment creation and job replacement seems problematic. While dispossessed smallholders are converted to laborers and count as job replacement, contract farming creates no additional employment because it often simply involves the contracting of existing farmers. Fritz (2010: 136) adds that many former settlers are forced to pursue several jobs for their livelihoods and often end up in petty trading and seasonal or limited employment, linked to an initial construction phase or to agricultural seasons.

The central impact of land grabbing is the dispossession of local people. Immediate evictions from permanent farmland and houses are scarcely reported. But the above mentioned fact that most land acquired was at least partially used by local farmers, and the number of media reports on mass dispossession, give hints to such processes. Basically dispossession does not always result in physical eviction, but rather appears in loss of access to grasslands, forests, marshlands, and water resources, i.e. the resource base of rural livelihoods. Those impacts are not only felt locally, some large-scale irrigation schemes have caused increased competition for water sources and impinge on water availability to downstream irrigators (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 5 & 39 and LIBERTI 2012: 53). This, again, confirms that water resources are at least of same importance for land deals as the land itself.

Moreover, compensation for land and resource loss is rarely adequate to establish a new livelihood. Local settlers have difficulties in providing legal proof of ownership mainly due the lack of legal recognition of customary resource ownership upon which such compensation would be based (COTULA et al. 2012: 23 and ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 5). Compensation arrangements range from building of community based social or productive infrastructure to cash payments for affected individual farmers. Infrastructure includes health or education facilities, better access to markets and project infrastructure that can

be used by the local population. Furthermore, financial support and capacity building play an important but less prominent role. Only few projects include environmental protection as a benefit received through large-scale agricultural investments. One-off compensation payments are frequent, but lease fees are also paid in some cases where land is not purchased from the smallholders. As those compensation or lease payments are often received by local authorities on behalf of communities, the individual benefit remains insecure (ANSEEUW et al. 2013: 63).

Even when acquirers perform compensation payments to local smallholders, peasants often face resettlement to unfavorable land that lacks necessary infrastructure. With their lands respectively the land output becoming too small to survive on subsistence farming (FRITZ 2010: 136), local food security and finally livelihood security is seriously threatened. Lay and Nolte describe a „negative scenario" where all „good" farmland belongs to the investors and the „bad residual" is left for the local population (LAY & NOLTE 2011: 4).

When livelihood alternatives are rare or the wages not sufficient, a not irrelevant number of landless people migrate to urban areas. This increases the pressure on the fast growing cities in developing countries (FRITZ 2010: 137). In this context, the term of "surplus people" (BORRAS et al. 2011: 38 and GARBALLO 2010: 3) is being used frequently for those dispossessed peasants and indigenous peoples who have nowhere else to go and no employment to gain elsewhere. Land grabbing is also considered to be a sensitive gender issue as negative impacts are likely to affect those who are socially and economically the most disempowered. The ILC (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 44) states that women are labeled as particularly vulnerable: their land rights are rarely recognized or legally protected, their role in decision-making is minimal and their relative cash poverty gives them only few tools to react on the loss of land and resources.

*Environmental Impacts*

Case studies reveal several references to various negative environmental consequences of land grabbing. Direct effects result from change in agricultural production methods. The clearance of forests and other non-farm habitats induces rather indirect consequences (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 45). Smallholder agriculture is usually considered as low-input farming and less harmful to ecosystems. In contrast, large-scale, intensive, and industrialized agriculture uses fresh water excessively and causes land degradation and water pollution due to heavy dependence on fertilizer, pesticides, storage and fossil fuels

for machinery and transportation. However, pollution is not solely related to agricultural cases, but also to industrial and infrastructure development projects and intensive mining sites, where pollution concerns land, air and water resources (SEIB 2010: 33; ENGELHARDT 2010: 33). Some of the numerously reported environmental impacts are in fact not results of land grabbing per se, but rather effects of (legal or illegal) destructive practices of the land operators, who disregard environmental policies in the host countries.

Media reports usually emphasize the depletion of forests for large-scale plantations and logging, but large areas such as grasslands, marshlands, and mangroves are as well ecologically sensitive targets of land use conversion (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 5). The conversion of forested and uncultivated lands is strongly associated with loss or degradation of biodiversity in regard of species and habitat, loss of ecosystem services such as the conservation of soil and water quality, loss of carbon functions and diversion of water from environmental flows (for irrigation and reservoir dams).

The fact that land grabbing actually can have a protecting and hence positive environmental impact is largely ignored in reports and research papers. Afforestation and forest protection projects, usually related to REDD+, CDM and also to protected areas and ecotourism, pursue carbon sequestration, protection of species and habitat and biodiversity. Furthermore the growth of energy crops and biofuels leads to reduction of direct carbon offsets and to fulfillment of climate policies; hence it contributes to climate change mitigation to some extent, even though that impact remains arguable. The environmental impacts of tourism projects will be elaborated later in this research work (Chapter 4.2.3).

A large number of publications on land grabbing acknowledge that there are opportunities in large-scale land acquisitions. At the end of chapter 2.2 the World Bank has been cited to demand better land rights and land governance as key factors. When including this chapters' knowledge about social and environmental impacts, the call for governance improvements has to be specified. For this matter, Borras et al. (2011: 8) oppose the "non-redistributive" outcome of land grabs. In their view, land policies in host countries are unfavorably used by acquirers and result in land concentration combined with a production set up that is neither food-securing nor ecologically valuable. For land deals to be socially and environmentally nurturing, they ideally have to be built upon (re)distributive land policies combined with a livelihood-securing and ecologically nurturing, i.e. follow a sustainable production set-up.

In conclusion of this literature review, it should be summarized that the supposed benefits of land deals have materialized to a large extent for the acquiring and investing bodies. The demands of the driving industries are getting more and more fulfilled. But so far the land deals have not lived up to expectations for host governments and particularly for local populations, making it an overall win-lose situation. Given the current shape of land deals the poor, resource-dependent communities in most of the affected countries, disproportionately bear the costs of the land use change. Land deals increase the pressure on land, and there are signs that it is extending the economic inequality and social divisions. This process is shaped by several failures of governance, particularly in the host countries, but also a lack of due diligence by the land acquirers. As mentioned above, land deals as such are not the catalyst of land grabbing. It is rather the impact of global market forces in the context of governance and diligence deficits at across global, national, local, and institutional levels. And one of these global market forces is the tourism industry, albeit merely 5% have been credited to tourism, Zoomers (2010: 438) counted it as one of the seven major forces processes driving the current global land grab.

# CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter provides methodological background to the procedures in this master thesis. In the first part the possible data collection methods are described and weighed against each other. Both primary and secondary research methods are applied in this work. After having outlined the search process for literature sources in the secondary research, considerations are made on the technique of data collection for the primary research. In the second part the optional analysis methods are briefly discussed and the usage of selected methods and instruments is illustrated.

## 3.1 Data Collection Methods

### 3.1.1 Secondary Research Methods

Secondary research is usually required in the early stage of research to determine the scientific status quo of the research topic. Furthermore, the study of literature helps to develop the research question and determines what additional information is required to gain valuable results. As mentioned above, the specific issue of land grabbing in tourism has barely materialized generic scientific publications yet, but there are some on the coherence between conservation and displacements and abundant on conservation and tourism. However, this research intends to cover more than conservation-related tourism, basically all tourism cases related to land grabbing should be assessed. Therefore, other sources need to be considered, such as the so called grey literature. The sources available for this topic include a small number scientific journal articles and research publications and a high number of case related media reports in newspapers and magazines, mainly by non-governmental organizations, company sources and private blogs, which inevitably means that media reports had to be considered sufficient for cross-referencing.

The literature search process is illustrated in Figure 9. All of these three channels were assisting the secondary research. The process started with a keyword search in online search engines. Search engine results offered relevant research papers by international institutions. Those publications usually contain reference to further studies in their bibliographies. As tourism appears to be a minor issue in land grabbing, if mentioned at all, the number of exploitable papers was limited. Keyword search also directed to two online data bases (Land Matrix, Commercial Pressures on Land) that contained useful case information and source.

| Keyword search in search engines | Scanning in scientific journals | Search in NGO magazines/websites |
|---|---|---|
| • Land grabbing + tourism<br>• Land grabbing + hotel<br>• Land grabbing + national park<br>• Land grabbing + golf course<br>• Land grabbing + game reserve<br>• Human rights + tourism<br>• Land acquisition + tourism<br>etc. (the same in German language) | • Journal of Ecotourism<br>• Journal of Nature Conservation<br>• Journal of Sustainable Tourism<br>• The Journal of Peasant Studies<br>• Globalizations<br>• Review of African Political Economy<br>• West Africa Observer<br>etc. | • Tourism Watch<br>• Fair Unterwegs<br>• Equations<br>• Tourism Concern<br>• South east Asian tourism monitor<br>• Survival International<br>• Weltsichten<br>etc. |
| Generic and case specific research papers with further references in bibliography + online data base for land grabbing cases | Generic information and case studies with assumed reference to the research topic and with further references in bibliography | Case reports with clear reference to the research topic with further links to related articles + company sources + project reports |

**Generic and case specific literature for secondary research on land grabbing in tourism**

Figure 9: Secondary Research: Literature Search Process

The scanning of scientific journals was of little success, as only few contained articles that provided rather generic information on land grabbing with hints on tourism, while the majority of scientific tourism journals offered few case studies with reference to some characteristics of land grabbing, but no explicit reference. Some of those case studies assisted with side information for the case analysis. Contrary, the search in magazines and on homepages of non-governmental organizations revealed ample case related media reports. Many reports had further links to earlier reports, as the status quo of cases were updated regularly. Some reports contained links to institutional publications, such as project reports of the World Bank, other reports referred to company sources or government sources of involved stakeholders. All these sources were considered for the analysis.

The tourism specific analysis in Chapter 4 was based on the cases found through these three channels. Overall, 36 individual cases studies based on more than 140 sources were included. A location map for these cases, significant case variables and the used references are listed in Annex I. The findings of the analysis are backed up by a few scientific publications that deal with certain characteristics of tourism-related land grabbing, such as publications on conservation policies. Where possible, the results were verified with suitable related models or compared with common sense in overall land grabbing literature.

### 3.1.2 Primary Research Methods

Due to its various appearances, drivers and impacts the issue of land grabbing encompasses a number of sciences, e.g. social, economic, environmental, and political science. Due to its qualitative nature, this research work makes use of social science methods. Field research is not intended in this work, hence the focus will lie on the survey of involved people, who in this work are considered experts in this issue of land grabbing for tourism. Unlike other exploratory approaches, experts are not included at the beginning, but during and after the analysis. The outcome of the primary research should be generic and comparable information that approves or disproves the analytical findings of the secondary research. Among the existing options, expert interviews are commonly considered as the best assistance to generate theories (GLÄSER/LAUDEL 2010: 43). There are several dimensions of interviews, such as degree of standardization and means of communication.

Communications channels include mail, phone, online and personal exchange and practically all these channels have been utilized in this work (Table 1). Out of the three degrees of standardization only the non-standardized interviews are frequently used method for qualitative data collection, as they allow open responses and an intensified access to expert knowledge (GLÄSER/LAUDEL 2010: 43). There are further distinctions of expert interviews (Figure 10). The most suitable options for this research work are the guideline interview with predefined questions (BORTZ & DÖRING 2009: 308) and, one step further, the theory generating interview, which aims at the analytical reconstruction of a story (ILMES 2004 and BOGNER & MENZ 2005: 36).

## Expert Interview Typology

| Fully Standardized Interviews | Guideline Interview | Explorative Expert Interview |
| Semi-Standardized Interviews | Open Interview | Systematizing Expert Interview |
| Non-Standardized Interviews | Narrative Interview | Theory Generating Expert Interview |

Figure 10: Primary Research: Expert Interview Typology

The next step is the selection of expert interview partners. The question, who is an expert, is being answered similarly in social science literature (GLÄSER & LAUDEL 2010: 43;

ATTESLÄNDER 2010: 141). However, the central focus of an expert interview should be the extraction of expert knowledge to answer the research question. The concern in the interview is neither the personality of the expert nor his/her attitudes, nor his/her background, but only the knowledge and experience of the experts in the field of exploration (BEHNKE et al. 2006: 238). In this research work, the experts have to be experienced in the field of tourism in developing countries, preferably with knowledge about cases related to land grabbing. Generic knowledge about land grabbing in tourism was hardly found in the literature analysis and case specific elaborations were in the forefront. This raised the expectation that experts will also be rather knowledgeable in certain case studies, and perhaps have found their own theories based on a number of cases they reported on. In the end, the sum of subjective expert experiences is an assisting information for analytical reconstruction and theory generation.

The initial goal was to conduct ten interviews with a balanced interview score consisting of non-governmental organizations, private tourism operators and research institutes. Names of contact persons were extracted from media reports and publications by civil society organizations. Scientists from international research institutes and several representatives of involved tourism companies were also contacted. While overall ten persons agreed to assist as experts, only six interviews were conducted. The reasons for this were time constraints or limited capacity on the experts' side. Other contacted organizations rejected the inquiry due to restricted knowledge about the research topic that would disqualify them as experts. Five inquiries were not responded at all. The selection of experts was finally subject to three questions:

1.  Who holds relevant information? -> assumed 20 organizations/institutions
2.  Who is ready to give information? -> 10 organizations responded positively
3.  Who of the experts is available in time? -> 6 organizations were interviewed

Overall 19 institutions were contacted. Six interviews were realized, further four were planned but not realized. Five addressees did not respond. Four contacted institutions rejected the interview.

Eventually, out of the six interviews four were executed with non-governmental organizations and two with tourism operators. The approached balanced was not reached. Assumed conclusion for this result is the high interest of civil society to exchange information about sensitive issues, whereas the research institutes might have time constraints to reply this kind of request and some tourism operators may not be interested

in information exchange or uses other channels. The media exposure of some tourism operators helped to learn about their points of view.

The guideline questions for the expert interviews are particularized based on the intermediate results of the case study assessment (guideline is attached in Annex I), but as a characteristic of non-standardized interviews not all questions were subject to discussion, and many interviews were based on case studies that are familiar to the experts. Where possible the audio or video interviews have been recorded and transliterated afterwards. Based on the transliteration of the full interview the interesting content was summarized. All interview summaries were authorized by the experts.

## 3.2 Data Analysis Methods

The qualitative survey methods selected for this research indicate an enormous amount of texts, i.e. the documents of the secondary research and interview minutes from the primary research. These texts are the raw data that is going to be analyzed. In contrast to quantifying survey methods, the texts are principally fraught with blurs, resulting from the openness of the qualitative data collection methods. The major challenge in this analysis is the evaluation of information that might be difficult to interpret, partly irrelevant and contradictory, both in the literature analysis and the expert interviews. Social science distinguishes a number of qualitative data analysis (BEHNKE et al. 2006: 329 and GLÄSER & LAUDEL 2010: 44). But for this research approach, the analysis method choices are grounded theory and qualitative content analysis. For the qualitative content analysis a precise research question and structured analysis grid are the elementary requirements for a systematic, theory-guided proceeding. When structured variables or influential factors cannot be developed in advance due to the low prior knowledge, the encoding may be more suitable because of its lower prerequisites (GLÄSER & LAUDEL 2010: 106). In this research work, prior knowledge is low and no precise structure existent. Hence, the grounded theory seems to be appropriate for the qualitative analysis.

### *Grounded Theory*

The grounded theory is a research method that uses systematic procedures to develop an inductively derived theory about a phenomenon (STRAUSS & CORBIN 1996: 8). The main assumption of the grounded theory is the non-existence of pre-knowledge from an already existing theory (BEHNKE et al. 2006: 349). It is considered as integral solution, since it combines case selection, data collection and analysis methods in a cyclic process (GLÄSER & LAUDEL 2010: 47). With the help of the first results new considerations for selection of cases arise, which leads to new empirical data. The main tool of the grounded

theory is encoding (GLASER & STRAUSS 1998: 10). In the process of thorough encoding concepts are formulated, which are later grouped to categories. These categories are the basis to theory generation.

In practice, encoding means to mark key words or text passages a relevant information and similar text passages will be awarded with the same code, although this similarity is subjective (BEHNKE et al. 2006: 347). According to Strauss & Corbin (1996: 40) there are three types of encoding, but in this research work of inductive nature only open encoding is applied at the initial stage of research. Referring to the literature review and the research question, three categories are pre-defined: drivers, impacts and shaping factors (see subsection 2.1). These categories are assumed to be the only pre-knowledge that exists from pre-research reading. In the process, all identified concepts and codes will be dragged and dropped into these three categories with special regard to occurring contradictions. This is a circular process as concepts will be identified frequently, they are renamed several times until they seem appropriate to describe a collection of codes. The encoding procedure repeats steadily until the analytic story is finalized.

*Assisting tools*

The case study analysis based on the grounded theory model was conducted with the MaxQDA software. This qualitative data analysis software is amongst others designed to assist research based on grounded theory (KUCKARTZ 2010: 73) and provides all necessary tools for encoding, category building and assessment. An additional, supportive feature is the setting of variables. This allows a better overview of certain case parameters, such as year, location, size of area and number of affected people.

**CHAPTER 4: Analysis of Land Grabbing in Tourism**

The phenomenon of land grabbing is not utterly new in tourism. Historically it has just been discussed under different terms, amongst others as conservation-induced displacement. Land appropriation for conservation purpose and contestations over resource rights happened repeatedly under European colonialism, particularly in Southern and Western Africa (HALL 2011: 202). There are assumptions that many more evictions from protected areas took place in past than are currently reported in the literature (BROCKINGTON & IGOE 2006: 453). Current land grabbing could be portrayed as a reinvention of a phenomenon that has occurred for centuries (BEDELIAN 2012: 1). The term land grabbing in tourism is strongly linked to the negative outcomes of tourism development tourism in a difficult environment. But not all attempts have adverse outcomes and even critics suggest that successes in indigenous tourism exist (JOHNSTON 2006: 25). The central concern of the land grabbing debate in tourism is the human rights abuse as a direct outcome. The emphasis often lies on the local communities who are the most vulnerable to restrictions on their livelihood. But less attention is given to how these adverse land deals are implemented. Each case in this research is unique and literature often did not exactly reveal how local people were consulted and involved, how tourism operations applied their CSR strategies when planning new investments, and how constitutional framework and its weak implementation contributed to the development. But the overall extracts of the 36 case studies were sufficient to generate a holistic picture on the land grabbing issue in the tourism sector. Land grabs that support the tourism sector indirectly, such as agro fuel cultivation for the transport sector, will not be examined in this analysis. So far, the data basis for this seems too weak. Hence, this analysis focuses exclusively on land grabbing cases with direct connection to tourism enterprises.

Out of the 36 case studies, seven different types of land grabbing areas have been identified. Figure 11 illustrates that the majority of cases is located in coastal areas, followed by national protected areas and game reserves. Trophy hunting tourism and wildlife corridors are in-between forms as they can be situated either in game reserves or adjacent to protected areas. Ecotourism was often the label for all aforementioned types, or it overlapped with different types of tourism in the destination. Land grabs for tourism at heritage sites or in urban areas have been recognized in five cases. The distribution of

land grabbing areas in tourism might be related to the overall distribution of tourism forms, but this hypothesis requires in-depth research and a larger entirety of cases.
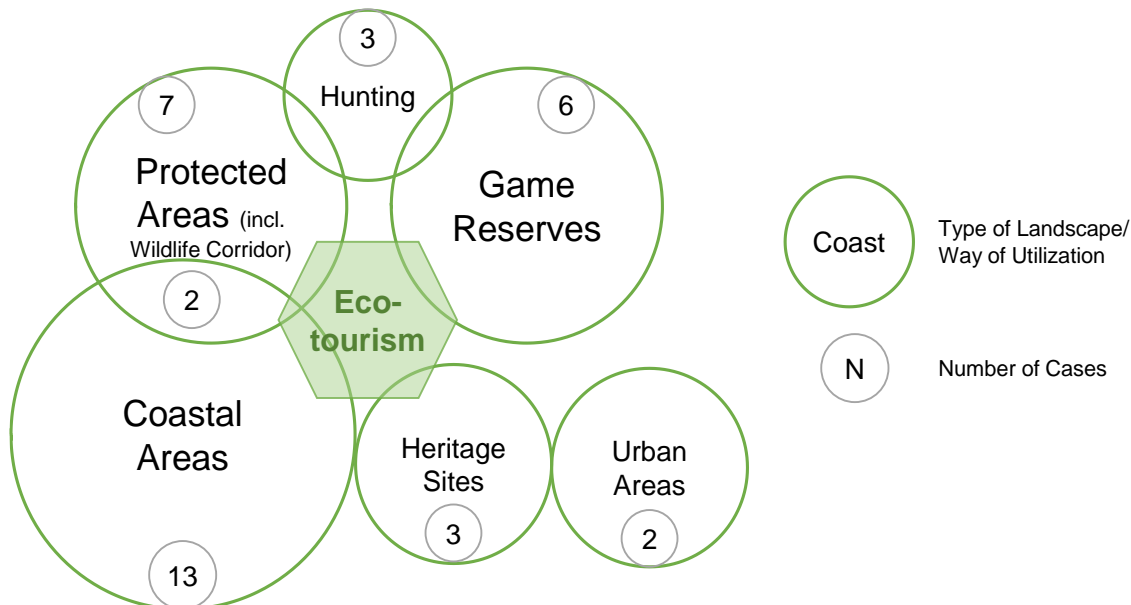


Figure 11: Identified Types of Tourism-Driven Land Grabbing

Similarly to the procedure in the general literature review, the case-based analysis on land grabbing in tourism will be structured in three sections: drivers, impacts and shaping factors. This analysis chapter starts with a characterization of the drivers and the long-term trends for the tourism-related land deals on all levels, public, private and community. It then summarizes case-related evidence on the mostly negative outcomes for the affected groups based on a sustainability assessment with special regards to the human rights violations. Finally, the relevant shaping factors for the creation of these negative impacts are detected.

## 4.1 Analysis of Drivers and Stakeholder Motives

In this chapter, as done in the literature review, answers will be provided to the question of what drives the process of land grabbing. The main triangle of stakeholders in the tourism related land grabbing are already known, hence focus is on the host governments, the tourism operators and the local communities. There was too little data to outline geographical origin and characteristics of the tourism operators or investors. The available data is compiled in Annex I. However, it will be explained what stakes other crucial players like conservation NGOs have in land grabbing and how emerging tourism trends influence land use changes in developing countries.

## 4.1.1 Public Sector: Host Governments and Administrations

The case-based analysis revealed three central drivers for host governments to develop the tourism sector: Economic profit, biodiversity conservation as well as modernization and more productive land use (Figure 12). The goal of economic profit appears dominant and is the main rationale behind tourism development. The modernization can be seen as a result and the conservation and higher land productivity are necessary prerequisites for profit generation through tourism. These mutual conditions will be elaborated in this section.
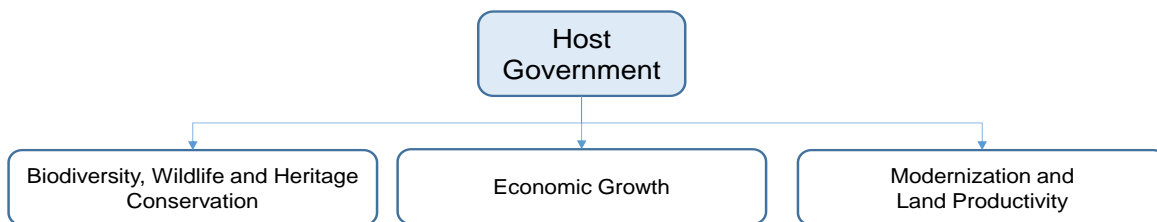


Figure 12: The Central Drivers of Host Governments

## 4.1.1.1 Economic Growth in a Neoliberal Sense

Tourism has been identified as a strategy and key growth sector by which many states, particularly developing countries, can diversify their economies in a neoliberal sense. It forms the centerpiece of many policies that are designed for sustainable development, and it is a large employment creator within the value chain. International Funding Institutions favor this approach of economic diversification, because tourism fits into neoliberal strategies of founding economies on comparative advantage with each state concentrating on exporting goods that it is naturally best at producing (BROCKINGTON et al. 2008: 132). Many developing countries are believed to have that comparative advantage in tourism, since they are characterized by pristine nature and indigenous cultures, which attract tourists from the industrialized world. Consequently, those countries decide to climb on the bandwagon to profit from tourism and its promised spillovers. This paradigm has been clearly confirmed in the case-based research. Three key aspects were identified behind the profit goal of governments. They are as follows:

- Generation of **Foreign Exchange** and **Tax Income**
- **Stability** and **Better Reputation**
- **Prioritization of Tourism** through Incentives and National Policies

*Generation of Foreign Exchange and Tax Income*

The rationale behind the approval of tourism investments by governmental institutions is the aspiration of economic growth that comes through foreign exchange and profit channels like taxation and licensing fees. Traditional and indigenous lifestyles are rarely subject to these profit channels. It rather comes through large-scale investments that are backed up by financially strong operators. However, the background incentives differ in the reviewed cases. It could be a response to the financial crisis or an imitation of fruitful developments in neighboring countries. For instance, in the case of Nasugbu (Philippines) the motivation behind was the mitigation of the foreseen impact that the global financial crisis could have to the Philippine economy. According to the former Tourism Secretary developing tourism was the fastest and most efficient way of generating foreign exchange, investments and employment (IBON 2009). The desire to promote tourism in Ngwe Saung (Myanmar) was triggered by the knowledge of reasonable foreign exchange earnings from hotels and tourism business in neighboring countries. The country's military junta sought to copy the neighbors' success and started finding suitable beach resorts along the coast, such as Ngwe Saung Beach. The same ideology drives the infrastructure measures of the Plan Puebla Panamá in Mexico. Eco- and cultural tourism in the Chiapas state cannot nearly skim its market potentials without the necessary infrastructure that access the key destinations (BELLIGER et al. 2012: 11). It can be assumed that all national tourism development efforts are made with the expectation to have huge market potential and potential returns, despite statements were only made in these few cases.

Returns from tourism investments come almost with immediate effect through taxes and fees, and returns – if any – from rural or indigenous population cannot compete with tourism investments. This becomes clear in the following two cases of India and Mozambique. The local administration of Arthungal in Kerala (India) supported a hotel construction that completely fenced off the path to the local church (MEUNIER 2013: 15). Kerala's GDP increases almost 9% p.a. and it is the leading criterion to measure growth and development (SASI 2011: 13) and the tax income from the hotel operators appears more attractive to the local district administration than traditional fishing. The Vilanculos Peninsula (Mozambique, see Box 4) was quoted to be just one example of the government focusing more on encouraging investment than on implementing land rights, despite the existence of a progressive land law that should protect rural settlers (MOUSSEAU & MITTAL 2011a: 21). Investments in tourism promise much needed profits to the governing body and that model is no contest with rather unprofitable subsistence strategies of indigenous or rural societies, this aspect will be elaborated later in the context of unprofitable lands.

A special revenue type is the profit from wildlife conservation. Many governments who have biodiversity conservation as goal see tourism as tool to support conservation. For instance, in post-independent Tanzania western organizations and governments did not only provide funding for conservation, but wealthy foreigners were ready to pay large amounts simply for seeing and shooting big animals in their natural environment. The young nation embraced the wildlife-based tourism industry because it provided valuable foreign exchange (NELSON et al. 2007: 237). Nyerere, the first President of Tanzania viewed tourism as insurance against economic uncertainty, though emphasizing the variance in conservation perspectives between himself and Europeans:

> *"I personally am not very interested in animals. I do not want to spend my holidays watching crocodiles. Nevertheless, I am entirely in favor of their survival. I believe that after diamonds and sisal, wild animals will provide Tanganyika with its greatest source of income. Thousands of Americans and Europeans have the strange urge to see these animals"* (quoted in NASH 1982: 342).

And the Tanzanian Government has been called "dollarhungry" (RENTON 2009) for assigning one quarter of its surface for conservation and tourism. The country's development strategy estimated one million tourist arrivals by 2010 with the conservation areas being the main destinations. As Tanzania has been engaged in wildlife tourism for decades and is aware of its market potentials, it is a routine act to absorb the capital in that market exhaustingly.

It seems, without the revenues from tourism the protection of wildlife would largely fail its raison d'être. Tourism plays a central role in justifying conservation (BROCKINGTON et al. 2008: 146). This is especially the situation in the East African countries. The cases of Kimana (Kenya) and Loliondo (Tanzania) demonstrate this philosophy at best. The promotion of wildlife tourism has become central to Kenya's development policy for the country's semi-arid districts. The close parallel between conservation and tourism development has been explicitly stated by Kenya Wildlife Service (SOUTHGATE 2006), and Kenyan Government officials admitted to protect wildlife because it is an economic cash cow above all (SCHELLONG 2012: 12).

Whether trophy hunting tourism is an effective measure to wildlife conservation is certainly debatable (BROCKINGTON et al. 2008: 70). But international conservation has started only by the influence of aristocratic hunters who wished to preserve suitable species for their sports (ibid: 47). Considering that international hunting organizations remained their

powerful force behind conservation until today it is of no surprise that many of the East and Southern African governments make clear profits from granting hunting licenses. Figures are rare, but Tanzania is said to have earned USD 9.3 million in 2002 from hunting licenses alone (RENTON 2009) and Brockington (et al. 2008: 70) states a revenue generation of USD 200 million yearly only in Africa. That makes sport and trophy hunting a valuable industry, but it seems very little of that money appears to have been spent on the local communities that host the hunting operations (RENTON 2009). It can be assumed that governments also seek profit from other types of conservation than wildlife, e.g. rainforests or heritage sites, which is non-natural but cultural. But evidence was not clearly given in the case studies.

*Stability and Better Reputation*

In some areas, tourism is not only seen as source of income and economic growth. In cases in Honduras and Sri Lanka the agenda behind identifying tourism as key strategy was national stability, peace building and a better global reputation to attract visitors. The creation of employment through tourism is a stabilizing element for countries that struggle with severe economic, political and social challenges. Kalpitiya and its islands is put out to international tender by the Sri Lankan government to boost the economy and create jobs; two aspects that are considered vital to building peace following the country's perpetual civil conflict (NOBLE 2011). And resort tourism complexes like the one at Tela Bay (Honduras) seem to be one of the most privileged sectors of Honduras National Reconstruction and Transformation plan, which targets to normalize the country's situation (WORLD BANK 2006: 5). A role model for the tourism development has been found in close-by Mexico. This is expressed in the goal of transforming the Caribbean coast of Honduras of into the "Cancún of Central America" (TRUCCHI 2011: 12). The idea of challenging the regional tourism pioneer is reflected likewise in Cambodia. The states' prime minister argued that Cambodia could become a tourist magnet to challenge Thailand as a tourism destination and thereby started a sales campaign that transferred virtually all accessible and sandy coast into the hands of Cambodian or foreign developers (LEVY & SCOTT-CLARK 2008).

Looking at the recent history of Cambodia, Honduras and Sri Lanka the challenge of regional tourism role models seems to be a common approach to strengthen the weak national economy. Colombia has set up a tourism strategy to achieve a better reputation to respond state and military violence. This has been stated in the case of Tayrona NP,

where ecotourism development was described a powerful mechanism to reimage the country (OJEDA 2011: 12).

*Prioritization of Tourism through National Policies and Incentives*

The politics of tourism is evident in terms of the policies that governments in the developing world pursue. Tourism has to be made a priority in the country's development strategy to generate significant profit. The case studies expose similar approaches how to promote tourism. Investment incentives are set up, such as long-term tax exemptions for large-scale investments in exchange for prospective 37,000 new jobs (Kalpitiya/Sri Lanka; SAHDEVA 2012) or large subsidies for tourism infrastructure have been arranged, whereby the construction costs of roads, ports, airports, railway networks and power grids (Chiapas/Mexico; BELLIGER et al. 2012: 10) are chiefly borne by development banks and governments.

