Amenity Migration and Tourism Participation: A Comparative Case Study of Seine Bight and Placencia, Belize

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Amenity Migration and Tourism Participation: A Comparative Case Study of Seine Bight and Placencia, Belize

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Presented as part of the requirement for the award of MA Degree in Sustainable Leisure Management within the Department of Recreation and Tourism Management at Vancouver Island University

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DECLARATIONS

This thesis is a product of my own workk and is not the result of anything done in collaboration.

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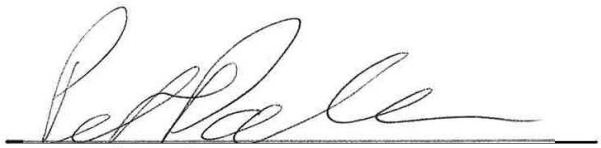

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ABSTRACT

Tourism is a leading industry where there is more demand now than ever for sustainable practices. This is due to the economic, environmental, and social pressures faced by tourism destinations through growing proportions of tourists and amenity migrants who are normally attracted to the most fragile environments. It is imperative that principals and strategies of sustainable tourism are well planned and well managed. Amenity migration is the movement of people to a specific location based on the amenities it has and the lifestyle it is able to offer. The phenomenon entails more than just the movement of people, but of capital, ideas, and practices. As communities develop their tourism industries they often inextricably attract amenity migrants who are seeking the same unique locales and investment opportunities. However, amenity migrants possess the status and wealth to reshape the places in which they choose to live, intentionally or not. In the context of sustainable tourism, it is becoming increasingly important to assess how amenity migrants are changing the landscape and character of the region through tourism enterprise ownership, its effect on future tourism development and thus the ability of local residents to both enter and compete in the tourism industry.

The purpose of this research was to explore the impact of amenity migration on the ability of the local populations of two differently developed communities to participate in sustainable tourism development and management. Seine Bight and Placencia have experienced drastically disparate levels of tourism development. This comparative case study explored what role amenity migration plays in the development processes and its impact on local livelihoods. Through case study methodology, semi-structured interviews and participant observations were conducted within each research site to explore locals' lived experiences of amenity migration. The findings of this research suggest that amenity migration hampers the ability of local residents to meaningfully participate in tourism development, management, and the associated decision making processes, hindering their ability to economically benefit from tourism.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

There is more demand now than ever for green, responsible tourism. This is due to the economic, environmental, and social pressures faced by tourism destinations through growing proportions of tourists who are attracted to the most fragile environments (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Nepal, 2008; Key & Pillai, 2011). As communities develop their tourism industries they often inextricably attract not only temporary tourists, but also foreigners who are seeking the same unique locales and investment opportunities to relocate to as long-term residents (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015). The natural and cultural amenities that these foreigners seek to migrate to are often the same reason those locations become destinations from the beginning. (Laitos & Ruckriegle, 2013). However, in order for a tourism destination to develop sustainably, it is imperative to have local community involvement in tourism development and its associated management, an essential component of successful sustainable tourism development (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Bishnu, Carter, Dogan, & Dyer 2006; Brennan et al., 2010; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Lee, 2013; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Tosun, 2006; Wang & Pfister, 2008). It is typical; however, for participation rates in tourism development and management to be challenged by the capital, ideas, and practices of foreign amenity migrant investors (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015). Most scholars suggest the complications are only going to grow as the world becomes more globalized and the current baby-boomer generation begins their retirement years (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Gurran, 2008; Hays, 2015a; Hayes, 2015b; Janoschka, 2009; Lizarraga, 2015; Schafran, 2011; Spalding, 2013b; Van Noorloos, 2011). This warrants further study on the impact and implications of amenity migration on the sustainable development of tourism destinations. There is a range of research regarding amenity migration, sustainable tourism, and local participation, but little on the nexus of these topics and even less so from the local perspective.

Amenity migration is most easily defined as the movement of people based on the draw of natural and/or cultural amenities (Abrams & Gosnell, 2011). Amenity migration is often regarded as migration from urban to rural places, with the majority of individuals being affluent and seeking a lifestyle that is perceivably better than what is experienced in an urban setting (Draper & Pavelka, 2015). In the amenity migration literature, there is an increasing focus on

the movement of citizen from globally Northern countries, such as Canada the United States, to typically coastal communities in globally Southern countries, namely those in Central and South America (Benson 2015; Croucher 2009; Hayes 2015a; Hayes, 2015b; Crain & Jackiewicz, 2010; Janoschka 2009; Lizarraga 2015). This relocation of individuals brings about a mix of various social-cultural, economic, and environmental impacts that change and challenge the fabric of receiving communities, often irreversibly reshaping them to meet the needs of only the migrants themselves, intentionally or not (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015).

The concept of amenity migration and it impacts are often ignored in tourism research (Konovalov, McGehee, Moscardo, & Murphy, 2013; Moscardo, 2014). It is important to identify the impact amenity migrants have on tourism destinations as they continue to influence traditional systems of tourism at the local level, yet are identified in the literature as a frequently understudied segment of tourists (Konovalov et al., 2013). Only in the last decade have scholars demanded the use of stronger theoretical frameworks through which to uncover and analyze impacts related to this movement of people, capital, information, and images in tourism destinations (Sheller & Urry, 2006). To facilitate this exploration, Sheller and Urry, (2006) suggested the use of a framework called the New Mobilities Paradigm (NMP). Concerned with migration, fluid populations, and relationships that exist within a place, NMP contrasts previous ideas of mobility where notions of "stability and permanence" are paramount (Dredge & Jamal, 2013; Konovalov et al, 2013, p. 532). As mobilities research shifts towards the speed and movement of modern society, it is increasingly important that tourism-informed mobilities, such as amenity migration, receives more attention.

A strong correlation exists between the nature of modern society and tourism under the mobilities paradigm as they share the "interconnection with leisure, transport, business, travel, migration and communication" (Konovalov et al., 2013 p. 535). Tourism-informed mobilities are becoming an increasingly integrated part of modern society, defining relationships and redefining identities of destinations (Konovalov et al., 2013; Moscardo, 2014). Concern; however, lies within the inevitable restructuring and transformation of a place, altering the environmental, economic, and socio-cultural fabrics of a tourism destination, and how this affects the wellbeing of the local population (Konovalov et al., 2013; Moscardo, 2014). To study

the impact of mobilities on destination community wellbeing (DCW), various scholars have used Flora's (2004) framework of community wellbeing that offers a way to examine these relationships within the mobilities paradigm, while considering various forms of capital that determine community well-being, including cultural, social, human, political, natural, financial, and built/physical capitals (as cited by Moscardo, 2014, p. 358).

Not only might the wellbeing of a community be altered, but the amenity migration phenomenon might also impact tourism destination governance. Although difficult to measure the extent of mobilites, it is important to assess its impact on local governance abilities. Dredge & Jamal (2013) used the NMP framework to identified three key processes that affect destinations governance as a result of multiple mobilites intersecting in a major Australian tourism zone: 1) spatial restructuring of destinations, 2) the pluralisation of destination management, 3) re-envisioning of community. Moreover, NMP questions current definitions and effectiveness of "sustainable tourism" in regards to local governance as lines between "local" and "resident", and "home" and "away", become blurred by multiple mobilities in a given destination (Dredge & Jamal, 2013; Konovalov et al., 2013). Although acknowledged within the tourism literature, the role amenity migrants play in tourism destination governance and their mobility impacts on the sustainability of that destination remains understudied.

Amenity Migration and Tourism

Amenity migration often occurs in destinations that play host to tourism due to the abundance of rich natural and cultural amenities of that place, and is often considered an extension of the tourism industry (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Huang, Ko, Pennington-Gray, & Thapa, 2010). In more recent years, tourism has been strategically used as a catalyst for returning permanent or semi-permanent guests who may be attracted by business opportunities, the environment, culture, or a mix of these amenities (Laitos & Ruckridgle, 2013). Many scholars agree that amenity migration has been made possible by growing tourism and residential tourism industries (Benson, 2015; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Myers, 2009; McWatters, 2009). In theory, it is hoped that a visitor (or tourist) will return as a permanent or semi-permanent resident, and so governments have become inclined to simultaneously

promote tourism and real estate investment opportunities to reap the economic benefits from this form of foreign investment (Craine & Jackiewicz, 2010; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Laitos & Ruckridgle, 2013; McWatters, 2009; Meyers, 2009). As such, concepts of travel, leisure, and migration have become increasingly tightly intertwined, and their boundaries further blurred (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015).

The growing inextricable link between amenity migration and tourism provides a basis for recent scholarly efforts to conduct studies of amenity migration in amenity-rich tourism destinations (see Alberts, 2016; Barbara & Glorioso, 2014; Benson, 2015; Brennan, Luloff, & Matarrita-Cascante, 2010; Craine & Jackiewicz, 2010; Farahani & Mirani, 2015; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Hayes, 2015a; Hayes, 2015b; Laitos & Ruckridgle, 2013; LeBlanc, Rojas, & Sunil, 2014; Lizarraga, 2015; McWatters, 2009; Meyers, 2009; Schafran, 2011; Spalding, 2013b; Van Noorloos, 2013). The number of amenity migrants will certainly grow as tourism continues to be an economically viable substitute for declining extractive industries (Huang et al., 2010). This warrants further study on the impact and implications for receiving communities, and will be an important area of study in moving forward with sustainable solutions for tourism planning and development, local participation, and migrant integration processes. Migration literature has already begun to see a shift from a focus on movement and lifestyle choices, to the challenges faced by host communities (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009).

The annual tourism growth rate for the Caribbean region continues to surpass that of other major tourism regions (Goodwin, 2008). Belize is a significant contributor to the Caribbean tourism economy, experiencing annual exponential growth in tourism revenue, employment in the tourism sector, and visitor numbers (Belize Info Center, 2012; BTB, 2013). The majority of visitors to Belize are from North America (Beltraid, 2012; IDB, 2015). The number of tourists and foreign residents continues to grow as the Caribbean nation markets itself as a cost-efficient, "tranquil" place to visit, invest in, and to retire on prime real estate (Belize Hub, 2016; International Living, 2016). Subsequent increases in capital gains from this marketing approach make Belize increasingly dependent on its foreign investors, visitors, and residents (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015). As a developing country, Belize is not in a financial position to decline forms of foreign investment, and is therefore almost certain to be

susceptible to investor influence in terms of tourism development and management (Tosun, 2006). The propagation of amenity migration in Belize is likely to increase as the baby-boomer generation seeks warm, safe, low-cost idyll destinations in which to retire or pursue lifestyle changes (Hayes, 2015a; Janoschka, 2009; Van Noorloos, 2011; Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013). Therefore, it is critical to assess the impact migrants have on receiving locations through research related to sustainable tourism destination governance and management.

Research Framework:

The following research framework guided the development of the study, and was derived from the literature cited above. Using the key concepts of amenity migration, sustainable tourism development and management, and tourism participation, the framework depicts the relationship of these three variables for the context of this study. More specifically, the framework seeks to facilitate an improved understanding of amenity migration's impact on resident decision making participation in the tourism industry as a key component of sustainable tourism development and management. Through this framework we can measure the impact of the amenity migration phenomenon on the sustainability of tourism development and management.

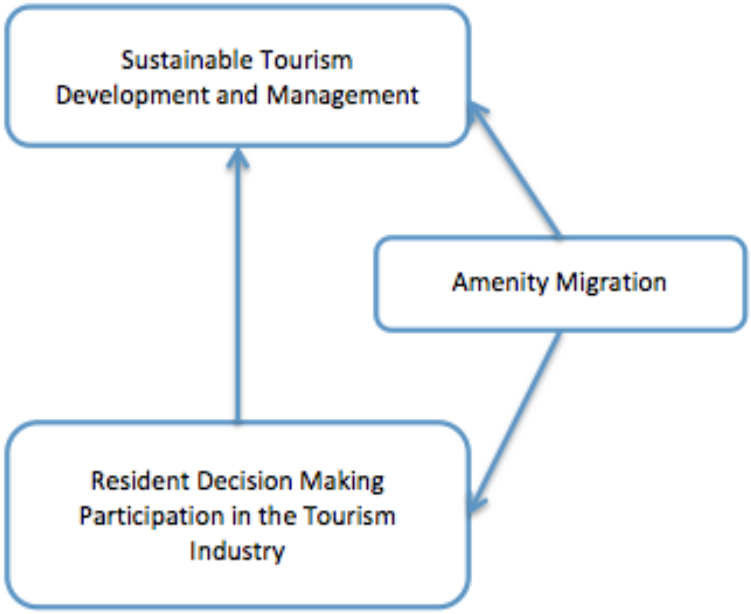

Figure 1: Research Framework

Research Objectives

The purpose of this research is to explore the impact of amenity migration on the ability of the local populations of two differently developed communities to participate in sustainable tourism development and management. These two different communities have experienced drastically disparate levels of tourism development. A comparative analysis of these two communities will allow for a better understanding of how amenity migration impacts sustainable tourism efforts, specifically the participation of locals. This study explores what role amenity migration plays in the development processes and its impact on local livelihoods. The objectives of this comparative case study were to understand the local perceptions of the following:

1. The varying perceptions of approaches to tourism management;
2. The varying levels of opportunities to participate in the development and management of the local tourism industry;
3. The varying impacts of amenity migrants on the development and management of the local tourism industry, and the associated opportunities to participate in the decision-making processes.

The Belize Tourism Industry

Tourism in the Caribbean region contributes the majority of its GDP (Feldman, 2011; Hayle, Singh, & Wright, 2010), and is the largest source of foreign exchange in most Caribbean states (Pratt, 2015). Tourism accounts for over 15% of the region's employment and is growing above the average rate of the entire tourism industry (Goodwin, 2008). The region receives over 25 million tourists annually, and generates over $27 billion in annual revenue (World Tourism and Tourism Council, 2015). Growth and dependence on tourism increased since the 1970s when Caribbean economies began to move away from traditional exports such as sugar, coffee, and cocoa (Bunce, 2008; Guerron Montero, 2011). Following their colonial beginnings, economic liberalization policies opened the door to foreign investment opportunities to facilitate economic expansion of tourism throughout the Caribbean region, including Belize (Feldman, 2011; Matarrita-Cascante & Trejos, 2013; Moore, 2015).

In Belize, tourism accounts for over 38% of total GDP, 28% of its total employment, and these economic benefits continue to grow (BTB, 2013; WTTC, 2015). From 2001 to 2011, earnings from tourism increased from $223 million to over $495 million (Belize Info Center, 2012). Overnight visitors grew by 8.5% in 2012 and 2013, 72% of which hail from North America (Beltraide, 2012; IDB, 2015). Since tourism continues to grow and is such a critical part of the economy, Belize has begun to base its approach upon the guidelines of the National Sustainable Tourism Master Plan (NSTMP) drafted in 2011 (BTB, 2013). This framework is meant to guide the sustainable implementation of tourism projects, policies, industry growth (Beltraid, 2012; IDB, 2015), and increases Belize's competitive edge as an eco-tourism destination as almost 50% of tourism assets fall under this category according to the NSTMP.

To manage Belize's tourism development, two prominent destination management organizations exist: the Belize Tourism Industry Association (BTIA) and the Belize Tourism Board (BTB), with various other tourism organizations existing alongside these two main players. The BITA, developed in 1985, represents investors in the tourism sector (BTIA, 2015). BTB is a government body, and has been developing, marketing, and implementing tourism programs since 1996 (Belize Info Center, 2012).

Today, Belize's tourism slogan reads as "Discovering how to be…" (BTB, 2013), and markets Belize's rich culture, history, land, and sea (BTB, 2013). The most popular activities that attract tourism include snorkelling and scuba diving, inland treks, cave tubing, and Mayan ruins (Belize Info Center, 2012). Belize also has a prominent and growing cruise ship tourism industry. Cruise ship visitor arrivals grew by 19.4% from 2012 to 2013 (Belize Info Center, 2012). However, the increasing popularity of cruise ship tourism creates tension within the industry due to competition with over-night tourism and the environmental pressure caused by cruise ships (Anderson et al., 2011; Belize Info Center, 2012). Belizean lifestyle is another draw for tourists. Tourism websites and marketers depict Belize as "laid back", "tranquil", "slow pace", and "stress-free" (Belize Hub, 2016; BTB, 2013; International Living, 2016), and are simultaneously able to attract retirees alongside tourists.

Belize is increasingly dependent on foreign investors, visitors, and residents (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015). To compliment tourism, Belize has marketed itself as a prime destination for

retirement years. Belize is ranked as a top retirement destination on popular websites such as *International Living* (International Living, 2016), and attracts most of its foreign residents from North America (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015). Such websites also provide information regarding how to become a resident, how to start a business in Belize, and the benefits of living in Belize as a retiree (other examples include Belize.com and travelbelize.org).

Since 1999, Belize has offered the Qualified Retirement Program (QRP) (BTB, 2013). The program acts as an incentive for potential retirees highlighting numerous benefits for deciding to retiring in Belize, most notable benefits include the many tax exemptions, warm climate, low cost of living, and having English as the dominant language make the transition even easier for North Americans (BTB, 2013). The QRP is offered to anyone under the age of 45, and is relatively cheap with a qualification period of roughly 1 year. As a member of this program, you are not permitted to open a business –only residents may register a business. The process to becoming a resident is equally as simple and time-consuming as the QRP, and yields many of the same benefits aside from being able to work for pay (BTB, 2013).

Importance of the Study

Belize is undertaking a sustainable approach to tourism development, evidenced by the National Sustainable Tourism Master Plan drafted in 2011 (BTB, 2013). Tourism continues to be a fundamental part of Belize's national economic development strategy, accounting for a total contribution of over 38% of its GDP (WTTC, 2015). Belize's inextricable link between tourism and real estate provides a wealth of opportunities for foreign investment via business and land ownership, enhancing the draw for amenity migrants who are attracted to Belize's natural and cultural amenities (Anderson, 2011; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015). As tourism continues to rapidly expand, so does the influx of foreign residents (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015). This growth of foreign residents challenges an important pillar of sustainable tourism: local participation. It is a concern that the ability of locals to participate in tourism development and management processes is being threatened as the phenomenon of amenity migration continues to grow (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Hayes, 2015a; Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013; Meyers, 2009; Tosun, 2006; Spalding, 2013; Van Noorloos, 2011). However, few scholars

of amenity migration place a particular focus on sustainable tourism, and even less so from the local perspective.

This research compares the tourism economies of two coastal communities in South-eastern Belize that are opposite ends of the tourism development spectrum. Placencia, once a small, Creole fishing village, is now a well-developed tourism destination with a largely integrated population of amenity migrants. Seine Bight, a small, Garifuna fishing village and neighbouring Placencia, has a fledgling tourism economy, and is an economically disadvantaged community straddled on either side by large resort developments and amenity migrant residences. The purpose of this study was to explore the impact of amenity migration on local participation in sustainable tourism development and management in each village. The importance of the study was to find out, from the local perspective, how local livelihoods are impacted by amenity migrant presence, capital, and tourism participation. By providing insight into the desired local agenda in moving forward with tourism development and management processes, this thesis lends to solutions that help facilitate a maximum generation of economic benefits for local populations, while increasing the ability of tourism development efforts to remain fruitful and sustainable.

In this thesis, chapter one provided complete overview of the study, and detailed the major themes of amenity migration, sustainable tourism, and the Belizean tourism economy. Chapter two provides a review of the literature on amenity migration, impacts of amenity migration, amenity migration in the Caribbean region, amenity migration from the host's perspective, sustainable tourism and local participation, and the impact of amenity migration on local participation in sustainable tourism and tourism management. Chapter three reviews the study locations and describes the process of dealing with data. Chapter four provides the results of the study. Chapter five contains conclusions and discussion of the results.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Sustainable Tourism and Local Participation

Sustainability is characterized as a balance of 3 basic aspects: environmental, social, and economic (otherwise known as the triple bottom line) with culture often being referred to as the fourth aspect (Angelevska-Najdeska & Rakicevik, 2012; Sutawa, 2012; UNEP, 2005 as cited in Clarke, Hawkins, & Waligo, 2013). Scholars discuss sustainable tourism as the non-exploitative use of cultural and natural resources in a way that strengthens their relationship and preserves them for use by future generations (Angelevska-Najdeska & Rakicevik, 2012; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Clarke et al., 2013; Sutawa, 2012). In the context of sustainable tourism, the goal is to minimize social, cultural, and environmental impacts of tourism development while maximizing economic impacts for the local population (Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Clarke et al., 2013). According to the Caribbean Tourism Organization, sustainable tourism is "the optimal use of natural and cultural resources for national development on an equitable and self sustaining basis to provide a unique visitor experience and an improved quality of life through partnerships among government, the private sector and communities" (1996 p.6 as cited by Hayle et al., 2010). Overall, tourism needs to protect the resources on which it depends (Dodds, 2007).

