ROUTLEDGE ISS STUDIES IN RURAL LIVELIHOODS

The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus

Political economies and rural realities of (un)comfortable bedfellows

Edited by Bram Büscher and Veronica Davidov



The Ecotourism-Extraction Nexus

Ecotourism and natural resource extraction may be seen as contradictory pursuits, yet in reality they often take place side by side, sometimes even supported by the same institutions. Existing academic and policy literatures generally overlook the phenomenon of ecotourism in areas concurrently affected by extraction industries, but such a scenario is in fact increasingly common in resource-rich developing nations.

This edited volume conceptualizes and empirically analyses the 'ecotourism-extraction nexus' within the context of broader rural and livelihood changes in the places where these activities occur. The volume's central premise is that these seemingly contradictory activities are empirically and conceptually more alike than often imagined, and that they share common ground in ethnographic lived experiences in rural settings and broader political economic structures of power and control.

The book offers theoretical reflections on why ecotourism and natural resource extraction are systematically decoupled, and epistemologically and analytically re-links them through ethnographic case studies drawing on research from around the world. It should be of interest to students and professionals engaged in the disciplines of geography, anthropology, and development studies.

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Foreword

Rosaleen Duffy

This is an important book which offers us a new perspective on both ecotourism and on a range of extractive industries. It draws two apparently separate sets of dynamics together to pose an intriguing challenge: are they actually at odds with one another?

The debate on ecotourism has long revolved around a particular set of issues: how do we define it? How useful is it for biodiversity conservation? Can it contribute to economic development? The dominant frame is that ecotourism can deliver sustainable development, although this has been increasingly criticised by those interested in how ecotourism is linked to the wider context of neoliberalism. This book pushes that debate even further and offers us a sustained analysis and critique of how ecotourism and extractive activities often co-exist and even support each other.

We are accustomed to the idea that for ecotourism to succeed it must be practised in places that are pristine, untouched and unspoiled, wild and untamed. Ecotourism operators attempt to persuade us that 'nature' can be conserved via our holidaying habits. Yet these categories are produced by social, economic and political contexts. Critics of ecotourism offer key insights into the ways that nature is 'produced' both materially and discursively by the industry: images of empty palm-fringed beaches sell holidays, landscapes are reshaped to suit the tourist tastes that are produced by the industry in the first place (see West and Carrier, 2004; Neves, 2010). Likewise, images of pristine wilderness, devoid of people but teeming with animals are used to sell safaris, and that, in turn, supports the continued, artificial separation of human communities from protected areas (Brockington and Igoe, 2006). These arguments are, by now, well worn.

If we examine the debates around oil and mining as an extractive industry, they are also wrapped in a set of stereotyped images. Mining is assumed to be ecologically destructive; it is assumed that it benefits only national and global elites able to capture its profits, while its economic, environmental and social costs are paid by poor and marginalised peoples. This is certainly the case with many extractive projects that hit the headlines; the activities of Shell in Nigeria and Sherritt International's Ambatovy nickel mine in Madagascar are obvious cases. By contrast, the development of diamond mining in Botswana is regularly referred to as an excellent example of benefits that diamond-driven development

can bring to a large cross-section of decidedly non-elite population (though certain indigenous groups have been displaced by it). A number of studies on mining, especially artisanal mining, further disrupts simplistic ways of thinking about extraction. Work by De Boeck (2001), for example, weaves a more complex and sophisticated picture that reveals the everyday lives of diamond miners on the border between DRC and Angola. Previous work by Walsh (2003) offers a window into the world of sapphire miners and the dynamics created from an increase in disposable income (also see his Chapter 3 in this volume). What this tells us is that extractive industries do not have homogenised, negative consequences for the environment and poorer communities. Such ethnographic studies remind us that we need to have a more nuanced understanding of extraction. And this book takes up that challenge and responds to it in a systematic way.

What is so important about this book is that it takes the wider body of work on ecotourism and extractive industries, and opens up an entirely new way of looking at them: as an ecotourism-extraction nexus. Much existing work assumes that extraction and ecotourism are polar opposites. This collection presents the intriguing critical interrogation of the ways that they can in fact co-exist and even co-produce each other. This can be related to the wider debate about the neoliberalisation of nature and debates on how we think of 'value' or valorisation of nature in this case (see Bakker, 2010; Braun, 2008; Castree, 2009; 2008; Heynen et al., 2007; McCarthy and Prudham, 2004: 275-277; Peck and Theodore, 2007). If we take the chapter by Walsh, for example, the discursive and material re-creation of sapphires and landscapes in Madagascar allows both mining and ecotourism to exist in the same place and for both to be 'sold' to international markets. The sapphires and the landscapes are cast and refashioned as natural wonders that are able to generate profit. This deepens and extends neoliberal logics to a greater range of non-human natures, allowing nature to be captured, entrained and re-created by neoliberalism (see Büscher, 2010; Igoe and Brockington, 2007). Smith's chapter offers an account of how, for indigenous communities in the region, oil extraction might not stand in the way of ecotourism – but rather may engender and in some sense even provide support for it. Davidov's Chapter 8 looks at the longer-term patterns of state support for mining and for ecotourism as parallel sources of livelihood and how more recent processes of privatisation shaped them into parallel sources of dispossession. We see such convergences in other examples around the world: the creation of new protected areas and tourism schemes as 'offsets' for ilmenite mining by Qit-Fer Minerals Madagascar (a division of Rio Tinto), or the well documented Campo Ma'an Park as part of the offset scheme for the Chad Cameroon pipeline. The link between ecotourism, extraction and neoliberalism is perhaps made most explicit in Chapter 5 by Fletcher on Costa Rica: that ecotourism encourages the commodification of nature via the creation of conservation areas. In this sense nature is a key arena in which neoliberalism is constituted (Brand and Gorg, 2008). We need to develop a better understanding of the role nature itself plays in the expansion and deepening of neoliberalism, as well as how this plays out in

varied ways on the ground. This book is a vitally important step in that direction. The links seems so clear in this book that it poses a question: why has it taken until now to have a volume dedicated to debating these issues?