Apart from the incentives, special zones for tourism development are nailed down in the national tourism master plan or are part of a tourism development project. Some of these zones are declared as so called hotel zones as in Myanmar (THETT 2012b: 21), some as tourism development zones as in Mozambique (R.O.M. 2004: 62), Sri Lanka (S.R.T.D.A. 2010) and on the Philippines (G.O.P. 2007). Tanzania has outlined Wildlife Management Areas for Game Reserves (BAHA & CHACHAGE 2007: 2). And in India the Department of Tourism has identified land banks and reserved them for tourism development (SESHADRI 2013). Similarly, the Philippines have set up Tourism Economic Zones which demark *"any geographic area that is capable of being defined into one contiguous territory; it has historical and cultural significance, environmental beauty, or existing or potential integrated leisure facilities within its bounds or within reasonable distances from it."* (IBON 2009). This expression indicates a certain arbitrariness to define tourism zones throughout the country; it is subject to interpretation and therefore it could potentially hit the majority of land surface in a country rich of natural and cultural resources. Duffy (2008: 3) states the allocation of land by governments to tourism developments was more of a political than economic act, especially where land is scarce or its ownership is contested.

In this context, the case research observed the widely spread trend of privatization in the developing countries. According to Fairhead (et al. 2012: 243) privatization concerns two distinct processes. State-owned lands that are traditionally used by its citizens are declared public and then tendered or leased to private companies. This was commonly done during the acquisition of grazing land by wildlife and ecotourism companies. The

second process of privatization comes through the dispossession of private owners by violent appropriation. By claiming valuable land and assets as state property, the authorities delegitimize official land titles. Often, these areas are then declared tourism zones and are put out to tender.

What all these zones seem to have in common is the creation of empty lands for tourism or so called "tourism enclaves" (THETT 2012b: 50, SPRING 2011), where the tourist can feel secure but local people lose access to areas that are now dedicated to tourism. In Thailand the local administration has set up restrictions to local fishermen and sea people because the beaches should be kept clean for the increasing number of tourists (BP 2012). And the Tanzanian government authority has proposed to reduce the population of the conservation area from 65,000 to 25,000 (RENTON 2009) to make more space for wildlife tourism. These steps can be seen as an act to clear rural and coastal areas for tourism, whereby tourism is only a small sector compared to agriculture. Rural and indigenous populations have to make space for more productive use of land. The land clearances are very highly interlinked with one other main driver of governments: the modernization of their countries and the increase of land productivity.

### 4.1.1.2 Modernization and land productivity

The main research results that can be summarized under the terms modernization and land productivity are that host governments with the help of the tourism industry strive for

- the **Development** of **Indigenous People** and Rural Population
- the **Redistribution of** Unproductive **Land**
- the **Valorization of** Mainly Natural **Resources**

*Development of Indigenous People and Rural Population*

Many developing countries, particularly those with high biodiversity, wildlife and marine areas, apply tourism as one development strategy to become a modern country. Modern infrastructure such as transport facilities, roads, power grids, hospitals and schools are gains that also come along with the development of tourism. However, modernization and industrialization does not fit to all kinds of lifestyles. Especially indigenous people are distant to the industrialized world and hence often get marginalized. The development of "backward" and "uncivilized" people is stated as a sub-goal by some governments, although often not realized through action.

In the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (Botswana) the conflict between the San people and the protected area has a long and controversial history with several attempts to keep the San and other ethnic groups out of the Reserve. There are several quotes where the country's president Khama said the Bushmen lived a "life of backwardness", "a primitive life of deprivation co-existing alongside wild animals", and "a primeval life of a bye gone era of hardship and indignity"[16] (quoted in ZIPS-MAIRITSCH 2013: 374). Other Government representatives added that living the indigenous way was no choice *"when you know that the world has moved forward and has become so technological"* and the Bushmen could *"enjoy the better things in life, like driving Cadillacs"* (quoted in DOMETROVICH 2010). These statements have been taken out of context by non-governmental organizations to run campaigns against the Government of Botswana. The president intended to criticize the romancing foreign views of indigenous Africa, and truly the San people and other local indigenous groups have become an authentic asset for tourism operators.

However, this dispute narrates the story of the current legal and political living conditions for Botswana's indigenous population. This debate is about development versus traditionalism. The dependence on the commoditization of their culture is a result of being displaced from ancestral land which was their livelihood basis. The government argued it was cheaper and more effective to have the population grouped in single locations outside of the Kalahari Reserve where they could benefit from the provision of water, health services, and education (HITCHCOCK 2013), thereby implicitly stating the size of land surface the San lived on was too large and there are more productive uses for the land. The Government also questioned the indigenousness of San people since some of them already lived somewhat modern lives, held kettle and owned cars. Brockington (et al. 2008: 125) adequately summed this scenario up by saying "people always run the risk of being too modern or too primitive", i.e. the San were already too modern to be protected as indigenous, but if they were too primitive, modernization would pressure on them.

---

[16] Full statement of President Khama: „*It is only our misguided detractor Survival International who would like to see all the socio-economic benefits from diamonds for all our citizens reserved, by embarking upon a campaign of lies and misinformation that seeks to achieve for a section of our population a life of backwardness that appeals to their racist mentality of having people in Africa live a primitive life of deprivation co-existing alongside wild animals as was the case in the past. All our people must benefit from our development. No Motswana should exist as a tourist object to satisfy their desires of a few misguided foreigners living relatively well off with all the benefits they enjoy in such a developed economy while wanting to satisfy their fantasies by trying to influence some of our people to live a primeval life of a by-gone era of hardship an indignity. We at least in this country consider all people to be equal, whichever continent they live on. Their campaign to encourage people to boycott our diamonds and tourism would negatively affect the welfare of all Batswana thus exposing the myth that they claim to care for people. The opposite is the truth, as demonstrated by their on-going actions. They really only care for themselves and use these campaigns to appeal to donors' emotions, so they may benefit from funding.*" (quoted in ZIPS-MAIRITSCH 2013: 374)

These attitudes towards indigenous ways of life are replicated similarly throughout the continents. In Thailand the sea nomads face prejudices, they are considered strange and abnormal because of their traditional fishing and diving methods. Attempts have been started to integrate them into "normal" society (WONGRUANG 2013: 13). In the Mexican state Chiapas one of the tourism zones is planned in the jungle and competes with the indigenous Caracols. The anticipated result is the removal of the indigenous peasantry from its territories by disrupting its way of life and production, thus giving land to corporations and making the peoples dependent on those corporations to maintain a new urban way of life (TENUTO 2010). And in the case of the large-scale tourism project in Trujillo (Honduras), human rights activists even apply the term "ethnocide" to describe the exclusion of indigenous Garifuna communities in what is to become private tourism "Model City" (SPRING 2011).

*Redistribution of Unproductive Land*

Another very crucial example are the Maasai pastoralists in Tanzania. With the first presidents vision that "all land must be productive" (RENTON 2009), the local pastoralists just did not fit in. Pastoralism is seen as undesirable and not productive in the modern agricultural sense. Pastoralists were considered shiftless, ungovernable and "uncivilized". As one consequence, the government banned their language (in school) and their traditional clothes. The modernization line of the Tanzanian government went as far as to extinct nomadic pastoralism altogether for the sake of protecting the environment. The Tanzanian president stated *"we must abandon altogether nomadic pastoralism which makes the whole country pastureland [...] the cattle are bony and the pastoralists are sacks of skeletons. We cannot move forward with this type of pastoralism in the twenty first century"* (quoted in NORDLUND 2010). Therefore the government was committed to take unpopular steps towards pastoralists in order to protect the environment for the benefit of the nation and future generations and in particular for the tourists. This happens despite the fact that pastoralism is the backbone of Tanzania's commercial livestock sector and that almost all the wildlife that attracts significant foreign earnings is located in pastoral areas. These neoliberal land redistribution strategies seen in the tourism cases appear to copy the productivity focus of agrarian restructuring policies (see 2.4.2).

While all these cases could lead to the assumption that only rural, unproductive areas are targeted by governments, this case in the capital of Cambodia proves the opposite. The Boeung Kak was an urban lake that attracted visitors for sightseeing and locals for fishing. But the government and investors considered the Boeung Kak to be useless in terms of

output. As it was situated close to the prime minister's residence and other representative buildings, a new purpose has been found for that area. Initially an ecological restoration scheme was set up. But the Cambodian Government dropped the plan and the lake was finally filled with sand to set ground for a multi-purpose-district including tourism facilities (ROU 2011). The population of the adjacent seven settlements was partially forced to resettle. Referring to the violent displacement of people, the Phnom Penh Deputy Governor was quoted *"The activities of tearing down the homes […] is not an eviction but just an effort to clear the area for development."* (Mann Chhoeun, quoted in LICADHO 2009). It is a development that primarily has the purpose is to eradicate poverty, but in reality hits the poor and vulnerable most (LICADHO 2009).

*Valorization of Natural Resources*

Governments with a clear strategy for tourism development tend to redistribute lands that in their view are unproductive. While the idea of land productivity is rather rooted in the agricultural sector (as elaborated in Chapter 2), land productivity as defined by tourism seems to target the valorization of assets, such as wildlife or pristine nature. In some cases government policies officially support the redistribution of land. In the case of Tambaba, the Brazilian constitution describes land that does not fulfill a social function as "unproductive land" (NANDA 2010). And indeed, the local settlers' output is restricted to weather conditions. Therefore the land was redistributed as part of the agrarian reform. The settlers, who are seen as an obstacle by local politicians and tourism entrepreneurs, have to step aside for the development of tourism facilities. The application of this idea of valorizing unspoilt nature can also be observed with the Indian Tourism Development Cooperation. The cooperation takes the view that pristine beaches have to be used properly to increase the gross domestic profit, and thus justifies the privatization of the Kerala coast. This happens despite an existing law, the Coastal Regulation Zone, that protects the Indian coast line and permits local fishermen to use the coastal area (SASI 2011: 13).

## 4.1.1.3 Biodiversity, Wildlife and Heritage Conservation

The third main driver for governments of developing countries to provide land for tourism operations is the protection of its environmental and cultural properties. The tourism industry largely depends on intact ecosystems and historical assets to attract visitors or as Fairhead (2012: 241) puts it: "nature is becoming increasingly valuable: a source of profit". For wildlife and nature tourism, the nature is the major asset. It frequently appeared in this research that areas designated for tourism and conservation purposes were recognized

biodiversity or wildlife hotspots, UNESCO sites or renowned coastal destinations. Therefore, it is of no surprise that strong policies are defined to support the conservation efforts. The research identified two triggering aspects for conservation pursuits:

- **Reduction of Pressure on** Natural and Cultural **Resources**
- **Prevention of Poaching**

Non-governmental conservation organizations clearly have a stake in the protection agenda, as they assist governments with funding and know-how. But they are also substantially implicated in the conservation-induced marginalization of indigenous peoples (BROCKINGTON et al. 2008: 125). Johnston (2006: 178) stated, most conservation NGOs are stronger on lobbying world governments than on supporting Indigenous Peoples. In this context their interweaving with tourism operations might be arguable as they seem to enforce land alienation for a wildlife-centered conservation approach. They are driven by the observation of the biodiversity decline and it is through their pressure that governing bodies draft conservation policies. Throughout the wildlife-rich territories of Eastern and Southern Africa, western conservationists anticipated disaster for the wildlife after the end of colonization. First attempts of fortress conservation (cf. BROCKINGTON 2002 and IGOE 2001) emphasized their supposition that wildlife and human population can hardly co-exist. But it is the proliferation of conservation NGOs and their mobilization of foreign resources to support wildlife conservation in Africa that clearly provided a key financial incentive for the continuation of strong conservation policies during the post-colonial era (NELSON et al. 2007: 237).

This development recently stretched to other areas in Africa. For instance, the Government of Cameroon established the Mt Cameroon National Park with the help of international non-governmental organizations. The protection of biodiversity, wildlife and non-consumptive natural resources are the objectives of the park. It was the Governments interest to introduce and promote alternative sources of income to the local population in order to reduce the overall pressure on natural resources (LAIRD et al. 2011: 278). And while the motivation for conservation of wildlife and biodiversity may seem obvious to the tourist and the tourism industry, because their business is built around natural resources, the same reasons do not necessarily resonate with local communities, because their livelihoods largely depend on the exploitation of these natural resources. But in many cases where governments see tourism profit through conservation as salvation to biodiversity, the pressure on nature is rarely put only by local population. Other extractive industries such as industrial agriculture, mining and logging also contribute heavily to the

pressure on resources in National Parks and increase the human-wildlife conflict. It seems that particularly where protected areas and the attached tourism businesses do not generate sufficient economic benefits to support the government development goals, there is a willingness to permit other extractive uses (BLOMLEY et al. 2013: 10), that are still exclusive to local livelihood efforts. One example is the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (Botswana). The government policy has encouraged the mining industry to operate next to biodiversity conservation and high-end tourism, while the indigenous peoples of the Reserve favor a multiple use strategy involving foraging and agro-pastoralism (HITCHCOCK 2013).

The anthropologists' principle of the noble savage, where indigenous people are praised as eco-guardians, has often been challenged in literature (cf. ELLINGSON 2001). It is certain that human populations living in biodiversity hotspots also have their stake in the exploitation of natural resources. Offtake rates of species are highly unsustainable in some areas, particularly in Central Africa (BROCKINGTON et al. 2008: 71). However, the match is uneven between the very extractive and profitable large-scale use versus the less extractive and much less profitable subsistence use. High human population densities, special diet demands and additional pressure to produce for urban areas caused considerable effects on flora and fauna in some protected areas. This happened in the case of the Bwindi Impenetrable National Park (Uganda), a forest reserve that has been upgraded to a national park with the intention to protect the "island of biodiversity" (NOWAK 1995). The mountain gorillas and the big numbers of endemic species of wildlife in the park were threatened. The major motivation was the conservation of these species, with tourism providing a large part of funding. But the closure of resource access was not an effective conservation solution by the Government. It caused resentment among the communities who were denied relevant income from forest resources and poaching wild foods (AHEBWA et al. 2012: 381), while at the same time industrial logging was going on. The issue of poaching prevention and anti-poaching policies is highly controversial when considering the poacher versus hunter conflict, where there is a thin line between poaching and acceptable hunting[17]. While "hunting for the pot" is criminalized through legislation, some public or private wildlife areas invite for sport and trophy hunting by wealthy visitors (BROCKINGTON et al. 2008: 77).

---

[17] There are different ranges of poaching, from subsistence hunting to commercial scale hunting of wildlife and wildlife products such as eggs or ivory. And there are different levels like subsistence or commercial poaching with indications that commercial poaching is highly organized at government level and is interlinked with transnational organized criminal networks (BROCKINGTON et al. 2008: 78)

Poaching also triggered the establishment of the Kimana Wildlife Sanctuary (Kenya). But in this case, the indigenous Maasai did not pursue income from wildlife, but the poaching of a large number of animals was their reaction to being denied access to key resources and to being excluded from tourism and wildlife affairs at Amboseli National Park (SOUTHGATE 2008: 85). In order to save more wildlife from being killed the governmental Kenya Wildlife Service assisted the formation of the sanctuary by the Maasai people. It was hoped that the sanctuary would attract visitors and hence take off pressure from the at times overcrowded adjacent Amboseli NP.

Another example where conservationists and governments follow the path of fortress conservation are the numerous Tiger Reserves in India, and specifically the Biligiri Rangaswamy Temple Sanctuary in Karnataka. The Soliga people have been denied access without any consultation although scientific records by the forest department approve that tiger populations have been stable or increasing for years, even while Soliga settlements existed inside. Kothari (2011) argues that with a tiger population important enough for the government to notify the area as a tiger reserve, the Soligas' contribution to that development should be acknowledged even more. It seems, Kothari is just one of many critics, who challenge the political and juridical approach of excluding people from the protected areas for the sake of environmental protection or tourism. Brockington suggests to examine case by case whether indigenous populations and their lifestyle actually degrade the environment to deliver a genuine motive to devoid wilderness of people (cf. BROCKINGTON 2002).

Though the results in this section clearly determine biodiversity conservation as driver for land conversions, the conservation of cultural and heritage sites also causes adverse impacts on the local population. For Hampi Bazaar (India), which is a UNESCO Heritage site, the creation of a core and buffer area was mandatory to maintain the site status, and that prompted the local administration to evict the small businesses around the site (SESHADRI 2013). Around the Dead Sea (Jordan) efforts were made to nominate the Dead Sea as a UN World Heritage site, a title that mandates the creation of an environmental protection plan and restrict further tourism development (HAMMER 2005). The Dead Sea case differs from the majority in this research, as the movement of local population is not impeded. However, the excessive consumption of freshwater in tourism facilities on the shore does not only limit the availability of freshwater for the local settlers, it also threatens the unique ecosystem of the Dead Sea.

**4.1.2 Private Sector: Tourism operators**

When debating about the motivation of the tourism industry to acquire land and run business on that land, it is a postulate that revenue generation and profitability are the highest goals in hierarchy or at least central aspects, even though none of the researched companies indicated so. Tourism operators basically seek after financial sustainability as backbone for any other goals there might be. This assumption surely contrasts with philanthropic approaches where financial input is higher than the eventual output, but that kind of cooperation could not be found in the research. After profitability, three dominant drivers for tourism operators were identified:

- Wildlife and Biodiversity **Conservation**
- **CSR:** Provision of Social Amenities and Job Creation
- **Exclusive Rights** for Touristic Commercialization of Natural Resources
- Realization of **Tourism Trends** and Market Opportunities

*Wildlife and Biodiversity Conservation and Corporate Social Responsibility*

Several East and Southern African lodge and safari companies ranked biodiversity and wildlife conservation as their core objective in line with social programs for the surrounding settlements. In the Mara Naboisho Conservancy (Kenya) the revenue from tourism supports the biodiversity conservation and the sociocultural heritage of the region while generating income and jobs for the community (BASECAMP 2013). The lodge operator accepted that the land was only leased out for tourism business but was still owned by the Maasai. Wildlife conservation and thus the prevention of poaching is also top-goal for Un Lodge En Afrique (ULEA) in Babati District (Tanzania). Through its foundation the company supports the local Anti-Poaching Unit with equipment and education to shrink the loss of wildlife (LIVEWILDLIFE 2012). Job creation for an adequate number of local villagers has been realized on a long-term basis (BAUSCH 2013) and the foundation also plans to finance and build primary schools in cooperation with the villages and the Department of Education.

Wilderness Safari (Botswana) interprets biodiversity conservation as management and protection of wildlife and ecosystems they are involved in. As ULEA does in Tanzania, Wilderness Safari helps to protect wildlife through anti-poaching, and also promotes the reintroduction of indigenous species, and the rehabilitation of natural environments via their independent trust. With regards to the desired community empowerment the company states "mechanisms" that amongst others include community-centric

employment, education and training, social and health benefits, capacity-building and infrastructure development (WILDERNESS SAFARI 2013). While these activities on the ground are considerable efforts to improve local livelihoods, the touristic valorization and exploitation of wildlife land remains the company's priority, as Sahdeva (2010) points out. Ashley & Wolmer (2003: 33) argue where private operators in the wildlife tourism sector enjoy relatively secure tenure on privately owned land, linkages with surrounding communities often take the form of good neighbor schemes and low-level philanthropy. Whether the establishment and support of social services to local communities is a genuine action, or an effective Corporate Social Responsibility campaign for media and customers, or simply a non-monetary reimbursement to balance what has been taken, cannot be answered here. But it is unquestionable that media publications by tourism operators will highlight the positive aspects only. And this means the tourists are often unaware of the social, political and economic processes that have collaborated to create the attractions they plan to visit (BROCKINGTON et al. 2008: 147).

### *Exclusive Rights for Touristic Commercialization of Natural Resources*

The capitalization of natural resources can further be observed with Thomson Safari in Loliondo (Tanzania). The company purchased a piece of pristine wilderness to turn it into their own nature refuge without respecting the pastoralist lifestyle in that area. The company also runs a strong media presence to spread their CSR efforts. Yet, those efforts were not felt everywhere locally and that made community members declare that "Thomson take a lot and give very little" (quoted in NORDLUND 2010). Similar sentiments were raised in Kimana (Kenya) where locals held the perception of the *"operator as exploiter"* (SOUTHGATE 2008: 94). The private sector might perceive its role as *"establishing a properly managed wildlife sanctuary through which sustainable and profitable commercialization of the natural resources can be made, to the benefit of both the company and the local people residing in the sanctuary"* (SPENCELEY 2003: 41), as done in Inhambane (Mozambique), but their task to realize profits for all involved stakeholders remains a difficult one.

The setup for hunting enterprises is slightly different. Social projects are hardly promoted by these companies, at least this was not found during this research. Their attention rather lies on a stable legal background for their operations. In Gaza District (Mozambique), Muthemba Safaris has secured the exclusive hunting quota & hunting rights to an unfenced area which they call an "unspoilt big game hunting terrain" (WAGNER SAFARIS 2013). And the Ortello Business Corporation pressured the Tanzania Wildlife Division to

enforce their exclusive rights to wildlife in the hunting blocks of Loliondo (GARDNER 2012: 30), after the corporation felt threatened by wildlife reforms that addressed the issue of benefit sharing and community control over hunting concession allocations.

*Realization of Tourism Trends and Market Opportunities*

Tourism enterprises habitually follow market trends to skim potentials and next to prevalent wildlife and beach tourism, particularly two trends were identified in this research: ecotourism and high-end tourism. Ecotourism is a worldwide established industry that promises sustainable growth to specifically governments in the developing world. However, it has been fundamentally criticized for its often exclusive approach to local communities (Box 1). The trend of exclusive high-end tourism and leisure parks is established predominately in Asia. Resort development projects for Chinese elites in Botum Sakor NP (Myanmar; SUBEDI 2012: 118), large-scale resorts for expatriates in Orissa (India; SESHADRI 2013) or the high-end complex in Kalpitiya (Sri Lanka; KUMARA 2011) give strong evidence to the existence of such trends and the demand for them are expected to grow further. Another tendency that came through weakly in this research is the development of new destinations, especially in former areas of crises and conflicts (MONSHAUSEN 2013). The example given here is the aforementioned Tayrona NP in Colombia. After a long lasting military conflict the area became an ecologic hotspot and the Columbian Government wishes to exploit this potential to reimage the country (OJEDA 2012, 2). Lastly, the motivation for mere land investors, who finally do not run tourism business on the ground, is simply the increase of profit. Cambodia had a relatively unexpected tourism boom in 2006 that alerted investors there might be opportunities to capitalize on land.

Their interest was land speculation and they acquired large coastal sites and islands hoping land values would rise with increased tourist arrivals and they could sell for a higher price. Levy & Scott-Clark (2008) reported on foreign fund managers who *"started pitching up in Phnom Penh wearing linen shirts and khaki drip-dry jungle wear (…) came hunting for profits of 30% or more."* The site developer of Koh Ta Kiev (Cambodia) raves about respecting fauna and flora during developments, promises ecologic infrastructure to preserve the vegetal fabric and considers the adjacent fishing village as part of its environment (CITYSTAR n. d.). However, the company has not built any of the announced boutique luxury hotels, high-standard resorts and villas on the islands, but added only modest infrastructure and attached names of renowned hotel chains to hope the future value of the land would rise quickly (LEVY & SCOTT-CLARK 2008).

This endorses the observation made in the initial literature review, that lands in developing countries are an object of speculation, not only fertile land for agricultural use, but also high-value land with high aspects for touristic valorization.

---

**Info Box: Ecotourism and Land Grabbing**

Ecotourism has increasingly been promoted as an ideal model of addressing social problems and achieving economic growth with environmentally sustainable development, particularly in the developing countries (DUFFY 2006; GARROD 2003). It has been constructed as a balanced and attractive proposition for tourists, private companies, local people, NGOs and governments alike. By definition, ecotourism is the responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the wellbeing of local people (TIES 1990). Indeed, ecotourism has become an important economic factor and mostly supports conservation goals in several developing countries (STRASDAS 2011) and the underdevelopment or lack of modernization certainly makes their environments attractive commodities for visitors from the developed world (DUFFY 2006).

However, the full and effective participation of local communities in the planning and management is a rare feature of ecotourism projects (GARROD 2003). According to Johnston (2006), many ecotourism companies do not look for extensive community participation, but are keen on fulfilling necessary legalities to operate. Among these technicalities is the appropriation of essential land rights to seek exclusive control over natural land that is mainly inhabited by indigenous or deprived groups. In a context of economic development and weak governance in land rights, ecotourism is one factor, which accelerates the loss of land rights for these groups.

There is a range of internal and external factors that assist ecotourism in grabbing land, such as existing community dynamics and local power relations (BROCKINGTON et al. 2008; SOUTHGATE 2008), but also the wider globalization agenda and the direction of Western support for sustainable development activities (PALMER 2008). Claims of neo-colonialism and neo-liberalism have been levelled against the ecotourism industry (SOUTHGATE 2006; STRASDAS 2011), and the balancing act between conservation, tourism business and local participation widely considered imbalanced to the disadvantage of local people. Ecotourism has become a catch all phrase (DUFFY 2006) and label for many development efforts resulting in expropriation of land. The expansive interpretations in a number of case studies hint the term and original meaning of ecotourism to be noticeably mistaken.

Box 1: Info Box – Ecotourism and Land Grabbing

## 4.1.3 Local Communities

Generally, it could be assumed that those who voluntary involve in land deals expect a win-win situation. But in this research about land grabbing, those double-benefiting cases hardly occur. Therefore it is difficult to discuss what drives indigenous or rural communities to engage in land deals with tourism operators or governing institutions, since the majority of cases is branded by a forceful or one-sided transaction that does not leave any options for negotiations between parties. Nevertheless, in a few cases the

motivations of community leaders or members were recorded and the results are almost throughout negative or reserved attitudes towards land conversions for tourism purpose.

To name this chapter "drivers of communities" also requires consideration, as it requires communities to be homogenous constructs. This is rarely true and evidence for that will be given in Chapter 4.3.1. As different community members have different interests, there are hints that some see benefits in tourism and therefore support the land conversion. While others, who do not see the benefits, oppose to give away lands or to accept the loss of resources. The adverse impact of land grabbing comes with the apparent disadvantage the majority of local population has to bear. And the few individuals who benefit from the tourism development are less likely to discuss their motivation, since these transactions are highly intransparent. However, the few signs extracted from the reports revealed following motivation:

- Employment and **Constant Income**
- **Development in Various Sectors**: Infrastructure, Health, Education
- Conditions: Acceptance of **Ancestral Ownership**

One of the few cases where a significant section of local villagers is in favor of the tourism operation is the Vilima Vitatu in Tanzania's Babati District (BAUSCH 2013). The land acquirer and lodge operator Un Lodge en Afrique has made a number of socioeconomic efforts that benefit the villagers. But the area is also inhabited by pastoralists who are subject to displacement since it has been declared a Wildlife Management Area (BAHA & CHACHAGE 2007: 6). The conversion to a tourism site evoked conflicts between villagers and pastoralists that did not exist before to that extent. While sentiments of the villagers have been eased off by the participatory approach of the tourism operator, the herdsman were excluded from that approach and proposed alternatives for relocation were hardly acceptable (NKWAME 2013).

There is evidence that some incentives are arranged for the communities to engage in the land deals. In Tela Bay (Honduras) the community patronage accepted the tourism ministries' proposal of a profit sharing scheme that guarantees a 7% share of profits (BLUME 2012: 41). Yet, it was unsure whether the tourism project would generate any official profit at all and how profits would be materialized in the community. Another incentive was the provision of long awaited land titles. In Tela Bay the community received a land title for the village land as a countermove to relinquishing their land claims on the

surrounding community land, which was a functional habitat and equally important for their traditional way of life.

The research revealed that some indigenous communities reject to provide their lands for tourism or conservation and others are open to development. One key requirement for their approval is the recognition of the community's rights of ownership by the operator. In the two Tanzanian cases of the Loliondo, which are both highly complex due to the high ethnic diversity in the region, the Maasai were willing to find negotiated solutions with the tourism and hunting operators. Their support was driven by the idea that the tourism joint ventures could increase their land security, considering the government's continuous attempts to displace Maasai people for conservation areas and the refusal to clear out land rights issues for the past two decades (GARDNER 2012: 396). Conservation is the central means by which the state exerts control over the indigenous Maasai. The crucial point is the land attitude of the Maasai people, who did not intend to sell or lease out all their land, but to share some sections on a contractual basis. As their requirements were not met by the hunting operator, they made resolutions but remained unheard by government and business (HALL 2013).

The same attitude of indigenous tribes towards their ancestral land ownership is advocated by the vhaVenda people (South Africa). The Clan requires public acknowledgement of their role and status as traditional custodians of the Phiphipi sacred site in Limpopo. Their sacred site at a waterfall was partly cleared by a local chief from another clan to build tourism lodges for recreational activities (FIHLANI 2010; RAMUNANGI 2008: 13). The vhaVenda people demand the termination of all development at their sacred site and the restoration of its full integrity. The reason why indigenous communities would reject land conversion is also rooted in their differing interpretation of what conservation means. For aforementioned communities around Bwindi NP in Uganda the conservation idea of international NGOs is incomprehensible. Their motivations for conservation range from the preservation of sacred worship sites in the park to having restricted hunting grounds for some species, and upholding the value of certain species for ornamental and fetish purposes (IVAN 2011). In this context, Redford and Sanderson (2000: 1364) observed that conservationists may speak for their version of a forest, but they do not speak for the forest the local population wants to conserve. It looks as if the idea of conserving species for their cultural purposes in their ancestral area does clearly deviate from the conservation idea upheld by international conservation NGOs, who consider species as being worldwide heritage that necessitates protection, especially with regard to the demand of the tourism industry.

The assessment showed that drivers and stakeholder motives differ slightly from the observations in general land grabbing. The tourism industry targets different landscapes than large-scale agriculture. But it also heads for inhabited or at least utilized lands that should preferably be "empty" for tourism consumption. In this sense, it does not differ from the idle lands concept elaborated in the literature review. Furthermore, the government motives (such as modernization and tax income) and strategies (such as designating land for special purpose) identified in 2.3 have been broadly affirmed and only enhanced by the goal of biodiversity conservation. With natural and cultural tourism forms being promoted as environmentally and socially friendly, many governments of developing countries deliberately select tourism as the more sustainable development option among the plentiful neoliberal choice options. In this way, the tourism industry might be somehow "protected", as conservation is seen as a noble cause and cultural exchange as development tool. This assumption, of course, falls short to recognize the complexity of tourism and travel beyond the target countries.

## 4.2 Analysis of Impacts

The impact analysis is based on the triple bottom line of sustainability and covers the case-based assessment of socioeconomic, heritage-cultural and environmental aspects. Impacts on the public and private sector are not assessed in this work, as this would request major macroeconomic research and due to the poor transparency, many impacts would be invisible. However, the most affected groups are indigenous people, subsistence farmers, pastoralists, hunter-gatherers and forest users (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 7) and they (and their environment) are in focus in this chapter. Commonly, these groups lack the means to participate in the modern economy. Denied access to land or displacement effectively pushes them to deprivation (ODHIAMBO 2011: 20). Beyond the mere forced displacement and material loss to livelihoods or dwellings, various processes with effect on heritage and environment will be described in this section, and all of them cause the concerned communities to no longer feel at home or to move elsewhere, mostly without adequate compensation.

### 4.2.1 Socioeconomic Impacts

Land deals for tourism might offer socioeconomic advantages for the development possibilities of local communities, but there are many limitations (ZOOMERS 2010: 441). The local population can profit from education, new employment, new markets and improvements in social amenities and infrastructure. By exhausting the local tourism value

chain, the growing demand for goods and services could promote food production and local employment. And, as Zoomers (ibid.) emphasizes, contacts with foreign individuals and businesses can have a positive effect if they lead to new business ideas. But in the context of land grabbing, the acquisition of land by non-locals is frequently accompanied by negative effects.