The idea of sustainable development has long been recognized at the international level. Notable examples include the United Nation's Local Agenda 21, as well as the 1987 Brundtland Commission (Clarke et al., 2013; Dodds, 2007). Other international bodies, such as The United Nations World Tourism Organization, as well as the United Nations Environmental Program have specifically recognized the importance of sustainable development and its relationship with tourism (UNTWO, 2005; UNEP, n.d.). Scholars also report on the increasing necessity of tourism to be developed sustainably, especially in destinations where tourism is the dominant industry (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Dodds, 2007). In order to achieve sustainability, it is imperative to have a holistic approach that concentrates on the integrated efforts of all stakeholders, an approach commonly used while applying the Stakeholder Theory (Clarke et al., 2013; Dodds, 2007; Okazaki, 2008; Sutawa, 2012).

Stakeholder Theory (ST) was originally created for business management. Now commonly used as an organizational theory for the business of tourism, ST is important in the identification and exploration of key stakeholders represented in the planning and management of tourism destinations, as well as the uncovering of power dynamics between said stakeholders (Nicholas, Ko, & Thapa, 2009). Stakeholders may be referred to as those who affect, or are affected by, an initiative or organization, and are identified based on a variety of characteristics, including "their power to influence decisions; the legitimacy of their relationships; and the urgency of their claim on the business" (Clarke et al., 2013; Nicholas et al., 2009, p. 392). In tourism, stakeholders include governments, the local community, tourists, and NGOs (Okazaki, 2008). NGOs have specifically been recognized as an important facilitator in sustainable development through their proximity and intimacy with local-level development challenges (Okazaki, 2008). However, due to the various perspectives and needs of each stakeholder, this process can be a complicated one (Dodds, 2007; Clarke et al., 2013). Still, strong connections have been made between ST and sustainable tourism development, especially at the local level where "stakeholder involvement must be included in any sustainable tourism plan in order to reduce conflict" (Byrd, 2007 as cited by Nicholas et al., 2009, p. 393). Although not the framework of this study, Stakeholder Theory has been used by many scholars to support explorations of sustainable tourism planning and management with a focus on the importance of an inclusive approach (Nicholas et al., 2009; Nicholas & Thapa, 2010).

Tourism planning and management has seen a general shift toward the inclusion of local community members (Tosun, 2006) and studies regarding sustainable tourism development make residents a focal point (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Bishnu et al., 2006; Brennan et al., 2010; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Lee, 2013; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2006; Tosun, 2006; Wang & Pfister, 2008). Local community members are considered major stakeholders whose role is becoming increasingly important, as many benefits exist that simultaneously offset the negative consequences of tourism. For example, economic benefits have been widely acknowledged as tourism acts as an engine for employment opportunities and as an income generator (Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Lee, 2013; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011). Local participation has also been linked to environmental conservation as communities work to preserve and maintain the

resources that attract visitors in the first place (Angelevska-Najdeska & Rakicevik, 2012; Lee, 2013; Nunkoo, 2011). Furthermore, participation also increases community professionalism (Tosun, 2006), social capital (Lee, 2013), and democracy within the community (Okazaki, 2008). This is especially true where community members enact high levels of agency, collaboration, and open communication (Brennan et al., 2012). Finally, local participation is ideal for the management of the destination as it provides a better understanding of the unique local resources (Brennan et al., 2010; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Sutawa, 2012).

Tourism and citizen participation has been often been analysed through the use of various participation typologies, such as Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (Arnstein, 1969, as cited by Tosun, 2006), or Tosun's typology of community participation (Tosun, 1990, as cited by Tosun, 2006). Each typology contains low to high categories of citizen participation that reflect levels of citizen power and influence. At the lowest level, non-participation occurs where citizens are manipulated and coerced. At middle levels, tokenism and induced participation occurs. At the top and most ideal level of participation that best reflects a sustainable approach to tourism development and management, citizens hold relatively high degrees of control and decision-making power through spontaneous, bottom-up participation and self-planning (Tosun, 2006).

Although considered a most sustainable approach, the inclusion of locals in tourism development and management has been theorized more often than it has been practiced in reality (Dodds, 2007; Tosun, 2006). In destinations where tourism is the primary industry, low levels of local participation in tourism development and management is typical (Andereck, & Nyaupane, 2011; Bishnu et al., 2006; Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Nicholas et al., 2009; Tosun, 2006). A common barrier to participation is a lack of proper skills and training. Not only are locals out performed and remain at an economic disadvantage in obtaining proper training, but this issue may also create an additional challenge where local lack of confidence and faith in their abilities, making them further withdrawn from tourism participation (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013). Other barriers to participation include conflict among stakeholders and economic leakage via foreign investments (Okazaki, 2008; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005). In globally southern countries with highly centralized governments, it is especially common to have

affluent foreign investors being preferred over local investors through patron-client relationships based on monetary gain (Karakabi, 2013; Tosun, 2006).

Many studies, such as those cited above, have focused on sustainable tourism and the attitudes and actions of local residents in regards to participation. Few studies focus on these topics in the context of amenity migration as this thesis does.

Impact of Amenity Migration on Local Participation in Sustainable Tourism and Tourism Management

The draw of amenity migrants to a destination often creates economic opportunities that host communities tend to appreciate, such as increased demands for local services by migrants which stimulates the existing local economy, or through migrant business developments that create employment opportunities (Hayes, 2015a; Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013). It is common, however, to have employment opportunities remain low skilled and low paid (Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013). In tourism research, this is often regarded as a barrier to participation (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Tosun, 2006).

For example, Daldeniz and Hampton (2013) noted that there was an increasing presence of expatriate entrepreneurs, which was purposely encouraged to fill gaps in tourism services in the area due to the low level of training and skills among local residents. Expatriate business owners rarely hired local labour for senior positions, preferring to instead hire other professionally trained expatriates. Where local business did exist, they were generally small-scale and susceptible to external investor influence (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013).

Tosun (2006) also noted the dependence that exists upon migrant economic contributions to tourism development. Developing countries often cannot afford to turn away foreign investment (Tosun, 1999 p. 243 as cited by Tosun, 2006). Foreign capital tends to displace and control local development processes and participation opportunities; a commonality that exists in studies both of tourism and amenity migration (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Hayes, 2015a; Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013; Meyers, 2009; Tosun, 2006; Spalding, 2013; Van Noorloos, 2011). Migrants are also able to use their relative power and

wealth to affect development decision-making processes at a political level to reflect their values (Stone & Stubbs, 2007). As a result, views of local communities are often neglected, high rates of economic leakage exist, and communities are unable to match the financial contributions to the tourism industry or local economy made by foreign investors (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Tosun, 1999). As is common with most studies regarding tourism participation, local residents feel the impacts of tourism, yet there is a general lack of control over tourism development and management (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Tosun, 2006).

Amenity Migration

Amenity migration is an increasingly popular topic among various fields of study such as rural sociology, geography, environmental studies, migration studies, cultural sociology, and international development (Abrams, Gill, Gosnell, & Klepeis, 2012; Abrams & Bliss, 2013; Lekies, Matarrita-Cascante, Schewe, & Winkler, 2015; Osbaldiston, 2011; Shafran, 2011; Van Noorloos, 2013). Amenity migration is considered "the movement of people based on the draw of natural and/or cultural amenities" (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011, p. 303). It entails a migration of the general population from centers of urban activity to more tranquil, often rural landscapes in search of a greater quality of life (Moss, 2006).

Defining amenity migration is a rather contested subject. Croucher (2015) notes the terminological dilemma of the phenomenon as scholars use different terms to describe this general movement of people, which vary based on the relation to home ownership, employment status, location, and length of stay. Popular terms include "lifestyle migration" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Hayes, 2015a; Janoschka, 2009; Lizarraga, 2015; Spalding, 2013a; Stone & Stubbs, 2007), "retirement migration" (Bradley, Rojas, & Sunil, 2007; Gustafson 2008; LeBlanc et al., 2014), "residential tourism" (Crain & Jackiewicz, 2010; McWatters, 2009; Meyers, 2009; Van Noorloos, 2011), and "second home" tourism or ownership (Barbara & Glorioso, 2014; Farahani & Mirani, 2015). Australian scholars often refer to the concept as "treechange", "seachange" or "downshifting" (Costello, 2007; Gurran, 2008; Hosking & Kelly, 2008). For the purpose of this study, the term amenity migration

will be used to capture the various groups that exist in related studies, such as retirees, second-home owners, and entrepreneurs, including both permanent and part-time residence.

Despite the many ways to describe amenity migration, there is a general consensus regarding the age of the majority of migrants and their motivations. Amenity migration literature consistently identifies migrants as older, more affluent individuals with expendable time and money, and lie on a continuum somewhere between immigrant and tourist (Abrams et al., 2012; Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Croucher, 2015; Hayes, 2015a; Janoschka, 2009; Karbabi, 2013; Lizarraga, 2015; Meyers, 2009; Spalding, 2013b). The most frequently reported motivations amongst amenity migrants is the seeking of an alternative lifestyle, cultural richness, and an improvement in quality of life through proximity to natural beauty, ecosystems, and opportunities for recreation and leisure not found in an urban setting (Gill & Williams, 2006; Hayes, 2015a; Hosking & Kelly, 2008; Karkabi, 2013 Schafran, 2011; Spalding, 2013a; Van Noorloos, 2011).

It is worth noting that the majority of literature regarding amenity migration is based on movements within global North countries, either in-county migration in places like Canada, the United States, and Australia, or inter-continental migration between European countries, with heavy documentation in mountain communities (Moss, 2006; Kondo, Rivera, & Rullman, 2012; Laitos & Ruckriegle, 2013). As scholars began to more heavily focus on migration toward global South countries, such as Mexico, Costa Rica, and Panama, other motivations were identified such as lower cost of living and health care, fewer health risks, and improved perceptions of safety (Hayes, 2015a, Schafran, 2011; Spalding, 2013b; Van Noorloos, 2013).

Amenity migration research in the global South, namely Latin American countries, notes the discourse surrounding the phenomenon as primarily a pull factor for migration. This discourse is a result of the adoption of neoliberal economic strategies that have allowed for a free market approach, especially where real estate is concerned (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Janoschka, 2009; Van Noorloos, 2011). Often countries will tie the promotion of tourism with real estate and other attractive policies (most often to the benefit of retirees) to appeal to an international market, effectively encouraging amenity migration. Real estate companies such as *International Living* are been described as cultural "imaginaries" that

share information through pictures and descriptions of destinations to create an idyll of a location, while simultaneously promoting tourism and travel activities (Craine & Jackiewicz, 2010; Gill & Williams, 2006; Hayes, 2015b; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Lizarraga, 2015). Connections to tourism may also begin from migrants' initial visit to a destination (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). Through these tourism-informed mobilities, it is no coincidence that tourism destinations are also popular places for migration (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009).

Extant literature of amenity migration is thoroughly informative regarding push and pull factors of migration processes while the impact of the phenomenon in host communities has also been well documented. Many authors predict the phenomenon will grow with globalization (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Gurran, 2008; Hayes, 2015a; Janoschka, 2009; Lizarraga, 2015; Schafran, 2011; Spalding, 2013b; Van Noorloos, 2011). This warrants further study on the impact and implications for receiving communities, especially in southern countries as they are becoming increasingly popular as destinations for migration (Hayes, 2015a; Janoschka, 2009; Van Noorloos, 2011; Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013).

Impacts of Amenity Migration

Social. Amenity migration literature refers to so social impacts of the phenomenon as "social dislocation" (Hayes, 2015a), "contested spaces" (Janoshcka, 2009), "mundane interactions" (Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013), or similar negative connotations to reflect the lack of, or weak, integration between locals and migrants. Various scholars report the tendency of migrants to interact with those of a similar background, level of education, and income (Abrams & Bliss, 2013; Benson, 2015; Craine & Jackiewcz, 2010; Gurran, 2008; Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013; Spalding, 2013b; Van Noorloss, 2013). Interactions between locals and migrants are therefore often limited to the exchange of goods or services or via employer-employee relationships (Benson, 2015; Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013). Additional barriers to integration include language (Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013; Spalding, 2013b; Van Noorloos, 2013), the physical separation of gated communities (Janoschka, 2009; Spalding, 2013b), and the temporary/mobile nature of many second-homeowners (Van Noorloos, 2013). These factors contribute to social instability through the

creation of haves and have-nots between affluent migrants and community locals (Gurran, 2008). Furthermore, migrants refrain from community engagement to pursue a leisure lifestyle of recreation and relaxation (Laitos & Ruckriegle, 2013).

Social segregation in amenity migration destinations is common, and may result in animosity or social conflict between locals and migrants (Laitos & Ruckriegle, 2013), the hindrance of community development initiatives (Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013), and threaten the general social sustainability of a community (Hosking & Kelly, 2008). Furthermore, migrants who are entrepreneurial and politically involved are able to exert their power to create (or negotiate) changes in traditional community ways of life culturally and socially, leading to general social discontent (Benson, 2015; Costello, 2007; Hayes, 2015b; Spalding, 2013b; Van Noorloos, 2013). This role of migrants is contributing to "place making" (Benson, 2015; Costello, 2007) and even influencing traditional community behaviour (Hayes, 2015a; Spalding, 2013b). The most prominent social issues in the amenity migration literature are social exclusion and marginalization. This is especially common in globally Southern countries where cultural and economic discrepancies between local residents and migrants are greater than that found in the North (Spalding, 2013b). However, the opposite can also occur, and social capital may be built. Relationships may be mediated as migrants seek advice from locals regarding, for example, land-use practices (Abrams & Bliss, 2013), or where migrants and locals share the same ecological and development concerns (Janoshka, 2009). As concerned citizens, amenity migrants will often be highly active agents in their new communities through organizations or groups (Hayes, 2015a; Lizarraga, 2014; Shafran, 2011; Spalding, 2013b; Van Noorloos, 2011). This can be simultaneously beneficial and detrimental to host communities, where although amenity migrants have good intentions for community and social development, they often wield power in the process and prescribe themselves leadership positions (Lizzaraga, 2015; Van Noorloos, 2011).

Economic. Much debate exists about the title held by amenity migrants in terms of economics. Expendable time and wealth is often associated with retirees, or what is described in the literature as 'international retirement migration' (IRM) or second-home owners (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Meyers, 2009). However, seeking relative economic privilege is a primary

motivator and facilitator of amenity migration, and is common when migration occurs from affluent Northern regions to Southern destinations (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009). Migrants often seek to secure an economically privileged environment, such as lower costs of living (something that was especially prevalent following the 2008 global economic downturn) and relatively low property prices (Hayes, 2015a; Hayes, 2015b; Spalding, 2013b). Hayes (2015b) applied the term "economic migrants" to this category of migrants. Included in this overarching title of "economic migrant" is the draw of business or investment opportunities, many of which are in (developing) tourism destinations (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009; Stone & Stubbs, 2007). Overall, studies of amenity migration repeatedly highlight the fact that international migrants may be not only be attracted to a destination for its natural and cultural amenities, but for the economic opportunities from which to capitalize (Hayes, 2015b; Meyers, 2009; Spalding, 2013b).

The adverse economic impacts of amenity migration have been well documented. Authors frequently report on what Laitos and Ruckriegle (2013) termed the "down valley" effect (p. 80); an influx of relatively affluent migrants creating a rise in the value of property, among other goods and services, increasing the overall cost of living. A rise in the cost of living effectively displaces local residents, as well as local enterprises, which can no longer afford to live in there (Hayes, 2015b; Gurran, 2008; Meyers, 2009; McWatters, 2009). Furthermore, restructuring of the local economy may results in local residents abandoning traditional forms of livelihood in order to meet the demands of this gentrification processes (Gurran, 2008; McWatters, 2009). Alternative forms of livelihoods normally offer consistently lower wages via service industry jobs, putting local residents at a consistent economic disadvantage (Gurran, 2008; McWatters, 2009; Van Noorloos, 2011). Meyers (2009) described this as "local downward mobility" of already underprivileged local residents (p. 75).

As local residents adjust to a new economic mould, a dependency is created upon the economic strategies of tourism developers, construction companies, land-owning elites, and other forms of foreign investment that possess both greater financial and educational capacities (Meyers, 2009; Van Noorloos, 2011). This creates economic leakage and completion for local residents. Business developments by migrant populations often cater to foreign

tourists and amenity migrants of the same caliber, isolating local residents who cannot afford these new luxuries, nor compete with the attraction of foreign clients (Hayes, 2015b; Meyers, 2009; McWatters, 2009 Spalding, 2013b). Another form of competition for local residents comes with an influx of neighbouring country migrants seeking low-skilled, cheap labour opportunities (Van Noorloos, 2011).

Economic impacts on a local scale are inextricably linked to policy implications on a national level. Hayes (2015b) noted a national level decline in public service investment as the phenomenon of amenity migration (and thus a lucrative real estate industry) grew. Benson (2015) made a similar observation when he noted government policies eventually moved to facilitate investment and migration patterns of more favorable economically privileged residents, otherwise known as residential tourists.

Although the extent literature on amenity migration highlights negative economic impacts, positive impacts are frequently reported. The most cited benefit of amenity migration is the economic growth that provides a consistent flow of money and other capital in a destination, as well as employment opportunities (Hayes, 2015a; McWatters, 2009; Schafran, 2011; Spalding, 2013b; Stone & Stubbs, 2007). Positive social relationships and powerful bonds may be built through employer-employee relationships, allowing a way for migrants to identify with, and therefore integrate into, the local community (Hayes, 2015a; Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013). The revival of infrastructure and community aesthetics is also common as gentrification takes place (Stone & Stubbs, 2007).

Environmental. Amenity migration must lend much of the phenomenon's development to the environmental draw of a destination. The natural world is of high importance in decision-making processes for migration, and is considered a main motivator to change of residence (Moss, 2006; Obaldiston, 2011; Ambrams et al., 2012). Obaldiston (2011) suggests that the authentic aura of a place, which includes its natural landscape, is inherent in the draw of migrants, but that it becomes harder to maintain authenticity as the phenomenon grows. For example, various environmental impacts have been reported, including landscape changes, land use changes, and ecological impacts (Abrams et al., 2012; Abrams & Bliss, 2013; Benson, 2015; Gill & Williams, 2006; Gurran, 2008; Hayes, 2015a; Laitos, 2013; Matarrita-Cascante &

Stocks, 2013; McWatters, 2009; Moss, 2006; Osbaldiston, 2011; Spalding, 2013a). This leads to the conclusion that amenity migration is not simply a movement of people, but is "re-creating and reconstituting rural landscapes in line with the ideals and expectations of affluent in-migrants" (Abrams et al., 1998 as cited by Abrams et al., 2012, p. 278).

As the population of affluent migrants grows in a given destination, landscape changes occur (Abrams et al., 2012; Hayes, 2015a). This process is a result of gentrification as large developers, as well as the state, contribute to transformation processes that support migrant lifestyle demands contrary to the residential status quo (Hayes, 2015a). Features include using land to facilitate the implementation of businesses and services that cater to migrant needs, as well as the construction of residential areas that are almost exclusively foreign owned (Hayes, 2015a). Migrant residences are often built in areas of natural beauty and/or in an area that requires a similar view (Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013). Gated communities are also common, and are extremely prevalent in underdeveloped countries of the South (Hayes, 2015a; Gill & Williams, 2006; McWatters, 2009). It has been found that gated communities are frequently built upon prime land that was once valuable for its local reproduction purposes, yet is now bought and sold as a commodity (Abrams & Bliss, 2013). The affect is a weakened relationship with the land among locals due to growing alienation, and rapid rates of displacement/relocation (Hayes, 2015a; McWatters, 2009; Osbaldiston, 2011; Van Noorloos, 2011). This weakened relationship to land is interconnected with other socio-cultural challenges as cultural practices and values shift, especially among youth (Hayes, 2015a).

Using real-estate development as a land-use strategy is becoming increasingly common in environmentally sensitive areas (Hayes, 2015a; Spalding, 2013a). Laitos and Ruckridgle (2013) discuss the various ecological impacts of amenity migration development in tourism destinations, and question the environmental sustainability and capacity associated with these changes. Results suggest three major environmental impacts: 1) depletion of natural resources (water and land); 2) pollution (air, noise, solid waste, sewage, and water pollution); 3) physical impacts to natural ecosystems from intensive construction activities (erosion, habitat destruction, loss of wildlife, and deterioration of scenery) (Laitos & Ruckridgle, 2013). These

issues are often compounded by a general national lack of environmental information, education, and awareness (Spalding, 2013a).