Part of the answer to this question lies in ways we think of ecotourism and extraction as opposites. But that is not enough to explain it. We also need to examine how academic researchers might operate in terms of topic silos: we become known for working on a particular area. Researchers who examine mining are not usually experts on ecotourism, those that focus on climate change might examine the oil industry but miss the links to biodiversity conservation, and so on. As researchers we need to reflect back on the ways that we continually produce and reproduce these dichotomies via training in particular disciplines. Being part of a discipline can enhance our intellectual engagement with a particular topic, but it may also make some important issues invisible to us. That is why this book *matters* – it makes the links between the topic areas. It is an important book for another reason as well: its rich empirical case studies. Much of the debate on neoliberal nature is conceptual and deals with the macro-scale (with some notable exceptions) (see Castree, 2008). By contrast, this volume offers a range of carefully researched case studies that draw our attention to common patterns in the ecotourism-extraction nexus. They are able to achieve this because they concentrate on local communities and particular places as appropriate scales of analysis. This means they offer new challenges to the conceptual and supranational scale analyses of the neoliberal nature debate. These are discernible from Kenya (Styles) to Russia (Davidov) to Papua New Guinea (Halvaksz) to Belize (Stinson) to Sweden (Revelin), to name but a few. These might seem like disparate cases that might have little in common – but it is clear that the dynamics of neoliberalism draw them together and make ecotourism and extraction compatible. To conclude, this book matters in conceptual and empirical terms, it is a rarity because it opens up a new field of understanding. For those reasons, it is important that researchers and policy makers engaged in these industries read, understand and act on the arguments contained within it

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Preface

This book has been a delight to work on. Where academics habitually say that editing books is a tenuous and stressful process, we feel this collection has been a breeze. Obviously, it required hard work, long nights and dedication from the authors, the publisher, and ourselves, but like with any labour of love, these are quickly forgotten when the end result is so exciting. From the start, we truly felt that this volume deserves a place in the literatures on ecotourism, resource extraction and the broader debates on conservation and (rural) development, simply because the ecotourism-extraction nexus has gone remarkably unnoticed so far. When we started the discussions that led to this volume in July 2011, we found each other in a common 'discovery': that in our fieldwork sites we increasingly noted the intersection of ecotourism and resource extraction, where seemingly sustainable conservation and unsustainable extraction activities were increasingly intertwined in policy, practice and theory. We wondered whether other researchers had similar experiences in their field sites.

We decided to write a call for papers to solicit abstracts for a session at the European Association for Social Anthropology (EASA) conference in Paris, in July 2012. To our surprise, we received a lot of response. So much so, and of such high quality, that we immediately felt we needed to bring these together in a collection. As the Institute of Social Studies - the intellectual home of one of the editors - and Routledge were involved in a successful book series on rural livelihoods, the choice for a publisher was quickly made. We immediately informed the authors of our intentions. Most responded positively, and we set some planning goals. Again, to our pleasant surprise, almost all of the authors kept to the deadline, and even before the European Association of Social Anthropology (EASA) triple session we put together, we were able to present Routledge with a proposal and sample chapters. The EASA sessions deepened conversations between all the authors and the editors, and afterwards, armed with peer comments, the authors set out to revise their chapters. Many of these then went through several iterations, in order to ensure high quality, and the result is a book we are truly proud of. We are especially proud of the geographical diversity of the represented case studies – showing that the ecotourism-extraction nexus is a truly global phenomenon. Yet, this is only the beginning. The study of the ecotourism-extraction nexus, and indeed many other (un)comfortable bedfellows xviii Preface

that inhabit global and local conservation and development realms, is a project we believe can and should be taken much further. We hope this volume contributes to that objective.

Bram Büscher and Veronica Davidov

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We are grateful to all those who helped make this volume a reality. First, we want to thank the contributors to the volume. Their hard work and persistence is what truly makes this volume the exciting collection that it has become. Second, we want to thank the series editors of the Routledge-ISS studies in rural livelihoods: A. Haroon Akram-Lodhi, Saturnino Borras Jr., Cristóbal Kay, Max Spoor, and our editors at Routledge, Emily Kindleysides and Natalie Tomlinson, for their support, encouragement, advice and help in all stages of the development of this volume. We also want to thank the two anonymous reviewers solicited by Routledge for their endorsement, engagement, and for their helpful suggestions. Third, we want to thank Professor Rosaleen Duffy and Professor Wolfram Dressler for working under tight deadlines to write respectively a preface and conclusion for the volume. Last, we want to thank our partners, families, and friends for their general support, which enabled us to pour our energy and dedication into this project.

Bram Büscher wants to extend a special thanks to Andrew Walsh for writing a chapter about Ankarana and so providing the inspiration for his daughter's name, and to Stacey and Arana for their love and support. Veronica Davidov wants to thank her parents, Mark and Rita, for their love and support from across the ocean, and James and Fionn for their love and support at home.

Bram Büscher and Veronica Davidov The Hague, December 2012