Throughout the case-based research a number of media reports have been positioned around the facts of deteriorated livelihoods. Typically, the poorer or indigenous groups, who do not enjoy formal property rights, lose their land, whether by physical eviction or by distress sales, or they lose essential access to livelihood resources. A proper resettlement is often not intended and new land is not affordable for the affected groups. If there is newly created employment, most do not have the skills needed for these jobs and as result, better qualified or cheaper migrants are employed.

The supposed advantages of tourism-induced land deals are elaborated first, such as capacity building, infrastructure and employment creation, and numerous examples are given where these gains have not been accomplished. Subsequently the two central adverse processes of land grabbing are particularized: the forced physical displacement of people from their land and their economic displacement, i.e. the denial of access to livelihood resources and their immediate and knock-on consequences are elaborated. Direct compensation and relocation schemes can turn out positively for few concerned individuals, but basically the research identified a deterioration of the locals' livelihood conditions and a further marginalization of disadvantaged groups.

### 4.2.1.1 Theoretical Advantages

Many investments in local education and training are presented as inclusive measure in a sustainable tourism approach. And indeed,

- **Capacity Building**
- Development of **Infrastructure** and Social Facilities
- Provision of **Employment**

frequently create hope and satisfaction among community members, who embrace tourism and its value chain effects as new income opportunity. The case research found some encouraging and many discouraging results. In the majority of land grabbing cases, none of the theoretical advantages were realized.

*Capacity Building*

Among the capacity building measures, tour guiding and wildlife training seems to be popular specifically in protected areas because it is a convenient way to employ local staff. At Mount Cameroon former hunters have been trained by an international NGO to become tour guides with the intention to create an additional source of income (TSAFACK 2011: 18). And in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (Botswana) the tour and lodge operator considers staff and guide training is a vital part of their operation (WILDERNESS SAFARI 2013). Similar approaches have been implemented by Thomson Safaris in Loliondo (Tanzania) and by ULEA at Babati District (Tanzania), where a French conservation foundation has been engaged to empower local leadership to wildlife management (BAUSCH 2013). But as Salazar (2013) states, native people are more than just park rangers, implying that more has to be done to empower indigenous communities. And in many cases, where this empowerment does not come through requested and disputed land rights, other programs are run mostly by the private sector to build local capacities, as following examples demonstrate.

The lodge operator ULEA runs an assistance program for efficient livestock keeping methods in Babati District (Tanzania). The program particularly focuses on women with the aim to prevent poaching of wildlife (BAUSCH 2013). At Mount Cameroon NP programs were set up by NGOs for sustainable use of medical plants and for efficient crop cultivation, not only for subsistence farming, but rather for the local markets. The program aims at providing alternative livelihood sources to compensate the loss of access to resources and hence wants to create more local acceptance of the NP (LUDERMANN 2010: 24).

The governmental Sustainable Coastal Tourism Project in Honduras also targets to build capacities in indigenous communities. More than that, the project component supports the establishment of an entrepreneurship center for medium, small and micro-enterprises and a matching seed grant fund to support innovative tourism enterprises (WORLD BANK 2006: 3). Furthermore a general tourism awareness training including taxi drivers and restaurant services (WORLD BANK 2006: 12) was set up. All activities were outsourced to be implemented by NGOs. Though the incorporation of the indigenous communities is manifested in the World Bank document, it is questionable whether these efforts are actually carried out to a satisfying extent for all of the population affected by land loss.

As the case of Kalpitiya (Box 2) proves, local participation and benefit can be impeded by insufficient capacity building. Local hotel owners and managers in Kalpitiya hoped they would be able to keep budget tourists while the wealthier tourists may be absorbed by the luxury hotels and resorts (NOBLE 2011). But the lack of education was a fundamental obstacle to small business taking full advantage of possible benefits of the tourism project (KUMARA 2011: 10), as they might not be capable of attaining the required tourism standards. Small hotels in Myanmar face the same difficulties. Despite the diversity of small enterprises the country cannot meet the demand of individual travelers. Most of the hotels lack the license to accommodate foreign tourists, simply because they do not have the knowhow or means to fulfill hygienic and security standards. This development edges out small businesses and benefits the new and bigger hotels in the long run (THETT 2012: 12).

*Infrastructure*

The development of infrastructure, services or social amenities are usually the tourism operators' commitment for affected communities, as an alternative to compensating them directly and financially. Anseeuw (et al. 2012: 40) describes it as a compensation in a broader sense, when land acquirers may promise or supply infrastructure assistance to local communities as part of the land deal. Nevertheless, infrastructure may not equally compensate the loss of their communal and agricultural lands or grazing and seasonally used lands, which form a central part of villagers' and pastoralists' identity. Examples for these compensative infrastructure developments are found throughout the tourism operations in protected areas in Sub-Saharan Africa. Several community projects to improve the living conditions were conducted, and most of them focused on the construction or upgrade of schools, drilling of boreholes as well as the construction and equipment of health clinics that can be used by the local population (Babati/Tanzania; BAUSCH 2013 and Naboisho/Kenya; BASECAMP 2013). However, in the majority of researched cases the community development commitments were not materialized. Again, mostly in Sub-Saharan Africa the promises to development assistance in form of water development, health centers, schools and other infrastructure were not kept by the tourism operator or the governmental authorities. In Boma NP (South Sudan) and Loliondo (Tanzania) the local population allowed an initial wait and see period of two years without being provided the assured facilities (GARDNER 2012: 385 and DENG 2011: 32) and there are no monitoring mechanisms in place to ensure that companies or authorities fulfill their obligations in a timely manner.

In this context, special attention needs to be paid to the local leaders. Although there was no direct capacity building or job creation reported for community leaders, many were described to profit from tourism business. Particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, direct benefits tend to accrue to local elites (AHEBWA et al. 2012: 381), whether in monetary form or other amenities such as new houses. The fact that local leaders do not act on behalf of their communities in order to profit from the tourists' presence certainly shapes the development of land being grabbed and it will be further elaborated in section 4.3.1.

**Case Box: Kalpitiya (Sri Lanka)**

The Sri Lankan Government has set up the countrywide 'Sustainable Tourism Development Project' with the aim of bringing 2.5 million tourists to Sri Lanka by 2016. Supported by the World Bank, the Kalpitiya Tourism Promotion Zone was launched in 2008 with the Dutch Bay Resorts. The area covers more than 1,600 hectares and comprises a peninsula and 14 islands with high biodiversity, including a marine sanctuary. It will be a high-end leisure park with a capacity of 10,000 beds. A domestic airport, cable cars, underwater amusement park, golf course and race course are just a few of the many infrastructure items to be built, next to the necessities of electricity, water, drainage, telecommunications and solid disposal systems. Both Sri Lankan and international developers have bid millions of dollars for a stake. According to government estimates, the project will generate a total of 37,500 new jobs (15,000 direct, 22,500 indirect). The project has been called vital to building peace after the country's recent civil conflict.

Kalpitiya is a comparably underdeveloped region. While some small hotels hope to continue to attract budget tourists, most residents doubt whether such tourism infrastructure would meet their most pressing needs: education, drinking water and improved healthcare. About 1,000 fishing families, as well as farmers, small tourism businesses, and traders, claim they have not been properly consulted about the tourism project by the Government. Land ownership is the main issue. Many citizens lack legal titles to their land, albeit having a legitimate claim.

The project documents state that just four of the 14 islands are used by local people. However, virtually all the islands have been regularly utilized by fishing communities, who hold the majority in local population. In the process of land acquisition beach areas have been fenced off by developers. In addition to losing easy access to the sea and the beach, villagers face long distances to reach the church, cemetery and other places. The military is operating a check point in one area to curtail fishermen's access. The local administration itself lacks information on the project and there was no proper coordination among local people, local governmental bodies and the Ceylon Tourist Board. The situation got more complex when some non-resident landowners and a few locals have willingly sold their land.

While an Environmental Impact Assessment has been done, but was not available in the public domain, no such study on its socio-cultural and economic impact has been conducted. An International Fact Finding Mission states the project has caused land alienation resulting in considerable restrictions on people's access to sea, fishing and other activities. It is adversely affecting the livelihoods of the people and will surely have a negative impact on their social and cultural realities as well.

(all data from NOBLE (2011); SAHDEVA (2012) and (S.R.T.D.A. 2010))

Box 2: Case Box – Kalpitiya (Sri Lanka)

*Employment Creation*

The creation of local employment is usually stressed as strong benefit in the promotion of sustainable foreign investments in land. This goal is manifested in many national tourism master plans of developing countries as well as in the reports of the funding institutions and the investing companies. But the case research gives only little evidence on benefits from labor opportunities. And in those few cases, it is often only a small proportion of the local population that is able to benefit from the newly created employment. The majority is too poorly skilled (ZOOMERS 2010: 437) or the employment is temporary. Moreover, the distinction between really new employment creation and job replacement is often blurred, in particular where smallholders or fishermen lose access to land and their former employment (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 13).

Considerable employment has been created in four cases. At the Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary in Inhambane (Mozambique) approximately 250 full-time employment opportunities in the sanctuary and in the residential sites (ASHLEY & WOLMER 2003: 24) have been established. Community members represent 96% of the overall staff (S.B.V. 2012). Similar figures have been accomplished at the Mara Naboisho Conservancy in Kenya, where 95% of the staff is reported to be local employees (BASECAMP EXPLORER 2013). The majority of the local staff is unskilled and has to be trained on the job. Lodge operators in Babati District (Kenya) and Central Kalahari (Botswana) see the communities as neighbors and try to draw staff locally when possible (BAUSCH 2013; WILDERNESS SAFARI 2013). Despite these relatively high numbers of employment, there are still developments of exclusion, because the operations claim land and resources against employment. And for a not insignificant number of community members or resource users the livelihood losses are not matched by gains from employment (ASHLEY & WOLMER 2003: 25).

Another facet of employment is temporal engagement during construction work (Panama/Sri Lanka and Boracay/Philippines), which usually absorbs only the male fraction of local communities (HODAL 2013) and is perceived as action to "wade off the protest" (ASIAN PEASANT COALITION 2013: 4). The local population was aware that once the construction is finished there will be no jobs for the villagers and their traditional occupation - fishing and farming – was made inaccessible. Without significant efforts of capacity building by the tourism companies, only menial labor work can be carried out by native people, who are mostly unfamiliar to the skills required in tourism business. In the

case of Ngwe Saung (Myanmar) it is acknowledged that low rank employees in hotels are paid well, but calls are made to employ more than a handful in number (TUN 2006: 5).

The main result from lack of tourism-specific skills and insufficient local capacity building is that many jobs, especially the higher ranked positions, are given out to non-locals. The leakage cannot be quantified due to the lack of data, but non-local hiring has been accompanied by non-local sourcing in some cases. This challenges the value-chain effects tourism is assumed to produce. For instance, in Kimana (Kenya) only few Maasai have derived any substantial benefits from the tourism sector. Some jobs as waiters and guards were given out, but many jobs are filled by non-Maasai Kenyans. Even the traditional Maasai dances, which entertain safari tourists, are often performed by Kenyans from other ethnic groups (SOUTHGATE 2008: 86). These decisions create disappointment and frustration among the affected local groups.

Similar developments were observed in the Etosha NP (Namibia). The majority of employees are not Hai//om people and there is no hiring preference for this local indigenous tribe (ANAYA 2013: 12). Besides, there is also a lack of Hai//om input into decision making about the park management at all levels. Racism and tribalism seem to play a noteworthy role in the selection of workers. Workers who were made redundant due to resettlement have not been re-engaged by other farmers (GARGALLO 2010: 13). In Boma NP (South Sudan) the investor, a United Arab Emirates based company, hired a non-local park manager for their hunting reserve. And to the disappointment of the locals, promises for employment and other amenities have not been realized by Al Ain Wildlife (JOHNSON 2013). Another company from the United Arab Emirates, the Ortello Business Corporation, was said to have a generally hostile attitude towards the local Maasai in Loliondo (Tanzania) and employed workers from other regions. Only a handful of Maasai got jobs as guards or grass-cutters, which generated very low day wages (GARDNER 2012: 389) but none was in a managerial position (RENTON 2009).

There are more cases with workers being imported from other regions (Zacate Grande/Honduras; N.N. 2013) and also deteriorated working condition for those already employed in tourism business have been reported. In Tayrona NP (Colombia) tour guides had to abide the working conditions of the new operating company Aviatur in the National Park. Some were dismissed as they did not conform, some left voluntarily (OJEDA 2012: 16). In these apparently higher skilled jobs strong resentments exist against the occupying and monopolizing strategies of some tourism operations. Especially the tour guides suffer from unsteady income, their wages are low and extra fees have to be passed on the

contractor. This contrasts the view of the lower skilled employees such as guards or cleaning personnel who see the job stability and having a work contract at all as a benefit (OJEDA 2012: 19). Where income from tourism does not fulfill its promises, tour guides go back to their former resource-intensive occupation, such as hunting, which is often prohibited by the rules and regulations of the protected area. It seems, the lesser people profit from tourism, the lower is the local acceptance to the tourism business (TSAFACK 2011: 18).

The researched land deals for large-scale tourism have contributed to increase insecurities in local employment. Non-registered employment forms such as subsistence farming or fishing or pastoralism, all are based on land or water resources, have been replaced by predominantly menial jobs in the tourism industry, with the higher skilled positions being fed from outside. Those who are made landless or "resourceless" are deemed to unemployment, poverty and sometimes illegal actions, if they are unable to find compliant ways of generating income. While some are taking on traditionally atypical jobs to survive ("sell barbecue frogs and fishes along the beach" in Ngwe Saung/Myanmar; TI 2013), the Sea nomads in Thailand are risking their health when diving in the deep seas because the access to the shallow water has been restricted and reserved for tourists (KONGRUT 2008). Hall (et al. 2013: 8) states exclusion creates both security and insecurity. When land becomes scarce, the exclusive access to land that is productive for some comes into tension with the fact that others cannot access it, i.e. cannot bring it to production any more. To aggravate the situation, sometimes alternative occupations have been prohibited and are under prosecution (Ngwe Saung/Myanmar; TUN 2006: 5) or landlessness respectively the lack of land titles impede the granting of financial loans to take on other business opportunities (Tambaba/Brazil; NANDA 2010). Those community members, whose livelihood cannot be guaranteed by the tourism business and who do not have alternatives, are often forced to move out to urban areas to secure the families' livelihood and consequently their food sovereignty (Nasugbu/Philippines; APC 2012: 3).

### 4.2.1.2 Displacements: Physical and Economic Displacement

A large number of words indicate the physical dispossession of people from their lands. Displacement, relocation, eviction, exclusion and resettlement are routinely used in the reviewed literature, with displacement being the dominant term in scientific literature. Agrawal and Redford (2009: 2) state the word displacement appropriately describes the involuntary removal of people from their historical or existing home areas as a result of

actions by governments or other organized stakeholders. There are two central forms of displacing people. The physical displacement works by through eviction or destruction of housings, the economical displacement discloses access to resources of livelihood. Table 1 gives an overview about all documented types of displacements in this research for each of the 36 cases, some of which will be concisely elaborated in following.

| No. | Country | Location | Physical Displacement | Economical/Spiritual Displacement |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Botswana | Central Kalahari Game Reserve | relocation | grazing grounds and watering places |
| 2 | Botswana | Western Kgalagadi Conservation Corridor | relocation | grazing grounds and watering places |
| 3 | Brazil | Tambaba | destruction of houses & farms | farming |
| 4 | Cambodia | Sihanoukville | destruction of houses & restaurants | |
| 5 | Cambodia | Koh Ta Kiev | relocation | |
| 6 | Cambodia | Botum Sakor National Park | relocation program | farming |
| 7 | Cambodia | Boeung Kak Lake | flooding & bulldozing of houses | |
| 8 | Cameroon | Mt Cameroon | | forest resources and wild foods |
| 9 | Colombia | Tayrona National Park | destruction of houses | fishing grounds |
| 10 | Honduras | North Coast and Bay Islands | | forest resources and farmland |
| 11 | Honduras | Zacate Grande | physical eviction and arrests | fishing grounds |
| 12 | India | Hampi Bazaar (Karnataka) | destruction of houses & shops, violence | |
| 13 | India | Rangaswamy Temple | | forest resources and farmland |
| 14 | India | Kerala | | fishing grounds |
| 15 | Jordan | Dead Sea | | water availability |
| 16 | Kenya | Kimana Wildlife Sanctuary | | grazing grounds and watering places |
| 17 | Kenya | Laikipia | destruction of houses | grazing grounds and watering places |
| 18 | Kenya | Mara Naboisho Conservancy | | grazing grounds and watering places |
| 19 | Mexico | Palenque-Agua Azul (Chiapas) | destruction of houses, equipment, harvest | |
| 20 | Mozambique | Vilanculos (Inhambane) | | forest resources and farmland |
| 21 | Mozambique | Gaza - Muthemba Safaris | | grazing grounds and farmland |
| 22 | Myanmar | Inle Lake | | farmland and water availability |
| 23 | Myanmar | Ngwe Saung | | fishing and farming |
| 24 | Myanmar | Chaung Tha | | fishing and farming |
| 25 | Namibia | Etosha National Park | destruction of houses, arrests | grazing grounds and watering places |
| 26 | Philippines | Boracay | physical violence | fishing grounds |
| 27 | Philippines | Nasugbu | | fishing and farming |
| 28 | South Africa | Phiphidi Sacred Site (Limpopo) | | spiritual sites |
| 29 | South Sudan | Boma National Park | | grazing grounds and watering places |
| 30 | Sri Lanka | Kalpitiya Dutch Bay Resort | | fishing and farming |
| 31 | Sri Lanka | Arugam Bay / Panama | destruction of houses, physical violence | fishing and farming |
| 32 | Tanzania | Loliondo - OBC | physical violence; destruction of harvest | grazing grounds and watering places |
| 33 | Tanzania | Loliondo - Thomson Safaris | | grazing grounds and watering places |
| 34 | Tanzania | Vilima Vitatu/Babati District | | grazing grounds |
| 35 | Thailand | Andaman coast | | fishing grounds, spiritual sites |
| 36 | Uganda | Bwindi Impenetrable National Park | | forest resources and wild foods |

Table 1: Case Overview – Types of Displacements

*Physical Displacement*

The physical displacement of people has been enforced with violent methods, either direct or indirect, and usually resettlements were not planned properly to secure that at least the same livelihood standard can be maintained. According to the case-based research, forced displacement is mainly characterized by:

- **Destruction of** Housings, Farms, Equipment or Business **Infrastructure**
- **Physical Violence** and Arrests
- **Inadequate** or no **Resettlements**

The demolition of housings and homes, farmlands and farming infrastructure, and the destruction of business infrastructure such as shops or restaurants were commonly reported in the case research throughout all areas and types of land grabs. A range of methods has been used to persuade locals to move. At Boeung Kak Lake (Cambodia) the same water that was filled in the lake also flooded residents' homes and made many of them uninhabitable. The government also declared the homes illegal as the majority of residents had no formal documentation to prove ownership of the land. In this way, the authorities were able to mobilize the police to back up the developer's bulldozers (ROU 2011).

Police or military involvement in the destruction of homes or private infrastructure was reported in at least 13 cases. Either the houses, fields or equipment were burnt or they were destroyed with machinery, such as in Tambaba (Brazil) where tractors were driven across planted fields to destroy the crops (NANDA 2010). The local Zapatistas in Chiapas (Mexico) witnessed the complete extinction of their belongings. In addition to their houses, crops and belongings were set on fire, their harvested crops were also confiscated or burned and their money stolen (TENUTO 2010). And in Loliondo Tanzania's Field Force Unit did not only burn homesteads, grain stores and young livestock, but moreover pushed about 60,000 heads of cattle into an extreme drought area (NORDLUND 2012).

The actions were typically executed without or very short prior notice. One example is the eviction at Hampi Bazaar (India), where oral warnings were sent to the families to move within 24 hours. There was no opportunity to be heard as the decision to demolish their homes and shops had already been taken (EQUATIONS 2012: 2). The displacement of people in Sihanoukville (Cambodia) went almost alike. The evicted families were not permitted to remove possessions from their homes or restaurants before they were burned down or completely demolished by heavy machinery. In that process they lost important documents which would have been essential in defending their case before the court (LICADHO 2007b; LEVY & SCOTT-CLARK 2008). In some cases the local police authorities strategically selected times, when less resistance to eviction was expected, e.g. at early mornings or on market days. In Laikipia (Kenya) Samburu families' homes and possessions were burnt to the ground with only women, elders, and children present. (C.S. 2010). Particularly women are physically vulnerable, as manifested in gender-based

and sexual violence against them (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 44); this unfortunately proved in Loliondo (Tanzania), where physical violence against and rape of women during the evictions was reported (S.I. 2009).

Basically all evictions were accompanied by a sort of violent suppression, either during eviction or during peaceful protests by the evicted. Intimidating tactics included the presence of police, military or other armed groups who imposed threats on the local people. Excessive force and arbitrary harassments by the authorities and security forces as well as prosecutions, arrests and imprisonments were frequently reported. Individuals were affected mostly, but institutions such as radio stations were also attacked (Zacate Grande/Honduras; STAHEL 2011b). Multiple violations of human and indigenous rights have been recorded (see Box 3), amongst other the protection against arbitrary arrest and arbitrary deprivation of property as well as the right to information including freedom of opinion and expression. And as in most of these cases indigenous peoples were forcibly removed from their lands or territories, these actions also violate the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, such as protection against eviction. Some governmental authorities argued the operation was necessary to save the environment or for the sake of development and that no human rights abuses were committed (NORDLUND 2012). But it rather appears that development and conservation were to some degree built upon the violation of human rights.

It is common sense in international debates on the rights of indigenous peoples that no relocation shall take place without the free, prior and informed consent of the indigenous peoples concerned. However, none of the cases in the research, where a physical eviction took place, offered an appropriate relocation scheme. In some cases the displaced people had to live in provisional huts with severe livelihood conditions and scarce resources (Laikipia/Kenya; S.I. 2012), or squatted in small and crowded plots (e.g. Etosha NP/Namibia; ANAYA 2013: 10 and Panama/Sri Lanka; APC 2013b) or suffered from hunger and cold (Chiapas/Mexico; BELLINGHAUSEN 2010).

> **Info Box: Human Rights directly related to Land Grabbing for Tourism (examples)**
>
> **Universal Declaration of Human Rights**
>
> Article 1 – Protection against discrimination
>
> Article 9 – Protection against arbitrary arrest
>
> Article 19 - The right to information and freedom of opinion (and information)
>
> Article 25 (1) - The right to adequate living standard
>
> **International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights**
>
> Article 11 (1) - The right to adequate living standard
>
>  *The right to adequate food (Art.11) / General Comment No. 12*
>
>  *The right to adequate housing (Art.11) / General Comment No. 4*
>
>  *The right to water (Art. 11 & 12) / General Comment No. 15*
>
> **Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People**
>
> Article 10 – Protection against eviction
>
> Article 28 (1) – The right to adequate compensation

Box 3: Info Box – Human Rights directly related to Land Grabbing in Tourism

In other cases the resettlement lands were inadequately situated or not sufficient for productive agricultural use. For instance, the pastoral Barbaig at Babati (Tanzania) were initially told to move into an area at Lake Manyara basin that normally fills with water during rainy seasons and apparently is inhabitable (NKWAME 2013). At Botum Sakor NP (Cambodia) the relocation site is at significant distance from the coast and many families who accepted compensation do not regularly stay at the relocation site due to a scarcity of options for income generation. Instead they return to set up a temporary shelter at the coast in order to go fishing (SUBEDI 2012: 121). The relocation of families also has a tremendous impact on children, who are forced out of school, either because the way to school has become too long or simply because the families can no longer afford the school fees due to a lack of means to earn money at the new location (Loliondo/Tanzania; RENTON 2009).

Occasionally, the displaced groups were relocated to areas where infrastructure and income opportunities are rare and the sites are far from the newly created tourism

business; or they were relocated to another tribes' or ethic groups' area. This occurred in Boma NP (South Sudan), where the proposed resettlement location was adjacent to other pastoralist communities and hence would have increased the intertribal conflicts (MITTAL & MOUSSEAU 2011: 36). In this context, Johnston (2006: 32) summarizes that indigenous groups are routinely allocated to replacement lands that are unproductive or in another tribes' territory. This very much approves the assumption of a „bad residual" left for the local population, which has been detected in the literature review (LAY & NOLTE 2011: 4; see Chapter 2.3.)

Relocation schemes were missing completely in at least two cases (Hampi Bazaar/India and Nasugbu/Philippines), where the affected groups had no immediate relocation or shelter. As mentioned in the introductory literature review (Chapter 2.5), the term "surplus" has been determined for the situation of these people. The desperation following the loss of livelihood means was frequently emphasized in reports and it were rather NGOs who stepped in for assistance than governmental authorities.

*Economic Displacement*

The loss of access to resources can occur without physical dispossession, but the denied access to particular areas still puts local livelihoods strategies at risk. Those who rely on extensive access to the commons, especially pastoralists, hunter-gatherers, fisherfolk, and forest-dwellers are particularly vulnerable (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 46), as the lifestyles and economic system of these mostly indigenous peoples often contradict mainstream economic ideas about production factors and economic efficiency (BORRAS et al. 2011: 13). The case-based research revealed two types of restricted access to resources:

- Prohibited or **Restricted Access to Hunting, Gathering and Grazing Land**
- Prohibited or **Restricted Access to Water** Resources or Fishing Grounds

Regulations or restrictions on the extraction of natural resources are particularly opposed by people who are highly dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods and face impoverishment because of those regulations (BROCKINGTON & IGOE 2006: 427), regardless whether these resources base on land or water. The foundation of protected areas with its rules and limitations is a loss to local ethnic groups who claim ancestral rights to their soil or sea. In the context of National Parks, the prohibition of access to resources affects two groups: the hunter-gatherers, who overlap with the aforesaid

300 million people partly or entirely dependent on forest resources; and pastoralists, who require large grazing lands for their livestock.

*Restricted Access to Hunting, Gathering and Grazing Land*

The first mentioned group includes the Batwa people around Bwindi NP (Uganda). Their wellbeing depended entirely on hunting and gathering forest resources in the dense vegetation and their strong spiritual connection to the forest (SSALI 2012). As the area has been declared a National Park, strict laws were introduced and the access for communities was prohibited (AHEBWA et al. 2011: 381). Consequently, the Batwa had to leave the forest and could no longer make use of the food, shelter, medicines and other goods and values. Without farming skills or even any compensation land the Batwa are said to have suffered since then (IVAN 2011). Comparable patterns but with less damaging impacts are seen at Mount Cameroon. The local Bakweri extracted charcoal and timber for construction as well as so called Non Timber Forest Produce (NTFP) such as honey, medical plants and bush meat. The set-up of the National Park stopped their traditional economy of forest usage and made their actions illegal (TSAFACK 2011: 18). The indigenous Soliga people living around Rangaswamy Temple (India) are said to have co-existed with the tigers for generations, before the tiger reserve was established (EKTA PARISHAD 2011; D'SOUZA & RAI 2011: 1). They subsisted through shifting agriculture and hunting-gathering. As a result of restrictions on access to forest resources and land use, their income from NTFP and their overall per-capita decreased by more than 20% in a ten year period, which is a clear indication of an increase in poverty levels among the members of the community (D'SOUZA & RAI 2011: 1). It is noteworthy that progressive policies such as the Forests Rights Act exist in India. It provides forest dwelling communities the right to land use and to collect NTFP, but the law is not yet properly implemented (SESHADRI 2013).

These kinds of situations occur mainly in Africa and Asia, where protected areas are characterized by relatively high human population densities. The forest areas in Latin America are have considerably lower population densities and the impact of indigenous tribes on forest resources and wildlife is significantly lower (BROCKINGTON et al. 2006: 71) and unsurprisingly no strong indications of conservation-induced displacement in Latin America were made in this study.

The Maasai in Tanzania and Kenya are the glaring example for the economic displacement of pastoralists. In Loliondo (Tanzania) the pastoralists have been wedged in

between two tourism businesses, i.e. the private hunting corporation OBC and Thomson Safaris. The appearance of OCB in Loliondo changed the meanings and stakes of the local land use. The public sector benefited from hunting revenues and donations of vehicles and planes (GARDNER 2012: 386). Meanwhile, the movement of pastoralists and their livestock to other grazing areas and to watering points was seriously impeded (NORDLUND 2012).

The restriction of grazing in private protected areas is a very contentious issue, since pastoralism requires access to strategic pastures: large areas that usually exceed the newly created property boundaries. Thomson Safaris was told to have enforced a boundary that closed the traditional pathways that was used the Maasai to access other grazing grounds. In consequence, about 1,000 families had to move their cattle to other, already over-crowded grazing areas close to the border of the OBC hunting block (RENTON 2009). Some herdsman had moved their cattle further on to the land leased by OBC, which, according to local NGOs, prompted policemen to burn Maasai farms. The result were distressed livestock sales to assure food security temporarily. The other part was the seizure of cattle by local authorities (ibid.). It seems, the confiscation of livelihood resources is an economic pressure tool for authorities. The aforesaid Soliga people in India were also taken away their livelihood securing honey harvest by the forest authority (S.I. 2013a).

It is not only the loss of access to lands that may have severe adverse impacts on local livelihoods, because pastoralists and forest-dependent people are particularly at risk given the nature of their land use and their need for large land areas to survive (ODHIAMBO 2011: 21). Moreover, to enforce their objectives, local authorities act in favor of influential tourism operations and increase the pressure to rural livelihoods by impounding their main economic assets as a reaction to encroachments.

Nevertheless, there are attempts to ease off this pressure and to compromise conservation and tourism with grazing and pastoralism. At the Mara Naboisho Conservancy (Kenya) controlled grazing plans were established with restrictions to the number of livestock allowed into the conservancy, and the areas where they can graze. The rules vary from only allowing livestock grazing in the conservancy during the tourism low season, to more flexible grazing plans, that limit grazing in areas close to camps, but allow rotational grazing in areas away from camps. Usually the herds neighboring the conservancy are allowed access on a rotational basis (BEDELIAN 2012: 9) and this meets the pastoralists demands on half way. However, there is still a lot of illegal grazing and

fines are imposed on herdsmen by the Conservancy rangers and here as well, the herds are usually confiscated until the fine is paid.

The loss of access to hunting, gathering and grazing land is a result of battles for resources and it increases the human-wildlife conflict, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Trade-offs are made between subsistence livelihoods and conservation measures for tourism purpose in various ways. There is increased competition between communities and animals for scarce natural resources (Western Kgalagadi Conservation Corridor/Botswana; SMUTS 2008), which is caused by increasing human and livestock populations, commercial cultivation and land subdivision. When wildlife populations decline (by 70% in the last 30 years in Mara Naboisho/Kenya; BEDELIAN 2012: 4) as a result of these pressures, the peaceful coexistence between human population and wildlife becomes questionable. In reaction, wildlife areas are cleared from human habitation in the name of conservation (Babati District/Tanzania; BAHA & CHACHAGE 2007: 6).

Furthermore, the official reasons for the denial of access to land and resources are sometimes inappropriate. The motivation quoted for moving the Hai//om communities from Etosha NP (Namibia) was their noise level, which according to the Government disturbed tourists and wild animals (ANAYA 2013: 13). In contrast, forest communities complained that the wild animals competed with their livestock for scarce grazing and water resources, and that wildlife destroyed their crops, frightened and harmed their livestock and possibly transmitted diseases to them (Bwindi NP/Uganda; IVAN 2011). But national policies seem to favor the conservation and tourism industry, because there are apparently more financial benefits for the governmental level. The Government authorities in Botswana were accused to attach greater importance to wildlife than to its indigenous people (Central Kalahari Game Reserve; quoted in S.I. 2010) and this assumption is largely shared by local communities. A Maasai rights campaigner was quoted *"But in the end the animals are far more valuable than people."* (Loliondo/Tanzania; quoted in RENTON 2009).