The severity of adverse environmental impacts has not gone unnoticed or ignored by migrants themselves. Studies show amenity migrants are often aware of their environmental implications, and will often provide financial and educational assistance towards environmental conservation efforts (Abrams et al., 2012; Hayes, 2015a). Land-owning migrants who are environmentally aware will also institute practices that avoid disrupting the authentic value of the land, or will award rental privileges to certain producers who are environmentally progressive and sustainable (Abrams & Bliss, 2013; Osbaldiston, 2011).

As the amenity migration phenomenon continues, unprecedented population growth rates may prove to be problematic in changing environmental practices and the creation of land conflict (Osbaldiston, 2011; Spalding, 2013a). Recreating the rural may, in fact, change landscapes and their environs into something migrants intended to escape, making a destination less attractive and threatening the environments in which they value (Gurran, 2008; Osbaldiston, 2011).

Amenity Migration in the Caribbean

Despite the relative success and popularity of tourism in the Caribbean, Caribbean states were forced to competitively diversify their economies for several reasons: they are similar in what they have to offer for tourism as far as natural amenities (Goodwin, 2008); the tourism industry is still dominated by the industrialized world (namely North America and Europe) (Hayel et al., 2010); and there is a consistent regional threat of hurricanes and climate change that may cause challenges for future tourism (Bishop, 2010; Holladay & Powell, 2013). Island development literature often refers to Caribbean islands as Small Island Developing States (SIDS) that use a Small Island Tourism Economy (SITE) as a development model to carve out niches unique to each state (Alberts, 2016). In seeking to diversity beyond mass tourism (but also to compliment it) many Caribbean states have looked to real estate and residential tourism to develop their economies and attract foreign investment (Bunce, 2008; Celement & Grant, 2012; Moore, 2015). Scholars have also focused on the topic of urbanization in the

Caribbean and its use as an attractant for transnational capital and international prestige (Dodman, 2008; Moore, 2015). For example, Moore (2015) found that in Belize and the Bahamas, second-homes are being considered as an alternative form of sustainable tourism development. These urban designs are "often utilized as an ownership model, where tourist visitation is promoted through second-home buying…as opposed to hotel stays…" otherwise known as "sustainable urbanism" (Moore, 2015, p 522). The word "sustainability" is used as a marketing scheme in itself to attract white-collar consumers (Moore, 2015). Another route for economic diversification has been medical tourism in the Caribbean as a means to create employment and stimulate foreign exchange (Connell, 2013). Both medical tourism and residential development as alternatives to traditional tourism development cater to the North American market through processes of modernization (Dodman, 2008; Moore, 2015), incentivizing and facilitating the progression of amenity migration to the Caribbean. Other examples of diversification include high-end luxury tourism in Anguilla, and eco-tourism in Dominican Republic (Alberts, 2016).

To attract migrants, scholars note the lure used by online marking imaginaries promoting idealized lifestyle visions of "beaches, boats, and bikinis" (Goodwin 2008) or the three "S's" tourism: "Sun, Sand, and Sea" (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Goodwin, 2008; Holladay & Powell, 2013). Caribbean land is often referred to as "untouched" or "unspoilt" (Sheller, 2009; Feldman, 2011). This sets the stage for consumption, as vacations and lifestyles are packaged, commoditized, and sold based almost exclusively on its natural amenities (Goodwin, 2008; Guerron Montero, 2011).

The majority of migrants are Americans and Canadians (Clement & Grant, 2012; Hayle et al., 2010). Sheer proximity and access to this major global market has allowed Caribbean nations to outperform their Pacific and Indian Ocean counterparts in terms of GDP (Pratt, 2015). Typically, migrants are drawn by the tropical natural and cultural amenities that the Caribbean has to offer (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015) as well as the low cost of living, healthcare, and few restrictions on owning real estate (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Sheller, 2009; Spalding, 2013b). Migrants are also drawn by the luxury of English being the dominant language in the

region (exceptions include Cuba, Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico) (Connell, 2013; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Sheller, 2009).

Amenity migrants heavily influence Caribbean host destinations socially, economically, and environmentally as they play three roles simultaneously: that of a tourist, a migrant, and an investor, what Goyvdyak & Jackiewicz (2015) termed as "three-legged" individuals. Socially, impacts remain the same as in most other globally southern destinations that play hosts to tourists and migrants, such as animosity between locals and migrants (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Goodwin, 2008), cultural influence of migrants and cultural deterioration of hosts, and increased crime rates (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; PA Consulting Group, 2007). As a response to these issues, many Caribbean regions see the development of gated communities in order for wealthier and foreign residents to shield themselves of local realities while continuing to mix with people of a similar background. Gated communities reinforce existing unequal social and economic dynamics (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015). Various studies (Clement & Grant, 2012; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Mycoo, 2006) illustrate the impact of gated communities in the Caribbean states of Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, Costa Rican islands, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Trinidad and Tobago. Although mostly negative social aspects are emphasized in the amenity migration literature, other studies support generally positive interactions between migrants and hosts found in Barbados, St. Lucia, and Trinidad and Tobago; however, this positivity was strongly connected to perceptions of economic growth and the creation employment opportunities (PA Consulting Group, 2007).

Economic impacts of amenity migration in the Caribbean are consistent with impacts cited in most amenity migration literature, such as immediate economic development and employment opportunities (Hayes, 2015a; Matarrita-Canscante & Stocks, 2013; PA Consulting Group, 2007; Spalding, 2013; Van Noorloos, 2011), but also consistently low wage and low skilled jobs (Bennette & Gebhardt, 2005; Goodwin, 2008; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Guerron Montero, 2011), inflated land and housing prices (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015), growing dependence on foreign investment and employment (Spalding, 2013b; Pratt, 2015), and high rates of economic competition and leakage (Goodwin, 2008; Holladay & Powell, 2013; Moore, 2015; Pratt, 2015). However, exceptions do exist. Govdyak & Jackiewicz (2015) found Caye

Caulker in Belize to be an outlier where despite its well-known popularity as a tourism destination and a developing destination for amenity migration, over 80% of the tourism industry is Belizean-owned. Similarly, Guerron Montero (2011) found that most tourism in Carriacou, Grenada is also locally owned despite a growing migrant population.

The greatest area of contestation in the amenity migration literature pertains to the environmental implications of tourism and related development in the Caribbean. The Caribbean region consists of many islands whose eco-systems (beaches, coral reefs, and tropical forests) are extremely fragile, and where resources and space are limited (Alberts, 2016; Goodwin, 2008; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015). This leads to issues when the carrying capacity of a state is breached (Alberts, 2016). Construction of additional housing, roads, and businesses to support development efforts exacerbates already existing pressure on the environment (Holladay & Powell, 2013). Studies link tourism development with unsustainable changes in land-use patters (Clement & Grant, 2012; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Sheller, 2009), and an overall rise in pollution, water shortages, and insufficient trash and waste removal (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015).

There are few studies that focus on amenity migration in the Caribbean, and even less so on its impact at the local level (exceptions include Clement & Grant, 2012; Godvyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Moore, 2015; Mycoo, 2006). Further investigation is needed in order to identify important implications of the growing phenomenon for sustainable tourism development. This comparative case study thesis of two villages in Belize adds to the generation a greater understanding of amenity migration and it's impacts in the Caribbean region.

Amenity Migration from the Host's Perspective

The type of relationship built between host and guests is critical in shaping attitudes toward one another (Chan, 2006; Doron, 2005). This relationship is contingent upon the various costs and benefits they each may bring to the other (Chan, 2006; Maoz, Reichel & Uriely, 2009; Ward & Berno, 2011). In some cases, host populations have the ability to exert some control over these relationships. For example, to elicit and sustain economic benefits from foreigners,

host destinations often cater to the other group by creating an environment resembling expectations. Maoz et al., (2009) termed this the “tourist environmental bubble” (p. 510). This was also referred to by MacCannell as “staged authenticity” (1973, as cited by Maoz et al., 2009), and reflects a reliance and dependency on tourism and expectations, but also the importance in behaviour on behalf of the host to their economic success. This is especially important in tourism destinations that are becoming increasingly reliant, or solely reliant, on tourism as a main source of economic generation (Doron, 2005).

To assess guest-host relationships, John Urry’s theory of the ‘tourists gaze’ has been popular to determine tourist’s perceptions of host communities through an examination of attitudes, behaviours, tensions, and power structures that exist within a given destination (Henney, 2015). Until recently, tourism literature has neglected to qualitatively cover this ‘gaze’ from the host perspective (Chan, 2006; Henney, 2015; Maoz, 2006), and warrants further investigation into the local perspective of tourism and its extended impacts, such as the draw of amenity migrants as permanent guests.

Economic benefits are a good predictor of positive attitudes of hosts towards guests (Lankford & Howard, 1994, as cited by Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Ward & Berno, 2011). This has often been associated with the use of Social Exchange Theory (SET), where attitudes of the trade-off exchange of costs are based off an evaluation of the costs and benefits of the guests to the host community (Gursoy & Nunkoo, 2011; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Wang & Pfister, 2008; Ward & Berno, 2011). Going beyond SET, Ward and Berno (2011) incorporate the use of Contact Theory and Integrated Threat Theory in their evaluation of attitudes toward tourists through a commonly used set of predictors, such as employment in tourism industry and perception of tourism impacts, but also less-frequent attitudinal predictors of satisfaction with intercultural contact, perceptions of threat, stereotypes, and inter-group anxiety (Ward & Berno, 2011). This allows for the capturing of a unique, more individual and interpersonal level of analysis.

Studies regarding attitudes and perceptions of residents are dependent upon locality; meaning impacts are heterogeneous and specific to place (Chan, 2006; Gursoy and Nunkoo, 2011; Hao, Kleckley, & Long, 2011). It must also be noted that attitudes and perceptions may

change depending upon what stage of tourism development a destination is experiencing in accordance with Buttler's Destination Lifecycle (Buttler, 1980, as cited by Hao et al., 2011). However, there is a general consensus among scholars about host perceptions of guests and the guests' impacts. These impacts directly affect the perceptions and attitudes of local communities toward tourist and tourism development, to which amenity migration is often inextricably attached. Positive impacts include improvement in local economy and business opportunities that add to overall improvements in quality of life, while negative impacts include increased costs of housing, degradation of culture and environment, economic leakage, and social segregation (Bishnu et al., 2006; Gursoy & Nunkoo, 2011; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011). This is becoming increasingly important as scholars have found a direct correlation between attitudes and perceptions of locals toward "guests", tourism, and the level of participation and support for tourism; the more positive the attitude, the more supportive local communities will be (Bishnu et al., 2006; Gursoy & Nunkoo, 2011; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Wang & Pfister, 2008).

Chapter 3: Methodology

The purpose of this study was to explore the impact of amenity migration on the ability of local resident's to participate in sustainable tourism and tourism management decision making in the neighbouring villages of Seine Bight and Placencia, located in the district of Stann Creek, Belize. A case study methodology was employed in each location in order to gain an in-depth understanding of both the context and content related to the lived experience of amenity migration as a phenomenon, and allow for a comparative analysis thereafter. The exploratory nature of this study sought to understand *how* amenity migration has had an impact at the local level, specifically related to resident participation in the management of the local tourism industry, and therefore justifies an intensive examination of Seine Bight and Placencia in a real-life context. A case study methodology permits a thorough, holistic understanding where the findings are generalizable only to the case, yet allows the case to be used in a comparable sense within the general phenomenon (Tight, 2010).

Case studies are flexible in regards to the methods used to collect data, but central to the data collection is the use of multiple methods to ensure validity and reliability of results (Brown, 2008; Tight, 2010). In keeping with this frame of case study methodology, two qualitative data collection methods were selected for this study: semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The purpose of using multiple qualitative data collection methods was not to develop a representative sample of the population, but rather to allow for a more sound theoretical analysis. Therefore, it was important to choose methods that allowed for different types of interactions with participants in various contexts and support a holistic approach in line with case study methodology (Creswell, 2014b).

Study Area

Belize is home to a relatively small population of 312,698 people (Belize Ministry of Finance, 2011). Of this, 32,166 inhabit the Stan Creek district on the Placencia Peninsula, located in the south eastern region of the country (Belize Ministry of Finance, 2011). The communities explored for this study, Seine Bight and Placencia, are neighbouring villages in this district. The Stan Creek district has experienced rapid tourism development in the last two

decades following the devastation caused by hurricane Iris in 2001. The hurricane effectively destroyed most exiting infrastructure in both Placencia and Seine Bight (Anderson et al., 2011). Redevelopment efforts allowed for rapid rates of foreign investment, which resulted in a serious boom for tourism on the peninsula. Tourism has become the Peninsula's major income generator as a result and continues to grow into a destination for mass tourism and amenity migration.

Despite differences in levels of economic development between Seine Bight and Placencia, little conflict has been reported between the two research study sites. Local residents are instead concerned about the negative impacts generated by an increasing western presence, such as changes in community ethnic compositions and environmental degradation from growing development efforts. To address community concerns, local governance is active in both villages with the Village Chair as acting Mayor and elected council representatives who are in charge of any fund raising processes to address collective needs (Key & Pillai, 2006). Non-Governmental organizations are also involved in governance processes, such as the National Garifuna Council (Anderson et al., 2011; National Garifuna Council of Belize, n.d.).

The villages of Seine Bight and Placencia were chosen on their location in an international tourism destination. These neighbouring villages have experienced drastically uneven levels of tourism development despite their close proximity and general support for tourism (Key & Pillai, 2006). Furthermore, each village has a large expatriate population that has invested in real estate, tourism enterprises, or both. This warranted a closer looks at what factors have contributed to the uneven development of tourism and tourism ownership between the two villages, and how this impacts the development of sustainable tourism and participation amongst local residents.

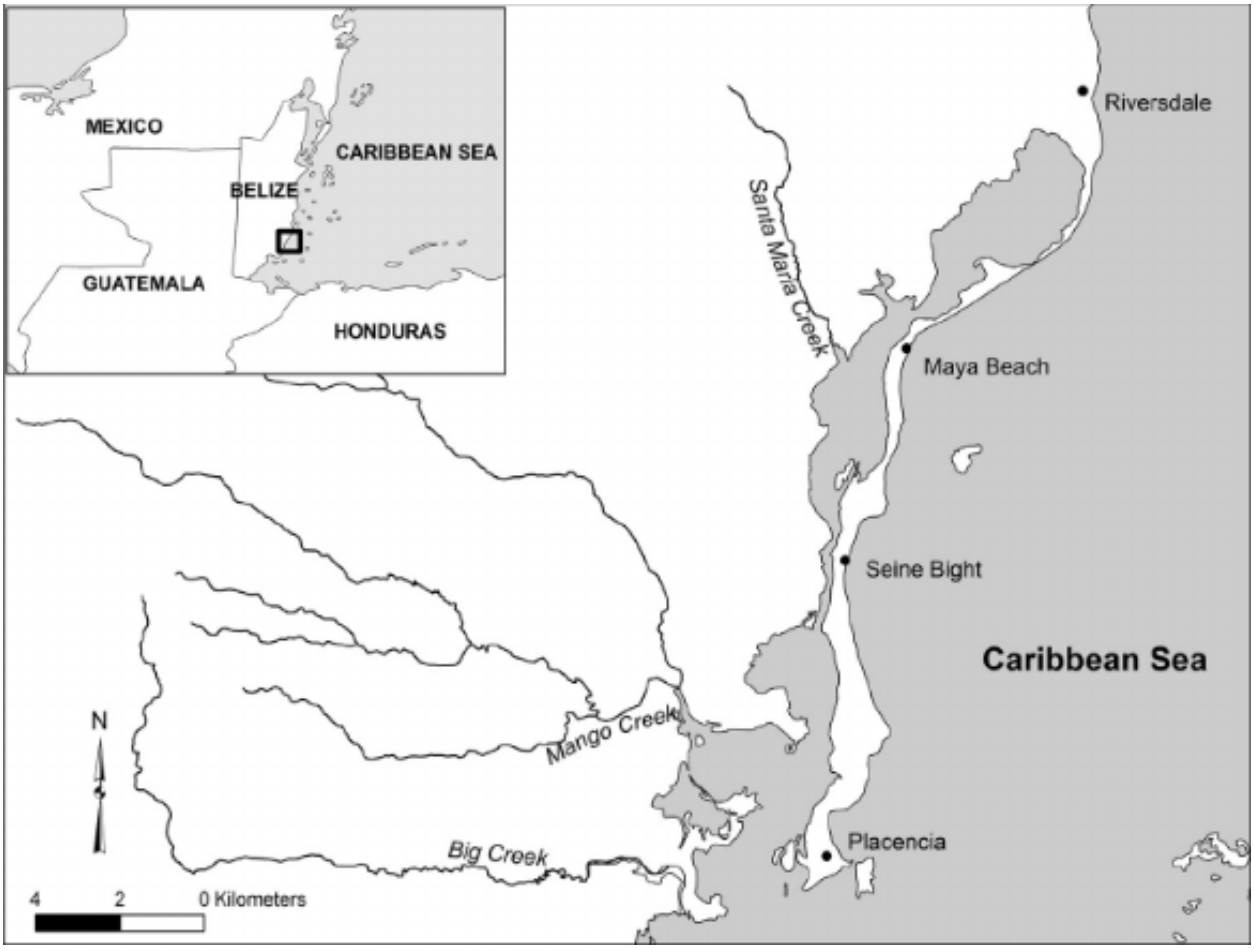

Figure 2. Map of the Placencia Peninsula (Carnis et al., 2016).

Seine Bight, the lesser developed village. The village of Seine Bight is located in the middle of the Placencia Peninsula. Most villagers are descendants of Caribbean Indians and shipwrecked African slaves known as the Garifuna (Key & Pillai, 2006). Seine Bight became the settlement for the Garifuna in the latter half of the 19th century. The Garifuna community was originally a group of laborers who worked on plantations and lived amongst one another through a fidelity system of reciprocity (Key & Pillai, 2006). As Seine Bight continued to grow staple products for their own consumption, they saw little international investment and therefore minimal economic ties which to export resources to increase community revenue like their Creol neighbours in Placencia had (Key & Pillai, 2006). As a result, Seine Bight has only been able to produce a small tourism industry in the absence of international investment in the village. The village continues to be marginalized in the regional tourism industry, and their

ability to extract benefits is limited as they have not been given the proper tools or training needed to adapt to tourism development (Anderson et al., 2011).

Being a predominantly low-income community, most houses are in poor condition, and work must often be sought outside of the community. Existing businesses in Seine Bight are small and generally run along the main road. These include 5 small restaurants (only one of which serves authentic Belizean and Garifuna dishes), a bar, a second hand clothing store, a laundry service, an insurance company, an independent art store, and some small to medium sized grocery stores, to name a few. Only about half of these are locally owned. As a guest, it is difficult to tell what other business may exist due to a lack of signage for identification, which is a prevalent issue for potential tourists travelling through the area. Another concern stems from Seine Bight's inability to afford waste removal. Garbage piles up along the streets, the shoreline, or is being burned.

Today the population in Seine Bight is estimated at just over 800 persons, which includes the large amenity migrant community that makes up the Surfside and Maya Beach area. Several properties within these zones prefer not to have Seine Bight listed as their location for promotional purposes, despite falling within their technical boundaries. One community of amenity migrants within the boundary is popularly known as Maya Beach, and is even identified on maps of the peninsula. There is little integration between Seine Bight village locals and amenity migrant communities.

Placencia, the more developed tourism village. Placencia occupies the southern tip of the peninsula, and is the dominant tourism destination among the communities in the region (Key & Pillai, 2006; Carnis et al., 2016). Placencia has a population of roughly 3,000, but can reach 10, 000 during peak tourism season (Anderson et al., 2011). Placencia is originally a Creole community, who are the descendants of Scottish and English pirates and African slaves that began settlements in 1600 (Anderson et al., 2011; Key & Pillai, 2006). Villagers had always fished for a living, but when the value of their livelihood gained international recognition, villagers were offered help from North America in the exportation of their yields (Anderson et al., 2011). With a growing income from international trade and aid, Placencia was able to strengthen and expand its fishing industry. New capital also allowed for the construction of a

tourism industry, which would eventually take over as the dominant industry in the village today (Key & Pillai, 2006). Overall, increases in standards of living and infrastructural developments have made Placencia a very attractive and accessible place for tourism and foreign investment.