### *Restricted Access to Water Resources and Fishing Grounds*

In the research three different forms of water resource loss have been identified. The first one is related to the just elaborated protected areas and key watering points for pastoralists and indigenous groups, the second to those people affected by high level of

water consumption in tourism resorts. Both are essentially water grabbing. The third type concerns the coastal populations depending on fishery, referred to as sea grabs.



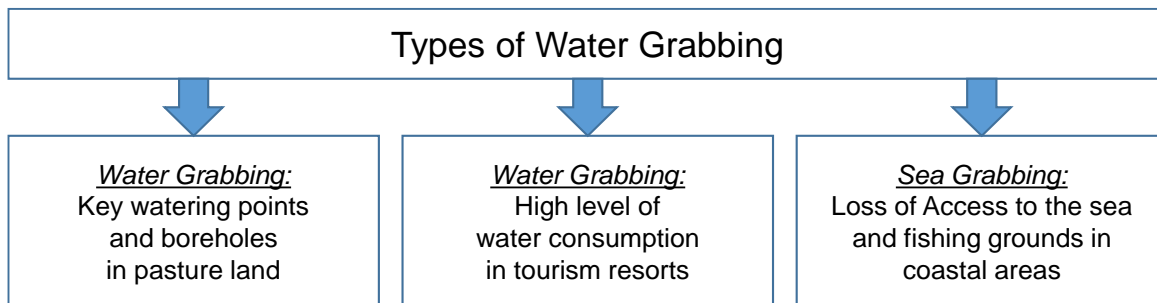| Types of Water Grabbing | | |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *Water Grabbing:* Key watering points and boreholes in pasture land | *Water Grabbing:* High level of water consumption in tourism resorts | *Sea Grabbing:* Loss of Access to the sea and fishing grounds in coastal areas |

Figure 13: Types of Water Grabbing

All types shown in Figure 13 are a severe livelihood threat and violate the human right to water (Box 3) as part of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Articles. However, the Government of Botswana has not signed the Convention and in consequence ignores these vital rights to some of its indigenous people. In the Central Kalahari Game Reserve the San people have filed a lawsuit to secure usage of a water hole on their ancestral land, but the constitutional court initially dismissed the action (S.I. 2010). The decision has been appealed by the people in the reserve and their lawyers and later the High Court ruled that the people of the Central Kalahari had the right to develop their own water wells (HITCHCOCK 2013). With only one borehole that has water suitable for human consumption several San communities had to travel to that single water source or depend on water substitutes or other very inconvenient strategies to draw water. As a result, many left the reserve to get water at the resettlement locations, with little or no guarantee that they will be allowed to return to the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

A similar situation occurred recently in the planned Western Kgalagadi Conservation Corridor. The High Court basically ruled in favor of the San people, but left uncertainty for further anxiety by saying: *"The Respondents will not remove the engine that currently operates the borehole at Ranyane without 14 days prior written notice to the Applicants' Attorneys."* (H.C.B. 2013). The battle for watering places in conservation areas appears to be comparable to the battle for grazing grounds, both impacting the life of the local population and their livestock, no matter whether the affected groups are pastoralists like the Maasai in Laikipia (Kenya) and Loliondo (Tanzania) or semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers like the San people.

The water grabbing spans further than the majority cases might disclose, although only one case in this research, the Dead Sea, actually reports restricted water availability for the local population and the ecosystems. On average, hotel guests at the Dead Sea shore consume 500 to 1,000 liters of fresh water per day, but local settlers have to cope with less than 100 liters (ZIMMERMANN 2010). The hotel consumption comprises the overhead water for the swimming pools and the irrigation of the surrounding vegetation. While tourism is only one player to cause the water inequity at the Dead Sea, not enough is done to mitigate its impacts on the local population and their environment. Measures to reduce water consumption are rare and incentives are not given, as water is state-regulated and subsidized. There are hints of a generally large water inequity between local settlers and tourism industry due to the high freshwater consumption of the tourism sector (cf. EHRING 2010: 38; RUF 2013: 21). Ruf (2013: 22) points out particularly large-scale and high-end tourism facilities who consume significantly more water than all-inclusive resorts, and first data-based researches confirm this assumption. With the emerging trend of high-end tourism identified as one driver for tourism land grabbing, it can be expected that more cases of this kind of water grabbing will be observed in future.

In comparison to the pastoralists, the affected group of fisher people appears larger in numbers. The loss of access to the sea and its fishing grounds was reported in at least seven cases, whereof six are in Asia. A typical sign for sea grabs are fenced off beaches for beach hotels or other access controlling checkpoints. The competition for resources between the fisherfolk and tourism businesses increases and leads into serious livelihood conflicts. Only little evidence was given that fishing was generally prohibited. In following, the cases are briefly described:

- In Zacate Grande (Honduras) a wall of 20 km length has been established to block access to the beach. When trying to dock at the beach, the settlers were attacked and evicted by the security personnel of the tourism operator. This action infringes the national fishery law (STAHEL 2011b).
- The fishermen in Kerala state (India) traditionally used the public beaches to land their fishing boats, to dry fish, to hold meetings and even to sleep (NAIR 2009: 12). For the construction of a beach resort in Arthungal a wall with barbed wire was erected and access to the beach blocked for the most part. The tourism projects were permitted despite their violation of the Coastal Regulation Zone law. After a peaceful protest by the local population and the Fishermen Union, the local authorities instructed the demolition of the wall (MEUNIER 2012: 14).

- Similarly, in the Philippines, coastal development has had the effect of keeping the artisanal fisherfolk away from the sea and the foreshore. At Nasugbu the local population was prohibited to fish because a boundary line was built for an ecotourism project. Local residents raised serious concerns that the communities would fall apart due to an insecure food and livelihood situation (APC 2012: 4).

- Fishermen also face barbed wire in Kalpitiya (Sri Lanka). They have to walk longer distances to the sea and are unable to move to the hinterlands when the sea levels rise and coastal zones erode. Their traditional way of fishing, which was quite space intensive, has been impeded significantly if not restricted at all due to walls, fences or hedges (SAHDEVA 2012).

- The development at the other coast of Sri Lanka in Panama appears identical: Fishermen complain there was no room for fishing vessels on the beach because the hoteliers wanted the beach exclusively for the tourists. The long drawn fish netting had to stop because the coastline was blocked by construction and fencing around the hotel. The majority of local population was heavily dependent on fishing, but the best time for fish catches appears to collide with the main tourist season (APC 2013a: 3).

Only at the Andaman Coast of Thailand and in Ngwe Saung (Myanmar) fishery was officially prohibited by law, in Thailand by the declaration of Marine National Parks (WONGRUANG 2013: 13), in Myanmar by the declaration of a Tourism Zone (TUN 2006: 5). In all other cases the occupation has basically been limited or made impossible by restricted access.

Both developments, the loss of access to onshore and offshore resources and the eviction from homes, shops or farmlands, have a substantial impact on the local food sovereignty, particularly for those groups who depend on one sole livelihood and income source. Brockington and Igoe (2006: 425) stated fittingly that the exclusion of economic activity, which does not lead to moving home, still displaces that activity elsewhere. Land surface does not only stand for housing, in many cases it is more a means of production, which secures the right to food. Especially for indigenous communities and rural population such as subsistence farmers and coastal residents in developing countries it is the foundation of a dignified existence. And the loss of cultivation land or fishing grounds is equally a loss of financial independence, as affected groups face a larger expenditure on the import of foodstuff.

Mostly, these groups are left to fend for themselves with no further assistance to secure livelihoods. This is another breach of the human rights, in this case the right to adequate food. Therefore it is the states' duty to prevent any displacement without adequate compensation, as it was done in numerous cases during the implementation of tourism projects. In only one case governmental support for relocated farmers has been reported. At Botum Sakor NP (Cambodia) 20 tons of rice were delivered by local authorities to the villagers, after they had lost access to their farmland to a Chinese development company and ran short of food (REAKSMEY & MARKS 2011).

*Compensation*

When essential livelihood means are at loss and there are no signs of future involvement in the establishing tourism business, at least compensation is expected and demanded by the concerned local people and civil society. Compensation usually refers to explicit compensatory payments for the loss of land, houses, and other assets. The collective compensation like infrastructure and other in-kind contributions have been elaborated before. But individual compensation is at least equally important because it could contribute to a new start at a new location and could decrease the risk of dependency on assistance.

In the research only two cases proved evidence to improved livelihoods and each are not exhaustive but limited to some individuals. At Mount Cameroon some villagers reported to have benefited from increased livelihood opportunities and greater income than before (LUDERMANN 2010: 24) and at Botum Sakor NP (Cambodia) some villagers voluntarily accepted the compensation due to the small size of their original plot of land and the bigger plot being offered by the investment company (SUBEDI 2012: 121). However, in both cases the majority of people who were relocated or denied access have not seen any improvements through compensation.

The compensation schemes were mostly considered as insufficient and did not recover the lost values. In Myanmar, the compensation for lost crops and farm produce only covered the value of the crops, not the land property itself (Inle Lake; NANG 2013, Ngwe Saung; TI 2013: 2 and Chaung Tha; FOWLE 2013) and destroyed building materials have not been replaced. In other cases neither the promised monetary compensation for the land nor new cultivation land have been provided as promised by the government (e.g. Panama/Sri Lanka; KUMARA 2012 and CKGR/Botswana; HITCHCOCK 2013). And at times, the enforcement of compensations was carried out under extreme coercion. Mostly

in Asia, regional authorities or the investment companies threatened villagers and forced them to accept compensation to move off their land (e.g. Boeung Kak/Cambodia; I.D.I. 2013 and Rangaswamy/India; KOTHARI 2011).

Johnston (2006: 31) argues that there is no win-win scenario in compensation schemes. In contrast, the customary relationship of indigenous people with their ancestral lands cannot be substituted by another land. She further claims the whole process of land alienation to be "a calculated form of genocide" (ibid) with the compensation being only an incentive to convince the indigenous population to take on a modern lifestyle. She describes the modern principle of ownership to individual land was meant as replacement for their ancestral principle of guardianship to a common land.

These developments, the evictions, the lost access of livelihood means and restricted opportunities for subsistence and income generation are a process of further marginalization of anyhow deprived groups. The socioeconomic facet may be the central aspect in the livelihood deterioration, but the indigenous wellbeing also depends on their heritage and spiritual bonds as well as on the ecosystems they live in. The impacts on these will be elaborated in the coming two sections.

### 4.2.2 Impacts on Heritage and Religion

Besides converting natural resources to tourism assets, the tourism industry lives on the commodification of culture. The attractiveness of a destination is not only measured by the biodiversity and popularity of endemic species, but also by the prevalence of tribal peoples (JOHNSTON 2006: 86), who have unique culture and spiritual beliefs. The culture is usually strongly connected their ancestral lands. And across indigenous cultures, ancestral titles are understood as a sacred duty to care for that land (JOHNSTON 2006: 31). When this customary relationship with the land collides with conservation efforts or tourism development, be it through physical eviction or through the denial of access to sacred sites, the spiritual bonds between indigenous people and their land could decline. The research results identified three central processes caused by land grabbing that can have positive or negative influence on the spiritual wellbeing of indigenous communities:

- Positive: Restoration or **Conservation of Heritage Sites**
- Negative: **Restricted Access** to **Spiritual Sites**
- Negative: **Increased Vulnerability** due to fading Traditional Way of Life

*Restoration or Conservation of Heritage Sites*

Land use conversions for tourism developments can have positive effects on the cultural identity of local populations, when their heritage assets are kept in shape and promoted. It might have a strengthening impact on the cultural identity of indigenous tribes, when their culture is respected and promoted. However, only two cases in this research contain measures to heritage conservation, and only one indicates that the community may profit from that action.

The Heritage Site restoration in Trujillo (Honduras) has been considered highly satisfactory by the World Bank, who is a co-creditor for the governmental Sustainable Coastal tourism Project. The restoration and revitalization activities in Trujillo exceeded the original plans with more than 25 sites and historic buildings restored in the Historic Center. The heritage part of the project included, amongst many others, the setup of a small museum about the colonial period and Garifuna culture (WORLD BANK 2006: 14). It is left open whether the cultural integrity of the indigenous Garifuna communities can really profit from this development (SPRING 2011). It is not unlikely that a museum display is fairly a commoditization of their culture, since their ethnic marginalization is being increased in the process of tourism development by foreign companies.

The situation is different in Hampi Bazaar (India), which is a UNESCO Heritage Site. The UNESCO Guidelines mandate the creation of a core and buffer area around a site. This was the quoted reason for the eviction of close-by shops and restaurants. No other businesses have replaced those which were evicted. This case is more about 'cleaning' tourist destinations (SESHADRI 2013) in the context of strategizing and planning for the conservation of a heritage site, and opening broader business opportunities for high-end hotels in the region.

*Restricted Access to Spiritual Sites*

Internationally or regionally recognized cultural and heritage sites that are subject to conservation may have a positive impact on their local community and strengthen the bonds between site and population. In contrast, the majority of cases in this research revealed the diminution of spiritual connections because indigenous communities lost access to their sacred sites. The shape of spiritual bonds varies between holy landscapes that are barely detectible to outsiders and physical constructions such as churches or burial grounds. It could be a whole mountain (Mt. Cameroon; TSAFACK 2011: 18) that has a religious meaning to the local ethnic group or a wide landscape with trees, river and

waterfall (Phiphidi/South Africa; G.F. 2013) that is considered sacred land as it is believed to have influence on the weather.

In four cases in India, Sri Lanka, and Thailand the accesses to cemeteries, churches, mosques or other places of ritual habits have been either totally blocked (Kerala, Rangaswamy Temple/India and Andaman Coast/Thailand) or the distance to cover has been significantly increased through impediments (Kalpitiya/Sri Lanka). The fencing causes a general restriction of movement and is a disruption of social networks, both physical and spiritual. In Koh Phi Phi on the Andaman Coast of Thailand the sea nomads' cemeteries were destroyed and hotels constructed on the burial grounds. There can be no doubt that the violation of sacred places is equally a non-physical violation of the people who hold them central to their lives and culture and that their relationship with such places is much deeper than one of mere ownership. Indigenous communities are virtually made strangers to their ancestral land, when signboards indicate "No entry for non-residents" (SAHDEVA 2012).

### *Increased Vulnerability due to fading traditional way of life*

These incidents cannot only have disastrous impacts on their mental and physical wellbeing (EKTA PARISHAD 2011: 4), they are principally a major violation of the human right to religion. The right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion (…) and to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance" is manifested in Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 1948, see Box 3 on Human Rights). All states that have ratified the convention are obliged to grant this right to all citizens, and that includes that access to religious and spiritual places. By disregard of these rights, combined with the loss of land, governments limit the viability of indigenous lifestyles, who are obliged to uphold their sacred relationships (JOHNSTON 2006: 152). The results are vanishing spiritual connections between the indigenous and their land, up to the extent where the indigenous feel the Government tries to erase their connection with the ancestral area (Etosha NP/Namibia; ANAYA 2013: 12).

With their traditional way of life being endangered severely by the loss of spiritual bonds, indigenous communities become more vulnerable to social threats of modern live. The San people of Central Kalahari describe problems they have not been familiar with before their land alienation, such as alcoholism, violence and sicknesses like HIV, that frequently occur in their resettlement camps (SAHDEVA 2010). In combination with the development of tourism the social risk accelerates. At the North Coast of Honduras, the local population

witnessed the occurrence of prostitution when non-local construction workers arrived (BLUME 2011: 41) and Meunier (2012: 15; Kerala/India) describes the Western tourism habits such as music, alcohol and fashion to have an additional impact on the decline of traditional lifestyles. In this context, Johnston (2006: 90) states it was in the economic interest of the tourism industry to keep culture loss a superficial topic. This seems to be true particularly in the context of land grabbing. There are attempts to preserving culture through the commoditization of indigenous lifestyles, but in many cases the indigenous ways of life are not officially recognized worthy to be protected.

## 4.2.3 Environmental Impacts

Land use changes for tourism purpose do not entail numerous positive impacts. But looking at conservation ethics and the number of land grabbing cases in protected areas, it could be assumed that there are at least some positive impacts on ecosystems and biodiversity. In terms of public and private protected areas ecosystems, there are sufficient data and clear suggestions that protecting places by designating it as protected area can reduce unwanted change in flora and fauna (BROCKINGTON et al. 2008: 65). But conservation outcomes differ largely and there are a significant gaps in quality and effectiveness of protected area management and hence the outcomes for biodiversity. Worldwide, only one quarter of protected areas is considered to be "well managed" (BLOMLEY et al. 2012: 8).

However, land grabbing for tourism does not occur exclusively in protected areas or other areas subject to conservation, such as game reserves or wildlife corridors. It largely occurs in populated coastal areas and the logic of conservation does hardly apply there, except where a protected area is situated at the coast. The research has approved the assumption, that there are positive impacts on biodiversity, but three central negative aspects have been exposed as well. Overall, three central impacts on the environment have been identified:

- **Conservation** or Restoration **of Biodiversity or Wildlife**
- **Environmental Damage** to Ecosystems caused **by Construction Works**
- **Waste Accumulation** produced by Tourism

*Conservation or Restoration of Biodiversity or Wildlife*

Generally, in the case based literature no observations were uttered on the overall success of conservation efforts. But single actions have been highlighted in four cases. In

Babati District of Tanzania, the foundation of the lodge operator ULEA supports the rebuilding of the elephant migration path between two National Parks. The second goal is the establishment of Tanzania's first elephant orphanage. It is a reaction to the "elephant genocide" that is happening to one of Africa's largest elephant populations (LIVEWILDLIFE 2012: 9). Considerable efforts are made to the upbringing, care and re-integration process of orphaned elephants. The concept said:

> *"The aim of our Orphans' Project is to rear the orphaned elephants in such a way that they grow up psychologically sound and in the fullness of time take their place back where they rightly belong, and where they can enjoy a normal wild life amongst the wild elephant community of Tarangire National Park. Elephants need space."* (LIVEWILDLIFE 2012: 13).

This aim stands in clear contrast with the preclusion of pastoral activities in that area. As elaborated before, pastoralism is a very spacious way of living. Grazing grounds for livestock are changed due to season and climate conditions. However, tourism operations do not see any profits from pastoralist activities. But the elephants are tourism assets that promise profits from those who travel to see them in their original homes. The preference of wildlife over indigenous lifestyles is also seen at the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana, where boreholes are drilled for wildlife animals, while the wells of the San people have been closed down (I.P.I. 2010).

Other impacts to restoration of biodiversity and wildlife in the context of adverse land deals are seen in Mozambique and Honduras. The exclusive Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary in Inhambane (Mozambique) is an area of high coastal and marine biodiversity with a large number of wildlife species. Yet, the private Sanctuary and the lodge property owner have set up a program that enhanced their game with zebra and giraffe, which were previously extinct in that area (GOLDING 2008).

And as part of the Sustainable Coastal Tourism Project in Honduras a coral garden in the Bay Islands was restored with the conservation of coral species. The Bay Islands coral reefs were affected by water contamination and uncontrolled fishing amongst others and the introduction of coral gardens is expected to maintain and improve the environmental quality in the Bay Islands as a base for sustainable economic development. There were several other activities that directly supported environmental conservation with regards to tourism enhancement in the project areas, e.g. a recycling program for hotels, beach

cleaning activities and a solid waste management program for the whole area (WORLD BANK 2006: 12).

With regard to other large-scale tourism investments with participation of international funding institutions (e.g. Kalpitiya/Sri Lanka), environmental projects around recycling, renewable energy and reduction of carbon footprint seem to be ranked highly on the priority lists of tourism operators, and this is a general trend in the tourism industry, where environmental issues are focused more than social aspects (EED 2011: 19). Bearing in mind the triple bottom line of the sustainability concept, a clear misbalance can be perceived. Financial profit seems to be the main goal, environmental protection is highlighted frequently but social development is rather neglected.

### *Environmental Damage to Ecosystems caused by Construction Works*

However, environmental protection has not been prioritized in all projects. In several cases construction works have been the cause of environmental damage. The same project that successfully implemented the restoration of the Coral Gardens in Honduras has changed the landscape for a golf course construction. The lower parts of the community land, which is a protected area, have been filled. The result was frequent flooding after rain showers (TRUCCHI 2011: 14). The Environmental Impact Assessor and manager of the surrounding National Park had criticized this action in advance and warned of possible negative impacts on a fresh water reservoir. Furthermore the golf course was incompatible with the designation as UNESCO Ramsar Site (HERRMANN 2013). Nevertheless, the construction work of Los Micos Hotel was carried out. The manager of the environmental organization later outweighed these losses by stating the golf course was only half of the originally planned size and that at least the aforementioned coral reef was protected. It was assumed that corruptive measures influenced the decisions (BLUME 2012: 40).

The project in Kalpitiya (Sri Lanka) is expected to have environmentally beneficial impacts in the long run for the tourism industry as well as for the country due to its "efficient, effective and most importantly, environmentally sustainable" approach (WORLD BANK 2010: 19). Nevertheless, the funding institution World Bank has also indicated some project activities would have the potential for triggering certain adverse environmental impacts. These impacts would be largely related to project activities that entail civil works and construction and are expected to be minor; details to particular damages were not given.

In the Philippines, the whole municipality of Nasugbu has been declared a Tourism Zone. During the construction of an Eco-Tourist Road that connects two sites the residents witnessed some "earthmoving activities" (APC 2012: 4), i.e. the cutting of old and hard trees that caused soil erosion and siltation. Cultivated crops and the quantity of fishes have been affected as well as the stability of land and forest. Similar impacts, such as downstream flooding and landslides were seen during the construction of golf courses in the area. Due to the consumption of pesticides and insecticides golf courses themselves are also subject to environmental debates (HERZOG 2011). As reported in Nasugbu, the chemicals get washed down into the water table, irrigation systems, rivers and sea and thereby pollute the waterways. Chemical emissions have also been measured in the air, posing health problems to golfers themselves, caddies and local residents.

The environmental impact of immoderate water consumption in the tourism sector is clearly exemplified in the Dead Sea case (Jordan). There is no land grabbed by the industry, but water from rivers and streams that feed the Dead Sea. The fresh water consumption of hotel guests (including the irrigation of the vegetation and the swimming pool) exceeds the local standard up to ten times (ZIMMERMANN 2010). The constant overuse of regional water resources has been threatening the unique ecosystem of the Dead Sea for the past 50 years and pressurizes the already sparse flora and fauna. The sinking water level also involves economic costs as infrastructure damage must be repaired. Riverbeds are eroding and the coastline is held under constant stabilization. Environmental experts believe that hotels along the shore are also in danger (HAMMER 2005). The development could be a boomerang to the tourism operations on the shore. It could not only affect their premises but probably also their arrival figures. This indicates that resource grabbing without proper management can be environmentally detrimental to tourism business.

### *Waste Accumulation produced by Tourism*

A third negative environmental impact found in this research is the waste accumulation produced by tourists. Increased littering seriously affects the landscape scenery at Mount Cameroon. Reports say that tour guides buried non-organic waste in the soil and tourists have to cope with animals attracted by the waste. Local signboards call the tourists to *"Taking nothing but pictures, leaving nothing but footprints."* (TSAFACK 2011: 19). Despite this request there is no visible waste management strategy by the local ecotourism office at Mount Cameroon. Similar problems are seen at Phiphidi Sacred Site

(South Africa), where the local indigenous population has to pick their way through the banks of litter being left behind by tourists who visit the waterfall (G.F. 2013). The observation of waste management difficulties is certainly no issue related to land grabbing solely, it occurs worldwide and is rather a sign of weak management by the operators.

In summary, this section has revealed positive and negative environmental impacts, although the damaging effects predominate. Considering the sustainable approach that is transported by most of the projects, it could be expected that land grabs were at least a win-scenario for the environment, but evidence was scarcely given in the case research. Altogether, the reviewed impacts on community level, whether socioeconomic, spiritual or environmental have demonstrated more negative impacts than positive ones. Table 2 lists the most significant outcomes of tourism driven land grabs on the local community level.

## Impacts on Community Level

| Positive Impacts | Negative Impacts |
| --- | --- |
| Development of Physical and Social Infrastructure | Physical Displacement by Destruction of Homes, Farmland and Infrastructure |
| Creation of Menial Employment *and (rarely) Improved Opportunities for Employment in Tourism* | Economic Displacement by Prohibited or Restricted Access to Grazing/Gathering/Hunting/ Fishing Grounds or to Water Resources |
| Capacity Building | Loss of subsistence and/or occupation without adequate compensation |
| Biodiversity and Wildlife Conservation *and Ecosystem Recovery (rarely)* | Loss of Food Sovereignity |
| *Strengthening of Communities through Commodification of Culture (rarely)* | Increased Human-Wildlife Conflict due to bigger Regional Pressure on Natural Resources |
| | Loss of Spiritual Bonds to Ancestral Areas and Disruption of Social Networks through Fencing |
| | Further Marginalization of Deprived Groups |
| | Ecosystem Degradation |

Table 2: Summary of Impacts on Community Level

So far, there have been no attempts to apply frameworks for the impact examination related to land grabbing, and only few attempts for the risk examination of development or conservation induced displacement. In order to validate the research results, a comparison with existing related frameworks seems necessary. The Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction framework (IRR) by Cernea (2003) examines affected peoples'

livelihoods in eight major impoverishment risk categories. The framework does not contain environmental impacts; the assessment is solely based on the impacts on socioeconomic and cultural wellbeing. For the comparison, the main negative impacts of tourism-driven land grabbing (Table 2) are contrasted with Cernea's IRR framework, without the environmental impacts. Although the terminology might be different, Table 3 exposes that the research outcomes largely overlap with the IRR framework.

| Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction (Cernea) | Impacts on Community Level (this research) |
| --- | --- |
| Landlessness – expropriation of land assets and loss of access to land | Physical displacement and economic displacement |
| Joblessness – even when the resettlement creates some temporary jobs | Loss of subsistence and/or occupation without adequate compensation |
| Homelessness – loss of physical houses, family homes and cultural space | Physical displacement by destruction of homes, farmland and infrastructure |
| Marginalization – social, psychological and economic downward mobility | Further marginalization of deprived groups |
| Food insecurity – malnourishment, etc. | Loss of food sovereignity |
| Increased morbidity and mortality | / |
| Loss of access to common property (forests, water, wasteland, cultural sites) | Prohibited or restricted access to resources and loss of spiritual bonds to ancestral areas |
| Social disarticulation – disempowerment, disruption to social institutions | Loss of spiritual bonds to ancestral areas and disruption of social networks through fencing |

Table 3: Comparison of Impacts Results with the IRR Framework

This suggests that the impacts recorded for tourism-induced land grabbing are basically of the same patterns like the impacts identified for development and conservation induced displacement. Considering the initial drivers by governments and tourism operators, paradoxically very often the same people that are said to be empowered in the long run find themselves disempowered through serious disputes over scarce resources as land or water. Land grabbing for tourism is a slow process to further marginalization of indigenous people. Already disadvantaged groups face multiple conflicts and impoverishment, and are being pushed further to the edges of society. In the worst case this development

results in the collapse of traditional ways of life and economy and forced assimilation into the dominant culture.

## 4.3 Analysis of Shaping Factors

The previous two chapters described the factors driving the land grabbing for tourism and presented evidence on the impacts it is having, particularly at the local level. But the drivers described are not the sole explanation to the impacts. There are more contextual aspects to answer the question, why land grabbing has these largely negative impacts. Therefore, it is necessary to examine these shaping factors that enable harmful land acquisitions to take place. In this chapter three main categories of shaping factors will be elaborated. At first, the myth of homogenous communities is challenged. The diversity of communities was of no importance in general literature on land grabbing, but was highlighted in the tourism case studies. Then, the systems of land tenure and their impacts on land deals are presented with special consideration to educational challenges and different concepts of ownership that often contradict mainstream economic ideas. Finally, the governance and due diligence by public and private sector is assessed, and the results imply large room for institutional and entrepreneurial improvement.

## 4.3.1 Diversity of Communities

In the context of development, communities are often treated as homogenous and static units (BROCKINGTON et al. 2008: 138). This fundamentally misunderstands the dynamic and complex nature of communities. Particularly the tourism industry misses to acknowledge the heterogeneity of communities, as its popular types like ecotourism and community-based tourism in general focus on a common involvement and development strategy (SOUTHGATE 2008: 82). In this research, various complexity patterns of communities have been identified and will be particularized:

- **Ethnic Diversity:** Affected Areas are populated **by Different Ethnic Groups**
- Different Community Members have **Different Interests**
- The **Divide and Rule P**rinciple increases existing Imbalances
- **Local leadership often fails** to act in the Favor of Communities

*Ethnic Diversity*

Worldwide, there is a strong politics of ethnic identities. Migration seems to increase the differences and divisions, as ethnic groups coexist to battle for resources and to maintain

their culture. When tourism projects appear in such an ethnically diverse region, they intersect with existing ethnic and community dynamics. Especially the cases in Sub-Saharan Africa have demonstrated this conflict. In Vilima Vitatu (Babati District/Tanzania) the ethnic identification was used to sideline pastoralists who are not viewed as being indigenous to the area of disputes (BAHA & CHACHAGE 2007: 8). The Barbaraig group were viewed as immigrants or intruders who only moved in the area recently in search of pastures for grazing and water, meanwhile the original inhabitants of the area were moved out of the area through a government operation. The authorities from the village level to district level shared the sentiment that the pastoralists' reluctance to leave the area was a barrier to village development, given the promises and the actual contribution the tourism operator has already provided to the village. The assertion of the pastoralists as alien easily made them subject to eviction from disputed land without fair compensation (ibid.).

Similar ethnic heterogeneity caused by migration has been observed in Kimana (Kenya). Nowadays Maasai and non-Maasai residents in Kimana are of almost equal proportions. The once 'pristine' savanna has been cultivated at wide scale and this reflects the population growth, shift of lifestyles, and economic diversity. Particularly scarce water resources are fought over between cultivators and pastoralists and also the tourism sector (SOUTHGATE 2008: 89). The clanism and kinship between Maasai people increases the contest for commercially valuable resources. Clan-related disputes escalated and relations deteriorated noticeably between, and within, clans. And this poses a considerable threat to cooperative resource management related to tourism and conservation.

Territorial divides between clan groups led to foundered discussions over the development of ecotourism initiatives (ibid: 90). Clanism is a complex phenomenon, and it appears to impede development on many levels. Even though the two examples are East African and Maasai-related, the issue of ethnic diversity and clanism has been observed throughout the cases. The caste and tribal system in India paved the way for adverse land deals as well as multiethnic population on Thailand's Andaman Coast and at the North Coast of Honduras.

### *Different Community Members have Different Interests / Divide and Rule Principle*

Even within single-ethnic communities, unity is hardly seen between the members. Naturally, community members do have different interests, depending on their occupation and position within the society. There is a great deal of variation in livelihood strategies

and relationships to the ancestral areas and there are divisions that reflect the diversity of attitudes and values. On this battle ground, tourism business steps in to find suitable and convenient ways of engagement. One opportune way is to win the support of some strong community members, which is considered a license to operate. The strategies to gain the support are diverse, but they are mostly found under the divide-and-rule technique[18] (PLEUMAROM 2013; PLÜSS 2013). It inevitably means some members of the community will benefit more than others, but in the end the tourism business will likely benefit most.

Among the incentives offered to community members are land titles and employment. In Zacate Grande (Honduras) official title deeds were granted to community members who were not part of the opposing movement and an association for young environmental reporters was formed by the investor; a strategy described as "malicious campaign" (PROAH 2012) to increase internal conflicts and break local resistance to land fights. The easiest way to divide communities was to provide employment and income to some people, who for the sake of their livelihood would defend the tourism operation.

At Nasugbu (Philippines) some of the local community members encountered difficulties with the security guards of the resort site, although they were neighbors or even relatives (APC 2012: 5). The complexity between employment and tourism projects also caused social problems and disorientation in the community of Panama (Sri Lanka): A few young people have been employed in construction projects. They feared the loss of their job if the project was stopped due to protests. Hence they wanted to divert the land issue; a situation that seriously affected the villagers' unity (APC 2013a: 5). Such political conditions clearly weaken the capacity of local residents to negotiate equitable and sustainable relationships in tourism developments. In the case of Thomson Safari in Loliondo (Tanzania) the tourism operator befriended some selected leaders from a regional minority clan who held the majority in the nearest village. One of the companies' CSR projects benefited the wives of these leaders and hence supported only one local group while the others continued to oppose the tourism operation (NORDLUND 2010).

Basically, many of the community leaders in this case research profited most from the tourism business and did not act on behalf of their community. It is said that corrupt local leaders at Loliondo (Tanzania) collaborated with governmental authorities to sign the hunting concession for the Ortello Business Corporation (NORDLUND 2010), either for their personal benefit or to support anti-pastoralist policies that would rather hurt people

---

[18] Divide and rule (lat. divide et impera!) is a political maxim to gain power through the division of the opponents. Increasing the dividedness of the antagonists makes it easier to rule over them (cf. Bertelsmann 1991 and Brockhaus 1988).

from other clans than their own. It seems that consultation by tourism operators is often limited to the level of traditional chiefs and local government officials, the majority of the local population remains without voice.

---

**Case Box: Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary (Inhambane/Mozambique)**

The São Sebastião peninsula is a protected area with a size of more than 25,000 ha. After a private company, Santuário Bravio de Vilanculos, obtained the rights to the area it will be maintained as a reserve with new game animals introduced, and restricted to high-end tourism with 54 private residential sites and 3 commercial lodges.

The project has been controversial since its initiation in 2001. The Environment Minister at that time had a concession to at least some of the land. When the Santuário Bravio de Vilanculos was established, the Minister owned 25 percent, and a South African company registered in Mauritius owned 75 percent. In the next step, a private tourism entrepreneur raised large-scale funds from an US Investment Corporation for his own company and a befriended investment company to develop the lodges in the Sanctuary. The ownership changed recently to a South African company, which manages the Sanctuary and several other South African enterprises are said to be involved.

In the process of the Sanctuary establishment up to 2,500 people had been moved from the reserve. The investor has made a number of promises, such as new houses, water wells, schools and other assistance. According to the chief of the local settlement Quewene, the investors' promises of 2001 have not been materialized, neither infrastructure nor financial compensation. It is said 120 families were still living in the Sanctuary and refuse to move. The Inhambane province governor visited the area and agreed the promises had not been met. In his view the disunity between local leaders caused this development. Some of the leaders allegedly arranged private deals with the investors and, in exchange for favors, advised them not to keep their promises.

Despite the progressive land law in Mozambique, the implementation of land rights is a slow and cumbersome process. The case of Vilanculos is an example how the government pushes an investment project to generate profit, instead of realizing the land law in favor of its citizens.

(all data compiled from MOUSSEAU & MITTAL 2011a)

---

Box 4: Case Box – Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary (Mozambique)

*Local Leadership often fails to act in the Favor of Communities*

When community is interpreted as leaders only, as it was done for instance at the Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary in Inhambane (Mozambique; ASHLEY & WOLMERS 2003: 24), there is an easy game for local leaders to outplay the populations interests for their own advantage. Anseeuw (et al. 2013: 13) stated traditional authorities appear to frequently fail to act in the community's interest. In Inhambane, the development promises have not been met by the tourism investor, because community leaders, in exchange for favors, advised them not to keep their promises (MOUSSEAU & MITTAL 2011a: 21). Similar processes were recorded for the Phiphidi Sacred Site (South Africa) and the aforementioned Tela Bay (Honduras). In both cases the Governments consulted

only the leading institutions who voted in favor of the tourism investment and there was no further participatory decision making process with the population (RAMUNANGI 2008: 13; BLUME 2012: 40). However, the reviewed case literature indicates that a strong and disciplined community with genuine leadership, which actually adheres to self-imposed restrictions, can avoid land deals and unfavorable investments (NAIR 2009: 13). The next section discusses the role of traditional and institutional land rights in tourism driven land grabbing and elaborates why local leadership and a lack of education have a great impact on the implementation of land rights.

### 4.3.2 Land Tenure and Different Models of Ownership

Land rights and land tenure systems are an important contextual factor with significant implications for the development of land deals (ANSEEUW et al 2013: 56). There are few attempts, e.g. the recently negotiated UN *Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure of Land, Fisheries and Forests,* to improve land rights especially for the underprivileged groups for whom land (resp. water) is an essential asset to secure livelihood. However, as described before in the literature review, many developing countries still have deficient land governance systems that do not provide secure land-related property rights. Mainly in Sub-Saharan Africa, dual land tenure systems rule and customary land rights co-exist with formal property rights. The customary rights in many places have been working efficiently for centuries, but they became problematic with the arrival of large-scale investment and conservation projects. In such contexts, and this tourism-specific research made it apparent, the lack of formal recognition of customary rights leads to conflicts where local populations lose access to land without adequate compensation. Three central aspects around the land tenure became evident in this research:

- **Intransparent Land Tenure Situation** and Lack of Title Deeds
- **Different Models of Ownership** of Land and Resources
- **Insufficient Education** and Knowledge of the Legal System

#### Intransparent Land Tenure and Lack of Title Deeds

Land acquisitions are a complex matter in most legislations and jurisdictions. Although land tenure systems are being improved constantly in many countries, in the majority of land grabbing cases they proved to be unclear, weak, subject to interpretation and at times, subject to corruptive strategies and arbitrary governmental actions. Progressive

laws in favor of indigenous and local communities can sometimes be overridden by other laws (BLOMLEY et al. 2012: 15) and usually different ministries are involved in land matters, making it an even more complex issue. As result, many African and Asian governments are not only the main legal landowners but also the legal controllers of traditionally owned communal land, and they have the power to sell or lease out lands on which their citizens live or which they use (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 52). At least 15 cases in all research regions were characterized by land conflicts and unclear land rights, mainly based on historic or ethnic differences and different understanding of common land use. A lot of residents lacked officially recognized title deeds to the land they used and lived on for generations (e.g. Thailand; WONGRUANG 2013: 14). In contrast, non-residents hold titles despite not living on the site (Kalpitiya/Sri Lanka; SAHDEVA 2012 and Zacate Grande/Honduras; STAHEL 2011b). Often, there were disputes about who inhabited the area first and hence had a genuine claim to ownership of the land (e.g. Chiapas/Mexico; TENUTO 2010 an Sihanoukville/Cambodia; LICADHO 2007). Many cases were fought out in a local court, and often those waiting for communal or individual land titles to be granted lost under equivocal circumstances (e.g. Zacate Grande/Honduras; PROAH 2012). Even when cases were won and government-issued land titles were granted after several years, other land claimants continued to appeal the court decision. At Boracay (Philippines) the disputed land was a seafront site and residing hotel owners and investors claimed they owned partial or full rights to the site (GO 2013).

In this context it is important to state that in many cases evident land rights were not converted to official land titles. For instance, in Tambaba (Brazil) the rural workers have been waiting for almost 20 years and still did not receive the collective land title that was accorded to them in all judicial instances. And at Boeung Kak (Cambodia) many households had strong evidence to prove their legal rights to the land, but the residents were excluded from the titling system when land registration was carried out in their neighborhood in 2006. It seems, there is a purpose of evasion, when settlers are ignored in land titling, both in implementation of lawful decisions and execution of existing laws.

All the cases stated above are related to local settlers and their permanent individual or community land. Yet, the enforcement of indigenous rights to land in protected areas or game reserves implies more complexity. Ethnic groups who pursue a land intensive way of life such as pastoralists and hunter-gatherers are in weak positions. The areas they (and their livestock and farming fields) inhabit are usually large and precious in terms of conservation. Their semi-nomadic status usually makes it difficult to establish their right to reside in the disputed area. Often they do not hold official documentations on their

residential status (Babati/Tanzania; BAHA & CHACHAGE 2007: 7), despite strong indications that they have rights over lands and resources under international and common law standards (Etosha NP; ANAYA 2013: 11). In some cases, such as in India, there would be no need for communal land rights, if existing policies in favor of indigenous groups (Forests Rights Act) were properly implemented (RAI 2011 and SESHADRI 2013). But the fundamental issue of indigenous land rights has yet to be resolved and requires special consideration of the different background concepts of the involved actors.

## *Different Models of Ownership of Land and Resources*

The very concept of private ownership of land or resources is alien to many indigenous peoples and cultures around the world (cf. JOHNSTON 2006: 29 and PLÜSS 2013). Very often the indigenous concepts contradict mainstream economic ideas about factors of production and economic efficiency in resource allocation and use. Borras (et al. 2011: 13) argues the mainstream philosophies are blind to social, cultural, and political dimensions of land. In the eyes of many indigenous and rural groups, their landscape is an integrated living and holistic entity, a collective asset of rural communities under local tenure systems.

These communally held lands, whether they are used for forest products, grazing, hunting or fishing, are often the crucial land and resource asset of rural communities and as such major contributors to livelihoods. Many rural communities deliberately sustain these large areas as collectively owned and used and keep them unavailable for permanent settlement or farming (ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 35). When their areas become attractive for other land use forms, indigenous groups meet legislations that were formerly unknown to them. Blomley (et al. 2012: 15) stated that legislation and the way in which laws are written divides landscapes. These laws are made to clarify and regulate land possession and are often adapted to market developments.

However, groups like the Sea Nomads in Thailand lack the understanding for possession of goods or land, because they consider it as common, and hence they find it difficult to fight for their right to land (WONGRUANG 2013: 14). Specifically legislation around protected areas restricts indigenous land use, often accompanied by discourses of environmental degradation caused by local farming and land use practices (FAIRHEAD et al. 2012: 249). This does not only pose questions on the ecological compatibility of western conservation with unique ecosystems and indigenous resource management practices (cf. Igoe 2003). Moreover, it seems that land ownership and profit systems

adopted from Western role models are incompatible with the common land use concept of many ethnic groups (cf. JOHNSTON 2006: 29).

*Insufficient Education and Knowledge of the Legal System*

This different concept of ownership by indigenous groups was commonly reflected in their limited knowledge of the official legal and judicial system. In the cases of this research, they often lacked the financial and technical ability to challenge infringements of their rights, or they simply misunderstood the technical implications of contracts, since in their own understanding agreements used to be made on verbal basis. Blomley (et al. 2012: 15) summarized the legal system was a barrier to local people and achieving justice. Two of the most striking examples will be presented in following, the one at Bwindi NP stands for the lack of capacity and the Loliondo case stands for intercultural misconception.

At Bwindi NP (Uganda) the Uganda Wildlife Authority had set up a tourism revenue sharing policy, which left only a comparably small amount in the community, but contained numerous rules concerning conservation objectives and resource access. The majority of community members was not aware of these rules, and was unable to request more discussions for its revision. Ahebwa (et al. 2011: 387) argues, the lack of knowledge on rules can be attributed to low levels of education in this region. Legal technicalities cannot easily be understood by the majority who has other priorities. Community elders said they could not understand and pay much attention on technical issues, but they rather want to see more of the projects funded (ibid). However, the funding of projects also required technical work and the majority of the beneficiary communities found it troublesome to fulfill the set conditions. Writing proposals, drafting constitutions, opening bank accounts, and other proceedings proved difficult for local people with a generally low level of education. In consequence, a few community elites who were aware of these rules were taking advantage of the majority. One community member was quoted, that accessing the funds was not easy, but young people who knew how to write proposals were given the money (ibid: 388).

A glaring instance of intercultural misinterpretation is the development in Loliondo (Tanzania) between the Maasai people, the tourism business (Ortello Business Cooperation - OBC) and the Tanzanian state. The Maasai leaders in Loliondo had some experience with short-term contracts between villages and ecotourism companies, with granted access to local resources for the tourism enterprises. From the Maasai point of view, the contracts depended on the legitimacy of their community ownership and rights.

They saw this as the preferred form of relationship with investors because they believed they could exploit the qualities of ecotourism for both private business profit and community gain. Tourism was seen as a supplemental activity, secondary in value and importance to the villagers' priority of pastoral production, whereas land and resources remained the property of the villages. This village based joint venture model grew in reputation and the Tanzanian state began to see them as threat. The government invented Wildlife Management Areas (WMA) and declared all existing contracts between villages and ecotourism companies illegal. Later, the Ministry of Tourism began to formally regulate all tourism activities on village lands and WMA by establishing a fee schedule for different activities. These regulations attempted to limit the authority of villages to negotiate directly with foreign investors and to reassert national control over wildlife and tourism outside the protected areas (GARDNER 2012: 391). Contrary to these regulations, the state encouraged OBC to renew the contracts with the villages, and the new contract contained much stronger language about grazing restrictions during the hunting season.

With this development, the village based tourism contracts became legally uncertain. Although the Maasai accepted the financial contribution of OBC, many viewed the contracts not as legally binding terms and conditions, but as informal arrangements that were open for negotiation. Therefore, the Maasai leaders did not anticipate the possibility of strict enforcement of the contract. But to their surprise the eviction of people and livestock from Maasai land was enforced by the state (ibid: 392). Although the state was giving confusing signals to the Maasai, their reaction appears naive to some extent, considering the money involved. They still trusted on their community ownership and rights and believed they were untouchable with private contracts.

The low level of education, the lack of knowledge on legal issues and shortsightedness on long-term impacts of decisions also contribute to the development of large-scale tourism sites. In India, tourism operators apply different tactics to purchase high-value land from local individuals. At Kerala, the locals were offered a big amount of money for their house and land. Over a period of several months, they were constantly persuaded to move to another area, considering the risk of another Tsunami. Those who resisted were convinced by high deposits or succumbed to increased pressure by middlemen. But moving to other areas was no beneficial deal, as elsewhere land prices increased considerably, too. The exhaustive application of this strategy led to a large-scale premise for tourism development (NAIR 2009: 12).

In the context of protected areas in India, the maneuver changed due to a different legal background. Most tribal communities in and around the protected areas know about the stipulation that tribal land cannot be sold to a non-tribal person. Therefore, the tourism operators get a tribal person to stand in for them. Mostly, the companies select a rather old man who is promised an amount of money every month or a piece of land somewhere else. Leasing agreements are signed or business partnerships started. The local partner then becomes a board member or a business associate who practically donates the land for the business. This basically makes it a tribal-to-tribal land deal. When the local board member passes away and there are no family members to take over, it becomes grey land. Often the district administrations do not investigate much and the tourism industry takes over (SESHADRI 2013). It seems tourism operators increasingly find ways to erode the existing laws, albeit the laws were seen progressive and protective. Moreover, the inexperience of local people is a great support for the tourism business. In this context, there is a necessity to examine the governance of governmental authorities and to question the due diligence and integrity of tourism operators. Both will be dealt with in the coming section.

### 4.3.3 Governance and Due Diligence

The appearance of tourism ventures who engage in land deals implies a range of decision-making processes within host countries (cf. ANSEEUW et al. 2012: 48). The investments have to be checked with existing policies on tourism development, with policies on the sustainable management of natural resources, and with policies on land use. Particularly when the state holds authority over the allocation of land, there is a risk of misuse. In this research, signs of weak democratic governance appeared frequently. There are power imbalances in the governing structure, where executing bodies do not have the necessary means to fulfill their tasks. And there are huge deficits of transparency and accountability that contribute to increasing social imbalances, where elites capture resources and already disadvantaged groups are deprived further. As elaborated in the previous section, the land governance fails to empower indigenous groups. But this research identified more factors that characterize the weak governance of a host nation, and the tourism operations are playing a significant role in the development of adverse land deals. In this section, following characteristics will be illustrated:

- **Blurred Boundaries** between **Public** and **Private Sector**
- **Weak Law Enforcement** by the Public Sector
- **Weak Consultation Process** by Public and Private Sector

*Blurred Boundaries between Public and Private Sector*

In tourism, the public sector is often more entwined with the industry than elsewhere in the global economy (JOHNSTON 2006: 12). This was proved throughout the cases and the regions. The distinction between public and private sectors was often unclear due to the level of state investment in tourism. Many of the tourism investors or land owners had strong linkages to the government or were government representatives. There are several records were public offices became a means to developing a private portfolio, or to gaining access to a share of the proceeds. Although this blur of public and private interest is a worldwide phenomenon, not limited to developing countries, it becomes severe when considering the extreme impacts on livelihoods in the researched regions. Several patterns of public-private blurring will be presented in this sub-section.

The first pattern is the direct or indirect share in the tourism venture. For instance, the Mozambican Minister for Environment had declared his interest publicly and received the official permission of the Minister's Council and State President to hold shares of the Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary at Inhambane District. He holds 5% in the holding company and 25% in the local holding company and implementing company (SPENCELEY 2003: 40; ASHLEY & WOLMER 2003: 23). The investment company that develops former Boeung Kak Lake in Phnom Penh (Cambodia) is said to be owned by ruling party Senator, a close associate of Prime Minister Hun Sen and major donor to the Cambodian People's Party (I.D.I. 2013). And the majority of tourism offspring at Ngwe Saung (Myanmar) is believed to be owned by cronies[19] of the military junta that ruled Burma since 1962 until elections in 2010. Close associates and family members of the former head of state are said to have stakes in hotels in Ngwe Saung as well as in the development of Inle Lake (THETT 2012a; TI 2013: 2).

However, personal interests do not have to be based on financial interest. Botswana's President is on the board of the Conservation International NGO to support his conservation strategy at the Western Kgalagadi Conservation Corridor (S.I. 2013b). Apart from direct shares, government officials can push their personal interests in tourism schemes through the diversion of constitutional decision paths. At Kalpitiya, the land leasing deal did not pass the Parliament as stipulated but was influenced by the brother of the acting President. The Parliament was informed afterwards on a superficial level (SAHDEVA 2012).

---

[19] A crony or oligarch in the Burmese context can be defined as a businessperson, who from modest beginnings acquired enormous wealth through their association with the Myanmar generals (THETT 2012b: 24).

In reverse, tourism investors use their good relation to government officials to enforce their goals. Police Officers at Boracay (Philippines) were quoted saying that the persons involved in the tourism land deals are huge businessmen who have a network all the way up to national government (HODAL 2013). And at Loliondo the Arab hunting company OBC allegedly used its connections to important government officials to enforce their exclusive rights (RENTON 2009).

## *Weak Law Enforcement by the Public Sector*

Besides the issue of land rights, which has been identified as weak factor in governance in the last section, the case-based research offered a number of breaches and deviances of the legislative and jurisdictive body, which are described in this section. It is mostly not a lack of appropriate policies, laws, and institutions that fosters land grabbing, but rather limited capacities and weak implementation within the concerned countries. The weak law enforcement on government and regional level is generally characterized by

- **Poor Implementation** of Legislation and/or Jurisdiction
- **Law Adjustments** that favor the Tourism Business and
- **Corruptive Practices** from Local to National Level

The poor implementation of constitutional policies was a dominant feature in all regions, but appeared blatantly in the cases of Cambodia and India. In Cambodia, the lease agreement at Boeung Kak violated provisions of the Land Law that stipulate that state-owned property with inherent public value - such as the lake - cannot be sold or subjected to long-term leases (I.D.I. 2013). And the tourism area of Sihanoukville was not designated to be developed by law. Many households of the communities were guaranteed the permanent right to stay under the 2001 Cambodian Land Law. Two decades ago the central government in Phnom Penh had designated the entire coast and its islands as State Public Land that could not be traded or developed (LEVY & SCOTT-CLARK 2008). There were several breaches recorded concerning the size of land deals, such as the land leased by the Chinese developer at Botum Sakor NP, which is of 36,000 hectare size, but the Cambodian land law restricts government land concessions to private companies to 10,000 ha (TITTIHARA 2012). However, prior to the deal an amendment reclassified the land as state private land and made it eligible to be granted as a long-term land concession (SUBEDI 2012).

Another significant example is the Forest Rights Act (FRA) of 2006 in India. The law has been violated in the vast majority of projects (KOTHARI 2011), as many forest-dwelling communities were not being allowed to claim their rights under the FRA, or if claims have been made, they were simply ignored. Albeit several state governments showed strong efforts of implementation in the beginning, it was pointed out that the most important provisions of community forest rights had hardly been processed. The Act was finally declared floundered (cf. KOTHARI 2011 and D'SOUZA & RAI 2011). A reverse development is documented for the Indian Coastal Regulation Zone of 1991. It used to provide special user rights to the fisher villages, but due to lobbying pressure from the tourism industry its effect has been weakened over the years. Several amendments were made, amongst others guidelines for the development of beach resorts and hotels (M.E.F. 2001). These changes practically turned the law worthless for the fishing communities. Currently, fishery unions are continuously fighting for the reimplementation of the law (NAIR 2009: 12).

The poor implementation of court orders is exemplified in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve at (Botswana). The habitants of the Reserve, San and Bakgalagadi, brought a legal suit against the Government of Botswana in 2004. The High Court ruled that their eviction from the Reserve was unconstitutional and granted the right of return to their original homes in the Reserve (S.I. 2010). But the Government has not made it easy for people seeking to enter the reserve. Access was granted only to those who were among the original applicants. The residents plead for seeking rights to manage the wildlife resources in their areas was ignored by the Government in spite of Botswana's national policies on community-based natural resource management (HITCHCOCK 2013).

Furthermore, large-scale projects, or projects in protected areas usually by law require preceding impact assessments on at least environmental consequences or a public tender. Most case studies focused on the social consequences, but five case studies reported deficient Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) and two reported that mandatory calls for tenders were missing. The case of the disregarded EIA at Tela Bay (Honduras) has been elaborated in section 4.2.1.2. Impact assessments were further deficient or missing at Phiphidi (South Africa; PHILLIMORE 2008), Boma NP (South Sudan; JOHNSON 2013) and Vilima Vitatu (Tanzania; BAHA & CHACHAGE 2007: 6). In contrast, completed and comprehensive impact assessments were reported for the large-scale projects in Chiapas (Mexico; BELLIGER et al. 2012: 11), Botum Sakor (Cambodia; SUBEDI 2012: 119) and Kalpitiya (Sri Lanka; KUMARA 2011: 5; WORLD BANK 2010: 19), with the latter also planning a Continuous Social Impact Assessment once a year.

However, there are question marks around these assessments, as they are not available for public review and some of the required content, such as community consultation, has not been conducted.

*Weak Consultation Process by Public and Private sector*

The tourism-induced land deals in this research were rarely based on a process of consultation and inclusion. The internationally recognized principle of Free, Prior and Informed Consent was applied in only very few projects. The majority of reports showed that consultations were done poorly, if conducted at all. This result confirms the observation made on land grabbing in general. Although it may seem problematic to achieve equitable broad based participation in the aforementioned heterogeneous and politically differentiated social settings, at least considerable efforts have to be made. But when tourism operators engaged in consultations with local communities, the process was usually insufficient or limited as some groups were excluded or only elders were asked. Out of the numerous cases, just two will be highlighted in this section.

In Mozambique, community consultation is a fundamental component of the application for the land title DUAT[20]. It is a progressive tool for dialogue between the potential investor, the community and other land holders in the area, and the government. One purpose of the DUAT is the reduction of future conflicts. But investors have considered it as a mere formality (GTZ/ACIS 2009: 20) and the consultants did not take communities seriously. A lot of impressive but vague promises were made to the communities, particularly about jobs (MOUSSEAU & MITTAL 2011a: 21). In the case of the Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary at Inhambane, the government welcomed the tourism company as investment for growth and development and had little interest for objections raised by the local community. Consultation took place, but the community still did not have rights to negotiate, because they lacked the technical resources to mobilize greater participation in official authorities. Ashley & Wolmer (2003: 25) stated that the tourism company's measures for "responsible investment" were far from ground-breaking as community funds were controlled by outsiders and not the community. There are many different interests driving such large-scale developments and attempts to strengthen community-private sector interaction are of minor interest in this context.

In Sri Lanka the situation was comparable. Several tourism zones have been identified with the Sustainable Coastal Tourism Project. The master plan for the large-scale project

---

[20] DUAT (Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento de Terra) is the right to use and enjoy land in Mozambique (GTZ/ACIS 2009: 6).

included several local tourism plans. A consultation with local communities was planned to ensure that possible negative aspects are identified and addressed. According to the World Bank (2010: 7), the selection of the areas to conduct tourism plans was supposed to be based on tourism potential, interest of investors and interest of local communities. The importance of local ownership and partnership was highlighted. The project design entailed awareness building among and a general agreement with local communities (WORLD BANK 2010: 8). But long before any of these efforts were started, reports were published about how abundant families have been excluded by fences without having been properly consulted about the tourism project (NOBLE 2011). Many missed the overall transparency in the implementation of development projects. Invitations for tender have been issued for land in Kalpitiya without prior permission by the local population (KUMARA 2012). Kumara summarizes that it is the combination of missing consultation, missing transparency, missing compensation and rehabilitation packages, and the lethargic judicial system that creates further misery to the poor population.

The weak consultation process by the public sector is a clear governance deficit, whereas the sometimes exclusive approach and the weak consultation process by the private sector could be interpreted as a lack of due diligence. Especially foreign actors are playing an increasingly important role in local development in developing countries, thus it is a challenge is to ensure investments made by foreign actors respect the rights of existing land users (ZOOMERS 2010: 443). And in this research it appeared that the legality of the process and an official land title are important to prospective tourism investors. The majority of land acquirers would not proceed unless they were assured that the lands they acquire were free from any private ownership claims that could stand up in court. But in a framework of weak governance, many companies do neither feel obliged to consult with residents in affected communities, nor do they feel pressure from government institutions to abide by good practice (MITTAL & MOUSSEAU 2011a: 3).

A popular example for the lack of due diligence by tourism operators is the case of Wilderness Safari in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (Botswana). Responding to accusations by international NGO Survival International, the company stated it never acted unlawfully and always abided to existing laws and rules of the Government of Botswana. Wilderness Safari has never been asked to consult the indigenous people of the area. The company further emphasized it was not a matter for the enterprise to intervene in existing disputes between indigenous people and the government (SAHDEVA 2010). This example illustrates a common trend for tourism operators, where environmental protection in form of wildlife conservation and resource management are

worked out, but community participation remains basic or insufficient. With regard to human rights, enterprises do not have the same legal duties like governments, but it is still their due diligence to respect the human rights framework. Ignoring this or even taking advantage of host countries with weak human rights standards makes them an accomplice of weak governance ("corporate complicity") in the eyes of the civil society (TOURISM WATCH 2011: 8). And considering the sustainable business approach of most of these ventures, the stronger focus on financial and environmental aspects cannot outweigh the violation of human rights in the social dimension (cf. MONSHAUSEN 2013).

These results propose that the contextual aspects for tourism-related land grabbing processes for tourism do not differ much from land grabbing on a general level. The main patterns of difficulties in governance and short-sighted business practices have repeatedly occurred in the tourism-specific cases. However, the focus on community diversity made clear that local leadership is not an insignificant factor in the adverse development. This insight did not come through in the general literature review.

Even though the impact analysis is limited to the local level, there are several hints that within the stakeholder triangle the public and the private sector experience rather positive impacts. They are the "winners" of the deals. The local population or at least great parts of it frequently appears to be the "loser" in land-use changes. As a summary of this analysis chapter, Figure 14 targets to summarize and simplify the win-win-lose process of tourism-induced land deals by portraying the drivers and motive of the presumed profiting stakeholders and the weak position of the affected groups.
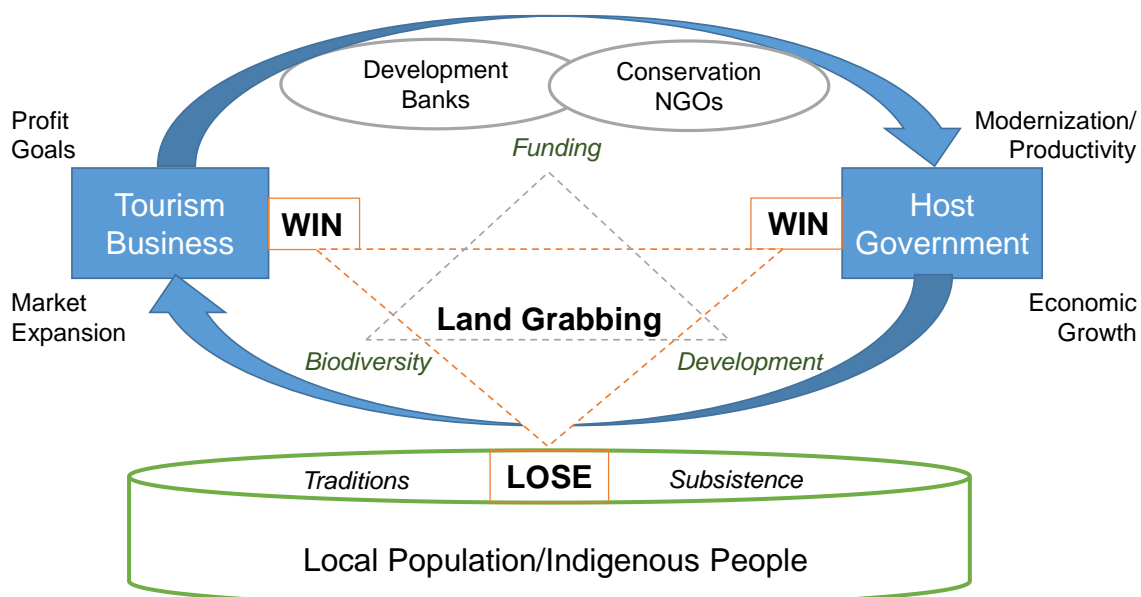


Figure 14: The Power Imbalances between the Main Stakeholders

## 4.4 Definition

The central goal of this research work is the development of a tourism-specific definition of land grabbing. The broad definition of Borras (et al. 2012: 851) was considered the best fitting template for a tourism-specific adoption. In his words, land grabbing generally captured control of resources for various industries as a response to global demands. The notation of "shifting resource use orientation into extractive character" could not be applied directly for the tourism industry, as it is a commonly non-producing sector with large dependence on other industries. As pointed out earlier, Borras definition misses to indicate impacts and shaping factors for land grabbing. This work attempts to generate a "complete" definition with aspects from all three assessment categories. For a recapture of the main findings, a short overview of the results is given below.