Tourism in Placencia began in the 70s. Locals were proactive in their approach to dealing with the presence of tourists, first by providing guesthouse accommodations for backpackers and eventually offering small tours. Tourism efforts were halted by the devastating 2001 hurricane, only to be re-established and improved by government-backed developer investments that kick-started the current tourism economy. Casual conversation revealed that many residents share the feeling that development efforts were quick, sporadic, and unorganized since 2001. Like Seine Bight, the growth of tourism on the peninsula forces Placencia to warn its visitors about the heightened levels of drugs, alcohol, and theft in the village. The village of Placencia; however, is aesthetically pleasing and tourist-friendly. Buildings are painted in bright, vibrant colours, with signage poles of a similar nature that line the streets to direct tourism traffic to popular tourism and hospitality businesses. The beachside of the peninsula has several cayes and the barrier reef visible in the distance, while mountain and jungle views can be seen beyond the lagoon on the opposite side. The environmental draw of this beach town is used to advertise it as primary location to live an uncompromised life after you “Invest wisely. Then relax.”, as stated by the various billboards along the peninsula. Moreover, the location, cleanliness, and growing popularity of Placencia make it a regular destination for annual Belizean festivals and other events.

According to many local residents in the village, over fifty percent of the land is foreign owned. Beachfront and lagoon side properties are heavily lined with foreign-owned residents, resorts, and businesses that compete with locally owned tourism enterprises. Many foreign amenity migrants have become heavily integrated into the community through business ownership and participation with various local boards and committees, although most live in clusters on streets populated with fellow migrants. Places of foreign business ownership and residence are very modern, large, North American style buildings that contrast typical Belizean households. Amenity migrants are visible with the community from a social perspective as well,

most often seeking musical entertainment, food, and beverages at popular local restaurants. Casual appearances are also common in the streets as they tend to their businesses and carry out day-to-day operations and activities. Interactions between village locals and migrants, although amicable, remain mostly on professional grounds based on the exchange of goods and services.

General activities in the village include a bustle of guest-host interactions between tourists and local residents that begin in the early morning. Locals make their morning commute to work each day, creating traffic between the various busses, cars, and bikes that wind down the same narrow highway together. Groups of tourists depart for day excursions, and eventually begin to fill the loungers along the beach throughout the late morning and early afternoon. Other activities include walking along the Placencia sidewalk, which runs parallel to the main road, and is filled with local artisans, gift shops, restaurants, and accommodations. The interior of the village has a local primary school, a sports field, and low-income residential area that is spotted with small local businesses and extends until the lagoon side of the peninsula where more resorts can be found. Placencia is also a place of necessity, where peninsula locals will go to for general supplies, transportation, medical and emergency services, and other routine residential assistance not found in other villages in the area. Late night entertainment is another draw among local residents and tourists along the peninsula. Various bars have live music, a Caribbean atmosphere, and offer deals on food and beverage.

Data Collection

Semi-structured Interviews. Semi-structured interviews were chosen based on their ability to have a balance between both structure and flexibility in gaining insight to the lived experience of amenity migration from the view of the participant (Para, 2008). This method permits the researcher to ensure a particular direction of the interview in covering all necessary topics, while allowing for the participant to decided what are the most important aspects to be discussed (Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013). This gives power to the participants in defining themes to be drawn upon throughout the data analysis process. Semi-structured interviews give consistency to the types of questions to be asked to each participant, which can later be

compared in their responses. This method was further justified given the allotted amount of time (three months) within the study site, where rapport and trust could be built with participants.

This study focused on the local population within the communities of Seine Bight and Placencia. The term “local” in this context refers to long term, permanent residents born within the region (Moscardo, 2014). Participants were chosen based on their level of involvement within the tourism industry. Direct involvement indicates they own or are employed by a tourism enterprise (such as a tour operator or excursion instructor), or are involved in community development decision-making processes, such as a community council member. Indirect involvement indicates employment by a supportive tourism industry (i.e. hospitality, food and beverage, construction, etc.), whereas those working outside the tourism industry have no affiliation with direct or indirect services (i.e. may instead provide residential household services).

Participants were identified based on a mix of non-probability sampling techniques: purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling allows for participants to be chosen based off the judgment of the researcher to fulfill the purpose of the study (Babbie, 2012) and were used to identify Key Informants (KIs). KIs were selected based on their extensive knowledge and involvement within the tourism industry (Tosun, 2006). This selection was facilitated by pre-existing academic partnerships between Vancouver Island University and the University of Belize. KIs included Village Council Chairpersons in each study site. KIs were then used as the catalyst for a snowball sampling method to support the remainder of semi-structured interviews. Snowball sampling methods refer to the “process of accumulation as each located subject suggests another subject” (Babbie & Benaquisto, 2009, p. 183). A snowball sampling method eased the process of identification for each group while ensuring the conduction of willing and informative interviews.

Ten participants were chosen from each community. This amount was chosen to safely ensure a point of saturation in responses would be reached, and to gain an equal distribution of age and occupation among participants. Interviews ranged anywhere from thirty minutes to one hour depending on the level of information each participant wished to share.

Interviews took place in quiet public settings found in various places throughout each community.

Preceding each interview, permission was gained through the use of a consent form that also briefed the participants regarding the purpose of the study. Interviews were conducted in English as per the primary language of Belize, and were recorded with two digital voice recorders. Two voice recorders were used to limit the potential loss of data from travelling or theft in a foreign country. Two voice recorders were also used to ensure quality and clarify of answers during transcription. Interview probes were also used to clarify responses, collected more detail, and to understand rational or influence of a response. Interviews were transcribed verbatim into an MS Word document to be analysed. Pseudonyms were used to ensure anonymity.

Questions for semi-structured interviews covered topical areas to elicit pertinent information to the study (see Appendix A). Topical areas include:

1. Relationship with, and perceptions of, amenity migrants
2. Perceptions of tourism development and management
3. Participation in tourism and tourism management decision-making
4. The relationship between amenity migration and local residents' participation in tourism and tourism management decision-making

Participant Observation. The researcher conducted obtrusive participant observations over the duration of the study period. This method allowed for informal, descriptive field notes to be gathered in a journal in order to enhance the researcher's understanding of participants (Creswell, 2014a). This method was used to understand participant interactions outside of a formal interview setting, and facilitated a richer, more in-depth understanding of the lived experience of amenity migration as a phenomenon in a natural setting that is not possible to grasp through the use of interviews. Participant observation is often useful in the strengthening and tailoring of questions asked during interviews, or in adding to the creation of new and more relevant questions (Para, 2008).

Empirical observations and interpretations were recorded. Observations were recorded regarding the physical setting and condition of each community, casual settings, the nature of

social interactions between locals, migrants, and tourists (including informal conversations), attendance of community events, observations of daily activities in the town, and the nature of tourism services development, ownership, and popularity. Notes were later re-written in the form of a narrative that is comparable to other qualitative forms of data collection, such as semi-structured interviews (Creswell, 2014a).

Data Analysis

Deductive analysis was used for analyzing the semi-structured interviews. This is an approach where the theoretical framework, as derived from the literature, was used as the initial grouping of data. Themes and codes were then developed out of the transcripts. Coding is the process of assigning labels to interview transcripts to denote concepts and make sense of the data (Babbie & Benaquisto, 2009). The first cycle of coding was be undertaken by an "initial coding" method, where the researcher identified the most prominent categories (Babbie & Benaquisto, 2009). In a second cycle of coding, segments of transcripts were categorized thematically according to relationship, frequency, and underlying meanings, otherwise known as "focused coding" (Babbie & Benaquisto, 2009).

A similar deductive process of analysis was used for participant observations to identify patterns or themes. Applying this method across the various data sets ensured validity and reliability of results. The research included two different case study locations with multiple stakeholder groups in order to capture a variety of perspectives to gain a more in-depth, holistic understanding of where amenity migration and participation in tourism and tourism management by local residents intersect, and the implications here.

Description of Participants

During this research, 20 semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 local residents from Seine Bight and 10 from Placencia. Participants were all over the age of 18 and identified using a snowball sampling method. Male interviewees were predominantly recommended, creating a gender imbalance. Open-ended questions related to respondents' relationships with, and perceptions of, amenity migrants; perceptions of tourism development

and management; participation in tourism and tourism management; and the relationship between amenity migration and local residents' participation in tourism and tourism management.

In Seine Bight, participants consisted of eight males and two females. Of the eight males, two were in their 60's, three in their 50's, one in their 40's, one in their 30's, and one in their 20's (Table 1). Knox, Maynard and Wallace worked directly for, or owned, tour operations; Jack, Joe, and Norris held positions of employment that are impacted by tourism; Bill worked outside of the tourism industry as a maintenance man; and Kyle was unemployed. Of the two females, Helen was in her 60's and unemployed, while Colleen was a real estate agent in her 30's.

In Placencia, the gender composition of participants emulated that of Seine Bight: eight males and two females. Of the eight males, two were in their 60's, three were in their 50's, one was in their 40's, and two were in their 30's (Table 1). Cheaney, Troy, Jeremy, and Simon worked directly for, or owned, tour operations; Clyde, Sully, and Rudy held positions of employment that are directly impacted by tourism; and Walter is one of few independent fishermen left in the village. Of the females, Beatrice was in her 60's and a guesthouse owner, while Leah, in her 40s, was a local politician and business owner.

Table 1. Semi-structured interviews with pseudonyms

Interviewee	Village	Age	Gender	Description
Colleen	Seine Bight	31	F	Real estate agent
Helen	Seine Bight	64	F	Community member/volunteer
Jack	Seine Bight	50	M	Restaurant owner
Joe	Seine Bight	59	M	Government employee
Kyle	Seine Bight	25	M	Community activist/volunteer
Knox	Seine Bight	38	M	Dive master
Maynard	Seine Bight	48	M	Security Guard
Norris	Seine Bight	69	M	Grounds keeper
Bill	Seine Bight	61	M	Residential systems maintenance
Wallace	Seine Bight	55	M	Resort tour guide
Cheaney	Placencia	59	M	Local tour operator
Troy	Placencia	40	M	Independent tour operator
Clyde	Placencia	59	M	Guesthouse owner
Jeremy	Placencia	35	M	Independent tour operator
Walter	Placencia	63	M	Fisherman
Leah	Placencia	41	F	Government Employee
Beatrice	Placencia	60	F	Guesthouse owner
Sully	Placencia	62	M	Guesthouse and restaurant owner
Rudy	Placencia	50+	M	Artisan
Simon	Placencia	37	M	Politician and tour operator

Chapter 4: Results

This research employed a comparative case study approach within one of Belize's major tourism regions and compared two small neighboring villages: non-touristy Seine Bight and touristy Placencia. Despite their close proximity, these villages significantly differ in levels of tourism development. This study assessed the local perspective of tourism development in these communities, and the influence of the amenity migrant tourist on tourism management decision-making processes. Evaluating the varying levels of tourism development increases the understanding of how to more sustainably develop tourism destinations in areas that are impacted by the amenity migration phenomenon. Overall, findings indicate that tourism development has created several challenges for local populations who lack control over its development and management, which is exacerbated by the presence of economically and politically powerful amenity migrants. Despite overall dissatisfaction with current forms of tourism development and management practices, locals tolerate and even accept further development of tourism and amenity migration based on the social and economic benefits received by the host communities. The extent to which locals approve or disapprove of tourism, amenity migration, and their associated impacts vary between the two villages based upon their differing degrees of tourism development.

This chapter presents the results of semi-structured interviews and participant observations. Observations were incorporated into the results as a tool for interpreting and verifying interview responses through prolonged exposure to research subjects and the study cites. The results are presented in three sections. The first section describes the varying perceptions of approaches to tourism management in each village. The second section illustrates the varying levels of opportunities to participate in the development and management of the local tourism economy in each village. The third section explores the impact of amenity migrants on the development and management of the local tourism industry and the associated opportunities for locals to participate in the decision-making processes in Seine Bight and Placencia. Finally, managerial and policy recommendations are offered, followed by study limitations and avenues for future research.

Results in this chapter are presented in a similar order for each community, with data from each community grouped separately under each research objective. For each research objective, an analysis of the perspectives from Seine Bight residents is first presented and then followed by an analysis of the perspectives from Placencia. The results have three major sections representing each research objective, with data presented for each location in the same patter under each research objective.

The presentation of results follows this order for each community:

- Research Objective 1: The Varying Perceptions of Approaches to Tourism Management.
    - Perceived role of the government in tourism development and management
    - Preferred role of the government in tourism development and management
    - The current role of local residents in tourism development and management
    - The preferred role of local residents in tourism development and management
- Research Objective 2: The Varying Levels of Opportunities to Participate in the Development and Management of the Local Tourism Industry
    - Accessible opportunities and benefits from tourism participation
    - Challenges to local participation in tourism development and management
    - Future local participation in tourism development and management
- Research Objective 3: The Varying Impacts of Amenity Migrants on the Development and Management of the Local Tourism Industry, and the Associated Opportunities to Participate in the Decision-Making Processes
    - Amenity migrants' positive impacts on tourism development and management
    - Amenity migrants as shaping community development for tourism
    - Amenity migrant competition and control in tourism development, management, and decision-making processes
    - Locals' preferred role of amenity migrants in future tourism development, management, and decision-making processes

The results have three major sections representing each research objective, with data presented for each location in the same pattern under each research objective.

The Varying Levels of Tourism Development in Non-Touristy Seine Bight versus Touristy Placencia

Residents from both Seine Bight and Placencia agreed that the government is not a dependable resource for local assistance in tourism development processes. The concentration of power held by the government has made technical local governing bodies, including village councils, the BTIA, and TGA ineffective and over-powered in their decision-making abilities. Where the government has failed to be present, residents rely on local and foreign non-governmental organizations for tourism development. Despite low levels of satisfaction with current tourism governance systems, residents from both villages are in favour of increased government leadership and support for the local population in tourism development and management through consultation, training, and supportive policies.

Tourism development in Seine Bight village is minimal, and the community struggles to attract tourists due to aesthetics, lack of tourism facilities and services, and no special tourism features. Locally owned restaurants and shops cannot compete with areas of greater development along the peninsula. Buildings and beachfront remain in poor condition, and no tourist-friendly signage exists to attract visitors. Residents in the village find employment in the various resorts and communities that straddle Seine Bight. Participants reported that tourism has brought job creation, increases in income, and a rise in the standard of living for most, and expressed satisfaction with the current level of tourism development for these reasons. In terms of tourism management; however, residents reported a low level of satisfaction, describing feelings of neglect and a general lack of support from government.

Placencia is one of Belize's top travel destinations. For many locals, tourism has been the only livelihood alternative. The mix of local and foreign investment gives Placencia a competitive economic advantage over its neighbor, Seine Bight. The community is tourist-friendly, offers a wide range of tourism services and accommodations, and is aesthetically appealing both environmentally and structurally. Like residents in Seine Bight, participants described themselves as being satisfied with the current level of tourism development for economic reasons such as job creation. Residents concurrently expressed concern with the

level of tourism development for reasons related to environmental degradation, overcrowding, and gentrification, and how these erode Placencia's authenticity as a small fishing village. Findings show that residents are unsatisfied with the village's tourism management, stating a lack of local autonomy breeds general feelings of powerlessness against the government and affluent foreign investors.

Research Objective 1: The Varying Perceptions of Approaches to Tourism Management

Residents were asked a series of questions to assess their perceptions of how the local tourism industry is managed. More specifically, questions assess their perceptions of: 1) the current role of the government, 2) the preferred role of the government, 3) the current role of local residents, and 4) the preferred role of the local residents in managing tourism.

Perceived role of the government in tourism development and management in Seine Bight.

Despite the BTB's more recent efforts, participants expressed dissatisfaction with, and even resentment towards, the government. During the time of this study the Belize Tourism Board (BTB) held a consultation with the community about a proposed South East Coast Tourism Development Plan. The meeting explored local residents' attitudes towards opportunities and challenges for tourism development, community needs, current tourism inventory, and how to move forward. Roughly 20 members of the community attended the meeting, including the Village Council. Among the main issues addressed in the meeting were waste management, condition of the beach, general community aesthetics, community participation, crime, and image of Seine Bight. Proposed opportunities for tourism development focused on cultural tourism development and beachside cleanliness, accommodations, and restaurants.

One participant reported that the general lack of government assistance stems from politics, and suggested that since the political support from the majority of community is aligned with the opposition, the community is paid no attention. Others suggested cultural racism, and expressed feelings of discrimination against Garifuna culture. The majority of participants felt that government attention is purposely diverted to its neighbour, Placencia.

When asked specifically about what the current role is of the government in tourism development and management, one-third of participants in Seine Bight were unaware. Helen stated, “I really haven’t gone into that, or heard from anybody, you know?” while Wallace explained, “to tell you the truth, I don’t really know, you know? Because with my job I’m not really involved, you know, with the politics of the tourism control”. The majority of respondents agreed that the government plays very little role in the tourism development for Seine Bight, and that they are not a dependable resource for assistance in development processes. The following statement reflect the general attitude of participants:

> *To tell you the truth when it comes to the government they only think about themselves and family and people around them. The way I see it, like, you gotta stand up and do what you got to do for yourself in this area, you know? You can’t depend upon the government because they not gonna help you (Knox)*

Respondents also felt the government relies on NGOs and foreign investors to influence tourism development and management strategies. The following statement from a respondent illustrates this:

> *It’s the NGOs that run the tourism thing, you see? Because now the government don’t really have anybody employed to set it up the way how foreigners would come in and set up the business, and then the government just kind of follows suit. And basically, then they make laws off what they learned from somebody else, you know? Because this country wasn’t –this was an odd 300,000 people, you know? So we just started tourism a few years ago, so we never prepared for how tourism has been popular. So, the government, still, we are still lagging behind. (Norris)*

Preferred role of the government in tourism development and management in Seine Bight.

When asked to comment on what they believe the role of the government should be, only one respondent was opposed to government involvement in tourism development in the village, stating that the government should “collect taxes and get out of the way. They don’t know anything” (Norris). All others supported government involvement, stating they would like the government to work with locals more through skills training, use taxes to invest in the community, and implement regulations that promote and support local involvement in tourism along the peninsula. The following statement summarizes the support the community is seeking:

> *What they should do, as I said, BTB being the arm of the government, should come in. They should come in. Someone -but of course, the ministry of tourism! I mean, see what you could do in Seine Bight; send some people in, see what we could do. Could we tear that little shack up and have a little small building there and have a sustainable small business going for that family? Or find a common place and get the women of Seine Bight to get involved in a women's group project? To me BTB or PAC, some government organization, they have not done that. (Maynard)*

The current role of local residents in tourism development and management in Seine Bight.

Decision-making processes by the Belize Tourism Board are meant to consider, in cooperation with the Village Council, challenges and solutions proposed by the local tourism board chapter, know as the of Belize Tourism Industry Association (BTIA). The BTIA is made up of local tourism operators and businesses. Seine Bight does not have BTIA chapter, nor is it listed as a tourism destination under the BTIA. Instead, villagers may participate in BTIA meetings in Placencia. This is a rare occurrence, though, not only due to the lack of tourism businesses to register as a BTIA representative in Seine Bight, but of financial barriers to memberships and physical distance from meeting locations.

The governing power in Seine Bight belongs to the Village Council. According to participants (including a government employee), as well as field observations of Village Council and BTB meetings, the Village Council is responsible for a variety of community development initiatives to increase tourism attraction. This includes local and regional marketing of the village, name branding, planning of tourism amenities, cooperation with non-profit/non-governmental organizations interested in assisting in development efforts, village education regarding their role in tourism and tourism development, and the creation of a manifest to guide all development processes. According to Joe, a government employee, the Village Council has difficulty in bringing any tourism development initiatives to fruition due to the lack of financial support from the government. The government does not provide subventions to Village Councils to run the community, but provides stipends for businesses that hold a liquor licence. With less than five liquor licence premises in the village, government stipends for tourism development is scant.

Where the government is absent, local initiatives have been established to assist with tourism development. For example, a local non-profit known as the Seine Bight Reservoir to

Museum Foundation (SBRMF) aims to build a museum to promote and preserve Garifuna culture while attracting tourists and bringing economic prosperity to the area. The SBRMF conducts its own skills training workshops for future employees. Individual acts of volunteerism and stewardship also exist. Kyle, a 25 year old self proclaimed community activist and full time volunteer, commented on his contribution to the social development of the community to make it a safe place for tourists to visit, and to teach the younger generation how to conduct themselves:

> *"I teach the younger generation how to act in the community… my role is to make the place better for the tourists so whenever the tourists come into the community they will be able to be safe. So that is my job –to put Seine Bight on the map". (Kyle)*

The preferred role of local residents in tourism development and management in Seine Bight.

Only two participants, Norris and Knox, expressed contentment and a general disinterest in becoming involved in tourism in a different capacity than their current roles as a groundskeeper and a tour guide respectively. They insisted they were comfortable with their role currently, and had never put any thought into being a part of tourism on another level. Norm even continued to suggest it might be too late for locals to become involved development and management processes due to the fact that "…other people that has come in now and started taking over the BTB, and things like that, you don't find any locals on any of those boards. Nobody" (Norris).