### 4.1 Analysis of Drivers

**4.1.1 Public Sector: Host Governments**

**4.1.1.1 Economic Growth in a Neoliberal Sense**
- Generation of **Foreign Exchange** and **Tax Income**
- **Stability** and **Better Reputation**
- **Prioritization of Tourism** through Incentives and National Policies

**4.1.1.2 Modernization and Land Productivity**
- **Development** of **Indigenous People** and Rural Population
- **Redistribution of** Unproductive **Land**
- **Valorization of** Mainly Natural **Resources**

**4.1.1.3 Biodiversity, Wildlife and Heritage Conservation**
- **Reduction of Pressure on** Natural and Cultural **Resources**
- **Prevention of Poaching**

**4.1.2 Private Sector: Tourism Operators**
- Wildlife and Biodiversity **Conservation**
- **CSR:** Provision of Social Amenities and Job Creation
- **Exclusive Rights** for Touristic Commercialization of Natural Resources
- Realization of **Tourism Trends** and Market Opportunities

**4.1.3 Local Communities**
- Employment and **Constant Income**
- **Development in Various Sectors:** Infrastructure, Health, Education
- Conditions: Acceptance of **Ancestral Ownership**

### 4.2 Impacts on Local Level

**4.2.1 Socioeconomic Impacts**

**4.2.1.1 Theoretical Advantages**
- **Capacity Building**
- Development of **Infrastructure** and Social Facilities
- Provision of **Employment**

**4.2.1.2 Displacements and Compensation**
- **Physical Displacement**
  - **Destruction** of Housings, Farms, Equipment or Business **Infrastructure**
  - **Physical Violence** and Arrests
  - **Inadequate** or no **Resettlements**
- **Economic Displacement**
  - Prohibited or **Restricted Access to Hunting, Gathering and Grazing Land**
  - Prohibited or **Restricted Access to Water Resources or Fishing Grounds**
- **Compensation**

**4.2.2 Impacts on Heritage and Religion**
- Restoration or **Conservation of Heritage Sites**
- **Restricted Access** to Spiritual Sites
- **Increased Vulnerability** due to fading Traditional Way of Life

**4.2.3 Environmental Impacts**
- **Conservation** or Restoration of **Biodiversity or Wildlife**
- **Environmental Damage** to Ecosystems caused **by Construction Works**
- **Waste Accumulation** produced by Tourism

**4.3 Shaping Factors**

**4.3.1 Diversity of Communities**
- **Ethnic Diversity:** Affected Areas are populated **by Different Ethnic Groups**
- Different Community Members have **Different Interests**
- The **Divide and Rule P**rinciple increases existing Imbalances
- **Local Leadership often fails** to act in the Favor of Communities

**4.3.2 Land Tenure and Different Models of Ownership**
- **Intransparent Land Tenure Situation** and Lack of Title Deeds
- **Different Models of Ownership** of Land and Resources
- **Insufficient Education** and Knowledge of the Legal System

**4.3.3 Governance and Due Diligence**
- **Blurred Boundaries** between **Public** and **Private Sector**
- **Weak Law Enforcement** by the Public Sector
  - **Poor Implementation** of Legislation and/or Jurisdiction
  - **Law Adjustments** that favor the Tourism Business
  - **Corruptive Practices** from Local to National Level
- **Weak Consultation Process** by Public and Private Sector

Considering the overall quantity of results, it seems impossible to comprise all identified aspects and dimensions. Although all results are important factors for the puzzle of land grabbing in tourism, only few can be selected for the definition. Hence, two crucial factors from each assessment category were extracted to fill in the gaps of Borras definition. The selection of these factors was based on: firstly, the illustration of the three main stakeholder groups, and secondly, a firm notation on the broad impacts on local level.

Out of the identified drivers and motives, the economic growth and the realization of international tourism trends were selected to represent public and private sector, whereby economic growth has been translated into "neoliberal" to express the methods and policies of growth preferred by governments. The striking results from the impacts section were the physical and economic displacement of the affected local people or groups. Considering the severity of these impacts and their knock-on effects, the cultural and environmental impacts are neglected in the definition. From the last result section the shaping factors caused by all three stakeholder groups were taken: governance, especially in the land rights issue, due diligence and local leadership. Weak local leadership is emphasized here to indicate the possible splits in affected communities.

In result, these fragments helped to configure the definition as follows:

> **Land Grabbing for tourism is a process of control capture of significant land and water resources through neoliberal mechanisms that involve medium or large-scale capital as a response to international tourism trends. Shaped by weak institutional land governance, operational lack of due diligence, and weak local leadership it increases existing power imbalances in land and resource use. In result, a win-win-lose situation is created with a substantial number of local settlers and/or indigenous peoples being physically or**

The first part of the definition mostly uses the terms of Borras definition to highlight the process itself and the driving elements. In the second part the shaping factors on all assessed levels, public sector, private sector and local leadership are emphasized. The last part describes the impact on the local population, reiterating the assumption that the other stakeholders profit from the development.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND OUTLOOK

It became clear that tourism plays a central role in the current land grabbing debate. The demarcation, enforcement and maintenance of areas designated for tourism purpose, whether for conservation, beach tourism or at heritage sites, is a political act to foster economic growth. In turn, it often ends up in the exclusion of local communities from landscapes used by the tourism industry. Restricted access eventually has the same effect as that of physical relocation and negatively impacts their livelihoods. It is a paradox that tourism captures new markets and new areas for tourists to visit while it simultaneously excludes residing communities. The storyline in many reports on tourism-related displacements is fundamentally critical because it focuses on the flipside of what is mostly seen as a noble action, i.e. the preservation of nature in general and wildlife specifically. The generally positive image of tourism, and particularly ecotourism, as a development strategy is contested seriously with the increasing dissemination of negative messages about ecotourism, conservation and any other exclusive form of tourism.

All assessed cases in this research are considered land grabbing on some level according to the evolved definition. Economic growth and neoliberal strategies to land allocation were the main drivers for governments. The tools to economic development were the conservation of biodiversity or heritage and the broad valorization naturally valuable assets. The motives of tourism operators were (with the exception of trophy hunting) the non-extractive exploitation of wildlife and landscapes for the materialization of tourism trends. On the impact level, physical and/or economic displacements followed by whole series of marginalization and impoverishments were documented for the entirety of case examples, albeit the appearance of tourism also caused significant impacts on heritage and environment. Regarding the shaping factors, the cases often offered a confusing picture regarding land rights constitutions and enforcement, non-participatory business approaches, and the role of local leaders.

A general observation is the lack of available and quantifiable data on the impacts of tourism-induced land grabbing. Only few studies offer good quality information on the social impacts of removal. There might be a lack of research, but apparently many land deals and private sector development schemes are intentionally non-transparent and badly recorded. It takes a lot of good will by local and international media, NGOs and research institutes to gather valuable on-site information on displacements. Regarding the environmental impacts, no noteworthy studies were identified. But especially the results of

conservation are a vital point, for numerous evictions being carried out in name of biodiversity or wildlife. Considering the financial impacts for the governments and the tourism operations, investment success is broadly assumed, but little is confirmed. The development of a sustainability model on land grabbing with impact assessments on social, ecologic and economic level could deliver a scientifically attestable data on case basis. Such model might ease off the perceived barrier to handle this complex and multi-dimensional issue. In this context, research could be expanded to the indirect impacts of tourism in the land grabbing debate. Tourism as a multisectoral industry takes hold of various industries' resources, such as large-scale agriculture and little is known how much tourism is involved indirectly in the land grabs for other industries.

In this way, land grabbing in tourism does not differ significantly from other types of land grabbing. Its character might be non-extractive compared to agriculture or mining, but it is still a land-intensive exporter of intangible assets for the consumption of mostly foreign demand. Land grabbing is deeply rooted in governance failure to handle land rights for the wellbeing of its citizens. Land governance is supposed to strike a balance between protecting rights and economic progress by productive use of land. The future challenge is to figure out how land governance can contribute to improving the capacity of deprived people to control access to land and resources. Among the wide range of land-intensive industry sectors, tourism is only one driver that increases the pressure on land and resources. When reconciling sustainable development options, tourism theoretically offers numerous tools to maximize opportunities for inclusive and participatory development. However, the neoliberal policies applied in tourism development, especially the principle of private and exclusive property rights, have to be critically questioned regarding their compatibility with the long-term goals of sustainable development in general and with traditional land use models in particular.

The government level faces the fundamental dilemma between creating an investor-friendly environment and protecting those investors, and securing essential rights of their local populations. It is debatable whether voluntary guidelines or codes of conduct will help to change the underlying contextual factors of land grabbing. Global standards of good practice can only be a part of the solution. Especially when land deals are transacted on a private basis and the local population is largely unaware of long-term impacts, many governments of developing countries lack the necessary tools to control the externally determined development of land use changes.

Instead, the initiative to avoid land grabbing should come directly from the tourism industry. Large tour operators and hotel chains who operate in affected areas should be proactive, especially where such land deals threatens their reputation. Tour operators and hotel chains have the option to introduce social impact assessments before implementing projects, or upgrading their existing models to holistic sustainability assessments with a human rights perspective. For tourism NGOs that report on the impacts of adverse land deals, opportunity lies in working with the private sector. Certification schemes partially contain land grabbing-related assessment points, but could be enhanced by recognized models such as the IRR framework and by the findings of this work. Finally, much more awareness has to be created among the travelers who in the end take the decision where to travel and which enterprise they support. There is an opportunity for tourism-related media channels to join the ongoing debate on land grabbing for agricultural imports and reach the broad level of travelers.

**ANNEX: Case Study Data**

Geographical Distribution of Cases

Case Study Variables

Case Study Literature

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CASES

Africa
Asia
Latin America
Middle East
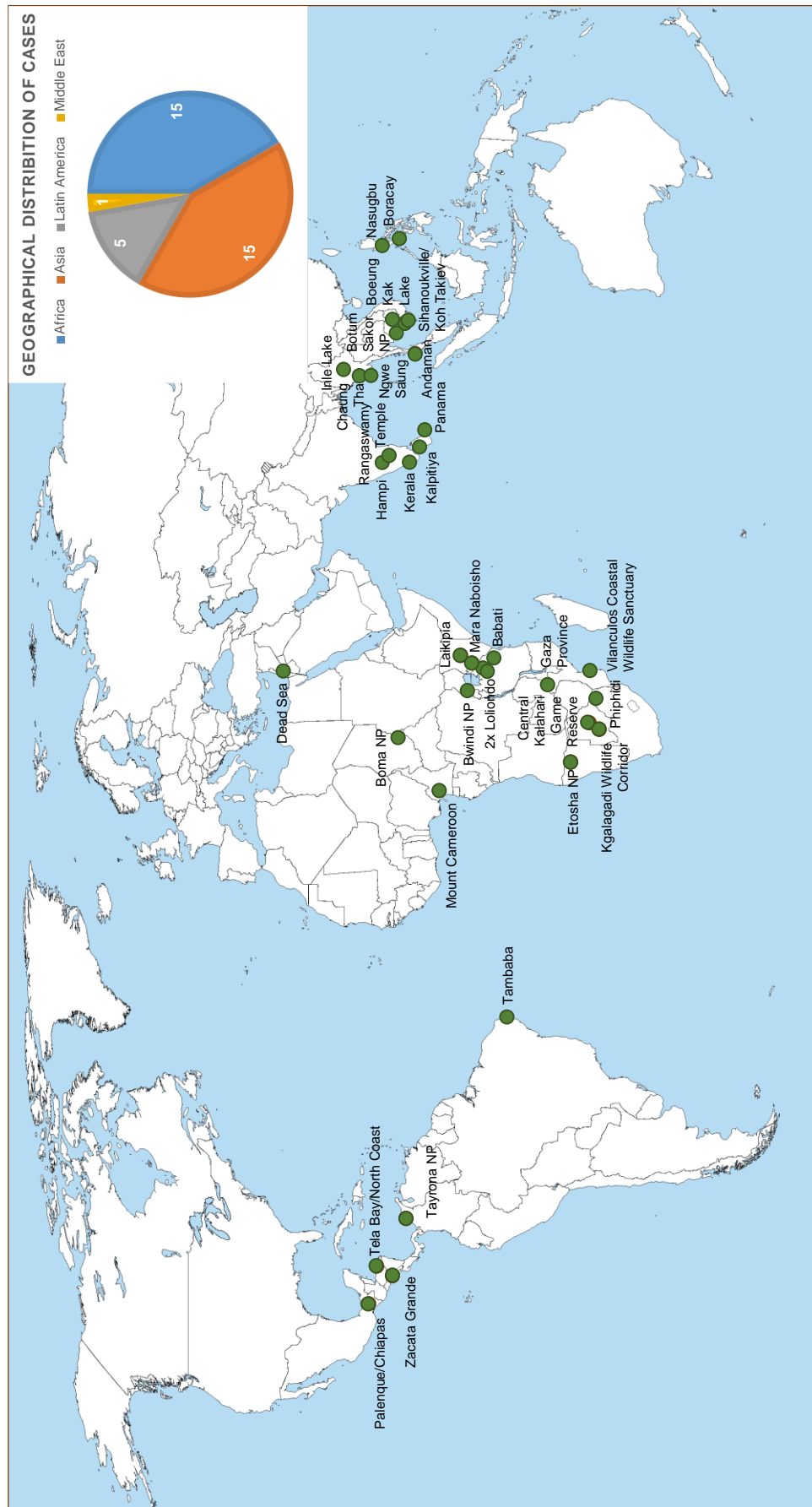
Geographical Distribution of Cases

| Country | Case Location | Type of Land Grab | Number of people affected | Area size | Year | Public/ private | Investor country | Investor name/ Tourism operator | Indigenous / Ethnic Group |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Botswana | Central Kalahari Game Reserve | Game Reserve | 1000 | | 2010 | private | United Kingdom | Wilderness Safari | San; |
| Botswana | Western Kgalagadi Conservation | Wildlife Corridor | | | 2013 | public | | | San |
| Brazil | Tambaba | Coast | 46 families | 100 ha | 2003 | private | | | |
| Cambodia | Boeung Kak Lake | Urban | 20000 | 133 ha | 2010 | public | Cambodia; China | Shukaku Inc./Erdos Hongjun | |
| Cambodia | Botum Sakor NP | Coast/Protected Area | 1100 families | 36,000 ha | 2008 | private | | Union Development Group Co. Ltd | |
| Cambodia | Koh Ta Kiev | Coast | | 255 ha | 2007 | private | | Citystar | |
| Cambodia | Sihanoukville | Coast | 100-105 | | 2007 | private | | | |
| Cameroon | Mt Cameroon NP | Protected | | 58,178 ha | 2009 | public | | | Bakweri |
| Colombia | Tayrona NP | Protected | | | 2005 | public | | Los Ciruelos | |
| Honduras | North Coast and Bay Islands | Coast/Protected Area | | | 2007 | public/ | Honduras; | Tourism development Bahia de Tela | Garifuna |
| Honduras | Zacata Grande | Coast | 800 families | | 2005 | public | Honduras | Miguel Facussé Barjum | |
| India | Hampi Bazaar | Heritage | 200 families | | 2011 | public | | | |
| India | Kerala District (Coast) | Coast | | | 2009 | private | | | |
| India | Rangaswamy Temple | Wildlife Corridor | | | 1980 | public | | | Soliga |
| Jordan | Dead Sea | Coast | | | 1960 | private | | | |
| Kenya | Kimana | Game Reserve | | 25,120 ha | 1972 | private | | African Safari Club | Maasai |
| Kenya | Laikipia District | Protected Area | 300-3000 | 1,200-17,000 ac | 2011 | private | USA | African Wildlife Foundation | Samburu |
| Kenya | Mara Naboisho Conservancy | Game | | 20,000-50,000 ha | 2010 | private | Norway | Basecamp Explorer | Maasai |
| Mexico | Chiapas | Ecotourism/Heritage | | 21,000 ha | 2010 | public | Mexico | FONATUR, Funding: World Bank, IADB, | Caracols |
| Mozambiqu | Gaza Province | Hunting | | | 2007 | private | | Muthemba Safaris Lda; Gaza Safaris | |
| Mozambiqu | Vilanculos/Inhambane Province | Game Reserve | 1000-2500 | 30000 ha | 2000 | private | South Africa/USA | Santuario Bravio de Vilanculos | |
| Myanmar | Chaung Tha | Coast | 100 | 615 ha | 1989 | private | | | |
| Myanmar | Inle Lake | Urban | | | 2013 | private | | | |
| Myanmar | Ngwe Saung | Coast | 250-10000 | 101 ha | 2000 | private | | Union of Myanmar Economics Holding | |
| Namibia | EtoshaNP | Protected Area | | | 2013 | public | | | Hai//om |
| Philippines | Boracay | Coast | 200 families | | 2013 | private | | | Atis |
| Philippines | Nasugbu | Coast | 63000 | 8650 ha | 2007 | private | | | |
| South | Phiphidi Sacred Site/Limpopo | Heritage | | | 2010 | private | | | Ramunangi/Ven |
| South | Boma NP | Protected Area/Hunting | 100 | 16,800 km² -22,800 | 2008 | public | United Arab | Al Ain National Wildlife | Maruwa |
| Sri Lanka | Kalpitiya | Coast | 10000 people | 16,72 km² - 20 km² | 2010 | public | | Dutch Bay Resorts; Six Senses | |
| Sri Lanka | Panama | Coast | 150-1550 | | 2010 | public | | | |
| Tanzania | Babati District | Game Reserve | 500 | 4,000-20,000 ha | 2007 | private | Switzerland; | Un Lodge en Afrique | Barbaig |
| Tanzania | Loliondo_Ortello | Hunting | max 30000 | 1,500 km² | 1993 | private | United Arab | Otterlo Business Corporation Ltd | Maasai |
| Tanzania | Loliondo_Thomson | Game Reserve | | 12,617 ac | 2006 | private | USA | Thomson Safaris | Maasai |
| Thailand | Andaman Coast | Coast | max 17400 | | 1990 | private | | | Sea Nomads |
| Uganda | Bwindi NP | Protected Area | | | 1991 | public | | | Batwa |

Case Study Variables

| Location | Source | Type of Report |
|---|---|---|
| Botswana: Central Kalahari Game Reserve | SAHDEVA, N. (2010): Wilderness Safari macht sich auf dem Land der Buschleute breit, schert sich aber nicht um die Menschenrechtsverletzungen gegen sie. Published by fairunterwegs on Dec 02, 2010 | NGO Report |
| | S.I. (2010): Ehemalige UN-Beraterin für Wasserangelegenheiten verurteilt Botswanas Umgang mit Buschleuten. Published by Survival International on Aug 05, 2010 | NGO Report |
| | HITCHCOCK, R. (2013): Conservation, Culture, and Land Use Conflicts in the Central Kalahari, Botswana. Published by Just Conservation on Jun 20, 2013 | Research Paper |
| | INDIGENOUS PEOPLES ISSUES (I.P.I. 2010): Botswana: Botswana President in Racist Outburst Against Kalahari Bushmen. Published by Indigenous Peoples Issues on Dec 13, 2010 | NGO Report |
| | DOMETROVICH, K. (2010): Water rights in Botswana a disputed issue. Published by The Guilfordian on Nov 18, 2010 | Media Report |
| | WILDERNESS SAFARI (2013): The 4 Cs - Conservation, Community, Culture and Commerce | Company Source |
| Botswana: Western Kgalagadi Conservation | S.I. (2013b): Vertreibungen: Gericht gewährt Buschleuten Atempause. Published by Survival International on June 18, 2013 | NGO Report |
| | SMUTS, R. (n.d.): Conservation corridors in south-western Botswana. Published by Conservation International | NGO Report |
| | HIGH COURT OF BOTSWANA (2013): Order MAHGB-000295-13. Signed on June 18, 2013 in Lobatse | Government Source |
| Brazil: Tambaba | NANDA (2010): The community of Tambaba. Published on Mai 31, 2013 | Private Blog |
| | BRAZIL OVERSEAS PROPERTY (2013): Tambaba Land Sale in Brazil - 30 Acres with Ocean Views | Company Source |
| | LEVY, A. & SCOTT-CLARK, C. (2008): Country for sale. Published by The Guardian on Apr 26, 2008 | Media Report |
| Cambodia: Sihanoukville | LICADHO (n.d.): Illegal forced eviction of 105 families in Sihanoukville | NGO Report |
| | LICADHO (2007): Sihanoukville Land Eviction: 13 arrested should be released and a social land concession given to poor families. Published on Apr 27, 2007 | NGO Report |
| Cambodia: Koh Ta Kiev | LEVY, A. & SCOTT-CLARK, C. (2008): Country for sale. Published by The Guardian on Apr 26, 2008 | Media Report |
| | CITYSTAR (2013): Koh Takiev Island | Company Source |
| Cambodia: Botum Sakor National Park | OPEN DEVELOPMENT CAMBODIA (2013b): Concession Profile - Union Development Group Co.,Ltd. Published by Open Development Cambodia | NGO Report |
| | SUBEDI, S. P. (2012): Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Cambodia: Published by Human Rights Council on Sept 24, 2012 | Policy Report |
| | REAKSMEY, H.; MARKS, S. (2011): Villagers Struggle in Face of Chinese Tourism Project. Published by The Cambodia Daily on July 26, 2011 | Media Report |
| | TITTIHARA, M. (2012) Villagers take case to capital. Published by The Phnom Penh Post on Feb 29, 2012 | Media Report |
| | LICADHO (2009): Land Grabbing and Poverty in Cambodia: the Myth of Development. May 2009 | NGO Report |
| | ROU, L. (2011): The Chinese shadow over Boeung Kak lake. Published by China News Center on Nov 16, 2011 | Media Report |
| Cambodia: Boeung Kak Lake | I.D.I. (2013): Cambodia: Boeung Kak Lake Evictions. Published by Inclusive Development International | NGO Report |
| | LICADHO (2013): The Boeung Kak concession should be a solution for all remaining residents. Published by LICADHO on May 2, 2013 | NGO Report |
| Cameroon: Mt Cambodian National Park | TSAFACK, J. C. (2011): Ausbeutung im Namen des Ökotourismus. In: Tourismus. Begegnungen der anderen Art, INKOTA-Dossier 9, June 2011, INKOTA-netzwerk, 18-19 | NGO Report |
| | TSAFACK, J. C. (2010): An den Hängen des Mongo ma Loba - Ökotourismus am Kamerunberg. Published by TourismWatch on Sept, 2010 | NGO Report |
| | TSAFACK, J. C. (2013): Expert Interview on Jul 24, 2013 | Expert Interview |
| | LUDERMANN, B. (2010): Zugriff auf den Rest der Wildnis. In: welt-sichten 10/2010, 23-27 | NGO Report |
| | LAIRD, S.A., AWUNG, G.L., LYSINGE, R.J.; NDIVE, L.E. (2011): The interweave of people and place: biocultural diversity in migrant and indigenous livelihoods around Mount Cameroon. In: International Forestry Review Vol.13 (3), 2011 | Research Paper |

Case Study Literature

| Location | Source | Type of Report |
|---|---|---|
| Colombia: Tayrona NP | OJEDA, D. (2011): Whose Paradise? Conservation, tourism and land grabbing in Tayrona Natural Park, Colombia. Published at International Conference on Global Land Grabbing on Apr 6-8, 2011 | Research Paper |
| | O'GORMAN, J. (2013a): Indigenous must help in Tayrona decision: National parks. Published on Colombia Reports on Feb 13, 2013 | Media Report |
| | O'GORMAN, J. (2013b): Tayrona eco-tourism stopped again. Published on Colombia Reports on Feb 13, 2013 | Media Report |
| | EDMOND, R. (2013): We 'will not allow environmental licensing' in national park: Santos. Published on Colombia Reports on Jan 14, 2013 | Media Report |
| | BLUME, J. (2012): Zaungäste am Luxusresort. In: welt-Sichten, 10/2012, 40-41 | NGO Report |
| Honduras: North Coast and Bay Islands | TRUCCHI, G. (2011): Resistance in Tela Bay, Honduras. "Los Micos Beach and Golf Resort" – a Polemic Project. Published by TourismWatch on Mar, 2011 | NGO Report |
| | Organización Fraternal Negra Hondureña (2010): Honduras: Why Do Garifuna Community Radios Burn? Published by Upside Down World on Jan 13, 2010 | Media Report |
| | SPRING, K. (2011): Tourism & Ethnocide In Honduras. Published by Resistencia Honduras on Jul 17, 2011 | NGO Report |
| | WORLD BANK (2006): Implementation Completion Report (IDA-35580) on a Credit in the Amount of SDR 4.0m (US$5.0m equivalent) to the Republic of Honduras for a Sustainable Coastal Tourism Project. Published on June 20, 2006 | Policy Report |
| | STAHEL, S. (2011a): Landkampf in Honduras. Published by HEKS on Aug 3, 2011 | NGO Report |
| Honduras: Zacate Grande | STAHEL, S. (2011b): Honduras: Widerstand auf Zacate Grande gegen den Bau eines Luxushotels. Published by fairunterwegs on Nov 23, 2011 | NGO Report |
| | PROAH (2012): Residents of Zacate Grande reject declarations by the Dinant Corporation in La Tribuna newspaper. Published by Honduras Accompaniment Project on Jan 23, 2012 | Community Statement |
| India: Hampi (Karnataka) | EQUATIONS (2011): Subject: We condemn the inhuman and illegal eviction and demolition at Hampi Bazaar. Published by Equations on Aug 17, 2011 | NGO Report |
| | STUPPÄCK, S. (2012): Kulturerbe ohne Menschen? Leben in den Ruinen von Hampi. Published by TourismWatch on Mar, 2012. | NGO Report |
| | HAMPI WORLD HERITAGE AREA MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY (2006): Master Plan for Hampi Local Planning Area. (Provisional) REPORT-2006. Published by the Government of Karnataka. | Government Source |
| | SESHADRI, S. (2013): Expert Interview on Aug 14, 2013 | Expert Interview |
| India: Rangaswamy Temple | S.I. (2011): Indien: Indigenes Volk sichert erstmals Landrechte in Tigerreservat. Published by Survival International on Nov 02, 2011 | NGO Report |
| | S.I. (2013): Erfolg: Rechte der Soliga an ihrem Wald vor Gericht bestätigt. Published by Survival International on Jun 19, 2013 | NGO Report |
| | POPPE, L. (2011): Indische Regierung stoppt Ausweisung indigener Völker aus Nationalparks. Published by fairunterwegs on Jun 3, 2011 | NGO Report |
| | D'SOUZA, O. R.; RAI, N. D. (2011): Protected Areas and the Impact of Restricted Access on Local Livelihoods: The Case of Biligiri Rangaswamy Temple Wildlife Sanctuary, India. Published on Social Science Research Network on Mar 23, 2011 | Research Paper |
| | EKTA PARISHAD (2011): New Forms of Tourism Forgetting the Tribals. In: EKTA PARISHAD NEWS, February-March 2011 | NGO Report |
| | KOTHARI, A (2011): 2012: A year for transformation? Published by Info Change India | Research Paper |
| India: Kerala State | SASI, K. P. (2011): Ausverkauf in „Gottes eigenem Land". In: Tourismus. Begegnungen der anderen Art, INKOTA-Dossier 9, June 2011, INKOTA-netzwerk, 12-13 | NGO Report |
| | NAIR, P. (2009): Landnutzungskonflikte an der Küste. Zwei Beispiele aus Südindien. Published on Tourismwatch in Mar 2009 | NGO Report |
| | Meunier, V. (2012): Konkurrierende Wege zum Paradies. Tourismus und das Recht auf freie Religionsausübung. Published by Tourism Watch | NGO Report |

| Location | Source | Type of Report |
|---|---|---|
| | ZIMMERMANN, E. (2010): Slow Death. Published by Development and Cooperation on Jun 28, 2010 | NGO Report |
| Jordan: Dead Sea | BLAIR, D. (2003): The Dead Sea is dying as its dark salty waters retreat. Published by The Telegraph on Oct 04, 2003 | Media Report |
| | HAMMER, J. (2005): The Dying of the Dead Sea. Published by Smithsonian Magazine on Oct, 2005 | Media Report |
| Kenya: Kimana | SOUTHGATE, C. R. J. (2006): Ecotourism in Kenya: The Vulnerability of Communities. In: Journal of Ecotourism, 5:1-2, 80-96 | Research Paper |
| | TRAVEL AFRICA MAGAZINE (TAM 2013): Kenya: Kimana Community Wildlife. | Company Source |
| Kenya: Laikipia | SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL (S.I. 2012): Kenia: Nach Ausweisung folgt Gewalt an indigenem Volk. Published by fairunterwegs on Jan 03, 2012 | NGO Report |
| | CULTURAL SURVIVAL (C.S. 2010): Samburu Evicted for "Conservation" in Kenya. Published by Cultural Survival on Dec 15, 2010 | NGO Report |
| | SCHELLONG, P. (2012): Rinder vs Goldesel. In: Tourism Watch, No. 66, 11-13 | NGO Report |
| | WAWERU, K. (2013): Kenya: 400 Families Ordered to Vacate Laikipia Land. Published by allAfrica on Apr 15, 2013 | Media Report |
| Kenya: Mara Naboisho | INDIGENOUS PEOPLES ISSUES (I.P.I. 2011): Kenya: New Mara Naboisho Conservancy Created To Generate Tourism Dollars For Kenya's Maasai Landowners. Published by Indigenous Peoples Issues on Feb 06, 2011. | NGO Report |
| | BEDELIAN, C. (2012): Conservation and ecotourism on privatised land in the Mara, Kenya: The case of conservancy land leases. Published by The Land Deal Politics Initiative on Oct, 2012 | Research Paper |
| | BASECAMP EXPLORER (2013): Mara Naboisho Conservancy, Kenya | Company Source |
| Mexico: Palenque-Agua Azul (Chiapas) | BELLIGER, E., HOSTETTLER, D., HEUBERGER, K. & SUHNER, S. (2012): Menschenrechtsverletzungen durch Megaprojekte in Südmexiko. Published by PROPAZ Chiapas – Schweiz | Media Report |
| | HEFTI, J. (2012): Ein Touristisches Megaprojekt im südlichen Mexiko verletzt die Rechte der Bevölkerung. Published by fairunterwegs on Aug 07, 2012 | Media Report |
| | NOSER, A. (2011): "Ökotourismus" auf Kosten der Indigenen: Der Kampf um die Wasserfälle von Agua Azul in Chiapas. Published by fairunterwegs on Feb 25, 2011 | Media Report |
| | BELLINGHAUSEN, H. (2010): Chiapas/Mexiko: Für den Ökotourismus werden Dorfbewohner vertrieben. Published by fairunterwegs on Apr 07, 2011 | Media Report |
| | TENUTO, A. (2010): Chiapas: The Reconquest of Recuperated Land. Published by Upside Down World on Apr 28, 2010 | Media Report |
| | MOUSSEAU, F.; MITTAL, A. (2011): UNDERSTANDING LAND INVESTMENT DEALS IN AFRICA - COUNTRY REPORT: MOZAMBIQUE. Published by The Oakland Institute | Research Paper |
| Mozambique: Vilanculos (Inhambane) | ASHLEY, C.; WOLMER, W. (2003): Transforming or Tinkering? New Forms of Engagement between Communities and the Private Sector in Tourism and Forestry in Southern Africa. Research Paper 18 by Sustainable livelihoods in Southern Africa. March 2003 | Research Paper |
| | SPENCELEY, A (2003): Tourism, Local Livelihoods, and the Private Sector in South Africa: Case Studies on the Growing Role of the Private Sector in Natural Resources Management. Research Paper 8 by Sustainable livelihoods in Southern Africa. March 2003 | Research Paper |
| | Santuario Bravío de Vilanculos (2012) | Company Source |
| | Pambele & VHS Holdings Ltd (2012): A unique privately-owned beach property on the remote San Sebastian Peninsula in Mozambique | Company Source |
| Mozambique: Gaza Province | N.N. (2011): UNDERSTANDING LAND INVESTMENT DEALS IN AFRICA - COUNTRY REPORT: MOZAMBIQUE. Published by The Oakland Institute | Research Paper |
| | WAGNER SAFARIS (2013): Mozambique / South Africa | Company Source |

| Location | Source | Type of Report |
|---|---|---|
| Myanmar: Inle Lake | NANG, M. N. (2013): Farmers in hiding near Inle Lake as officials crack down on 'plough protests'. Published by Democratic Voice of Burma on Jun 12, 2013 | Media Report |
| | MANN, Z (2013): BURMA - Severe Drought Hits Burma's Famed Inle Lake. Published by Irrawaddy on Apr 22, 2013 | Media Report |
| | CHAN, T. Z N. (2013): Farmers Call on President to Resolve Land Dispute. Published by Irrawaddy on Mar 15, 2013 | Media Report |
| | TI (2013): Burma: Land Grab for Luxury Hotel Complex BURMA. In: south east asia tourism monitor, Vol. 4, No.2, March - April 2013, 2 | NGO Report |
| Myanmar: Ngwe Saung | MESNARD, A. (2013): Weekly EcoBurma Roundup #33. Published by Eco Burma on Mar 26, 2013 | Media Report |
| | TUN, H. (2006): Tourism promotion impact in Ngwe Saung, Irrawaddy Burma (extracts). In: Displacement and causes of displacement in Irrawaddy Division June 2006, 3-6 | Research Paper |
| | THETT, K. K. (2012a): Der Run auf Myanmar. In: Tourism Watch No. 69, Dec 2012, 11-13 | NGO Report |
| | THETT, K. K. (2012b): Responsible Tourism in Myanmar: Current Situation and Challenges. Published by Burma Center Prague | Research Paper |
| Myanmar: Chaung Tha | MANN, Z (2012): Protests Continue for Confiscated Farms and Land. Published by Irrawaddy on Nov 02, 2012 | Media Report |
| | FOWLE, A. (2013): Burmese Going Homeless for SEA Games Preparation. Published on May 21, 2013 | Media Report |
| | THETT, K. K. (2012): Responsible Tourism in Myanmar: Current Situation and Challenges. Published by Burma Center Prague | Research Paper |
| Namibia: Etosha National | ANAYA, J. (2013): The situation of indigenous peoples in Namibia. Published by Human Rights Council on Apr 25, 2013 | Research Paper |
| | GARGALLO, E. (2010): Land, Restitution and Traditional Authorities in Namibia's Agrarian Reform. Lisboa | Research Paper |
| Philippines: Boracay | HODAL, K. (2013): Boracay islanders fear for their lives in battle with Philippine tourist trade. Published by The Guardian on Jun 02, 2013 | Media Report |
| | AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE (A.F.P. 2008): Gov't rejects claim of Boracay land grab. Published on Nov 11, 2008 | Media Report |
| | GO, C. O. (2013): Boracay Island, Home of the Atis and their Struggle for Land. Published by the Aboriginal Portal of th University of British Columbia on June 24, 2013 | Research Paper |
| Philippines: Nasugbu | IBON (2009): Tourism Act 2009: More Land Grabbing, More Displacement. Published by IBON Features on Mar 14, 2009 | Media Report |
| | ASIAN PEASANT COALITION (2012): Report of the International Solidarity Mission: Save Hacienda Looc and Peasants Livelihood. Executive Summary. Feb 11 to 15, 2012. Nasugbu, Batangas | NGO Report |
| | GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES: EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 647. Signed on Aug 03, 2007 in Manila | Government Source |
| South Africa: Phiphidi Sacred Site (Limpopo) | PHILLIMORE, R. (2008): South Africa: Indigenous community fight against destruction of sacred site. Published by Pambazuka News on Aug 07, 2008 | Media Report |
| | GAIA FOUNDATION (2013): Saving Phiphidi Falls. Published by Gaia Foundation | NGO Report |
| | FIHLANI, P. (2010): Battle to save South Africa's 'sacred sites' from tourist chalets. Published by BBC on Aug 02, 2010 | Media Report |
| | RAMUNANGI, P. T. (2008): Claim of Rights to the Sacred Sites of Phiphidi Waterfall (Lanwadzongolo and Guvhukuvhu). Published by Sacredland | Community Statement |
| South Sudan: Boma National Park (Jonglei State) | MITTAL, A. & MOUSSEAU, F. (2011): Understanding Land Investment Deals in Africa. Country Report: South Sudan. Published by The Oakland Institute | Research Paper |
| | N.N. (2009): An odd deal over land - Are Gulf Arabs taking a chunk of South Sudan for themselves? Published by The Economist on Jul 09, 2009 | Media Report |
| | PATERNO, S. (2011): Review of South Sudan investment deals and contracts. Published by Sudan Tribune on Feb 27, 2011 | Media Report |
| | DENG, D. K. (n.d.): The New Frontier - A baseline survey of large-scale land-based investment in Southern Sudan. Published by GADET-Pentagon and the South Sudan Law Society | Research Paper |
| | LIDSTONE, D. (2009): UAE investors help plant hopes for Sudan's revival. Published by The National on Sept 28, 2009 | Media Report |
| | JOHNSON, J. (2013): More cases of Land grabs in South Sudan. Published by South Sudan News Agency on Mar 26, 2013 | Media Report |

119

| Location | Source | Type of Report |
|---|---|---|
| Sri Lanka: Kalpitiya | SAHDEVA, N. (2012): Kalpitiya/Sri Lanka: Ökotourismus-Resort vertreibt Fischer hinter den Stacheldraht. Published by fairunterwegs on Mar 19, 2012 | NGO Report |
| | KUMARA, H. (2011): Beetween the Fence and the Deep Sea: Tourist Development In Kalpitiya: Sri Lanka – Stop And Review Now! Report of an International Fact-Finding Mission. Published on March 16, 2011 | NGO Report |
| | NOBLE, R. (2011): International calls grow for end to tourism land grabs in Sri Lanka. Published by Tourism Concern on Jul 25, 2011 | NGO Report |
| | WORLD BANK (2010): Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Credit in the Amount of SDR 11.6m (US$ 18.0m equivalent) to the Republic of Sri Lanka for a Sustainable Tourism Development Project. Published on Apr 07, 2011 | Policy Report |
| | SRI LANKA TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (2010): Kalpitiya Dutch Bay Resort | Government Source |
| Sri Lanka: Panama | ASIAN PEASANT COALITION (APC 2013a): International Fact Finding Mission in Defense of Peasants Rights to Land and Livelihood in Panama, South-East, Sri Lanka. Feb 23 to Mar 12, 2013. Published by Asian Peasant Coaltion and Monlar | NGO Report |
| | ASIAN PEASANT COALITION (APC 2013b): Peasant groups hit World Bank for grabbing ancestral land in Panama. Published by Asian Peasant Coalition and Monlar on Mar 8, 2013 | NGO Report |
| | KUMARA, H. (2012): A People's Tribunal on Development Displacement in Sri Lanka. Published by Joining Hands | NGO Report |
| | HALL, M. (2013): Land Grabs in Loliondo, Tanzania Affecting the Maasai. Published by Cultural Survival on Mar 29, 2013 | NGO Report |
| | GARDNER, B. (2012): Tourism and the politics of the global land grab in Tanzania: markets, appropriation and recognition. In: Journal of Peasant Studies 39 (2), 377–402 | Research Paper |
| Tanzania: Loliondo (Ortello Business Corporation) | DEAN, K. O. (2013): Corporate Colonialism: The Ethnic Cleansing of the Maasai People of Tanzania. Published by Intercontinental Cry Magazine on May 06, 2013 | NGO Report |
| | SI (2009): Maasai vertrieben und inhaftiert, um Platz für Safari und Jagd-Konzessionen zu schaffen. Published by Survival Inernational on Aug 20, 2009 | NGO Report |
| | NORDLUND, S. (2010): Tanzania: Private game park threatens pastoralist livelihoods. Published by Pambazuka News on Sep 30, 2010 | Private Blog |
| | SI (2013): Tansania: Landraub könnte das Ende der Massai und der Serengeti bedeuten. Published by Survival Inernational on Mar 28, 2013 | NGO Report |
| | NORDLUND, S. (2012): Grabbing Land for Conservation in Loliondo, Tanzania. Published by Just Conversation on Dec 12, 2012 | NGO Report |
| | RENTON, A. (2009): Tourism is a curse to us. Published by The Guardian / The Observer on Sep 06, 2009 | Media Report |
| Tanzania: Loliondo (Thomson Safaris) | NORDLUND, S. (2010): Tanzania: Private game park threatens pastoralist livelihoods. Published by Pambazuka News on Sep 30, 2010 | Private Blog |
| | NORDLUND, S. (2012): Grabbing Land for Conservation in Loliondo, Tanzania. Published by Just Conversation on Dec 12, 2012 | NGO Report |
| | THOMSON SAFARIS (2010): Sukenya Village reaffirms support for TCL, community conservation. Published on Nov 24, 2010 | Company Source |
| | THOMSON SAFARIS (2010): The Truth. | Company Source |
| | RENTON, A. (2009): Tourism is a curse to us. Published by The Guardian / The Observer on Sep 06, 2009 | Media Report |
| | NKWAME, M. (2013): Tanzania: Villagers Granted Right to Own Their Land. Published by AllAfrica on May 27, 2013 | Media Report |
| Tanzania: Vilima Vitatu (Babati District) | BAHA, B.; CHACHAGE, C. (2007): Wildlife Conservation for Tourist Investment or Villagers' Livelihoods? A Fact-Finding Report on Vilima Vitatu Village Land Dispute - Babati District. 6th June 2007 | Research Paper |
| | BAUSCH, F. (2013): Expert Interview on Aug 4, 2013 | Company Source |
| | FISONG PROJECT (n.d.): Wildlife movements in northern Tanzania: Support to the socio-ecological development of local partners | Company Source |
| | LIVEWILDLIFE (2012): Concept 2012 | Company Source |

120

| Location | Source | Type of Report |
|---|---|---|
| Thailand: Andaman Coast | BP (2012): Thailand: Restrictions Sinking Sea People. In: south east asia tourism monitor Vol. 3 No. 6, 6 | NGO Report |
| | KONGRUT, A. (2008): The High Costs of Island Resorts. Developments in Phuket deny local fisherman access to protected fishing waters. Published by Bangkok Post on November 20, 2008 | Media Report |
| | WONGRUANG, P . (2013): Dem Untergang geweiht? Thailands Seenomaden leiden unter Nationalpark-Restriktionen. In: Tourism Watch No. 70, March 2013 | NGO Report |
| Uganda: Bwindi Impenetrable National Park | AHEBWA, W. M.; van der DUIM, R.; SANDBROOK, C. (2012): Tourism revenue sharing policy at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda: a policy arrangements approach, In: Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 20:3, 377-394 | Research Paper |
| | SSALI, F. (2012) My wonderful experience with Batwa and their cultural sites in Bwindi. Published by bwindiresearchers on Sept 10, 2012 | Public Blog |
| | IVAN (2012): Local communities – Friends or foe to conservation? Published by bwindiresearchers on Nov 2, 2011 | Public Blog |



Case Study Literature Sources
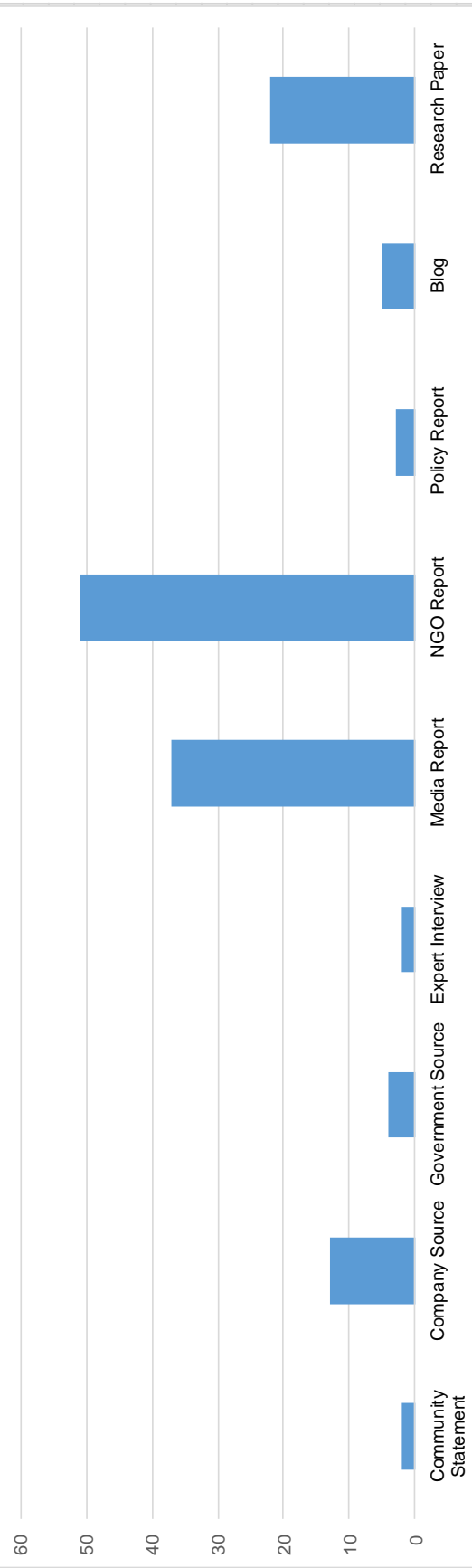
# BIBLIOGRAPHY

**AHEBWA, W. M.; van der DUIM, R.; SANDBROOK, C. (2012):** Tourism revenue sharing policy at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda: a policy arrangements approach, In: Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 20:3, 377-394

**AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE (A.F.P. 2008):** Gov't rejects claim of Boracay land grab. Published on Nov 11, 2008. URL: http://newsinfo.inquirer.net/breakingnews/nation/view/20081111-171603/Govt-rejects-claim-of-Boracay-land-grab [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**ANAYA, J. (2013):** The situation of indigenous peoples in Namibia. Published by Human Rights Council on Apr 25, 2013. URL: http://unsr.jamesanaya.org/docs/countries/2013-report-namibia-a-hrc-24-41-auv.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**ANSEEUW, W.; BOCHE, M.; BREU, T.; GIGER, M.; LAY, J.; MESSERLI, P. and NOLTE, K. (2013):** Transnational Land Deals for Agriculture in the Global South. Analytical Report Based on the Land Matrix Database. CDE/CIRAD/GIGA, Bern/Montpellier/Hamburg.

**ANSEEUW, W.; WILY, L.A.; COTULA, L.; TAYLOR, M. (2012):** Land Rights and the Rush for Land. Findings of the Global Commercial Pressures on Land Research Project. Published by The International Land Coalition; Rome, Italy. URL: http://www.landcoalition.org/sites/default/files/publication/1205/ILC%20GSR%20report_ENG.pdf [accessed on 18 April 2013]

**ASHLEY, C.; WOLMER, W. (2003):** Transforming or Tinkering? New Forms of Engagement between Communities and the Private Sector in Tourism and Forestry in Southern Africa. Research Paper 18 by Sustainable livelihoods in Southern Africa. March 2003

**ASIAN PEASANT COALITION (APC 2012):** Report of the International Solidarity Mission: Save Hacienda Looc and Peasants Livelihood. Executive Summary. Feb 11 to 15, 2012. Nasugbu, Batangas. URL: http://www.asianpeasant.org/sites/default/files/ISM-HL%20Executive%20Summary%20Report.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**ASIAN PEASANT COALITION (APC 2013a):** International Fact Finding Mission in Defense of Peasants Rights to Land and Livelihood in Panama, South-East, Sri Lanka. Feb 23 to Mar 12, 2013. Published by Asian Peasant Coaltion and Monlar. URL: http://www.commercialpressuresonland.org/sites/default/files/FINAL%20Key%20Findings%20IFFM%20Sri%20Lanka.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**ASIAN PEASANT COALITION (APC 2013b):** Peasant groups hit World Bank for grabbing ancestral land in Panama. Published by Asian Peasant Coalition and Monlar on Mar 8, 2013. URL: http://www.asianpeasant.org/sites/default/files/Peasant%20groups%20hit%20WB%20and%20Sri%20Lanka%20govt%20on%20Land%20grabbing%20in%20Panama%20-%20Edited.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**ATTESLÄNDER, P. (2010):** Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung. 1th edition. Erich Schmidt Verlag; Berlin.

**BAHA, B.; CHACHAGE, C. (2007):** Wildlife Conservation for Tourist Investment or Villagers' Livelihoods? A Fact-Finding Mission Report on Vilima Vitatu Village Land Dispute - Babati District. 6th June 2007. URL: http://www.hakiardhi.org/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_download&gid=66&Itemid=80 [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**BASECAMP EXPLORER (2013):** Mara Naboisho Conservancy, Kenya. URL: http://www.basecampkenya.com/wildlife/mara-naboisho-conservancy [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**BAUSCH, F. (2013):** Expert Interview on Aug 04, 2013

**BEDELIAN, C. (2012):** Conservation and ecotourism on privatised land in the Mara, Kenya: The case of conservancy land leases. Published by The Land Deal Politics Initiative on Oct, 2012. URL: http://www.plaas.org.za/sites/default/files/publications-pdf/LDPI09%20bedelian_0.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**BEHNKE, J.; BAUR, N.; BEHNKE, N. (2006):** Empirische Methoden der Politikwissenschaft. Schöningh; Paderborn, Germany

**BELLIGER, E., HOSTETTLER, D., HEUBERGER, K. & SUHNER, S. (2012):** Menschenrechtsverletzungen durch Megaprojekte in Südmexiko. Published by PROPAZ Chiapas – Schweiz. URL: http://www.fastenopfer.ch/data/media/dokumente/entwicklungspolitik/friedensfoerderung/propaz_mr_verletzungen.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**BELLINGHAUSEN , H. (2010):** Chiapas/Mexiko: Für den Ökotourismus werden Dorfbewohner vertrieben. Published by fairunterwegs on Apr 07, 2011. URL: http://www.fairunterwegs.org/aktuell/news/article/chiapasmexiko-fuer-den-oekotourismus-werden-dorfbewohner-vertrieben.html [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**BLAIR, D. (2003):** The Dead Sea is dying as its dark salty waters retreat. Published by The Telegraph on Oct 04, 2003. URL: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/jordan/1443245/The-Dead-Sea-is-dying-as-its-dark-salty-waters-retreat.html [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**BLOMLEY, T.; FLINTAN, F.; NELSON, F.; ROE, D. (2013):** Conservation and Land Grabbing: Part of the Problem or Part of the Solution? Published by IIED, ILC, Maliasili Initiatives and ZSL. London

**BLUME, J. (2012):** Zaungäste am Luxusresort. In: welt-sichten, 10/2012, 40-41

**BOGNER, A.; LITTIG, B.; MENZ, W. (eds.) (2005a**): Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung. 2nd edition. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften; Wiesbaden, Germany

**BOGNER, A.; MENZ, W. (2005b):** Das theoriegenerierende Experteninterview. Erkenntnisinteresse, Wissensformen, Interaktion. In: BOGNER, A.; LITTIG, B.; MENZ, W. (Hrsg.) (2005): Das Experteninterview. Theorie, Methode, Anwendung. 2nd edition. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften; Wiesbaden.

**BÖRNEKE, S.; BESTE, A. (2012):** Die Ernte der Heuschrecken. Das weltweite Land Grabbing und die Verantwortung Europas. Published by Martin Häusling, MdEP/Europabüro Hessen

**BORRAS, S. M; FRANCO; C. J.; GOMEZ, S.; KAY, C; SPOOR, M. (2012**): Land grabbing in Latin America and the Caribbean, In: The Journal of Peasant Studies, 39:3-4, 845-872

**BORRAS, S. M; FRANCO; C. J.; KAY, C; SPOOR, M. (2011):** Land grabbing in Latin America and the Caribbean viewed from broader international perspectives. Prepared for FAO Regional Office, Santiago, Chile.

**BORTZ, J.; DÖRING, N. (2009):** Forschungsmethoden und Evaluation für Human- und Sozialwissenschaftler. 4th edition. Springer Medizin Verlag, Heidelberg.

**BP (2012):** Thailand: Restrictions Sinking Sea People. In: south east asia tourism monitor Vol. 3 No. 6

**BRAZIL OVERSEAS PROPERTY (2013):** Tambaba Land Sale in Brazil - 30 Acres with Ocean Views. URL: http://www.braziloverseasproperty.co.uk/Brazil_Property_For_Sale/Paraiba/Pitimbu/Land/BOP_PB_145/ [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**BROCKHAUS ENZYKLOPÄDIE (1988):** Vol. 5, 19th edition. F.A. Brockhaus, Mannheim

**BROCKINGTON, D.; DUFFY, R.; IGOE, J. (2008):** Nature Unbound. Conservation, Capitalism and the Future of Protected Areas. Earthscan. London and Washington D.C.

**BROCKINGTON, D.; IGOE, J. (2006):** Eviction for Conservation: A Global Overview. In: Conservation and Society, Vol. 4, No. 3, September 2006, 424–470

**BROCKINGTON, D. (2002):** Fortress Conservation: The Preservation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve, Tanzania. James Currey Publishers, Oxford

**CALFUANO, J. (2011):** „Wir wollen den transnationalen Konzernen den Zutritt verbieten". In: welt-sichten 9/2011, 46-47

**CERNEA, M. M. (2005):** Restriction of access is displacement: A broader concept and policy. Forced Migration Review 23: 48-49.

**CERNEA, M. M. (2003):** Impoverishment Risks, Risk Management, and Reconstruction: A Model of Population Displacement and Resettlement. Washington, DC.

**CHAN, T. Z. N. (2013):** Farmers Call on President to Resolve Land Dispute. Published by Irrawaddy on Mar 15, 2013. URL: http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/29544 [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**CITYSTAR (2013):** Koh Takiev Island. URL: http://www.citystar-cambodia.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=33&Itemid=70 [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**COTULA, L. (2011):** Land Deals in Africa: What is in the Contracts? IIED, London.

**COTULA, L., VERMEULEN, S., LEONARD, R.; KEELEY, J. (2009):** Land grab or development opportunity? Agricultural investment and international land deals in Africa. Published by IIED/FAO/IFAD, London/Rome.

**CULTURAL SURVIVAL (C.S. 2010):** Samburu Evicted for "Conservation" in Kenya. Published by Cultural Survival on Dec 15, 2010. URL: http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/kenya/samburu-evicted-conservation-kenya [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**D'SOUZA, O. R.; RAI, N. D. (2011):** Protected Areas and the Impact of Restricted Access on Local Livelihoods: The Case of Biligiri Rangaswamy Temple Wildlife Sanctuary, India. Social Science Electronic Publishing. URL: SSRN: http://ssrn.com/abstract=1793086

**DEAN, K. O. (2013):** Corporate Colonialism: The Ethnic Cleansing of the Maasai People of Tanzania. Published by Intercontinental Cry Magazine on May 06, 2013. URL: http://intercontinentalcry.org/corporate-colonialism-the-ethnic-cleansing-of-the-maasai-people-of-tanzania/ [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**DEININGER, K.; BYERLEE, D.; LINDSAY, J., NORTON, A., SELOD, H. and STICKLER, M. (2011):** Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can It Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits? Published by The World Bank. Washington D.C.

**DENG, D. K. (2011):** The New Frontier - A baseline survey of large-scale land-based investment in Southern Sudan. Published by GADET-Pentagon and the South Sudan Law Society. URL: http://www.npaid.org/content/download/1145/10908/file/NPA_New_Frontier.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**DIETSCHY, B. (2011):** Durst nach fremden Wasser. In: welt-sichten 7-2011, 11

**DOMETROVICH, K. (2010):** Water rights in Botswana a disputed issue. Published by The Guilfordian on Nov 18, 2010. URL: http://www.guilfordian.com/archives/2010/11/18/water-rights-in-botswana-a-disputed-issue/

**D'SOUZA, O. R.; RAI, N. D. (2011):** Protected Areas and the Impact of Restricted Access on Local Livelihoods: The Case of Biligiri Rangaswamy Temple Wildlife Sanctuary, India. Published on Social Science Research Network on MAR 23, 2011. URL: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1793086 [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**DUFFY, R. (2006):** The Politics of Ecotourism and the Developing World. In: Journal of Ecotourism, 5:1-2, 1-6

**EDMOND, R. (2013):** We 'will not allow environmental licensing' in national park: Santos. Published on Colombia Reports on Jan 14, 2013. URL: http://colombiareports.com/we-will-not-allow-environmental-licensing-in-national-park-santos/ [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**EHRING, F. (2010):** Tropfen auf den heißen Sand. In: welt-sichten. 2-2010, 38-40

**EKTA PARISHAD (2011):** New Form of Tourism Forgetting the Tribals. In: EKTA PARISHAD NEWS, February-March 2011. URL: http://www.ektamedia.org/images/press/february-march-2011-newsletter-english-/document_document.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**ELLINGSON, T. (2001):** The Myth of the Noble Savage. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles

**ENGELHARDT, M. (2010):** Riskantes Großprojekt. In: welt-sichten 8/2010, 32-35

**ENGELS, B.; DIETZ, K. (2011):** Land Grabbing analysieren: Ansatzpunkte für eine politisch-ökologische Perspektive am Beispiel Äthiopiens. In: Peripherie, No. 124, 31. Vol. 2011, Verlag Westfälisches Dampfboot; Münster, 399-420

**EQUATIONS (2011):** Subject: We condemn the inhuman and illegal eviction and demolition at Hampi Bazaar. Published by Equations on Aug 17, 2011. URL: http://www.equitabletourism.org/files/fileDocuments1075_uid18.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**EUROPEAN COMMISSION (2012):** The EU climate and energy package. URL: http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/package/index_en.htm [accessed on May 21, 2013]

**FNR (2011a):** Nachwachsende Rohstoffe - Spitzentechnologie ohne Ende. Published by Fachagentur Nachwachsende Rohstoffe e. V. Gülzow-Prüzen. URL: http://www.fnr-server.de/ftp/pdf/literatur/pdf_245-spitzentechnologie_broschure_netz.pdf [accessed on May 21, 2013]

**FNR (2011b):** Palmölnutzung weltweit 2010 (Palmöl und Palmkernöl). Published by Fachagentur Nachwachsende Rohstoffe e. V. URL: http://www.fnr.de/presseservice/direkt-mail/infobrief-der-fnr-juni-2011/article/neue-grafiken-und-daten-zum-biomasse-anbau/ [accessed on 21 May 2013]

**FAIRHEAD, J.; LEACH, M.; SCOONES; I: (2012):** Green Grabbing: a new appropriation of nature? In: The Journal of Peasant Studies, 39:2, 237-261

**FAO (2011):** People and forests. URL: http://www.fao.org/forestry/28811/en/ [accessed on 18 April 2013]

**FIHLANI, P. (2010):** Battle to save South Africa's 'sacred sites' from tourist chalets. Published by BBC on Aug 02, 2010. URL: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-10793664 [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**FISONG PROJECT (n.d.):** Wildlife movements in northern Tanzania: Support to the socio-ecological development of local partners

**FOWLE, A. (2013):** Burmese Going Homeless for SEA Games Preparation. Published on May 21, 2013. URL: http://www.portalkbr.com/asiacalling/english/southeastasia/2635879_5000.html [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**FRITZ, T. (2010):** Peak Soil – Die globale Jagd nach Land. 2nd edition, FDCL-Verlag, Berlin.

**GAIA FOUNDATION (G.F. 2013):** Saving Phiphidi Falls. Published by Gaia Foundation. URL: http://www.gaiafoundation.org/saving-phiphidi-falls [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**GARDNER, B. (2012):** Tourism and the politics of the global land grab in Tanzania: markets, appropriation and recognition, In: The Journal of Peasant Studies, 39:2, 377-402

**GARGALLO, E. (2010):** Land, Restitution and Traditional Authorities in Namibia's Agrarian Reform. URL: http://repositorio-iul.iscte.pt/bitstream/10071/2302/1/CIEA7_15_GARGALLO_Land%2c%20Restitution%20and%20Traditional%20Authorities.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**GARROD, B. (2003):** Local Participation in the Planning and Management of Ecotourism: A Revised Model Approach, Journal of Ecotourism, 2:1, 33-53

**GLASER, B. G.; STRAUSS, A. L. (1998):** Grounded Theory. Strategien qualitativer Forschung. Hans Huber; Bern.

**GLÄSER, J.; LAUDEL, G. (2010):** Experteninterviews und qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. 4th edition. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften; Wiesbaden.

**GO, C. O. (2013):** Boracay Island, Home of the Atis and their Struggle for Land. Published by the Aboriginal Portal of the University of British Columbia on June 24, 2013. URL: http://aboriginal.ubc.ca/2013/06/24/boracay-island-home-of-the-atis-and-their-struggle-for-land/ [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**GORVETT, J. (2011):** Im Sand begraben. In: welt-sichten 4-2011, 29-32.

**GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES (G.O.P. 2007):** EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 647. Signed on Aug 03, 2007 in Manila. URL: http://www.gov.ph/downloads/2007/08aug/20070803-EO-0647-GMA.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**GRAIN (2008):** SEIZED! The 2008 land grab for food and financial security. GRAIN Briefing October 2008, Barcelona

**GRAINGER, M.; GEARY, K. (2011):** The New Forests Company and its Uganda plantations: 'I lost my land. It's like I'm not a human being'. Published by Oxfam GB for Oxfam International. URL: http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/cs-new-forest-company-uganda-plantations-220911-en.pdf [accessed on May 12, 2013]

**GTZ/ACIS (eds.) (2009):** The Legal Framework for Recognising and Acquiring Rights to Rural Land in Mozambique. A Guide to Legalizing Land-holding. Edition II, June 2009

**HALL, D.; HIRSCH, P.; MURRAY, T. (2013):** Powers of Exclusion: Land Dilemmas in Southeast Asia (Challenges of the Agrarian Transition in Southeast Asia). Chatsea

**HALL, M. (2013):** Land Grabs in Loliondo, Tanzania Affecting the Maasai. Published by Cultural Survival on Mar 29, 2013. URL: http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/land-grabs-loliondo-tanzania-affecting-maasai [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**HALL, R. (2011):** Land grabbing in Southern Africa: the many faces of the investor rush. In: Review of African Political Economy, 38:128, 193-214.

**HAMMER, J. (2005):** The Dying of the Dead Sea. Published by Smithsonian Magazine on Oct, 2005. URL: http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/deadsea.html [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**HAMPI WORLD HERITAGE AREA MANAGEMENT AUTHORITY (2006):** Master Plan for Hampi Local Planning Area**.** (Provisional) REPORT-2006. Published by the Government of Karnataka.

**HANLON, J. (2011):** The Mozambique Land Grab Myth.

**HEFTI, J. (2012):** Ein Touristisches Megaprojekt im südlichen Mexiko verletzt die Rechte der Bevölkerung. Published by fairunterwegs on Aug 07, 2012. URL: http://www.fairunterwegs.org/aktuell/news/article/ein-touristisches-megaprojekt-im-suedlichen-mexiko-verletzt-die-rechte-der-bevoelkerung.html [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**HERZOG, S. (2011):** Poisoned Golf. A groundskeeper speaks out on contamination and poisoning. In: Pesticides and You. Vol. 31, No. 2, Summer 2011, 17-18

**HIGH COURT OF BOTSWANA (H.C.B. 2013):** Order MAHGB-000295-13. Signed on June 18, 2013 in Lobatse. URL: http://assets.survivalinternational.org/documents/999/ranyanecase002.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**HIGHQUEST PARTNERS (2010):** Private Financial Sector Investment in Farmland and Agricultural Infrastructure. OECD Food, Agriculture and Fisheries Papers, No. 33, OECD Publishing. DOI: 10.1787/5km7nzpjlr8v-en

**HITCHCOCK, R. (2013):** Conservation, Culture, and Land Use Conflicts in the Central Kalahari, Botswana. Published by Just Conservation on Jun 20, 2013. URL: http://www.justconservation.org/conservation-culture-and-land-use-conflicts-botswana [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**HODAL, K. (2013):** Boracay islanders fear for their lives in battle with Philippine tourist trade. Published by The Guardian on Jun 02, 2013. URL: http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/jun/02/boracay-islanders-philippine-tourist-trade [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**IATA (2009):** A global approach to reducing aviation emissions. First stop: carbon-neutral growth from 2020. URL: http://www.iata.org/SiteCollectionDocuments/Documents/Global_Approach_Reducing_Emissions_251109web.pdf [accessed on May 04, 2013]

**IBON (2009):** Tourism Act 2009: More Land Grabbing, More Displacement. Published by IBON Features on Mar 14, 2009. URL: www.ibon.org/ibon_features.php?id=33 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**IEN (2013):** Joint Collective Statement - Indigenous people's rights and safeguards in projects related to REDD. URL: http://www.ienearth.org/joint-collective-statement-indigenous-peoples-rights-and-safeguards-in-projects-related-to-redd/ [accessed on May 02 2013]

**IGOE, J. (2003):** Conservation and Globalization: A Study of National Parks and Indigenous Communities from East Africa to South Dakota. Wadsworth Publishing

**ILC (2013a):** Indigenous peoples' rights to lands, territories and resources. Published by International Land Coalition; Rome.