All other participants preferred stronger local involvement in the development and management decision-making processes of tourism in Seine Bight, but mostly through community consultation processes. Participants expressed that local involvement in tourism should be enhanced through community consultation regarding tourism development decision-making not only in Seine Bight, but also along the peninsula.

More than half of the participants expressed the desire be an entrepreneur and begin their own tourism enterprise. Ideas included adventure tourism activities and traditional Garifuna accommodations along the beachfront. In fact, six participants made specific comments towards cultural tourism development as a source of economic income, two of which specified the role of cultural dance performances. The following statement from Maynard illustrates this idea:

> *My role would be since we are a indigenous community –that is, a Garifuna community – my role would be get together our cultural performances at a level of various groups be registered so they are a recognized organization and be properly managed and tap into the tourism industry that we can use our culture for economic benefit. (Maynard)*

The idea of collaboration was a theme when participants commented on what they believed should be the role of the larger local community in tourism planning and management in Seine Bight. Jack, a local business owner and former Village Council member, recognized the need for a collaborative approach to tourism planning:

> *We have a unique and a very dynamic culture. But we need to sit together, put a good plan in place, set it out there so the tourists can see it and admire it. At this present, everybody does a little for himself, does a little for himself, does a little for himself. Its just not coordinated. If we all join together and make one head, it would be better for us. (Jack)*

Perceived role of the government in tourism development and management in Placencia.

When asked what role the government plays in tourism development and management in Placencia, most participants commented on the powers of the BTB:

> *The government has a quasi-organization known as the BTB, the Belize Tourism Board. And the Belize Tourism Board is that in-between organization between the industry itself and the government. And so that's the role of the BTB, is basically to implement decisions that were made by the Ministry of Tourism (Clyde)*

Participants also mentioned government roles in regional and national policies, such as environmental regulation, national park policies, international and national destination marketing campaigns, and foreign investment. It was felt that decisions made by the government rarely work in their favour. For example, Cheaney, a local tour operator, spoke of the latest development regarding government fees for a near by national park that will increase fees for guides and tourists alike:

> *They make rules that's not necessarily good for the tourism association. I heard something over the news the other day, some kind of other damn thing they are coming with BTB. I don't quite remember what it was but the Tour Guide Association, tour operators association, and the BTIA are against it cause I think its more money [fee] for something, parks or something, which is gonna affect us…they are against it 100%. These people are always wanting to charge, you know? I mean, look at the park fee. Park fee was $10BZE. Then it went up 20BZE. (Cheaney)*

It was also felt that Placencia was "left at the bottom of the list" in terms of tourism destination promotion in Belize (Jeremy). Participants felt that marketing efforts were weak and misleading (Jeremy; Troy; Simon; Beatrice). Furthermore, Jeremy, a local tour operator, felt the government had a total disregard for the entire village as a tourism destination, and suggested that development efforts are focused on perceivably more important tourism destinations in the country. As a result, both local and foreign residents assume marketing efforts, while development efforts are left in the hands of private developers:

> *The government has always tended to ignore Placencia. We've been asking for our road paved for 25 years, and finally they paved it. But besides that, when it comes to other development and tourism, we've been marketing Placencia. To them, San Pedro is Belize. Placencia is like, nothing. And Placencia is way prettier than San Pedro. So, they have that tunnel vision. They don't care about Placencia. So no, they haven't done anything much in the development of Placencia. It's all private developments. (Jeremy)*

A reoccurring theme throughout all participants' comments regarding tourism development and management was a lack of government representation for local stakeholders. Participants felt that local voices and concerns go unheard. In fact, most participants described the role of the local as non-existent or ignored. The following statement illustrates this frustration:

> *But the government, they are the ones that have the last say. We don't have a say in what we do here. So I don't involve myself in it because my wife, she sits on the Village Council and she sits on the BTIA (Belize Tourism Industry Association), so she has some input but it's the same thing. The voice is not being heard. The government has the last say and they do exactly as they want. (Sully)*

Preferred role of the government in tourism development and management in Placencia.

When asked to comment specifically about what they felt the role of the Government should be, all participants stated they would like the government to work closer with locals, and provide more financial support to the community. Locals feel unsupported and neglected by the government. Residents would prefer that tourism taxes be put back into Placencia to improve infrastructure and waste management systems, and to fund proper promotional campaigns.

Participants who are small business owners expressed the same level of dissatisfaction, as the government does currently not prioritize them:

> *You know instead of they try and help you, we a small business try and help us man, not crucify us. That's what the government does to small businesses. They should help them. I have been going for 30 years now, and we have employed a handful of people. These people get by, by us giving them a job. Help us. That's what the government should do. Help out the tour operators and tour guides to make a good living. This is our country, man. C'mon. But they just push aside the little guys. (Cheaney)*

Local tour guides and operators fear an increase in competition with continued tourism development. Several participants who are tour-operators agreed that this particular group deserves more attention considering they face the greatest forms of competition. It was suggested that supportive policies be created to benefit and safeguard local jobs, but also that locals should also be consulted before any tourism policy is decided upon and implemented. The following statement demonstrates the general attitude of participants and their request for more government support:

> *Well their role definitely should be to come up with policies and even laws that favour locals and make it sustainable for local participation in the development of tourism. The policies could be better formulated maybe with some local participation and consultation. They should maybe consult before making certain decisions or implementing certain policies. (Simon)*

The current role of local residents in tourism development and management in Placencia.

Various committees and boards of Placencia village represent the role of the local community in tourism development and management. Such examples include the Village Council, BTIA, the Tour Guide Association (TGA), the local Rotary chapter, and various environmental conservation groups such as the Southern Environmental Association (SEA). Active individuals in the community often sit on more than one of these boards at a time, which may also include resident expatriates (except for on the Village Council). The Village Council, however, holds the main source of local power. The Placencia Village Council receives a fifty-dollar monthly stipend from the government to go toward managing the village. According to Leah, a government worker, the top priority currently includes waste management and obtaining missing resources the community needs as a tourism destination as they adapt to tourism lifestyle, standards, and the associated challenges it brings.

Other participants commented on the role of the Village Council as lacking. Beatrice criticized the Village Council for not having a more active role in effective planning methods for

tourism development. She was concerned that “unless we plan, we’re going to be nowhere”. Sully suggested the Village Council is not inactive, but rather is “really bullied by the government”. He explained that this stems from national political interests to accelerate job creation through tourism development at the expense of Village Council authority.

All participants felt that locals ultimately have no say in tourism development and management in Placencia. Clyde, a well-seasoned tourism worker who has experience at every level of tourism development and management offered in the village, described the role of the locals as the following:

> *None whatsoever. They should be given the autonomy to decide their own destiny. That’s not happening. At the local level we make a decision, and somebody comes and overrules the decision. Our power only goes as far as our community. (Clyde)*

The majority of participants agreed that the role of the local population is minimal, with most statements consisting of comments such as: “They don’t have much role” (Cheaney); “They put their voices out there but it just goes through one ear and comes out the other” (Jeremy); and “current role is just take it as it is. That’s just what it is” (Leah). However, three participants did describe the strength of the local Tour Guide Association. In cooperation with various local stakeholders, the TGA were successful once in persuading the government to issue a policy opting for guided-only access to the national park in order to benefit local tour operators and conserve the parks natural environment.

The preferred role of local residents in tourism development and management in Placencia.

Participants were asked their preferred role in the development and management of tourism in the village, as well as what they believe should be the role of the larger local community. Participants were mixed in their responses, but ultimately agree that greater local representation is paramount:

> *It should be key. Definitely there should be a lot of local participation and from respective people, people who have had years in the tourism industry and have lived all their life here, you know? The investment that comes is maybe all about money and they don’t really care for the environment as much, and if things doesn’t work out for them they can leave but we can’t, we don’t have that option. And I think that the sustainability of tourism is definitely very important to us. I think that local participation is key. We should definitely have a seat on whatever board at the tourism. They should maybe consult before making certain decisions or implementing certain policies. (Simon)*

Leah, a local government worker, said she would like to see the development of a long-term tourism plan, and to have the Village Council manage its implementation. All other participants described their desired role as continuing to grow their businesses.

In regards to the role of the larger community in tourism development and management, responses were similar to participants from Seine Bight. The majority of participants alluded to a collaborative approach among locals, with an increased representation of locals at every level. Two participants were more insistent that they would "rather local, 100%" (Walter), and believe tourism development and management should strictly be "a community thing" (Rudy). Participants also expressed that they would prefer to control Placencia's marketing and branding as a tourism destination. International impressions are misaligned with the local idea of how they would like to develop their tourism economy and image. Leah suggested a collaborative approach to this issue as well:

> *Give ourselves a brand of Placencia. That's what I would like to do. We need to come together and say this is what we want, we want this, we need this, we need that. One of our things is that we are unique we have a lot. We have the beach. Not many places have beaches like us. We have the cayes, we have the jungle near by, we have a lot of stuff. And I don't think that each hotel will use those links to publicize them selves. We depend on international tourism to publicize for us and we don't do it ourselves. So we need to focus on marketing our village. (Leah).*

Research Objective 2: The Varying Levels of Opportunities to Participate in the Development and Management of the Local Tourism Industry

Overall, participants from both villages find it difficult to participate in tourism development and management. Access to participation in tourism development and management is limited to entry-level employment opportunities. Findings show; however, that economic benefits from tourism have garnered support among residents for the industry. Shared barriers to participation in tourism development and management include various forms of competition with foreign businesses and residents that threaten success in entrepreneurial activity or securing higher employment opportunities. Participants in Seine Bight further indicated additional barriers of community stigma and systematic neglect that has weakened their ability to compete as a tourism destination. Both communities predict changes in local tourism participation in the future; while Seine Bight is hopeful for the next generation,

Placencians are concerned about increasing local displacement. To assess perceptions of opportunities to participate in the management of the local tourism industry, a series of questions were asked regarding: 1) the level of participation opportunities for locals, 2) the challenges associated with local participation, and 3) perceptions of future tourism opportunities to participate in tourism management.

The varying levels of opportunities to participate in the development and management of the local tourism Industry in Seine Bight.

The development of tourism in Seine Bight has been minimal, but has unequivocally resulted in social, economic, and environmental impacts that have changed the character and landscape of the village. These impacts have generally resulted from the gross development on either side of the village, and reflect the increasing number of buildings, foreign residents, infrastructure, and tourism promotion along the peninsula. Though tourism has developed rapidly over the past two decades, the village of Seine Bight has played little role in the development and management processes, and thus has faced difficulty in creating a maximum generation of economic benefits from tourism.

Accessible opportunities and benefits from tourism participation in Seine Bight.

The most accessible point of entry into the local tourism economy for Seine Bight residents is through employment opportunities provided by the various large resorts and tourism enterprises on either side of the village. Positive responses from participants regarding tourism were framed around the economic benefits associated with the various employment opportunities and increases in income generation. As a result, residents are satisfied with tourism as the primary industry on the peninsula. Participants described being supportive of tourism development, and share the general attitude that tourism benefits local livelihoods:

> *I'm glad it's here. I'm glad because it does a lot for the people in Placencia and the people in Seine Bight and the surrounding communities as a matter of fact because everybody gets. You have people from Mango Creek come over this way to work it he hotels and things like that, so I think tourism really, really plays a big role for us here. (Norris)*

Colleen spoke to the generations of women in her family who have worked in resorts, and expressed that the economic benefits from tourism might outweigh any negative impacts

on traditional livelihoods. She also found these employment opportunities to be financially beneficial, and is responsible for the personal and professional growth she has experienced:

> *I think I have grown because of it, personally. I think I've grow, I've gotten many opportunities to become a better person and be in a better place in my life because of it. Despite the little downfalls of Robert's Grove and Luba Haiti; places where I use to go with my grandmother and get work. It impacted our livelihood in that way, but then again there were so many opportunities that I was able to jump on and appreciate from all of this. A lot of positive. My sister, she raised her family from working at a resort. And my mom, she was working at a resort before as well. So I can really say it's been very positive. It's been very positive. (Colleen)*

Challenges to local participation in tourism development and management in Seine Bight.

Although job creation has grown with tourism, participants described their ability to participate in tourism development and management in Seine Bight as difficult. A recognized caveat to job creation was the underrepresentation of locals at managerial levels: "I think somehow the top-level positions, the local people are out-numbered. Especially, when it comes to ownership and running of the resorts, hotels, and stuff like that" (Wallace). Locals generally occupy positions that are non-managerial, low skilled, and low paying with little room for upward mobility. Participants also reported that a lack of finance, education, and skills training weakens their ability to remain competitive, and prevents them from being prioritized by the government as important stakeholders in tourism development and management.

Other respondents reported that it was not a matter of finance, training, or education, but inherent racism, stigmatization, and general reputation of Seine Bight as a Garifuna community. It was felt that continued systematic neglect has led to a loss of culture for the community, and therefore loss of a valuable tourism product. Knox felt that although most people are educated, "racism still exists around here man". Maynard felt similarly, stating: "…one of the reasons because of the stigmatization, not because they don't have the capacity to become a part of the management of whatever tourism sector." Helen also spoke to the difficulty in securing a job as a resident from Seine Bight: "It's kinda hard. Even what I have learned that there are still girls here from Seine Bight that go looking for jobs on the Peninsula and that have to say they come from somewhere else."

Half of the participants made comparisons between Seine Bight today and in the past, reminiscing about traditional forms of livelihoods and lifestyle that have since faded. The arrival of tourism in Seine Bight was based on the lure of Garifuna culture and the authentic, natural state of the community and its beachfront. Participants noted that this has changed, and discussed their culture and lifestyle as being diluted. For example, tourism infrastructure development provided residents and travellers with a main road along the peninsula and through the middle of Seine Bight. Not only did this attract attention and leisure activities away from the beachfront, but provided access to prime real estate that initiated the construction of large resorts on either side of the village. This opened the door to competing tourism operations whose development efforts limited public access to beachfront spaces, and removed profitable on-land natural resources once used as traditional forms of livelihoods. It was felt that this heavily impacted a loss of culture and traditional lifestyle, making tourists disregard Seine Bight as a stopping point for tourism. The continued rise of Placencia as a major tourism destination compounds this issue as tourists are drawn to the more popular area. Bill noted, "The tourists use to come here for culture. Now it doesn't work, that, no more. Everybody go to Placencia now" (Bill). It is worth noting that many brochures, and general regional advertisements by foreign business owners exclude any sort of recognition of Seine Bight, and in some cases the village is not even included on maps provided to tourists.

Aside from external barriers to participation, several participants reflected on an internal barrier that comes from within the community and its residents. Several respondents commented on the lack of unity and work ethic among villagers, and that this is amongst the top reasons for the absence of community-wide participation in tourism. For example, according to Bill, past efforts to establish a Tour Guide Association (TGA) fell apart due to lack of community support and disappearance of funds by TGA members. He also suggested that the community's misuse of funds has cause attention to be diverted to Placencia:

> *They don't look at us. They rather look at Placencia where they see tourism, where they could help. Seine Bight still doesn't put the money to use, Seine Bight doesn't say "well yeah I want to develop myself with the money that I got", you know? They don't do it.* (Bill)

There was general agreement on this type of community disunity in Seine Bight, and it was common for participants to compare themselves to Placencia: “That’s the difference with Placencia. In Placencia, the people unite and they work hand in hand. We don’t do that here”. (Jack)

Future local participation in tourism development and management in Seine Bight.

Despite the various barriers, residents in Seine Bight remain hopeful for future tourism participation. They see the low level of tourism development in Seine Bight as an opportunity to develop a tourism economy that constitutes high levels of local ownership, and reflects authentic local lifestyle, culture, and narratives. Joe, a local politician, was adamant that his community avoids a path to development similar to Placencia, where local ownership over the tourism economy is diminishing. This will be dependent on the next generation. Since tourism development has generated increases in jobs and income for residents, more families have been able to send their children to school. Norris commented on the rising interest from youth in pursuing tourism as a serious career choice, and implies that this will be the best option for future participation in tourism:

> *Well, you find that a lot of the kinds here in Seine Bight who just got out of high school and they going back now to specialize in something, and you find that they are going into the tourism industry now. Most of them they are studying tourism, they are studying natural resources, but connected with tourism. The young kids, they are moving away from the traditional things that older folks use to do –just sit and wait. But they are starting to move out and starting to make their whole lives into tourism things or whatever you call it. That’s the way to go. (Norris)*

Moreover, Helen commented on host-guest interactions that result from the current state of tourism on the peninsula. From her perspective as a retiree and community volunteer, she felt that cultural exchange and socialization between Seine Bight residents and tourists has improved her community’s ability to be civil, knowledgeable, and welcoming to others. This, she found, was important in preparing for the inevitability of tourism to grow in her community:

> *I would say that we have learned. It’s not only me, I have watched the other people around. They have learned to conduct themselves around people with manners and respect. So with tourism coming around we have learned different things. This is how the*

> *other half live and this is how we should act toward people who come in. We should be more welcoming towards people because, I always say to kids, "whatever you do in a nice manner, it's gonna take you a long way". So, it has impacted a lot and I think we gonna get more. (Helen)*

The varying levels of opportunities to participate in the development and management of the local tourism industry in Placencia.

Overall, residents in Placencia held similar perceptions of opportunities for locals to participate as compared to residents from Seine Bight. Residents in Placencia are most easily able to participate in tourism development and management through low-level employment opportunities at surrounding tourism accommodations, resorts, and restaurants, most of which are foreign-owned. Aside from this, residents in Placencia find tourism participation to be difficult. Barriers to access include the various forms of economic competition, lack of access to information, and low levels of community motivation.

Accessible opportunities and benefits from tourism participation in Placencia.

Like residents in Seine Bight, the easiest point of access for residents to entering the tourism economy for is through employment opportunities. The mass development of resorts, restaurants, and tourism operators in the area has increased the availability for jobs for locals in the village who would otherwise be unemployed. Clyde, a retired tour operator and local business owner, described how tourism provided income generation that filled the void of a dying fishing industry. When asked how tourism has impacted his community, Clyde replied:

> *Man hugely, cause this use to be a fishing village, and with the depletion of the fish stock, tourism was the only alternative for the community So without tourism, a lot of people would have been without jobs. Tourism kind of filled that slot that the fishing used to take up. (Clyde)*

Similar to residents of Seine Bight, participants noted that job creation and a rise in the standard of living were the two most common positive impacts: "well I would say it did a good thing for the community because it raised our standard, it gave other people jobs, other people come in and get jobs" (Beatrice). The attraction tourism brought to the peninsula awarded the small village national attention and investment in community infrastructure in the 1990s, affording the community basic necessities such as electricity and running water (Jeremy). As a

result, residents share the attitude that impacts from tourism have been "more positive than negative" (Simon).

Two participants, who are also local tour operators, insisted that the process for participating in tourism is actually quite easy once you have a business –simply join the BTIA and TGA and get yourself involved (Jeremy; Clyde). This can be a complicated process; however, considering the majority of residents are unable to fund the acquisition of a tour operator's license, or lack the skills to support a successful business operation. Therefore residents are left with menial options for livelihoods, and this is only one of the barriers residents face in tourism participation.

Barriers to local participation in tourism development and management in Placencia.

The majority of participants suggested participation in tourism in difficult, and described existing barriers similar to those faced by residents in Seine Bight, including lack of finance, skills, education, as well as internal barriers regarding poor perseverance and coordination among residents. This has produced an environment of competition with highly skilled and affluent foreign residents. Rudy, a local artisan, commented on the inability of the "smaller people" to compete with "the bigger, richer people", referring to foreign investors. It was felt that the government's strategic use of policies to attract foreign investment was further limiting the ability of locals to participate in their local tourism economy. Simon, a local tour operator and politician, spoke to his experience on this matter:

> *I think that the policy makers, who is the Belize Tourism Board, can do a lot more to help to get people up to par when it comes to participation as well as their marketing is focused more on foreign investment. Maybe its something that the government needs – the foreign exchange. It's something that I think the policy makers can definitely do more to market and allow locals to invest. And besides the policy makers, the financial authorities or groups in the country [make it] quite difficult to borrow and invest for locals, and that creates an uneven playing field when it comes to investment in the tourism sector. (Simon)*

Other participants commented on the lack of dissemination of information as a challenge for local participation, stating that "once you know about it, its already there" (Sully), meaning that decisions are made without community consultation. By the time information has

reached the local level, actions have already been taken. This issue exists within both government and non-governmental organizations, and is summarized by the following quotes:

> *I think that the government is a little top-heavy when it comes to making decisions. They don't consult much with locals. They had, I could remember, in all my time here, one real consultation which was the cruise development and still the really didn't listen to the people. But besides that they don't consult. And like is said there's lots of people who would really like a say in how tourism is developed, but we don't have that opportunity. (Simon)*

> *It's kind of difficult because like, for SEA, they don't give out a lot of the information. They don't let you participate until they already have something and then they say "this is what we are going to do" but that's not the way. You should let all of us participate in attendance to our local. (Beatrice)*

Jeremy identified a compounding issue with local organizations, describing them as exclusive boards that share the same membership and are unlikely to accept new participants:

> *It's difficult, its difficult, because only preferred members –you can look at the village council, you can look at SEA (Southern Environmental Association), you can look at the tourism center –you go to every one of them and there's a handful of people, the same people. It's all about preferred membership. They don't want younger hands in those things because they want it treated like a dictatorship and that's the truth. From I was a kid I've seen that, and those same ones they grab what they can grab. Grab grab grab and to hell with the rest of the people. Grab for themselves and their families. It's politics. I hate politics. (Jeremy)*

Not all participants held other parties accountable for difficulties experienced by locals in participating in tourism development and management. Like residents in Seine Bight, several participants shifted the responsibility back onto the local population, describing a lack of motivation in developing a larger presence in Placencia's tourism economy. Locals were described as content with non-managerial positions since "they don't want to be responsible" (Walter). Leah made a similar comment towards the local population, emphasizing a lack of perseverance relative to foreign business-owners:

> *I blame our Belizean people because they're not progressive. They're not. They do not have the perseverance, and its like, "I'm gonna do just what I'm supposed to do… I'm not gonna look at how I can get up to a certain point". It's just mediocre. And so I kind of lay the blame on all Belizeans because they're just satisfied with what's normal and [do] not strive for excellence. So I could see why the foreign-owned they want the best so they go for that. (Leah)*

Future local participation in tourism development and management in Placencia.

In looking toward the future, participants' answers differed from those in Seine Bight. Residents in Placencia were concerned that future tourism participation will only become more difficult as competition grows and the cost of living increases. Residents expect the local population to decline, and are concerned with being driven out of their village by affordability issues or being bought out of their prime real estate. Sully, a local business owner, worries about the peninsula becoming over crowded, putting the small businesses like his in distress as they unable to compete with the larger developments coming to the area. The following statement from Sully reflects this, as he comments on the new building being constructed next door and how this may jeopardize his future and that of his children:

> *Well its getting more and more where I might have to sell them because I won't be able to keep up with that (points to building next door). I'm at that age now where I can't go back to the bank to borrow five million dollars to develop this. Hopefully I don't have to sell. That's what I don't want to do. I would like to leave it for my kids, as my father did. He left me something when he was gone so I could survive a little better than he did, and that's like, a traditional thing to do, is to leave your kids something. (Sully)*

It was predicted that displacement of local residents and businesses worsen in the future as the next generation are not as attached to traditional and cultural lifestyles that existed before tourism in the village. They are therefore more likely to accept a large amount of money from foreigners for their inherited family properties.

Research Objective 3: The Varying Impacts of Amenity Migrants on the Development and Management of the Local Tourism Industry, and the Associated Opportunities to Participate in the Decision-Making Processes

Overall, findings indicate that amenity migrants heavily impact tourism development and management of the local tourism industry in both Seine Bight and Placencia. Residents from both communities agree that positive impacts are almost purely economically related as amenity migration brings increases in wages, job opportunities, and visitor numbers. Amenity migrants also influence tourism development and management as contributors to community development where they provide strong technical input and guidance for development objectives. However, as investors in business and land, amenity migrants' relative power and

wealth has created an environment of competition and control that hampers the ability and willingness of the local populations in both communities to participate in tourism decision-making processes. Despite this, local residents would prefer to have additional financial and human resources offered by amenity migrants to improve their capacity to develop, manage, and ultimately benefit from, tourism. To assess the varying levels of impact associated with the presence of amenity migrants on tourism development, local residents were asked a series of questions pertaining to: 1) the overall benefits of having amenity migrants, 2) the effect of amenity migrants on local community development, 3) the effects of amenity migrants on local opportunities to participate in tourism management, and 4) the desired role of amenity migrants in local tourism development and management.

The impact of amenity migrants on tourism development and management in Seine Bight.

Seine Bight has extremely low levels of integration with amenity migrants in the village. Instead, large concentrations of amenity migrant communities straddle the community. Still, the economic social, and political actions of these migrants heavily impact tourism development and management in Seine Bight. This includes nature of tourism and community development in the area, as well as the type and level of participation locals experience in decision-making processes.

Amenity migrants' positive impact on tourism development and management in Seine Bight.

Participants spoke positively in regards to economic benefits from amenity migration and tourism. Benefits included a rise in the general standard of living for residents through increases in wages and employment opportunities from foreign-owned tourism enterprises such as resorts, restaurants, and hotels. As full and part-time residents on the peninsula, amenity migrants have also become an extra source of year-round support for local businesses. Although the amount of existing local business and overall tourism development in Seine Bight is low, residents are appreciative of the few regular patrons' leisure expenditures that increase revenue.

One participant commented that increased employment opportunities has provided the additional benefit of skills development for locals:

> *But a lot of people have work in different resorts and have restaurants and hotels and have learned to cook or sew… so at least we have that kind of skill its just not in the village yet or its not happening in Seine Bight village on a daily basis. (Colleen)*

Wallace compared his transition as a fisherman to a boat captain, stating that employment under a foreign business owner has meant an increase in his wages: "I never imagined I would have been a boat captain… they pay a little bit higher". Amenity migrants also act as a free source of marketing for the peninsula through social media and word-of-mouth advertising. Participants were appreciative of increased visitor numbers to the peninsula as a result, many of which are amenity migrants' family and friend who have become another source of income for the local community:

> *And then, the migrants, they start to advertise the community on Facebook, television, and all these medias so, the tourists can see it and they want to come into the community. So they help in that way. And then some of them invite their family for vacation and then some of the families invited other families. So they do a good job. (Kyle)*

Amenity migrants as shaping community development for tourism in Seine Bight.

Amenity migrants also make large contributions towards improving the overall social standards of Seine Bight. This is a critical step to be taken before tourism can grow considering the state of the village. Community fundraising initiatives, clinics, youth programs, and beautification projects are often coordinated, led, or funded by amenity migrants. Participants commented on the leadership role of amenity migrants in facilitating programs within the community that work toward improving the social and physical atmosphere as a tourism destination. Financial contributions from amenity migrants in Seine Bight are relatively low compared to Placencia, yet residents remain grateful:

> *Especially they do help people in Seine Bight, but not as much as [Placencia]. Anyways, lets not go into that… what I'm saying is that there have been a lot of social programs. They have book studies, they have rotary, they have this crime watch thing, neighbourhood watch. I know they aren't waiting on the government to build a police station, they decided to get together and build a police station. (Norris)*

> *A lot of them come in and they bring doctors and stuff, take care of the younger kids, and the water people get in, medicinal. Things like that we appreciate. Cause people right from Maya beach, they have churches and so on. They take care the younger people kickin' around the place you know. I like that. Appreciate that. (Knox)*

During the time of this study several community events took place, including a fundraiser race, a community garden project at the local school, and weekly meetings for a female youth run club. Each program was led by a group of amenity migrants from neighbouring communities who specialize in the area professionally or recreationally. Expatriates essentially only participated in expatriate-led efforts where locals lacked ownership of these community projects. The few existing community or tourism development efforts, such as the Seine Bight Reservoir to Museum Foundation, have no amenity migrant volunteers on their committees despite membership being open and non-discriminatory.

Amenity migrant competition and control in tourism development, management, and decision-making processes in Seine Bight.

Participants agreed that amenity migration has not only impacted the development and management of tourism, but also their ability to participate in tourism decision-making processes. When asked to comment specifically on the contribution of amenity migrants in managing and shaping the tourism economy, most participants' responses acknowledge the high level of power and control amenity migrants have through their various leadership roles. It was reported that migrants become very active in local politics, including memberships on existing community boards such as the BTIA and the Rotary Club that are critical decision-making bodies, and may also influence the decisions of larger bodies such as the Village Council and the BTB. The following statement from Maynard summarizes these impacts, and uses Placencia as an example where these boards are stationed, and the intersection of amenity migration, tourism development and management, and local participation is in full affect:

> *What normally they do is become a part of the political system and start to take over. Like, typical example: Placencia. Placencia is not owned by traditional Placencians. It is owned by the expats. The expats decided "oh this doctor is its time for him to leave from here!" Petition signed by the other expats, and where that doctor goes? They first would come in and they would buy maybe 2 or 3 boats and have the Placencian captains taking out tours. Now they're doing it them selves! Right, so, it has had an impact the traditional locals. You notice most of the dive shops are owned by expats. They're taking over! (Maynard)*

Field observations from attending of a Rotary meeting supported these responses where it was observed that over 50% of the Rotary Club were North Americans, with two

representatives from Seine Bight, and the rest from Placencia. Participant's comments reflected their frustration toward amenity migrant's growing monopoly over tourism development and community decision-making, and that this effectively diminishes space for local representation. Norris suggested that locals are outnumbered because they lack the necessary expertise:

> *Like I said, the local people don't have the experience, the expertise, or know people outside that will help them to expand and how to manage the business. And so you get pushed out and these are the people that come in and sit on the councils and whatnot, boards and whatnot. (Norris)*

Amenity migrants also heavily influence employment opportunities. Employment competition has been created by an influx of migrants from neighbouring regions or countries who also seek employment provided by foreign-owned businesses. As business owners, they are able to dictate the availability and types of employment offered, while creating competition for locals in wages and race. Jack, a local business owner, feels that when it comes to participation opportunities for locals, amenity migrants "have destroyed it". When prompted further, he explained: "The tourist want to see what we can do. But these aliens, they were breaking it. Cause if I go by an actual job, I'm a black man. The Hispanic is clear. They give them preference". He then commented specifically on the increase of immigrants on the peninsula who are also seeking work through tourism development jobs, driving down minimum wages:

> *All the construction you see around here were basically done by us. But now, it's done my immigrants because they work for half the wages we work for. Because the local government says that your pay should only be something like 3 dollars 25 cents and hour, but the expatriates will give you 5 dollars an hour. But the Indian that comes here they'll work for 1.50 an hour. You give them 25 dollars a day they happy. I ain't gonna go work for 25 dollars a day, that's only one meal for myself. What about my kids and my family? (Jack)*

Further comments were made regarding amenity migrant's influence over employment opportunities. Helen described a network that exists between amenity migrants, and that this can determine, through formal or informal references, which locals are most hireable:

> *I would think they also play a role because, take for example, if I would go looking for a job, maybe by myself I couldn't do it. But because if one of the migrants went and talked on my behalf then it turns out to be good. (Helen)*

Locals' preferred role of amenity migrants in future tourism development, management, and decision-making processes in Seine Bight

All but two participants offered ideas of collaboration and inclusion of amenity migrants. Jack expressed his opposition to any involvement from amenity migrants based on his preference to have total local ownership:

> *The role I would like the to do is this: stay to the back. Relax. Let the Garifuna culture be the number one on this peninsula. The migrants –hold the corner. I'm just giving you my real opinion. (Jack)*

Colleen made a similar comment, and based her rational on the state of Placencia and Maya Beach –two communities straddling Sine Bight with large amenity migrant populations:

> *Based on Placencia and Maya Beach, sometimes I would rather just keep the foreigners there. Sorry to say. And keep our little Seine Bight the way it is. I want that when Seine Bight starts to bloom as a community, the owners and the managers of the business are people from Seine Bight. Local people. And I want it to stay that way. (Colleen)*

All other participant responses supported the idea of amenity migrants playing a role in tourism development and management. Wallace suggested that amenity migrants should "bring the tourists, invite your family, and invite your friends. Tell them about Belize, about this area, Placencia, especially what we have to offer". Amongst the most common of responses was the idea of training. Four residents expressed that they would prefer to see amenity migrants lend their experience, and use their areas of professional specialization to train locals and aid in the development of skills applicable to the tourism industry. Bill would "rather somebody come and teach them about business and they can run their own business". The following statement from Norris coincides with this idea:

> *Well, I don't know how this sounds but it would be nice if they would, because people not having the knowhow, train some people, train them halfway, train them all the way so, you know they could open their own business. You are very established, you know? (Norris)*

Locals would also like to see more community participation from amenity migrants: "Participate in everything, help, you know. Sometimes volunteer. Not everything is money money money. Sometimes volunteer and that can take you a long way too, you know?" (Helen). Joe, a local politician, who also spoke to the importance of training, was insistent that amenity

migrants include locals in their operations, and likewise integrate themselves and be a part of the larger community. Like Helen, he noted that financial contribution is not always enough. Kyle also supported more community involvement from amenity migrants, but instead found financial aid was paramount:

> *I wish that some of these expats say "you know what? I will take this x amount of money from rum, x amount of money from car and I will send these x amount of kids to college from Seine Bight". Because the more kids we had in college from Seine Bight the more educated Seine Bight get, and the more change Seine Bight get. I believe these expats must be able to take the time out and help the community because so far I don't see so much help from the expat in this community. It's all about them. (Kyle)*

One participant was indifferent to the nature of amenity migrant's role in tourism development and management, just as long as they "will bring change and better life for my people, then that's welcome" (Knox).

The impact of amenity migrants on tourism development and management in Placencia.

Placencia has a prospering tourism economy that has attracted a high concentration of amenity migrants in the village. As tourism continues to grow in Placencia, amenity migrants are increasingly catered to at a policy level, and are gradually claiming ownership over businesses and property in the village. This affects the direction and nature of tourism development and management, and has impacted the ability of locals to participate in the associated decision-making processes.

Amenity migrants' positive impact on tourism development and management in Placencia.

Like participants in Seine Bight, respondents in Placencia agreed that amenity migration has increased participation in tourism through job creation. Amenity migrants as business owners have introduced new enterprises, accommodations, and restaurants that have increased the availability of employment opportunities exponentially. Furthermore, they also double as a form of advertisement for the community. Participants were grateful for amenity for amenity migrants' visiting friends and families and the business that this provides for local tour operators:

> *They bring in family and friends. So not only do they live here, but they have family that is always coming to visit them. And when these families come to visit them of course they go on a tour as well. So it supplies the tour operators with jobs. (Clyde)*

Amenity migrants have also have become a private primary or secondary source of income. It was common to see locals hired as full-time property caretakers, some of which will even live on location and are shared between amenity migrants. It appeared that this was a competitive position for locals who now seek this type of work. During casual conversation, one local resident encouraged me to retire to Belize one day and hire him as my caretaker. He then provided me with his business card, which revealed his primary source of employment as a tour guide. Amenity migrants are not only valued as employers, but as patrons also. Participants were appreciative of amenity migrants as year-round local tourists who provide a consistent flow of financial capital in the village:

> *Well there's a good change, you see, because these people they come and they spend money. They definitely spend they money in this village. If they are not eating they're drinking at the bar or buying a piece of land or something, donating something to the village you know, some of them do donations and that kind of stuff. So it really is a good impact on the village. (Sully)*

Amenity migrants have also improved local capital for some businesses that are influenced by their North American business models. Clint, a local tour operator, felt that amenity migrants have helped him acquire new skills to develop a more structurally sound business model that is significantly different from traditional methods, and is meant to increase financial success:

> *They teach you things. You learn. Sometimes their structure is a little bit better business-wise. The locals, they make a profit, but sometimes we're family oriented and we tend to lose because of the family-orient, friendships, you know? They don't have that family tie so they are more business-like structurally, and they make a better financial profit, right? So, sometimes they show you how you're losing because of what your practices are, because of your friends. Yeah so sometimes their business structure is, you know, "cut this, cut this", you know. (Troy)*

One participant even claimed that his entire career was influence by the arrival of amenity migrants who began their own tourism operations. Clyde, a retired tour guide and local business operator, claimed that amenity migrants were actually the reason he became involved in tourism:

> *It was um, foreigners that came here 10 years ago and started the first resorts. That actually got me involved in tourism because they, um, encouraged me to go in that direction. (Clyde)*

Amenity migrants as shaping community development for tourism in Placencia.

Similar to findings in Seine Bight, amenity migrants' efforts in community development have allowed for the formation of good rapport with local residents, and has helped establish them as a critical component to the overall wellbeing and growth of the community. Migrants also play a large role in donating to, and fundraising for, various community initiatives and events that have improved the promotional value of the village and the wellbeing of its residents. This keeps the village attractive for both visitors and investors, and provides necessary services for village residents. Comments made by participants describe amenity migrants as highly active in managing and shaping the tourism economy through volunteer and social services. Sully is appreciative of the social impact amenity migrants have had in the community, and finds that amenity migrants, in this capacity, are beneficial to the tourism industry in general:

> *There are some with very good experience in nursing, teaching, police men. I know two or three guys that are ex-police from the states that are retires that is here, that have put in something positive and they should allow them to do so. It's very good. Very good impact on this place. And I wouldn't discourage it, I would continue to see that part of tourism flourish in this village, because although we have the overnight tourism, and they are very good with most people. I can tell you that I'd rather have them then the local tourists. So I would want to see more of them [expats], and that mixture of tourism is working well for us. The expats and the overnight tourism. (Sully)*

Additionally they have been recognized for their affiliations with the local Rotary chapter, and locals were particularity supportive of the benefits received by youth. Scholarships funds are provide for groups of students each year that provide the opportunity to advance academically. Migrants have also acted as private tutors to assist underperforming or at-risk students.

Amenity migrant competition and control in tourism development, management, and decision-making processes in Placencia.

Amenity migration has created a climate of economic competition. Locals have experienced several barriers and limits to participation in tourism as amenity migrants continue

to establish a grip on the direction of tourism development and use of space in the village. As a result, a power dynamic has developed that has further eroded local residents' willingness and ability to participate. This includes membership on the various committees and boars within the community that determine the direction of tourism development and standards, such as the BTIA and other non-profit organizations: "I would say the locals are withdrawn. They are like withdrawn from those organizations and thereby the expat will step up to the plate and, you know, move in that direction" (Sully). Of greatest concern to participants was competition for local business owners who cannot compete with amenity migrants' financial capital or superior business expertise:

> *It competes directly with lots of the local businesses. And, again, there is some uneven playing field there because people from places where tourism is developed, maybe they travel more so they have maybe better ideas and the finance to really do more. While the locals may have nice comfortable area, they do not do as well with marketing and really doing things above and beyond, you know? (Simon)*

Local business owners find themselves competing with foreign business owners for workers. Local employees are inclined to work for a foreign operator who is able and willing to pay a higher wage. Locals also compete with amenity migrants *as* employees. Participants reported that amenity migrants are likely to hire fellow migrants who are "like them" and are more "familiar" (Sully; Leah). Leah, a local politician, mentioned this is currently a top concern with the Village Council:

> *That was high on the discussion last night. One thing is the belief that the expat has taken over a lot of the jobs that the local –especially when it comes to the tour guides, tour operators –that should have been theirs (Leah).*

Locals also face challenges when amenity migrants find policy loopholes in fulfilling business objectives. It is common that migrants initially come to Placencia for retirement, but choose to produce an income under the radar by running illegal operations, compounding the issue of competition. Illegal tour operations and visitor accommodations are common among amenity migrants who forgo the legal procedures for obtaining credentials or a proper license as an operator (Jeremy; Cheaney). This issue of competition is exacerbated, if not encouraged, through the creation of government policies that put amenity migrants at an unfair advantage. For example, the Qualified Retirement Program encourages foreign investment and offers

incentives that ultimately create an uneven playing field between local and foreign operators. Simon, a local tour operator, feels that this program competes directly with local investors:

> *There's been significant investment, which has competed directly with local investment. I think the government has, or specifically the Belize Tourism Board has, made it easy and really sold a program call Qualified Retirement Program. That has really attracted a lot of people. Even though there are stipulations on what they invest in and how they invest their money and what they can and can't do, I don't think there's enough enforcement and following up on what they really do. I've actually worked with somebody who came onto that program and brought in really nice boats, vehicles, and other stuff duty-free, and have used it for tours and for other areas in the tourism sector. So I think its not a good program. I think its something that they need to revisit and maybe have stricter control on the Qualified Retirement Program. (Simon)*

As migrants become more incentivised to invest in the Peninsula, large houses and resorts have developed. Over fifty-percent of land in Placencia is foreign-owned (Leah), and participants described this as being an issue for locals based on the increasing cost of property. Entrepreneurial activities are unaffordable for locals who wish to purchase land, and increased costs of living have caused an out-migration of locals. There is also pressure on locals to sell their land to foreign investors. Leah, a local business owner and politician recalled a conversation with an amenity migrant who not only wants to invest, but completely remodel the entire village:

> *Because I mean I once had somebody who told me "I want to buy a section of Placencia", the section by the school, or the whole Placencia village he wants to buy all the property. And he wants to put it all like a very planned out place so it looks "this way". He doesn't like how it looks so I'm afraid that at some point we will have to sell. I'm concerned about that. (Leah)*

Beatrice, a beachfront business owner, stated more aggressively that amenity migrants "come and infringe on what *we* already had!" (Beatrice). This comes mostly through the buying of valued beachfront property –a prime tourism asset. The last remaining piece of public beachfront is currently under negotiation to be sold to private investors. The asking price is 1.7 million US dollars, which the locals cannot afford even by pooling their resources. This is a critical space for tourism and is often used to host annual events and fundraisers. If sold, it will impact how the space can be used for local and international tourism. This occupation of critical

public space for tourism by amenity migrants is increasing, and is changing the nature of tourism and tourism products offered in the village:

> *You know, before long it will get too much occupied, its gonna change its place into not Placencia, but probably a different spelling, you know what I'm saying? The whole concept of Placencia being a little fishing village is gonna change. Its gonna be a Placencia tourism resort area (Sully)*

Participants also described amenity migrants as breaching local laws and customs. For example, new buildings in the area breach the agree-upon height of a three-story maximum. Since this is only a local custom, there is no real ability for the Village Council to enforce the rule. Resorts and private housing along the coast have also restricted access to areas along the beach that are technically public property. The lack of regulation has allowed affluent foreigners to dictate these changes in the community with out any checks and balances from the government, and while undermining local customs:

> *Foreigners come into your village and dictate to you, and tell you what they gonna do. Or sometimes they go above the law, do that they want to do, and the law isn't with us, it's with them. So when it comes to finance, that is a problem. It's a problem (Walter)*

Participants have had to adjust their behaviours as business owners and tour operators to cope with the structure of tourism as it includes amenity migrants as stakeholders. Locals have become more aware of the challenges tourism and amenity migration brings to the community, and have adjusted their actions and outlook accordingly. For some, this form of competition has been a motivator to learn and persevere as a business owner. Troy, a tour operator, has taken note of the new social climate amenity migration creates, and how this can impact his professional reputation. He described that the monopoly of foreign business owners can dictate one's reputation depending on how locals and foreigners interact, and so attempts to remain neutral to protect his reputation and keep business steady. Similarly, Sully has begun to conduct himself in a different manner that strategically builds amicable relationships with amenity migrants as they have become the peninsulas greatest form of advertisement:

> *I always argue with the local people, you know, you have to protect them [expats], you have to make sure they are looked after, we have to make sure that they have a good time when they come here, because that word of mouth is one of the best advertising*

> *you can find. And some local I tell you that doesn't have a stake in business will think differently from I do. (Sully)*

Only one participant described his efforts to counteract the negative impacts amenity migration. Simon has noticed the challenges created for the local population specifically, and has since become a local politician to advocate for greater local involvement in tourism decision-making processes.