**ILC (2013b):** Annual Report 2012. Published by International Land Coalition; Rome URL: http://www.landcoalition.org/sites/default/files/publication/1510/ILCAnnualReport2012.pdf [accessed on July 04, 2013]

**ILC (2011):** Tirana Declaration. "Securing land access for the poor in times of intensified natural resources competition". Synthesis Paper. Published by International Land Coalition; Rome. URL:

www.landcoalition.org/sites/default/files/aom11/Tirana_Declaration_ILC_2011_ENG.pdf [accessed on April 18, 2013]

**ILMES (2004):** ILMES-Internet-Lexikon der Methoden der empirischen Sozialforschung W. Ludwig-Mayerhofer, ILMES. Last update: 30 Oct 2004. URL: http://viles.uni-oldenburg.de/navtest/viles0/kapitel02_Ausgew~aehlte~~lMethoden~~lder~~lDatenerhebung/modul02_Das~~lExperteninterview/ebene01_Konzepte~~lund~~lDefinitionen/02__02__01__01.php3 [accessed on Apr 30, 2013]

**INCLUSIVE DEVELOPMENT INTERNATIONAL (I.D.I. 2013):** Cambodia: Boeung Kak Lake Evictions. Published by Inclusive Development International. URL: http://www.inclusivedevelopment.net/bkl/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**INDIGENOUS PEOPLES ISSUES (I.P.I. 2011):** Kenya: New Mara Naboisho Conservancy Created To Generate Tourism Dollars For Kenya's Maasai Landowners. Published by Indigenous Peoples Issues on Feb 06, 2011. URL: http://indigenouspeoplesissues.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8779:kenya-new-mara-naboisho-conservancy-created-to-generate-tourism-dollars-for-kenyas-maasai-landowners&catid=25:africa-indigenous-peoples&Itemid=58 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**INDIGENOUS PEOPLES ISSUES (I.P.I. 2010):** Botswana: Botswana President in Racist Outburst Against Kalahari Bushmen. Published by Indigenous Peoples Issues on Dec 13, 2010. URL: http://www.indigenouspeoplesissues.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8027:botswana-botswana-president-in-racist-outburst-against-kalahari-bus [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**IVAN (2012):** Local communities – Friends or foe to conservation? Published by bwindiresearchers on Nov 2, 2011. URL: http://bwindiresearchers.wildlifedirect.org/tag/local-people/ [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**JOHNSON, J. (2013):** More cases of Land grabs in South Sudan. Published by South Sudan News Agency on Mar 26, 2013. URL: http://www.southsudannewsagency.com/opinion/articles/more-cases-of-land-grabs-in-south-sudan [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**JOHNSTON, A. M. (2006):** Is the Sacred for Sale? Tourism and Indigenous Peoples. Earthscan. London and Sterling

**KAPHENGST, T.; BAHN, E. (2012**): Land Grabbing. Der globale Wettlauf um Agrarland. VSA Verlag, Hamburg

**KAPHENGST, T.; WUNDER, S.; TIMEUS, K. (2012):** The Social Dimension of EU Biofuel Policy. Ecologic Briefs. Published by Ecologic Institute and PIK. URL: http://www.ecologic.eu/files/publications/1358406689/kaphengst_12_Ecologic_Brief_Biofuel.pdf [accessed on April 19, 2013]

**KEPPELER, T.; ROMERO, C. (2012):** Stadt ohne Land. In: welt-sichten 10-2012, 36-39.

**KESTLER-D'AMOURS, J. (2012):** The end of the Bedouin. Israel plans to dismantle negev villages. In: Le Monde diplomatique English Version, August 2012.

**KOISSABA, B. O. (2013):** Maasai in Kenya Go to Courts to Stop Evictions Caused by World Bank's Geothermal Power Project. Published by Cultural Survival on June 13, 2013. URL: http://www.culturalsurvival.org/news/maasai-kenya-go-courts-stop-evictions-caused-world-banks-geothermal-power-project [accessed on June 06, 2013]

**KONGRUT, A. (2008):** The High Costs of Island Resorts. Developments in Phuket deny local fisherman access to protected fishing waters. Published by Bangkok Post on November 20, 2008. URL: http://mangroveactionproject.org/news/current_headlines/the-high-cost-of-island-resorts/ [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**KOTHARI, A (2011):** 2012: A year for transformation? Published by Info Change India. URL: http://infochangeindia.org/environment/politics-of-biodiversity/2012-a-year-for-transformation.html [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**KUCKARTZ, U. (2010):** Einführung in die computergestützte Analyse qualitativer Daten. 3rd edition. VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften; Wiesbaden.

**KUMAR, V. (2013):** Draft National Land Reforms Policy. Published by Ekta Parishad. URL: http://www.ektaparishad.com/Home/tabid/55/ArticleID/56/ArtMID/709/language/en-US/Draft-National-Land-Reforms-Policy.aspx [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**KUMARA, H. (2011):** Between the Fence and the Deep Sea: Tourist Development In Kalpitiya: Sri Lanka – Stop And Review Now! Report of an International Fact-Finding Mission. Published on March 16, 2011. URL: http://www.sacw.net/IMG/pdf/Sri_Lanka_IFFM_final_report-16-03-11.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**KUMARA, H. (2012):** A People's Tribunal on Development Displacement in Sri Lanka. Published by Joining Hands. URL: http://www.relufa.org/partners/jhnewsletter/srilanka.htm [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**KÜNNEMANN, R. & MONSALVE SUAREZ, S. (2013):** International Human Rights and Governing Land Grabbing: A View from Global Civil Society. In: Globalizations, 10:1, 123-139

**LAIRD, S.A., AWUNG, G.L., LYSINGE. R.J.; NDIVE, L.E. (2011):** The interweave of people and place: biocultural diversity in migrant and indigenous livelihoods around Mount Cameroon. In: International Forestry Review Vol.13 (3), 2011

**LAISHLEY, R. (2009):** Is Africa's land up for grabs? Foreign acquisitions: some opportunities, but many see threats. In: United Nations Africa Renewal, Vol. 23, No. 3, October 2009.

**LAY, J.; NOLTE, K. (2011):** Neuer „Landraub" in Afrika? GIGA Focus Afrika. No. 1 2011; Hamburg.

**LEVIEN, M. (2011):** The Land Question: Special Economic Zones and the Political Economy of Dispossession in India. Published by the Land Deal Politics Initiative.

**LEVY, A. & SCOTT-CLARK, C. (2008):** Country for sale. Published by The Guardian on Apr 26, 2008. URL: http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/apr/26/cambodia [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**LEXIKON-INSTITUT BERTELSMANN (eds.) (1991):** Das Große Bertelsmann Lexikon. Vol. 4, Bertelsmann Lexikothek Verlag, Gütersloh

**LIBERTI, S. (2012):** Landraub. Reisen ins Reich des neuen Kolonialismus. Rotbuch Verlag; Berlin.

**LICADHO (2007a):** Sihanoukville Land Eviction: 13 arrested should be released and a social land concession given to poor families. Published on Apr 25, 2007. URL: http://www.licadho-cambodia.org/pressrelease.php?perm=151 [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**LICADHO (2007b):** Illegal forced eviction of 105 families in Sihanoukville. URL: http://www.licadho-cambodia.org/reports/files/108LICADHOFactSheetIllegalEvictionSihanoukville07.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**LICADHO (2009):** Land Grabbing and Poverty in Cambodia: the Myth of Development. May 2009. URL: http://www.licadho-cambodia.org/reports/files/134LICADHOREportMythofDevelopment2009Eng.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**LICADHO (2013):** The Boeung Kak concession should be a solution for all remaining residents. Published by LICADHO on May 2, 2013. URL: http://www.licadho-cambodia.org/press/files/309JointPR-BoeungKakSolutionForAll2013-English.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**LIDSTONE, D. (2009):** UAE investors help plant hopes for Sudan's revival. Published by The National on Sept 28, 2009. URL: http://farmlandgrab.org/7934 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**LIVEWILDLIFE (2012):** Concept 2012

**LUDERMANN, B. (2010):** Zugriff auf den Rest der Wildnis. In: welt-sichten 10/2010, 23-27.

**LUGSCHITZ, B.; BRUCKNER, M.; GILJUM, S. (2011):** Europe's global land demand. Sustainable Europe Research Institute (SERI). URL: www.foeeurope.org/sites/default/files/publications/Europe_Global_Land_Demand_Oct11%5B1%5D.pdf [accessed on 13 April 2013]

**MANN, Z. (2012):** Protests Continue for Confiscated Farms and Land. Published by Irrawaddy on Nov 02, 2012. URL: http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/17943 [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**MANN, Z. (2013):** BURMA - Severe Drought Hits Burma's Famed Inle Lake. Published by Irrawaddy on Apr 22, 2013. URL: http://www.irrawaddy.org/archives/32572 [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**MARGULIS, M. E.; McKEON, N.; BORRAS, S. M. (2013):** Land Grabbing and Global Governance: Critical Perspectives. In: Globalizations, 10:1, 1-23

**MAYER, H. O. (2009):** Interview und schriftliche Befragung. Entwicklung, Durchführung, Auswertung. 5th edition. Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag. München.

**MEENTZEN, A. (2010):** Dem Wachstum geopfert. In: welt-sichten 7/2010, 22-24

**MEHTA, L., van VELDWISCH, G.; FRANCO, J. C. (2012):** Introduction to the special issue: water grabbing? Focus on the (re)appropriation of finite water resources. In: Water Alternatives, 5(2), 193–207

**MESNARD, A. (2013):** Weekly EcoBurma Roundup #33. Published by Eco Burma on Mar 26, 2013. URL: http://www.ecoburma.com/2013/03/weekly-ecoburma-roundup-33/ [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**MEUNIER, V. (2012):** Konkurrierende Wege zum Paradies. Tourismus und das Recht auf freie Religionsausübung. Published by TourismwatWatch on Mar, 2012. URL: http://www.tourism-watch.de/content/konkurrierende-wege-zum-paradies [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENTS & FORESTS (M.E.F. 2001):** Notification under Section 3(1) and Section 3(2)(v) of the Environment (Protection) Act, 1986 and Rule (3)(d) of the Environment (Protection) Rules, 1986 Declaring Coastal Stretches as Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ) and Regulating Activities in the CRZ. URL: www.envfor.nic.in/legis/crz/crznew.html [accessed on Aug 16, 2013]

**MITTAL, A. & MOUSSEAU, F. (2011):** Understanding Land Investment Deals in Africa. Country Report: South Sudan. Published by The Oakland Institute. URL: http://www.oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/OI_country_report_south_sudan_1.pdf [accessed on Aug 20, 2013]

**MONSHAUSEN, A. (2013):** Expert Interview on Aug 15, 2013

**MOUSSEAU, F.; MITTAL, A. (2011a):** Understanding Land Deals in Africa. Country report: Mozambique. Published by The Oakland Institute, USA. URL: http://www.oaklandinstitute.org/sites/oaklandinstitute.org/files/OI_country_report_mozambique_0.pdf [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**MOUSSEAU, F.; MITTAL, A. (2011b):** Understanding Land Deals in Africa. Country report: Tanzania. The Oakland Institute; Oakland, USA.

**NAIR, P. (2009):** Landnutzungskonflikte an der Küste. Zwei Beispiele aus Südindien. In: Tourism Watch, No. 66, 11-13

**NANDA (2010):** The community of Tambaba. Published on Mai 31, 2013. URL: http://www.almeidadohrn.com/lang/en/paraiba/trabalhadores-rurais-tambaba/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**NANG, M. N. (2013):** Farmers in hiding near Inle Lake as officials crack down on 'plough protests'. Published by DVB Multimedia Group on Jun 12, 2013. URL: http://www.dvb.no/news/farmers-in-hiding-near-inle-lake-as-officials-crackdown-on-%E2%80%98plough-protests%E2%80%99/28738 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**NASH, R. F. (1982):** Wilderness and the American Mind. 3rd edition. Yale University Press. New Haven and London

**NEWINGER-ADDY, G. (2010):** Boden für Biodiesel. Der Anbau von Energiepflanzen wirft in Ghana Fragen nach den Landrechten auf. In: welt-sichten 4/2010, 39-42.

**NKWAME, M. (2013):** Tanzania: Villagers Granted Right to Own Their Land. Published by AllAfrica on May 27, 2013. URL: http://allafrica.com/stories/201305271542.html [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**NOBLE, R. (2011):** International calls grow for end to tourism land grabs in Sri Lanka. Published by Tourism Concern on Jul 25, 2011. URL: http://www.tourismconcern.org.uk/index.php/news/242/154/PRESS-RELEASE-International-calls-grow-for-end-to-tourism-land-grabs-in-Sri-Lanka.html [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**NORDLUND, S. (2010):** Tanzania: Private game park threatens pastoralist livelihoods. Published by Pambazuka News on Sep 30, 2010. URL: www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/67388/print [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**NORDLUND, S. (2012):** Grabbing Land for Conservation in Loliondo, Tanzania. Published by Just Conversation on Dec 12, 2012. URL: http://www.justconservation.org/grabbing-land-for-conservation-in-loliondo,-tanzania [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**NOSER, A. (2011):** "Ökotourismus" auf Kosten der Indigenen: Der Kampf um die Wasserfälle von Agua Azul in Chiapas. Published by fairunterwegs on Feb 25, 2011. URL: http://www.fairunterwegs.org/aktuell/news/article/oekotourismus-auf-kosten-der-indigenen-der-kampf-um-die-wasserfaelle-von-agua-azul-in-chiapas.html [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**NOWAK, R. (1995):** Endangered species: Uganda enlists locals in the battle to save gorillas. In: Science, 267, 1761.

**OAKLAND INSTITUTE (2011):** Understanding Land Deals in Africa. Country report: Tanzania. The Oakland Institute; Oakland, USA.

**OPEN DEVELOPMENT CAMBODIA (ODC 2013):** Concession Profile - Union Development Group Co.,Ltd. Published by Open Development Cambodia. URL: http://www.opendevelopmentcambodia.net/concessions/profile/?id=622&type=0&tier=2&map=elc [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**ODHIAMBO, M. O. (2011):** Commercial pressures on land in Africa: A regional overview of opportunities, challenges, and impacts. RECONCILE contribution to ILC Collaborative Research Project on Commercial Pressures on Land, Rome.

**O'GORMAN, J. (2013a):** Indigenous must help in Tayrona decision: National parks. Published on Colombia Reports on Feb 13, 2013. URL: http://colombiareports.com/indigenous-must-help-in-tayrona-decision-national-parks/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**O'GORMAN, J. (2013b):** Tayrona eco-tourism stopped again. Published on Colombia Reports on Feb 13, 2013. URL: http://colombiareports.com/tayrona-eco-tourism-stopped-again/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**OJEDA, D. (2011):** Whose Paradise? Conservation, tourism and land grabbing in Tayrona Natural Park, Colombia. Published at International Conference on Global Land Grabbing on Apr 6-8, 2011. URL: http://www.iss.nl/fileadmin/ASSETS/iss/Documents/Conference_papers/LDPI/65_Diana_Ojeda.pdf [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**PALMER, N. J. (2008):** Economic Transition and the Struggle for Local Control in Ecotourism Development: The Case of Kyrgyzstan. In: Journal of Ecotourism. 5:1-2, 40-61

**PAMPELE & VHS HOLDINGS Ltd (2012):** A unique privately-owned beach property on the remote San Sebastian Peninsula in Mozambique. URL: http://www.pambele.co.mz/index.php/location/vilanculos-coastal-wildlife-sanctuary [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**PATERNO, S. (2011):** Review of South Sudan investment deals and contracts. Published by Sudan Tribune on Feb 27, 2011. URL: www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?iframe&page=imprimable&id_article=38129 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**PEARCE, F. (2012):** The Land Grabbers. Beacon Press; Boston.

**PHILLIMORE, R. (2008):** South Africa: Indigenous community fight against destruction of sacred site. Published by Pambazuka News on Aug 07, 2008. URL: www.pambazuka.org/en/category/rights/65820/print [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**PLEUMAROM, A. (2013):** Expert Interview on Aug 8, 2013

**PLÜSS, C. (2013):** Expert Interview on Jul 23, 2013

**POPPE, L. (2011):** Indische Regierung stoppt Ausweisung indigener Völker aus Nationalparks. Published by fairunterwegs on Jun 3, 2011. URL: http://www.fairunterwegs.org/themen/thema/article/indische-regierung-stoppt-ausweisung-indigener-voelker-aus-nationalparks.html [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**PROAH (2012):** Residents of Zacate Grande reject declarations by the Dinant Corporation in La Tribuna newspaper. Published by Honduras Accompaniment Project on Jan 23, 2012. URL: http://hondurasaccompanimentproject.wordpress.com/2012/01/23/residents-of-zacate-grande-reject-declarations-by-the-dinant-corporation-in-la-tribuna-newspaper-2/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**RAMUNANGI, P. T. (2008):** Claim of Rights to the Sacred Sites of Phiphidi Waterfall: Lanwadzongolo and Guvhuhkuvhu. Published on Nov 15, 2008 URL: http://www.sacredland.org/media/Ramunangi-Claim-of-Rights_15Nov08.pdf [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**REAKSMEY, H.; MARKS, S. (2011):** Villagers Struggle in Face of Chinese Tourism Project. Published by The Cambodia Daily on July 26, 2011. URL: http://www.opendevelopmentcambodia.net/villagers-struggle-in-face-of-chinese-tourism-project/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**REDFORD, K. H.; SANDERSON, S. E. (2000):** Extracting Humans from Nature. In: Conservation Biology 14(5). 1362-1364

**RENTON, A. (2009):** Tourism is a curse to us. Published by The Guardian / The Observer on Sep 06, 2009. URL: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/sep/06/masai-tribesman-tanzania-tourism [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE (R.O.M. 2004):** Strategic Plan for the Development of Tourism in Mozambique (2004-2013). Published by the Ministry of Tourism, Republic of Mozambique

**ROU, L. (2011):** The Chinese shadow over Boeung Kak lake. Published by China News Center on Nov 16, 2011. URL: http://www.chinamedia.com/news/2011/11/16/the-chinese-shadow-over-boeung-kak-lake-1/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**RUF, A. (2013):** Oasen für den Urlaub. In: welt-sichten. 4-2013, 21-23

**SAHEDEVA, N. (2012):** Kalpitiya/Sri Lanka: Ökotourismus-Resort vertreibt Fischer hinter den Stacheldraht. Published by fairunterwegs on Mar 19, 2012. URL: http://www.fairunterwegs.org/aktuell/news/article/kalpitiyasri-lanka-oekotourismus-resort-vertreibt-fischer-hinter-den-stacheldraht.html [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SAHDEVA, N. (2010):** Wilderness Safari macht sich auf dem Land der Buschleute breit, schert sich aber nicht um die Menschenrechtsverletzungen gegen sie. Published by fairunterwegs on Dec 02, 2010. URL: http://www.fairunterwegs.org/de/aktuell/news/article/der-fairunterwegs-koffer-aergert-sich-1.html [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SALAZAR, M. (2013):** Native People More Than Just Park Rangers. Published by Inter Press Service on May 30, 2013. URL: http://www.ipsnews.net/2013/05/native-people-more-than-just-park-rangers/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SANTUARIO BRAVIO DE VILANCULOS (S.B.V. 2012):** URL: http://thesanctuary.co.za/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SASI, K. P. (2011):** Ausverkauf in „Gottes eigenem Land". In: Tourismus. Begegnungen der anderen Art, INKOTA-Dossier 9, June 2011, INKOTA-netzwerk, 12-13

**SCHELLONG, P. (2012):** Rinder vs. Goldesel. In: Tourism Watch, No. 66, 11-13

**SCHENK, K. (2008):** Ausgepresst für Agrosprit. In: welt-sichten 5/2008, 32-33

**SEIB, R. (2010):** Schmutziges Gold. In: welt-sichten 5/2010, 31-33

**SESHADRI, S. (2013):** Expert Interview on Aug 14, 2013

**SMUTS, R. (2008):** Conservation corridors in south-western Botswana. Published by Conservation International. URL: http://www.ffem.fr/webdav/site/ffem/shared/ELEMENTS_COMMUNS/U_ADMINISTRATEUR/6-MEDIAS/ArticlesPresse/ProjetBotswana_African_Geographic_Dec_Jan_2008.pdf [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SOUTHGATE, C. R. J. (2006):** Ecotourism in Kenya: The Vulnerability of Communities. In: Journal of Ecotourism, 5:1-2, 80-96

**SPENCELEY, A (2003):** Tourism, Local Livelihoods, and the Private Sector in South Africa: Case Studies on the Growing Role of the Private Sector in Natural Resources Management. Research Paper 8 by Sustainable livelihoods in Southern Africa. March 2003

**SPRING, K. (2011):** Tourism & Ethnocide In Honduras. Published by Resistencia Honduras on Jul 17, 2011. URL: http://www.resistenciahonduras.net/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3289:tourism-a-ethnocide-in-honduras&catid=103:human-rights&Itemid=352 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SRI LANKA TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY (S.R.T.D.A. 2010):** Kalpitiya Dutch Bay Resort. URL: http://www.sltda.gov.lk/kalpitiya [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SSALI, F. (2012):** My wonderful experience with Batwa and their cultural sites in Bwindi. Published by bwindiresearchers on Sept 10, 2012. URL: http://bwindiresearchers.wildlifedirect.org/2012/09/10/my-wonderful-experience-with-batwa-and-their-cultural-sites-in-bwindi/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**STAHEL, S. (2011a):** Landkampf in Honduras. Published by HEKS on Aug 3, 2011. URL: http://www.heks.ch/fileadmin/user_upload/domain1/1_news_and_service/pdf/handeln_magazin/HEKS_handeln_3 13.pdf [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**STAHEL, S. (2011b):** Honduras: Widerstand auf Zacate Grande gegen den Bau eines Luxushotels. Published by fairunterwegs on Nov 23, 2011. URL: http://www.fairunterwegs.org/themen/thema/article/honduras-widerstand-auf-zacate-grande-gegen-den-bau-eines-luxushotels.html [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**STRASDAS, W. (2011):** Ecotourism & Protected Area Management: Introduction (Course Material)

**STRAUSS, A. L.; CORBIN, J. (1996):** Grounded Theory: Grundlagen Qualitativer Sozialforschung. Psychologie Verlags Union. Weinheim.

**STUPPÄCK, S. (2012):** Kulturerbe ohne Menschen? Leben in den Ruinen von Hampi. Published by Tourism Watch on Mar, 2012. URL: http://www.tourism-watch.de/content/kulturerbe-ohne-menschen [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SUBEDI, S. P. (2012):** Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in Cambodia: Published by Human Rights Council on Sept 24, 2012. URL: http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/HRBodies/HRCouncil/RegularSession/Session21/A-HRC-21-63-Add1_en.pdf [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL (S.I. 2013a):** Erfolg: Rechte der Soliga an ihrem Wald vor Gericht bestätigt. Published by Survival International on Jun 19, 2013. URL: http://www.survivalinternational.de/nachrichten/9332 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL (S.I. 2013b):** Vertreibungen: Gericht gewährt Buschleuten Atempause. Published by Survival International on June 18, 2013. URL: http://www.survivalinternational.de/nachrichten/9323 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL (S.I. 2013c):** Tansania: Landraub könnte das Ende der Massai und der Serengeti bedeuten. Published by Survival International on Mar 28, 2013. URL: www.survivalinternational.de/nachrichten/9097 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL (S.I. 2012):** Kenia: Nach Ausweisung folgt Gewalt an indigenem Volk. Published by fairunterwegs on Jan 03, 2012. URL: http://www.fairunterwegs.org/themen/thema/article/kenia-nach-ausweisung-folgt-gewalt-an-indigenem-volk.html [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL (S.I. 2011):** Indien: Indigenes Volk sichert erstmals Landrechte in Tigerreservat. Published by Survival International on Nov 02, 2011. URL: http://www.survivalinternational.de/nachrichten/7845 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL (S.I. 2010):** Ehemalige UN-Beraterin für Wasserangelegenheiten verurteilt Botswanas Umgang mit Buschleuten. Published by Survival International on Aug 05, 2010. URL: http://www.survivalinternational.de/nachrichten/6311 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL (S.I. 2009):** Maasai vertrieben und inhaftiert, um Platz für Safari und Jagd-Konzessionen zu schaffen. Published by Survival International on Aug 20, 2009. URL: www.survivalinternational.de/nachrichten/4915 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**TENUTO, A. (2010):** Chiapas: The Reconquest of Recuperated Land. Published by Upside Down World on Apr 28, 2010. URL: http://www.upsidedownworld.org/main/mexico-archives-79/2469-chiapas-the-reconquest-of-recuperated-land [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**THE ECONOMIST (T.E. 2009):** An odd deal over land - Are Gulf Arabs taking a chunk of South Sudan for themselves? Published by The Economist on Jul 09, 2009. URL: http://www.economist.com/node/13988532 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**THETT; K. K. (2012a):** Der Run auf Myanmar. In: Tourism Watch No. 69, Dec 2012, 11-13

**THETT, K. K. (2012b):** Responsible Tourism in Myanmar: Current Situation and Challenges. Published by Burma Center Prague. URL: http://www.burmalibrary.org/docs14/Responsible-Tourism-in-Myanmar-Current-Situation-and-Challenges-red.pdf [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**THOMSON SAFARIS (2010):** Sukenya Village reaffirms support for TCL, community conservation. Published on Nov 24, 2010. URL: http://thomsonsafaris.wordpress.com/2010/11/24/sukenya-village-reaffirms-support-for-tcl/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**THOMSON SAFARIS (2010):** The Truth. URL: http://thomsonsafaris.wordpress.com/the-truth/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**TI (2013):** Burma: Land Grab for Luxury Hotel Complex BURMA. In: south east asia tourism monitor, Vol. 4, No.2, March - April 2013, 2

**TIES (1990):** What is Ecotourism? URL: http://www.ecotourism.org/what-is-ecotourism [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**TITTIHARA, M. (2012).** Villagers take case to capital. Published by The Phnom Penh Post on Feb 29, 2012

**TOURISM WATCH (2011):** Alles was Recht ist – Menschenrechte und Tourismus. Impulse für eine menschenrechtlich orientierte Tourismusentwicklung. Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst e.V. Bonn, January 2011

**TRAVEL AFRICA MAGAZINE (TAM 2013):** Kenya: Kimana Community Wildlife. Published by Travel Africa Magazine. URL: http://www.travelafricamag.com/index2.php?option=com_content&do_pdf=1&id=52 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**TRUCCHI, G. (2011):** Widerstand in Tela Bay, Honduras. "Los Micos Beach and Golf Resort" – Ein Projekt voller Polemik. Published by Tourism Watch on Mar, 2011. In: Tourism Watch No. 62, March 2011, 12-15

**TSAFACK, J. C. (2013):** Expert Interview on Jul 24, 2013

**TSAFACK, J. C. (2011):** Ausbeutung im Namen des Ökotourismus. In: Tourismus. Begegnungen der anderen Art, INKOTA-Dossier 9, June 2011, INKOTA-netzwerk, 18-19

**TSAFACK, J. C. (2010):** An den Hängen des Mongo ma Loba - Ökotourismus am Kamerunberg. Published by Tourism Watch on Sept, 2010. URL: http://www.tourism-watch.de/content/den-h%C3%A4ngen-des-mongo-ma-loba [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**TUN, H. (2006):** Tourism promotion impact in Ngwe Saung, Irrawaddy Burma (extracts). In: Displacement and causes of displacement in Irrawaddy Division June 2006, 3-6. URL: http://www.ibiblio.org/obl/docs4/Irrawaddy-docs.pdf [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**UNITED NATIONS (UN 2012):** Country classification: Data sources, country classifications and aggregation methodology. URL: http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wesp/wesp_archive/2012wesp.pdf [accessed on May 24, 2013]

**UNITED NATIONS (UN 2007):** Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. URL: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf [accessed on Aug 5, 2013]

**UNITED NATIONS (UN 2005):** An Overview of the Principle of Free, Prior and Informed Consent and Indigenous Peoples in International and Domestic Law and Practices. New York.

**UNITED NATIONS (UN 2002):** General Comment No. 15 - The right to water (Art. 11 & 12). URL: http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/898586b1dc7b4043c1256a450044f331/a5458d1d1bbd713fc1256cc400389e94/$FILE/G0340229.pdf [accessed on Aug 5, 2013]

**UNITED NATIONS (UN 1999):** General Comment 12 - The right to adequate food (Art.11). URL: http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/%28Symbol%29/3d02758c707031d58025677f003b73b9?Opendocument [accessed on Aug 5, 2013]

**UNITED NATIONS (UN 1991):** General Comment 4 - The right to adequate housing (Art.11). URL: http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/%28Symbol%29/469f4d91a9378221c12563ed0053547e?Opendocument [accessed on Aug 5, 2013]

**UNITED NATIONS (UN 1986a):** Declaration on the Right to Development. URL: http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/41/a41r128.htm [accessed on Aug 5, 2013]

**UNITED NATIONS (UN 1986b):** International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. URL: http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cescr.pdf [accessed on Aug 5, 2013]

**UNITED NATIONS (UN 1948):** Universal Declaration of Human Rights. URL: http://www.un.org/en/documents/udhr/index.shtml [accessed on Aug 5, 2013]

**VIDEA (2002):** Workers, the Environment and the Flower Industry. In: Deceptive Beauty - A look at the global flower industry; by Victoria International Development Education Association. Global citizens for a global era. Vol. 1 Issue 5, 2002.

**VIGNA, A. (2011):** Streit um den Blumenberg. Ein mexikanisches Dorf wehrt sich gegen falschen Naturschutz. In: Le Monde diplomatique German Version; December 2011

**WAGNER SAFARIS (2013):** Mozambique / South Africa. URL: http://web.archive.org/web/20130726044238/http://wagnersafaris.co.za/index.cfm?Aid=1885889639 [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**WANJIRU, J. (2009):** Land deals: Are win-win partnerships possible? In: West Africa Observer. SWAC/OECD, N°3/4, July-December 2009, 4-12

**WAWERU, K. (2013):** Kenya: 400 Families Ordered to Vacate Laikipia Land. Published by allAfrica on Apr 15, 2013. URL: http://allafrica.com/stories/201304152305.html [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**WILDERNESS SAFARI (2013):** The 4 Cs - Conservation, Community, Culture and Commerce. URL: http://www.wilderness-safaris.com/ [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**WONGRUANG, P. (2013):** Dem Untergang geweiht? Thailands Seenomaden leiden unter Nationalpark-Restriktionen. In: Tourism Watch No. 70, March 2013

**WORLD BANK (2006):** Implementation Completion Report (IDA-35580) on a Credit in the Amount of SDR 4.0m (US$5.0m equivalent) to the Republic of Honduras for a Sustainable Coastal Tourism Project. Published on June 20, 2006. URL: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/servlet/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2006/06/26/000090341_20060626130039/Rendered/PDF/35651.pdf [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**WORLD BANK (2010):** Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Credit in the Amount of SDR 11.6m (US$ 18.0m equivalent) to the Republic of Sri Lanka for a Sustainable Tourism Development Project. Published on Apr 07, 2011. URL: http://www-wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/WDSP/IB/2010/05/14/000350881_20100514152929/Rendered/PDF/503440PAD0REVI10Box349420B01PUBLIC1.pdf [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**ZIMMERMANN, E. (2010):** Slow Death. Published on Jun 28, 2010. URL: www.dandc.eu/en/article/water-prices-dead-sea-and-jordans-lush-hotel-oases [accessed on Sept 1, 2013]

**ZIPS-MAIRITSCH, M. (2013):** Lost Lands? (Land) Rights of the San in Botswana and the legal concept of Indigeneity in Africa. LIT Verlag; Münster, Germany

**ZOOMERS; A. (2010):** Globalisation and the foreignisation of space: seven processes driving the current global land grab. In: The Journal of Peasant Studies, 37:2, 429-447

**DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP**

I declare that the work presented here is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original
and the result of my own investigations, except as acknowledged, and has not been
submitted, either in part or whole, for a degree at this or any other University

Eberswalde, September 17th, 2013

Diana Ojo