Locals' preferred role of amenity migrants in future tourism development, management, and decision-making processes in Placencia.

Findings indicate that participants were supportive of amenity migrants playing a role tourism development and management in the future. Responses were similar to those from Seine Bight participants who also supported amenity migrant participation in regards to knowledge sharing, collaboration, word-of-mouth advertising, and genuine social integration. Participants were also supportive of future financial and professional investments made by amenity migrants that serve to benefit the wider community and have positive social impacts.

Overall, participants would like to work collaboratively with amenity migrants, "hand in hand" (Leah), to develop their tourism economy. Amenity migrants should also continue to lend their knowledge and expertise (Troy). They would prefer, however, that there is an effort to better integrate themselves into the community without the imposition of North American values and lifestyle, and to abide by the laws of tourism (Walter; Jeremy; Troy). With the various loopholes in the system, it was felt that this is an issue that deserves government oversight in enforcing and regulating policies related to legal expatriate involvement in tourism.

Finally, one participant's support for amenity migration participation came from a personal need of financial assistance. Cheaney, a local tourism operator, has been in financial dire straits since the 2008 global recession, and would like to see amenity migrants contribute to building a larger tourism client base for local operators who are still suffering from the economic downturn:

> *I'm sure they could help us make more, to get more income. That's exactly what I need right now. My wife and I is not in a very good position because I borrowed a lot of money from the bank to buy boats and engines and [a] van. When the recession stepped in, everything gone. And right now my house, I mortgaged it to the bank and I am in foreclosure right now. That's not good. I could lose my house. It's not nice. I've been*

living there for 25 years. That's not good. So if we could get some more help economically. When you can't pay a loan there is something wrong with that. I mean, we still get a lot of people here. We have been here a long time we are established. But, well, I mean we need more clients so that we can pay our loans and stuff like that. All of us in this business could do with a little more clients. I'm sure they could help in that manner. (Cheaney)

Chapter 5: Discussion

This study compared the tourist village of Placencia to the non-tourist village of Seine Bight on the Placencia Peninsula, Belize. Tourism has become a critical form of livelihood for the local populations in these neighbouring villages. Maximizing economic impacts for the local population as a form of sustainable tourism is increasingly challenged by the social and political activities of amenity migrants, as well as their economic ventures in the local tourism industry. This goal of the research was to identify what role amenity migration might play in tourism development processes and its impact on local livelihoods. The objectives of this comparative case study was to understand the local perceptions of the following:

1. The varying perceptions of approaches to tourism management;
2. The varying levels of opportunities to participate in the development and management of the local tourism industry;
3. The varying impacts of amenity migrants on the development and management of the local tourism industry, and the associated opportunities to participate in the decision-making processes.

Tourism versus Amenity Migration: Observed Differences

The natural and cultural amenities that attract tourists to a destination also lure amenity migrants as permanent residents, many of which were tourists first themselves (Craine & Jackiewicz, 2010; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Laitos & Ruckridgle, 2013; McWatters, 2009; Meyers, 2009). Despite this inextricable link between tourism and amenity migration, literature differentiates between how these mobilities unfold on the ground.

Tourism is intentional, often developed as a pathway for economic development in replacement of a dying extractive industry (Bishop, 2010; Huang et al., 2010). With a clear separation of host and guests, the local community are the producers and tourists tend to be the consumers (Goodwin, 2008). Tourists are attracted to the authentic, unique products a destination has to offer, and usually visit short-term. On the Placencia Peninsula, tourism primarily accommodates over-night tourists with the intention of high overturn. Guests stay in large resorts, shuttled around in private vans, or reside at smaller accommodations along the beachfront in Placencia Village. Tourists as consumers support the local economy through

participation in touristy activities, primarily excursions, dining experiences, and the purchasing of products from local gift shops. Their presence is appreciated, and then replaced.

Amenity migration is an extension of tourism. Migrants possess qualities and indulge in activities that separate them from the average visitor. The line between host and guest becomes increasingly blurred where migrants contribute to community transformations through negotiations in seeking preferred leisure or lifestyles (Draper & Pavelka, 2016; Dredge & Jamal, 2013; Konovalov et al., 2013). Not only are they consumers of tourism amenities and real estate, but amenity migrants are also producers of entrepreneurial activity or other business opportunities (Gill & Williams, 2006). As long-term residents, migrants become deeply involved in the social, political, and economic systems of the host community, directly impacting community and tourism development (Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Spalding, 2013b; Van Noorloos, 2013). On the Placencia Peninsula, amenity migrants support the economy through regular visits to favoured locales, but also through the development of additional enterprises. As real estate and business owners, migrants have a strong presence in the community. This presence is enhanced through visible compatriot networks with fellow migrants, but also through community aesthetics that reflect a North American culture, including resorts, restaurants, and amenity migrant housing clusters/communities. Migrants value their personal and professional investments on the Peninsula as evidenced by participation in community associations, organizations, events, and entertainment. Investment from amenity migrants has made their form of agency unique from that of regular tourists, as migrants seek long-term personal and community-wide benefits that influence traditional systems and forms of governance.

Varying Perceptions of Approaches to Tourism Management

In tourism planning and management, it is important to have the integrated efforts of all stakeholders (Clarke et al., 2013; Dodds, 2007; Okazaki, 2008; Sutawa, 2012). However, residents of both Seine Bight and Placencia identified their role in tourism development and management as weak (or non-existent even), albeit to differing degrees. In Seine Bight there is no political structure aside from Village Council on which to base community tourism planning and management schemes, and the village must rely on the use of Placencia's tourism bodies

and resources. The community is overlooked, and there is a severe lack of government assistance and funding for tourism development. Combined with low levels of interaction with other institutions, residents and Village Council of Seine Bight remain limited in their capacities to develop local tourism. Placencia, on the other hand, has the necessary political elements from which tourism may be developed locally, but feel perhaps even more powerless than residents in Seine Bight considering the high level of government interference with tourism development that actively supresses their political autonomy. Although power is technically delegated through current bureaucratic and organizational structures including Village Council, BTIA, and the TGA, they are marginalized by central government development agendas. This is a product of competition they face with foreign developers' needs.

Although marginalized to differing degrees, residents from both communities agree that development efforts are heavily controlled by governments and influenced by foreign investors. National liberal economic policies encourage and assist foreign investors whose needs are prioritized over the local populations' in the creation of large-scale tourism developments such as hotels, resorts, and residential real estate development (Benson & O'Reilly, 2015; Feldman, 2011; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Janoschka, 2009; Karakabi, 2013; Matarrita-Cascante & Trejos, 2013; Moore, 2015; Van Noorloos, 2011). Tosun (2006) described client-patron relationships between public and private actors as a barrier to local participation in tourism development, and noted the general likelihood of this to occur in globally southern countries where governments are highly centralized. This is further corroborated by Karakabi (2013), who reported forms of privileged citizenship are awarded to foreign investors who acted as pillars for economic development in the South Sinai region of Egypt. He noted that land and property rights were redistributed based upon economic qualifications instead of national belonging (Karakabi, 2013).

To perform their functions, development managers of touristy destinations like Placencia who have existing tourism infrastructures need to ensure effective partnerships are built among not only public and private sectors, but also the local community and NGOs. It is imperative to have effective partnerships in tourism development, especially in destinations where tourism is the dominant industry (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Dodds, 2007; Huang et al.,

2010). Partnerships should endorse transparency and accountability in collaborative sustainable development strategies, while enhancing the existing economic and social capital of local residents. In fact, lack of stakeholder involvement is considered a barrier to achieving true sustainability since strategies and approaches are likely to benefit one group greater than others, leading to a concentration of power and the development of stakeholder conflict (Dodds, 2007; Nicholas et al., 2009). Dodds (2007) found a lack of stakeholder involvement in tourism policy implementation hindered the ability of policies to be effectively applied. For example, since NGOs were not considered "economic players" (p. 314), their abilities to aid in the implementation of environmental policies were neglected when they otherwise would have proved as a valuable asset in achieving environmental sustainability. The same is true of local participation. It is important to including the local community as a valuable stakeholder considering their intimate knowledge of the land and its resources and how this contributes to the preservation and maintenance of amenities that attract visitors in the first place (Angelevska-Najdeska & Rakicevik, 2012; Lee, 2013; Nunkoo, 2011).

In non-touristy Seine Bight, residents want tourism to play a considerable role in their community, however there are no clear tourism development strategies, and residents receive no financial government support. Residents are self-reliant on small-scale, sporadic local initiatives, but also expressed gratitude for the work of the few Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or non-profit organizations that contribute to tourism development and management through environmental, social, and economic development initiatives. The use of NGOs as part of destination management of fledging tourism economies similar to Seine Bight would benefit from their facilitation efforts. NGOs have been widely acknowledged in tourism literature as an active stakeholder in tourism development whose actions lend to shaping community and tourism development (Okazaki, 2008). NGOs have been recognized as an important leader in facilitating stakeholder relationships, and as a powerful institutional tool that is beneficial for host communities considering the degree of NGO familiarity with local-level issues (Okzazki, 2008; Tosun, 2006). As development-focused organizations, communities would benefit from their provision of technical assistance to empower and induce local

participation in tourism development, while working to re-brand underdeveloped and physically unattractive destinations as friendly, welcoming, and safe.

In both Seine Bight and Placencia, residents remained highly supportive of tourism development, and prefer more local involvement through increased entrepreneurial activity and regular community consultations with government regarding policy development and implementation. Positive attitudes and support for tourism development are a result of the benefits received from tourism, such as job creation, increases in income, and a rise in the overall standards of living as it relates to social and economic improvements. This is consistent with previous studies that reported local support for tourism development based on its ability to be used as a tool for economic development (Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Lee, 2013; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011). Tourism literature confirms the positive correlation between benefits from tourism, positive attitudes towards tourism, and support for tourism development through the use of the Social Exchange Theory (SET) (Bishnu et al., 2006; Gursoy & Nunkoo, 2011; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Wang & Pfister, 2008). Residents are likely to participate in an exchange with tourists where they stand to gain benefits that outweigh the costs, and are therefore more supportive of future tourism development in their community (Bishnu et al., 2006; Gursoy & Nunkoo, 2011; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2011; Wang & Pfister, 2008; Ward & Berno, 2011). This holds true for residents of Seine Bight and Placencia; despite their inability to influence and control tourism development, they still stand to gain from the tourism economy and therefore support its continued development**.**

Furthermore, despite repeated comments towards general mistrust and dissatisfaction with how the government is currently managing tourism development, residents from both communities also support continued government involvement in tourism development and management. In Seine Bight, residents want improved presence and support from government in terms of a collaborative partnership that would not only increase local involvement in tourism, but also improve the capacity of Seine Bight as a community to become a tourism destination on the peninsula. In Placencia, residents want greater financial support, transparency in the use of taxes from tourism in the community, more community consultations, and the development of supportive policies that safeguard local jobs and provide

access to opportunities. However, the fact that residents from each community seek government support in tourism development despite low levels of satisfaction with tourism management may reflect residents' experience of power dynamics. They do not see avenues of local tourism development as possible without government assistance and support. This is inconsistent with studies concluding that levels of satisfaction with tourism institutions correlate with the level of trust residents will hold towards that institution, ultimately impacting community support for tourism development (Nunkoo, 2011; Tosun, 2006). Nunkoo (2011) found that trust was a determinant of perceived benefits from tourism. Tosun (2006) found that residents preferred significantly less government interference based on their low levels of trust towards governing bodies, and instead favoured more local participation in tourism development and management at all levels.

For managers of both touristy and non-touristy regions, it will be critical to foster close relationships with local and government actors (possibly through the use of NGOs as a facilitator) to encourage proper dissemination of information and ensure local residents and government can meaningfully and effectively negotiate development strategies that are made in the interests of local populations.

The Varying Levels of Opportunities to Participate in Tourism Development and Management

Residents from both Seine Bight and Placencia agreed that it is difficult to participate in tourism development and management. The most accessible entry point for local tourism participation is through employment opportunities. Differences in levels of tourism development between the two communities did not lead to differences in their responses to accessible opportunities for local participation. However, residents still experienced several barriers, such as lack finances and skills, competition, and community disunity.

Arenstein (1969, as cited by Tosun, 2006, p. 494) presents a typology of citizen participation that is comprised of 3 categories. The lowest category represents manipulative participation; the middle category indicates degrees of citizen tokenism, while the highest category refers to degrees of citizen power. This is mirrored by Tosun's typology of citizen participation that was developed specifically for tourism, where categories from lowest to

highest forms of participation include coerced, induced, and spontaneous (Tosun, 1999, as cited by Tosun, 2006, p. 494).

Placencia may reflect Arnstein's "degrees of tokenism", or "induced participation" as referred to by Tosun (Tosun, 2006, p. 494). This is an illusory form of participation where room for local feedback, influence, and negotiation is limited if non-existent. Communication is reduced to community consultations. Information flows one way, or sometimes not at all, evidenced by participants from Placencia who shared responses similar to "once you know about it, it's already there" (Sully). Citizens are placated through the use of local governing bodies, such as the Belize Tourism Association, yet remain unsatisfied by the government's efforts to integrate local decisions in tourism planning and management.

Seine Bight reflects Arnstein's typology of "non-participation", or Tosun's "coercive participation" (Tosun, 2006, p. 494). There is a severe lack of citizen control, as well as resources and motivation, which limits their ability to become involved and instrumental in tourism decision-making. They are therefore more likely to be manipulated and are subject to government bodies. There exist little to no signs of citizen control, delegation, or partnership in terms of Arnstein's degrees of citizen power (Tosun, 2006).

The results of this study align with Tosun 2006's findings on tourism community participation in Turkey. Local residents experienced political, cultural, and economic limits to tourism participation. Similar to Tosun's (2006) respondents, the majority of respondents expect that locals should be encouraged to invest in the tourism industry, and take the leading role as entrepreneurs while working at all levels of tourism development and management. This was found to be in conflict with other private and public stakeholders, awarding locals little control over tourism development processes. The case of the Placencia Peninsual proves to be the same, where foreign amenity migrant investors' and government bodies' development plans are in conflict with locals' desired roles in tourism planning and management. Despite their lack of control and general frustration, residents of Placencia and Seine Bight remain highly supportive of continued tourism development.

Tourism scholars have identified a strong correlation between benefits from tourism, support for tourism, and tourism participation. Most have found that perceived benefits from

tourism participation generate resident support towards tourism, and willingness among residents to participate in tourism to reap the perceived benefits (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Bishnu et al., 2006; Brennan et al., 2010; Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Lee, 2013; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2006; Tosun, 2006; Wang & Pfister, 2008). However, willingness to participate does not measure the ability or capacity to participate. It is common to have low levels of local participation in tourism development and management in destinations where tourism is a primary industry (Andereck, & Nyaupane, 2011; Bishnu et al., 2006; Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Nicholas et al., 2009; Tosun, 2006). Communities, especially those in the global south, often experience barriers to participation due to lack of proper skills training, conflict among stakeholders, and economic competition. For example, despite residents' support for sustainable tourism development in the Pitons Management Area (PMA), St. Lucia, 92% of residents were not actively involved in the management and decision-making processes of the PMA (Nicholas et al., 2009). In Malaysia, residents incurred several barriers to participation in dive tourism, which included finance and training, competition with higher-skilled expatriate workers, competition in lowered skilled labour opportunities with immigrant workers, and other non-local hiring of senior and managerial positions (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013). In fact, despite local support for tourism, levels of local participation in dive tourism in Malaysia were found to be so low that a category of 'non-participation' was added to the authors' measure.

Residents themselves acted as an additional internal barrier to tourism participation. Participants from both Seine Bight and Placencia reported forms of community disunity that hampered the ability of locals to participate in tourism development and management. Respondents expressed a general lack of collaboration and perseverance among local residents in carving out a larger space for themselves in the tourism economy. A lack of a collaborative approach to tourism development might be related to culture, or it might be related to a lack locals' of faith in their abilities based upon their relatively low capacities to actively participate (i.e. skills, training, and understand of the tourism economy and business models), especially in a competitive atmosphere with foreign tourism developers (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013). Locals need to be provided the necessary tools and resources to induce community agency, and to

empower communities whose residents are neglected as a stakeholder (Brennan et al., 2010; Matarrita-Cascante and Stocks, 2013; Tosun, 2006).

Brennan et al. (2010) highlighted the essential component of community agency that is necessary for achieving strong local participation in tourism development and management. Agency was made possible by open communication between residents, leading to collaborative efforts in responding to negative impacts of tourism, as well as collaborative control over the type of tourism they want to develop (Brennan et al., 2010). Residents of La Fortuna, Costa Rica were able to learn lessons from neighboring coastal communities who had lost land and culture to tourism development. Early decision-making led to unanimous decisions to control, manage, and develop tourism based on local goals and values (Brennan et al., 2010). This is particularly applicable to residents of Seine Bight who have minimal tourism development, and can used lessons learned from Placencia to develop an inclusive, bottom-up approach to sustainable tourism development.

The generally low levels of local participation in tourism development and management in Seine Bight and Placencia are disruptive for sustainable tourism development efforts. Economic benefits are not maximized for the local population, which is an issue disregarded by central government and goes against the very concept of sustainable tourism development (Choi & Sirakaya, 2005; Clarke et al., 2013).

The Varying Impacts of Amenity Migration on Tourism Development and Management of the Local Tourism Industry, and the Associated Opportunities to Participate in the Decision-Making Processes

Amenity migrants heavily impact tourism development and management of the local tourism industry in both Seine Bight and Placencia. The most significant impacts are economically related as amenity migration brings increases in wages, job opportunities, and visitor numbers. This is consistent with several studies of amenity migration and tourism in globally southern countries. Residents in both Seine Bight and Placencia experienced lower unemployment rates and higher standards of living. Findings echo that of Meyers (2009) and Spalding (2013), where residents in Panama experience increased economic growth and

employment opportunities in their relative tourism destinations through amenity migration investments, as well as indirect benefits such as positive influences on local work ethic and the promotion of their communities as tourism destinations. Affluent foreigners are appreciated for their demand of increased services, consumption spending, and especially investments in business enterprises that offer increases in wages and employment opportunities for locals (Hayes, 2015a; Hayes, 2015b; Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013; McWatters, 2009; Meyers, 2009; Shafran, 2011; Spalding, 2013b). As a result, respondents described their attitudes and interactions with amenity migrants as positive. This is especially common in destinations where tourism is the dominant industry and locals are reliant on tourism for employment (Ward & Berno, 2011).

Scholars urge research to move beyond economic indicators of attitudes, and consider the social predictors of attitudes. This study supports Ward & Berno's (2011) use of Contact Hypothesis as a non-economic measure of resident's attitudes, where reportedly high levels of positive interactions have also shaped residents favourable attitudes towards amenity migrants. However, high levels of positive interaction have not generated high levels social integration. Local-migrant relationships are based on the exchange of goods and services, or employer-employee relationships for residents from both Seine Bight and Placencia, similar to findings by Benson (2015) and Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks (2013) in Panama and Costa Rica respectively. Host-guest relationships on the peninsula align with what Matarrita-Cascante and Stocks' (2013) terms "mundane" interactions, rather than other studies that describe the general social atmosphere as "social dislocation" or "contested spaces" (Hayes, 2015a; Janoshka, 2009).

Amenity migrants also contribute to, and influence, tourism development and management in Seine Bight and Placencia through community development initiatives where they provide strong technical input and guidance for development objectives. With a high concentration of migrants in Placencia, development efforts are able to penetrate political barriers, and have a high degree of influence and noticeable impacts that make the community more attractive as a tourism destination. In Seine Bight, development efforts are sporadic, have low noticeable impacts, and have not resulted in higher visitor numbers for the community.

Still, residents from both communities were grateful for the level of agency shown by amenity migrants in regards to community development. The more social benefits residents receive, the more likely they are to increase the support for tourism development and accredit the improvement of their community to it (Wang & Pfister, 2008).

In the tourism literature, amenity migrants are well known for being highly active within their host communities (Hayes, 2015a), often encouraging philanthropic and community-based assistance programs through membership in local organizations, clubs, or groups (Shafran, 2011; Spalding, 2013b). Through this, migrants are able to share information and ideas with each other as "actively involved groups of concerned citizens" (Lizarraga, 2015; Van Noorloos, 2011, p. 581). Power tools such as financial capital and relatively high educational capacities allow for this type of integration as a prescribed leadership role (Janoshka, 2009). In Guanacaste, Costa Rica, amenity migrants reported to be involved in various organizations, ranging from infrastructure and environmental development programs, to smaller scale beach clean-ups. This resulted in the ability to claim services from local government, or arrange their own (Van Noorloos, 2011). However, a lack of social integration and collaborative approaches between local and foreign residents prohibits the development of effective, more efficient programs. Using community field theory, Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks (2013) argue that greater integration of groups in a shared space will not only improve development efforts through shared knowledge, but will culminate "a sense of ownership, identity, and attachment to the community: all important aspects of a community's capacity to respond to changing circumstances" (p. 100). This is particularity important in destinations affected by tourism development and the associated political, environmental, and social impacts of amenity migrants.

As investors in business and land, amenity migrants' relative power and wealth has created an environment of competition and control that hampers the ability and willingness of the local populations in Seine Bight and Placencia to participate in tourism decision-making processes. Local participation in tourism development and management is eroded through various forms of economic and employment competition, leading to a decreased local presence on important political committees involved in tourism decision-making processes. This is not

surprising, considering foreign capital tends to displace and control local development processes and participation opportunities; a commonality that exists in studies both of tourism and amenity migration (Daldeniz & Hampton, 2013; Hayes, 2015a; Matarrita-Cascante & Stocks, 2013; Meyers, 2009; Tosun, 2006; Spalding, 2013b; Van Noorloos, 2011). For example, Daldeniz and Hampton (2012), reported local residents as competing with 1) immigrants willing to work for less, contributing to the driving down wages, and 2) highly skilled foreigners who were favourable to fellow foreign employers wanting to save training costs. Finally, a lack of regulation over national policies has allowed amenity migrants to develop informal and illegal tourism operations, a growing occurrence in globally southern tourism destinations (Meyers, 2009; Van Noorloos, 2011). Overall, this contributes to a strong re-shaping of the economy, and supports the notion of downward mobility as residents become trapped in a socio-economic class that rewards them with little power to influence or control local tourism objectives.

Locals are further withdrawn from tourism participation and decision-making process due to an overwhelming majority of land and property being sold to foreign investors, a commonality that exists in tourism destinations that use real estate as a development strategy (Hayes, 2015b; Spalding, 2013b; Benson & O'Reilly, 2015; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Janoschka, 2009; Moore, 2014; Van Noorloos, 2011). The loss of access to land not only depletes space for local homes and businesses, but also increases property values to the point of unaffordability for local residents causing high levels of out migration (Hayes, 2015b; Govdyak & Jackiewicz, 2015; Gurran, 2008; Laitos & Ruckriegle, 2013; McWatters, 2009; Meyers, 2009). In Placencia and Seine Bight, unaffordability is true, but high levels of displacement have yet to occur. In fact, in order to subsidize their employment in tourism along the peninsula, Seine Bight village proper is still sought by neighboring country immigrants (as well as domestic immigrants) for its low cost of living. In Placencia, locals have managed to cope with the rising cost of living for now, but fear the next generation will suffer. Not only will housing be unaffordable, but the presence of foreigners have shifted cultural values and practices of youth, which ultimately changes their connection to land (Hayes, 2015a). The next generation is likely to sell their properties to foreign investors, further diminishing the power and presence of locals to decide on tourism development in their community.

In tourism destinations, amenity migration contributes to transformative processes that support migrant values and contribute to place-making, as well as the re-creation of tourism opportunity structures that favor affluent foreigners (Abrams et al., 2012; Hayes, 2015a). The New Mobilities Paradigm describes the impacts of modern-age human mobility that fuels amenity migration, and how, through this, "destinations are continuously transforming and restructuring as a result of flows of people, objects and ideas" (Dredge & Jamal, 2013). There is a growing accessibility to mobile lifestyles through modern technology and transportation in an increasingly globalized world (Sheller & Urry, 2006). Within with the New Mobilities Paradigm, amenity migration underscores the fluidity and movement of ideas, practices, and capital that lend to the restructuring of spaces. In this study, amenity migrant populations were found to influence their host communities in ways that align with discoveries by Jamal and Dredge (2013), where new mobilities in a tourism destination resulted in 1) spatial restructuring, 2) the pluralization of destination governance, and 3) a re-envisioning of community. On the Placencia Peninsula, destination governance and tourism development have become grounded in the interests of foreign amenity migrants, posing complex challenges for local populations as stakeholders and governors of their local tourism development.

Future studies related to the New Mobilities Paradigm should further consider the level and type of agency among amenity migrants that is characteristic of their mobile lifestyles as the line between "tourist" and "resident" becomes increasingly blurred (Dredge & Jamal, 2013). More focus should be specifically given to tourism destinations, and how being reshaped socially, economically, and politically impacts sustainable tourism development. It should consider how new mobilities and the transfer of ideas, practices, and even technology, re-create tourism products, standards, and visitor expectations. This will be important in building solutions to curb competition between local and foreign tourism enterprise owners, and in strengthening the level of local participation in tourism.

Managerial and Policy Recommendations

Tourism development on the Placencia peninsula has provided a wealth of employment opportunities, increases in income generation, and has raised the standard of living for most

local residents. However, the effects of tourism development and the associated impacts form amenity migration have led to unorganized, undemocratic systems of governance that undermine local governing abilities and undercuts local opportunities to participate in tourism development and management decision making processes. The following are managerial and policy recommendations that will aid in future tourism and amenity migration sustainable development processes.

Perhaps the simple recommendation would be to suggest abidance to Belize's 2011 National Sustainable Tourism Master Plan to guide the sustainable implementation of tourism policies and projects. It is highly recommended that there should greater involvement of local residents in tourism development as their support and involvement is critical for tourism sustainability by definition. However, there is an urgent need to address existing national policies outside of this framework that produce a favorable climate for foreign residents as investors in Belize. To curb over-investment, the gap between policy frameworks and local development agendas must be bridged through greater regulation. Residents explained that local tourism operations are currently being undercut, and that loopholes within these systems need to be eliminated.

Residents, especially those from Seine Bight, explained that a main barrier to local participation in tourism was a lack of finance and training. To further boost local participation in tourism, skills training programs focusing on business development and marketing are necessary in order to build the capacity of local residents in successfully managing and operating tourism enterprises in a competitive market. Local residents need accessible opportunities to harness these skills and ensure local presence in tourism does not become obsolete, but instead that local residents are phased into entrepreneurial and management positions over time. Residents felt that current policies are adequate to allow for this transition. Government will need to develop supportive policies for local residents that encourage tourism participation through greater accessibility to finances for business and land acquisition.

In developing more detailed tourism planning and management regulations, local input is critical. As tourism continues to grow on the peninsula, development will require local knowledge and input in order to curtail negative socio-cultural, economic, environmental

impacts. Participants consistently expressed disappointment with lacking active local presence in decision-making processes, and the desire to receive more attention from government. In Placencia, consistent consultation processes are needed to fix the fragmented approach to tourism development and management, especially in terms of destination marketing. Residents expressed that there is an extreme disconnect between how locals want to portray their tourism product, and how the community is being developed and marketed on the international stage. In Seine Bight, residents expressed the desire to develop a cultural tourism industry. This should be encouraged and promoted, and will be a crucial component in poverty alleviation for the community. Beyond consultation there needs to be an effort to increase locals' awareness of how to participate, as well as existing opportunities to participate in tourism in order to empower community agency through this form of recognition and inclusion.

Finally, the number of amenity migrants as permanent and part-time residents is likely to continue to growth with tourism development on the peninsula. However, considering the amicable nature of the relationships between local residents and amenity migrants, tourism development should take a balanced approach to meet the needs of both groups, and be supported by programs to support further integration of amenity migrants. This would be beneficial not only for generating social capital in local villages, but also for breaking down barriers that have created social and cultural inequalities. All participants expressed interest in working *with* amenity migrants. A platform should be developed that empowers collaborative community and tourism development partnerships, while allowing the opportunity for knowledge and skills sharing that will increase the effectiveness of tourism development objectives. Working closer with amenity migrants, as well as NGOs, as partners (but also as leverage) may increase the effectiveness of voicing local demands to government bodies.

Study Limitations

Case study methodology offers validity of research findings through the use of multiple methods to collect and authenticate data. However, the use of this methodology is a known limitation considering the inability to generalize the findings beyond the research sites of Seine Bight and Placencia (Tight, 2010). Temporality of case study methodology is an additional

limitation (Tight, 2010). As tourism continues to grow on the peninsula, amenity migration is likely to take a different form over time, as well as the local perspective of its impacts depending on future directions of tourism development and management at local and national levels.

Cultural difference between the researcher and participants may also be considered a limitation. Underlying cultural differences might impact the analysis of participant responses, potentially causing data to be misinterpreted or inaccurately portrayed through the researcher's cultural lens. Furthermore, the presence of the researcher may have influenced participant responses considering the similar nationality and culture of the researcher and the population of topic: amenity migrants.

The sampling method also proposes limitations. Snowball sampling method referred several participants in both research sites who had been previously been interviewed on the topics of tourism and development, and who referred similar respondents who would be "good" to talk to. For future research, it would be beneficial to use a different random sampling method to ensure a more representative population. In Placencia, the majority of respondents were business owners. It would be useful to have future research include participants that hold non-managerial positions, or are removed from the tourism industry. In Seine Bight, participants had a more favourable representation, including business owners, tourism industry employees, individuals who worked indirectly in tourism, and unemployed individuals. However, the pool of participants in Seine Bight was not representative of the current cultural composition of the community. Snowball sampling caused participants to recommend fellow Garifuna, excluding potentially valuable information from Indian, Chinese, Mayan, or other Latin American community members.

Future Research

Considering the limitation of a single case study not being generalizable beyond the research site, future research should explore the impact of amenity migration on tourism participation in different tourism destinations, particularly in globally southern countries. Corroborative and contrasting findings will lend to the generalizability of the phenomenon of

amenity migration and its impacts on receiving communities. Future research should also explore the same topic of amenity migration and its impact on tourism participation from the amenity migrant perspective to better understand how this alternative group of residents perceive their impact on tourism development and management, as well as their views on destination management. Incorporating the views of amenity migrants will allow a more comprehensive approach to effective stakeholder engagement and economic development strategies that minimize barriers for local residents to economically benefit from tourism.

Future research should also quantitatively examine amenity migrants' economic activity, particularly entrepreneurship and employment in tourism in order to verify the level and typology of their business-related activities. The expansion of tourism and amenity migration on the Placencia Peninsula offers context for such research to determine how this impacts the entrepreneurial and employment opportunities for local populations, and will be useful for policy and development planners in attracting or discourage particular kinds of migrants.

Although tourism has strong linkages to community development, future research should attempt to further understand the impact of amenity migrants on local residents' community agency as an important component of tourism participation. Residents of both Seine Bight and Placencia commented on a severe lack of community agency among residents that has negatively impacted their ability to participate in tourism development, management, and decision-making processes. As the presence of amenity migrants grows and their role as a stakeholder in tourism development becomes increasingly prominent, it is necessary to address their impact on community agency and assess weather amenity migrants act as a catalyst or an obstacle to it.

Conclusion

Popular destinations for both tourism and amenity migration, such as the Placencia Peninsula, are increasingly subject to complex challenges to sustainable development as improvements in transportation and technology have increases the nature of mobile lifestyles. The aim of this study was to uncover the impacts of amenity migration as a form of mobility on local participation in sustainable tourism development and management. It was discovered that

both Seine Bight and Placencia experience more barriers to tourism participation than accessible opportunities. Although highly supportive of tourism development, locals identified several forms of competition from foreign amenity migrants that hinder their ability to fully participate in tourism development and management. Being outperformed by western elite groups in tourism and community development, and thereafter being forced to perform by western standards, has exacerbated community disunity, lack of motivation, and general apathy among residents from residents in both communities. Without the proper resources, training, and support, it is unlikely that levels of local participation in tourism development and management along the peninsula will increase, causing locals to become further alienated and displaced as a result. Action needs to be taken that will encourage locals, and provide them with the tools to develop grass-roots organizations towards tourism participation. It is imperative that local populations participate in tourism planning and management for long-term success considering they the both the benefactors and the sufferers of tourism development impacts (Tosun, 2006). Most importantly, negative socio-economic impacts from amenity migration issues should not be handled in isolation from tourism development impacts. More research will be needed to highlight the strong interconnectedness of these two domains and their impact on the general sociology of sustainable tourism development.

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Appendix A – Semi-Structured interview for local residents of Seine Bight and Placencia

The purpose of this research is to explore the impact of amenity migration on the ability of the local populations of Seine Bight and Placencia to participate in sustainable tourism and tourism management. A comparative analysis of the two communities will allow for a better understanding of how amenity migration impacts sustainable tourism efforts, specifically the participation of locals, in two different areas that have experienced drastically uneven levels of tourism development. This study will explore what the role of amenity migration might play in the development processes and it's impact on locals' livelihoods. The research aims to assist tourism developers in the sustainable tourism development processes at the local level.

Survey #: _____ Date: _____ Age: _____ Gender: _____ Village: _____

Years of residence in the area: _____ Nationality: _____ Ethnicity: _____

Basic indicators

1. What brought you to live in this community?
2. What is your current role in, and contribution to, the tourism economy in this community?
3. How do you feel about the current level of tourism development and activity in this community?
4. Why have you chosen your current profession?

Perceptions of tourism development and management:

5. How has tourism impacted your community?
6. Are you satisfied with the way tourism development has been managed in your community? Please explain.
7. What would you say are the top benefits and negative impacts of tourism in this community?
8. As a person who is knowledgeable about this community, do you have any concerns for its future?

Participation in tourism:

(Describe importance of local participation in sustainable tourism).

9. What is your desired role in the development, management, and decision-making processes of tourism in your community?
10. What is your opinion about the ability of locals to participate in tourism and tourism management? Is it easy or difficult to be part of the planning and management process? What factors contribute to this?
11. What is the current role of the government in tourism planning and management?

12. What do you believe *should be* the role of the government in tourism planning and management? Please explain.
13. What is the current role of local residents in tourism planning and management?
14. What do you believe *should be* the role of local residents in tourism planning and management? Please explain.

Relationship with, and perceptions of, amenity migrants:

(Describe what "amenity migrant" is)

15. How often do you interact with amenity migrants?
16. Are interactions with amenity migrants positive or negative interactions? Please explain.
17. How would you describe the nature of your relationship with amenity migrants?
18. What changes have you seen in your community as a result amenity migration development? (Social, economic, cultural, environmental, physical?).
19. Has the presence of amenity migrants changed your relationship with your community and/or culture? If so, how?

Amenity migration and tourism:

20. How has the presence of amenity migrants impacted tourism in your community?
21. What is the current contribution of amenity migrants in managing and shaping the tourism economy in your community?
22. Has amenity migration impacted your level of participation or ability to participate in the tourism industry? If so, what factors contribute to this positive or negative influence?
23. Has amenity migration changed your attitude towards tourism and tourism development? If so, please explain.
24. In the future, what role would you like to see amenity migrants play in tourism development and management in your community, if at all?

Appendix B – Oral Recruitment Script

Hello, my name is Sarah. I am a graduate student from Vancouver Island University. I am currently doing my master's thesis on amenity migration and its impact on tourism participation. _____ (name of previous interviewee) suggested you as a participant for my study because of your level of experience with tourism in this community. The goal of the study is to better understand how amenity migrants (better known as expatriates or foreign residents) have impacted the ability of local residents in this community to participate in sustainable tourism and tourism management. I would like to hear about your experience regarding amenity migration and tourism participation. The interview will take approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour to complete. Your participation in my research will be completely voluntary; you will not be identified publically in any manner and you are free to withdraw at any time. The information that you provide will be used in the completion of my master's thesis.

Are you interested in participating in this study today?

If 'No'

Thank you. Sorry to have interrupted your day.

If 'Yes'

Thank you. Is it alright with you if I record our conversation with my audio device? I would like to use the recording later to verify your answers. The audio will not be shared with anyone and will be destroyed once I have completed my research. I also have a consent form for you to sign, as well as a copy for yourself, to provide you with information on my research; my contact information; and details on how the information you provide me will be used. While you are asked to sign a consent form, your name will never be associated with any of your interview responses. Are you still interested in participating?

(The goal is to interview 10 local Belizean residents of Seine Bight and 10 local Belizean residents from Placencia. Once the target has been reached within each community I will not interview more people from that community).

Following interview: It was very nice to meet you. Would you be able to provide me information for further participants who are suited for and would be interested in participating in this study?

If 'No'

Thank you for your time and participation. Have a nice day.

If 'Yes'

Thank you. I look forward to speaking with them. (Information will be collected and suitability of referred participant will be determined by the researcher).

Thank you for your time and participation. Have a nice day.

Appendix C –Research Consent Form

Sarah Hain, Master's Student
Sustainable Leisure Management
Vancouver Island University
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Pete Parker, Ph.D., Supervisor
Department of Recreation and Tourism
Vancouver Island University
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The purpose of this research is to explore the impact of amenity migration on the ability of the local populations of Seine Bight and Placencia to participate in sustainable tourism and tourism management.

You have been asked to participate in an interview that will last anywhere from 30 minutes to 1 hour. Questions relate to your lived experience of amenity migration, tourism development, and participation in tourism and tourism management. Your identity will be kept anonymous and information you wish to share will not be made public. There is no harm or risk involved in the participation of this research. This research will be useful to better the planning and management associated with sustainable tourism development and the generation of benefits for the local community. With your permission I will record your interview using a digital audio recording device. The audio will be transferred and stored in a secure computer at my place of residence and is only to be used for the purpose of this research. The digital files will be destroyed following the completion of this research, planned for April 2018. Direct quotations may be used in the final report, however your identification will be kept confidential through the use of a pseudonym. Only my thesis supervisor, Dr. Pete Parker, and myself will have access to the raw research data.

Your participation is completely voluntary. You may ask questions at any time. You may choose not to answer any question. You may withdraw your participation at any time without any penalty. Should you choose to withdraw, all previous information provided will be removed from the study. If you have any concerns about your treatment as a participant in this study please contact the Vancouver Island University Ethics Review Officer by telephone at 250-753-3245 ext 2665, or by email at reb@viu.ca. If you have any questions about this research project, or would like more information, please feel free to contact myself, the primary researcher.

I have read the above form, understand the information read, and under that I can ask questions or withdraw at any time. I consent to participate in today's research study.

Participant Signature Date: