IN SEARCH FOR RESPONSIBLE PARTNERSHIPS

Postcolonial analysis of tourism development in Sri Lanka

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Partnerships in tourism are known to be vital for destination development. Previous studies have shown the importance of including all the stakeholders in tourism development to make tourism more sustainable. Responsible business practices in tourism have been approached for instance, through voluntourism, pro-poor tourism, CSR in tourism, and through ethical tourism. Although several studies draw attention to the increase of responsible tourism practices and their importance for the destinations of the Global South, few scholars have emphasized how local entrepreneurs experience partnerships with the responsible companies from the Global North.

Therefore, the study aims at understanding how the increase of social entrepreneurship and CSR contributes to the development of responsible tourism partnerships between the Global South and Global North. The main research question is: How are the partnerships with responsible tour operators from the Global North influencing tourism development in the Global South? The empirical data was collected through ethnographic fieldwork and consists of semi-structured interviews with Sri Lankan tourism-managers and fieldnotes. Drawing upon postcolonial theory, the analysis focused on the issues of power, identity, language, representation, space and landscape, and was analysed by conducting a content analysis.

The findings indicate that to make the partnerships more equal it would be essential that companies from the Global North would allocate more resources for getting to know the partner and the local culture. Although tourism actors from the Global North play a crucial role in the economic development of Sri Lanka, the local tourism managers perceive the development of responsible tourism as their own responsibility. The local companies are hoping that their partners from the Global North would not be in control of tourism practices. Instead, these partners should appreciate the effort they put on certifications and responsible tourism practices. Furthermore, the study suggests that the local companies should question the importance of the Global North and pay attention in the new customer groups coming from the East.

In more general terms, if the Western will of help and spread responsible tourism development to the Global South was a way of control and power between the rich and the poor, the present study shows that this setting is changing. In search of more responsible forms of tourism practices, it is essential to approach the idea of responsibility in a holistic manner in which the international and national companies, as well as tourists are all responsible.

KEYWORDS: Partnership, postcolonialism, responsible tourism, Social Entrepreneurship, CSR, ethnography.

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CONTENT

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

While France and Spain are still the World's first tourism destinations, tourism is growing significantly in the Global South (Brown & Hall, 2018, p.839 ; UNWTO, 2018). Tourism industry, promoted as a means of development and positive impact on the Global South, but also criticized for its environmental harms among other problems, is now allowing almost the whole population to travel. Tourist streams do not any long focus to the Global North, but travellers are moving in all the directions from south to north, east to west, and west to south (Brown and Hall, 2008). Therefore, the ones benefitting, or being disturbed about the tourism development are everywhere, and an increasing number of researchers and companies are seeking to improve the conditions of these populations through tourism.

In the summer of 2017 I was working as an intern in one of those companies aiming to improve the living standards of the populations of the Global South through tourism. The Finnish start up, and social enterprise, sells village experiences by local hosts in different countries of Asia and Africa. One of the main goals of the company is to direct the tourism incomes straight for the local community and keep only a small part for themselves for developing the business. The company works in direct and daily contact with their local partners and communicates with them about new bookings, about traveller's questions, and about new destinations among others. The challenges of the company laid on the facts that the local partners have little knowledge about business practices, about using emails as daily work-tools, or some did not have their own bank accounts where to receive their share of the work. On the other hand, this was the advantage of the whole service, because the company could sell something truly authentic for travellers, and at the same time give a possibility for the locals to become micro-entrepreneurs and learn how to earn extra incomes through their own contribution.

Although, I found the business idea interesting, I started to question it, and the actual impact of all the tourism companies looking to help in the Global South. I also wondered if the destinations of the Global South are marketed under that image of 'undeveloped' and how the locals would like that their countries would be sold for tourism. My thoughts were accompanied by the increasing media discussion about ethical tourism and its different

aspects. The Finnish magazine, Maailman Kuvalehti, has been reporting on new business models fighting against mass tourism (Koskinen, 2017), about orphanage tourism and its impact on the local families and children (Filpus, 2018), and about facing poverty when traveling in the destinations of the Global South (Piiroinen, 2018). The latter subject was also approached by a panel talk in the World Village Festival of Helsinki in the spring of 2018. Talks and articles about over-tourism, tourists' carbon footprint, climate change and tourism, or the aviation tax are only few of the topics that have been recently approached by the Finnish mainstream media (Kankkonen, 2018; Matikainen, 2018; Mäkinen, 2018; Rautiainen, 2018; Uosukainen & Pilke, 2018). While the media have recently started to give attention to responsible tourism, a significant amount of literature studying the impact of the industry has been published over the last decades. Despite the large economic advantages of tourism, the industry produces many side-effects the main-ones being pollution, global warming and decreasing carrying capacity, economic dependency, exploitation and human right abuses, wildlife and biodiversity destruction, the rice of inequalities (Archer, Cooper & Ruhanen, 2005; Pizam, 1978; Power, Di Domenico, & Miller, 2017). Several of these challenges are related to the fact that most of the tourism destinations are in the Global South, while the biggest companies and tourists are coming from the Global North (Peak, 2008).

Tourism entrepreneurs have an important role in acknowledging the ethical and sustainable challenges faced by the industry, and recent studies even indicate that entrepreneurship is one of the key drivers in tourism (Power et al., 2017, p. 37). Since the social and climatic issues have been widely discussed and brought to common knowledge during past years, ethical and green consumption in tourism have also grown. Consumers are asking for more responsible means to travel and ways of helping in the destinations (see Butcher, 2015; Simkute, 2017). In general, tourism industry has developed from the focus on infrastructures and things, towards a focus on people and the environment. The development of this post-modern approach, with more sustainable and eco-focused tourism has created opportunities for tourism entrepreneurs through the opening of new markets and destinations (Ateljevic, 2009, pp. 21-22). This has led to the increasing creation of social enterprises in tourism. Through financially sustainable strategies, they approach the wicked problems, such as durable poverty, environmental degradation, and demographic unbalances (Dorado & Ventrensca, 2013, p.70). On the other hand, companies involved with social and sustainable projects through their Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR)-programs have increased.

Their goal is to integrate the environmental and social welfare into the corporations' decisions and operations (Arnaudov & Koseska, 2012, p.390).

Social entrepreneurship appears as much in the Global North and South. In European countries such as United Kingdom, Sweden or Finland, companies offering new kind of sightseeing tours are employing people in socially vulnerable situations. In the Global South social enterprises have often been created by people from the Global North who then use local companies as suppliers and partners. In these cases, their aims are to help the locals and the natural environment of the destination, by bringing more incomes and increasing employment in the communities. In tourism, social enterprises and CSR programs usually appear through responsible tourism practices. However, responsible tourism, sustainable, ethical, or green tourism as well as pro-poor tourism, are terms used commonly and alternatively for tourism aiming to minimize the negative social, economic and environmental impacts, whilst maximising the positive effects of tourism development (Frey & George, 2010, p.622). While the terms and their background will be defined more in depth in the next chapter, to keep this thesis consistent, I will be referring to *responsible tourism* throughout the dissertation.

One of the key issues, in making social entrepreneurship or traditional entrepreneurship to work in tourism, are the partnerships between different entities. Especially in the Global South, partnerships are an important way of cooperation for small and medium size companies, which would not have enough resources to maintain themselves in the market without bigger companies, organisations and governments (Gomez-Nieves & Reyes-Uribe, 2015). Partnership commonly refers to an arrangement between two or more companies who work together to achieve common business aims (Gursoy, Saayman, & Sotiriadis, 2015, p. xviii). The present study, implemented in Sri Lanka, participates in the discussion about responsible tourism partnerships by approaching it from local entrepreneurs' perspective. The study seeks to understand how the increase of social entrepreneurship and CSR contributes to the development of responsible tourism partnerships between the Global South and the Global North. To do so, I conducted an ethnographic fieldwork by interweaving 14 Sri Lankan entrepreneurs and tourism managers and by collecting fieldnotes through participative and non-participative approaches. To give a voice for the local communities and to study the North-South positions through a critical lens, the study is driven by a postcolonial approach.

1.2 Previous research

1.2.1 From tourism enclaves to pro-poor tourism

Over the past years, several studies have drawn attention to tourism as a tool for poverty reduction and economic growth (see Hall, 2007; Mitchel & Ashley, 2009; Scheyvens, 2011). These studies show that tourism plays an important role in reducing poverty and inequalities (Croes, 2014), provides a source of overseas investment, demand for local goods and services (food, hotels, souvenirs, etc.), and a stimulus for community and regional development (Kennedy & Dornan, 2009, p 184). Not only the revenues brought by tourists who spend money in the destination are a positive increase in the local GDB, but the growing incomes of locals also affect their productivity and spur their economic growth because of the improved health, housing, and nutrition conditions (Fayissa, Nsiah, & Tadasse, 2008). As long as tourism spending has been increasing, there is higher chance for decreasing unemployment, therefore growing international tourism arrivals are important particularly in the Global South (Croes, 2014).

Nevertheless, tourism incomes are not always equally distributed and might even play a detrimental part in poverty alleviation (Blake, 2008). Some researchers argue that tourism is not necessarily a powerful tool for economic and social transformation (Mbaiwa, 2003). For example, a study conducted by Mbaiwa (2003) shows that tourism creates employment and generates revenues but does not promote economic development in the rural communities of the country. His results support previous studies (Shaw & Shaw, 1999) about enclave resorts' impact on local communities and the challenges that the international resorts bring for local tourism entrepreneurs: They are generally limited to marginal locations where their contact with tourists is ephemeral and makes the local tourism business an informal sector. Thus, because of the 'personalised' and 'pushy' quick approaches towards the tourists, the relationships between the local sellers and the guests are more informal and the gap between them becomes wider (Shaw & Shaw, 1999).

The rise of awareness towards the social and environmental damages of tourism has increased the creation of social enterprises and the interest towards more ethical and sustainable tourism. At the end of the 1990s emerged the concept of 'pro-poor tourism'(PPT), defined as tourism which brings net benefits to the poor (Harrison, 2008, p.853). Instead of being a specific product or form of tourism, PPT "is an approach to

tourism development and management which ensures that local poor people are able to secure economic benefits from tourism in a fair and sustainable manner" (Frey & George, 2010, p. 622). However, the concept of PPT and the usefulness of *helping* in tourism has been questioned by many scholars (see Harrison, 2008; Scheyvens, 2011). PPT has been criticized about being "indiscriminate and theoretically imprecise", about failure in poverty alleviation and rise of inequalities, and about ignorance of the actual problems of poor's (Harrison, 2008, p.853).

It has been suggested that ethical tourism facilitates economic benefits, but also reinforces the social and economic disadvantages of the host populations, especially in the countries of the Global South (Weeden, 2002). Nevertheless, PPT has showed useful impacts by collecting funds for the communities, improving the use of the environment, creating jobs, and by providing new skills and education (Cattarinich, 2001, pp. 74–75), as well as increasing knowledge about poverty (Harrison, 2008). Some believe, it makes no difference to practice responsible tourism, as tourism rarely benefits the local communities, but mostly foreign companies and the local entrepreneurs (Akama et al., 2011; Scheyvens, 1999, p. 246). Therefore, Scheyvens (1999) suggested that community-based tourism practices should be enhanced – especially for the local communities' empowerment.

Cole (2006) and Höckert (2009) showed that community-based tourism does have some positive economic impacts on the villages, such as improving the infrastructure due to the revenues brought by the tourists and tour operators. Strengthening the cultural value and sense of proudness of the locals, learning languages and getting jobs in tourism industry were also perceived as important positive impacts. On the other hand, empowerment through tourism is hard to achieve, as it is difficult for local people to develop tourism and thus gain benefits from it, if they do not get enough information about the industry and tourists' expectations (Cole, 2006). Although the locals experience some economic and socio-cultural benefits, the positive impact of community-based tourism is not as important as the community would expect and the sense of cohesion in the communities is missing (Höckert, 2009, p. 102).

In order to enhance the positive impact of tourism and to minimize its negative effects, the social- and environmental issues have started to be approached by social entrepreneurship and CSR-programs (Laeis & Lemke, 2016; Von der Weppen & Cochrane, 2012). The aim of social enterprises, in addition to address social issues, is to generate incomes through their

business models and to distribute part of them directly for a social cause (Altinay, Sigala, Waligo, 2015). Companies adopting CSR strategies are already existing corporations, who are committed to protect the environment and the society through their management programs (Arnaudov & Koseska, 2012). Studies about CSR have increased significantly from the 90's to 2012 (Zanfardini, Aguirre & Tamagni, 2015) but only few studies have focused on the impact of the CSR programs in tourism activity, and the tourism literature about CSR often overlaps with the concepts of responsible, sustainable, or ethical tourism (Frey & George, 2010).

However, the rice of awareness towards responsible management and sustainable development in general, has increased the use of different concepts and terms. The 'exact' definitions vary (Fennell, 2001), but all terms have similar goals in minimizing the negative impacts whilst maximising the positive effects of tourism development. Their emphasis is slightly different and depend on the perspective from which they are looked from, e.g. *ecotourism* is nature based; conservation supporting; sustainably managed; and environmentally educating (Fennell, 2001, p. 404). While *sustainable tourism* respects the responsible management of resources for the use and enjoyment of present and future generations, r*esponsible tourism* is managing the business in a way that it benefits the local community and the natural and business environment (Frey & George, 2010, p. 622). According to Weeden (2002) *ethical tourism* goes beyond the previous definitions and the emphasis is on the morality of tourists and tourism providers.

A lack of studies can be noted with social entrepreneurship as well – research has been paying attention on its evolution in other fields, but little is still known about the impact of social enterprises within tourism. The connection between sustainable tourism and social entrepreneurship is related to innovation and growth. De Lange and Dodds (2017) argue that social entrepreneurship can stimulate the larger industries to become generally sustainable, thus make sustainable tourism become more than a niche and to increase sustainability in almost any market. On the other hand, some case studies have showed that the development and impact of social entrepreneurship is not easy for the locals. For example, the benefits and values of social entrepreneurship are unknown to small entrepreneurs in island destinations like Mauritius and Haiti (Gowreesunkar, Van der Sterren & Séraphin, 2015) and a lack of support from the local government in Indonesia makes it difficult for the locals to develop social entrepreneurship (Reindrawati, 2017). In both cases, tourism is an

important industry in the destination and social entrepreneurship could work for improving the local lifestyle as well as increasing the value of tourism.

Few examples have also showed that visible CSR reporting does not affect in practice the local employment or environment in the way it should. This has been the case in Goa, India, where, according to Ferus-Comelo (2014, pp. 59, 65) an international chain of luxury hotels does not guarantee any stable employment for the locals. Although the company reports about important actions related to water and air pollution or solid waste handling, the government does not seem to control or monitor the environmental statements made by the hotels (Ferus-Comelo, 2014). In Romania, where the CSR implications of tourism distributors where analysed appeared that companies pay more attention to the implications related to the marketplace, such as supplying clear and accurate information about products, the timely payment of suppliers, ensuring feedback from customers and partners. The CSR policies related to environment and social initiatives with the local community were less comprised (Moisescu, 2014).

This stream of literature shows that tourism can reduce vulnerability, isolation and powerlessness and therefore contribute to the poverty alleviation even when tourism is not economically significant. However, it also becomes evident that tourism is not working perfectly to alleviate poverty and empower locals (Scheyvens, 1999, 2011). International tourism companies have settled down in the destinations, but this has pushed the local communities even further from the tourism development (Mbaiwa, 2003; Shaw & Shaw,1999). The negative impact of tourism, created by the gap between local communities and international companies, has increased the creation of social enterprises and CSR in tourism. Social entrepreneurship and CSR have increased in order to empower local communities, to support sustainable regional development, and to improve the social capital and quality of life (Altinay, Sigala, & Waligo, 2015, p. 405). Many studies agree that social tourism enterprises are especially needed in the Global South (Kwaramba, Lovett, Louw, and Chipumuro J., 2012; Sloan, Legrand and Simons-Kaufmann, 2014; Weeden, 2002).

1.2.2 *The role of partnerships in the development of responsible tourism*

Collaboration, partnerships, alliances or clusters are all different ways for companies to work together and can vary from small marketing operations to an agreement of delivering a regular service (Gursoy et al.,2015, p. xvii). The most common way to describe partnership,

which is the term used in this thesis, is to refer to an arrangement between two or more companies who work together in order to achieve common business aims (Gursoy et al., 2015, p. xviii). As noted by Wilson, Nielsen & Buultjens (2009) previous research on tourism partnerships tend to focus on non-commercial forms of collaboration, particularly tourism organisations, destinations or government policymakers. For instance, studies have been focusing on the collaboration between local communities and NGOS (Cattarinch, 2001; Kennedy & Dornan, 2009; Nahi, 2018), on the importance of partnerships in the development of sustainable tourism (Graci, 2013; Maksin, 2010), and the development of community-based tourism (Höckert, 2015; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Tosun, 2002; Wilkes, 2016). The studies have showed that collaboration, in its different forms, is necessary in order to make tourism more responsible and to enhance the locals' economy.

A study about social enterprises in tourism and their key factors to success reveals that those companies, which have made a clear difference between their target population (the ones benefitting from the business) and the target market (the customers) and found the balance between the social mission and the profit, seemed to be the ones succeeding the best (Von der Weppen and Cochrane, 2012). On the other hand, the effectiveness of co-creation between companies and NGOs' has showed to be effective in the empowerment of local poor communities (Nahi, 2018). For enhancing the social and environmental impact, Nahi (2018) suggests that social enterprises or traditional companies should collaborate more with the local NGO's and communities, as they can all benefit from their knowledge and experience. Her findings accord with Kennedy and Dornan (2009), who examined the effectiveness of tourism-oriented NGOs at reducing poverty in developing countries. The most effective partnership is the one between NGO's from the Global North and the local NGOs in the Global South. In order to enhance pro-poor tourism, it is important that the local NGO involves the local community, without imposing a Western view of the appropriate way of doing things (Kennedy & Dornan, 2009, pp. 193-197).

Hence, Nahi (2018) advocates that co-creation and partnership between foreign social enterprises and the local partners does not necessarily marry profit-making and poverty-alleviation. If companies aim to have useful impact in the Global South, they will have difficulties in making profit out of their business. This suggestion agrees with the approach that small businesses might have a more direct impact on local communities, but the problem is that small private sector businesses are focusing on the profit they can make by helping the poor. On the other hand, big international companies do not impact small communities

directly, but with their higher traveller capacity they can have a stronger influence on the tourists and their behaviour in the destination (Scheyvens, 2011, pp. 110–144).

Later, studies about public-private partnerships have suggested that what makes collaborations successful is the quality and nature of the long-lasting partnership. When having a holistic approach on the relationship between the public and private tourism organisations, rather than focusing on the commercial and contractual arrangements, the development of more sustainable tourism services is possible (Wilson, Nielsen & Buultjens, 2009). Further, Graci (2013) studied the collaboration development and the effects of multi-stakeholder partnership on sustainable tourism development in the island of Gili in Indonesia. Her findings showed that a partnership with several stakeholders, private and public, can have a successful impact on sustainable tourism development. A less researched area are the relationships between two private commercial entities; tour operators and local tourism companies.

However, by interviewing local accommodation providers in the Greek island, Corfu, researchers have showed the advantages and disadvantages of European tour operators as distribution channels for the local small and medium sized tourism enterprises (SMTE) (Bastakis, Buhalis & Butler, 2004). SMTEs have learned greatly about management, company organization and product development from the European TOs, from which the larger TOs have been also able to offer a better sense of security on financial matters. The SMTEs have also benefitted about the tourism growth caused by the tour operators (Bastakis et al., 2004, p. 158). On the other hand, they have identified several problems from the partnerships, such as lack of loyalty from the TOs towards the particular destination, the pressure by TOs for lower prices and constant negotiations about the prices, and the low coverage of allotment contracts. (Bastakis et al., 2004, p. 159-163).

In addition to public and private entities, tourists themselves are important stakeholders in tourism development. Research about the guest-host relationship and participatory community-based tourism has suggested that as much tourism experts, as tourists, do not always realize the efforts and costs hosting takes from local people. The Western visitor's desire to help marginal communities does not really help on the bigger tourism scale and does not bring the wanted emancipation to the communities (Höckert, 2015). Due to the development of tourism in the Nicaraguan community of San Ramon, the villagers started to host tourists in their homes and develop a business activity from hospitality with the

guidance of tourism consultants and tour-operators. Yet, the maintenance of the business appeared to be harder than expected, as a result of constant material demands about new tasks to do or items to buy (Höckert, 2015, p. 266). Another significant problem and contradiction were the western guests who aimed at promoting the local well-being of the village by staying in the local houses without recognizing the hosts as entrepreneurs but as some kind of local people who host tourists for fun, and voluntarily (Höckert, 2015, p. 271–289).

Related to entrepreneurship in tourism and the impact of social enterprises on the local communities a lack of studies can be identified. Johanna Vierros (2017), one of the founders of a Finnish social enterprise in tourism, made a case study for her company: Her aim was to study the impact of the company in the local communities in which the company is acting. The study focused on two specific communities in Sri Lanka and Tanzania and concluded that several positive results, similar to Cole's (2006) and Höckert's (2015) have appeared in the communities once the locals have started hosting for the company. However, other studies have suggested that if governments do not follow the implementation of rules related to responsible business practices there is no guarantee they are being followed or implemented (Ferus-Comelo, 2014; Reindrawati, 2017). Furthermore, tourism is one of the most important economic sources on short-term in the Global South, therefore governments are supporting its development no matter in which ways it is done, and how unsustainably (Tosun, 2002). Pro-poor tourism has been criticized about increasing the economy of certain communities by still leaving others out, thus not affecting enough the inequalities caused by tourism (Chock, Macbeth & Warren, 2007; Harrison, 2008). Researches also seem to agree that there is a lack of studies about the impact of pro-poor actions (Chock et al., 2007) and responsible tourism practices in the local communities.

1.3   Sri Lanka as a tourism destination

The small island of Sri Lanka, located just next to India in Southern Asia, is especially known for its surfing beaches, rich wildlife and rainforest, scenery train itineraries, and tea production (Lonely Planet, 2019). However, before becoming an increasing tourism destination, Sri Lanka has suffered about critical political situations, as well as natural catastrophes. Tourism started to develop in the years 1960's with important early increases

until 1980's (Robinson & Jarvie, 2008, p. 632). Those years it was mostly the South Coast of Sri Lanka, which enjoyed about tourism and sophisticated infrastructure, often managed by Europeans. In 1987, the tourism arrivals dropped significantly because of the crisis between the Sinhalese and Tamil ethnic groups, which affected the political situation for decades (Noble, 2011; Robinson & Jarvie, 2008). In addition to this, Sri Lanka was one of the Asian countries badly hit by the Tsunami of 2004 and over 31,000 people were killed (Robinson & Jarvie, 2008). Only after the end of the civil war, in 2009, tourism arrivals started to increase again and made tourism one of the country's main industry and income (Fernando, Bandara & Smith, 2013).

After Sri Lanka started to recover from its difficult past, peacebuilding and community development initiatives were taken, and villages started development plans based on the needs and priorities of the communities (Noble, 2011; Robinson & Jarvie, 2008, p. 643). However, the roots of the ethnic conflicts were so deep in social, economic, political and cultural discrimination of the Tamil minority, that the deep shaft in the geographical development between the Southern and Northern regions has been difficult to repair (Noble, 2011, p. 12). According to Noble (2011) the Western Province of Sri Lanka enjoys about 50 % of the Sri Lankan GDP incomes, while the Northern and Eastern provinces remain poor and lack of basic infrastructure.

Today, according to the national tourism organisations, ecotourism is a rapidly growing niche-sector and a trend among tourists and service providers and allows the visitors to get closer to the nature without harming the environment (Sri Lanka Travel and Tourism, 2018; Sri Lanka Tourism bureau, 2018). Wildlife, and particularly elephants, are an important tourism attraction in Sri Lanka which and have contributed to the development of a nature-based tourism market and creation of national parks (Buultjensa, Ratnayakeb, Gnanapalab, & Aslamb, 2005). At the same time, the increasing number of visitors is degrading the natural values of the protected areas, which has raised the interest towards more sustainable tourism practices (Buultjensa et. Al, 2005; Senevirathna & Perera, 2013).

As many countries of the Global South, Sri Lanka is still behind of its economic development and faces environmental problems such as land degradation, pollution and poor management of water resources, coastal erosion among others (Teare, Bandara, & Jayawardena, 2013). In order to enhance the situation, ambitious development plans were launched in Sri Lanka in terms of tourism. The government's objectives were also improving

social development by empowering rural communities to participate in development decisions and increase gender-balanced development for enhancing women's situation in Sri Lanka (Ratnayake & Kasim, 2011; Teare et al., 2013, p. 466). Although research agree that Sri Lankan tourism still has improvements to do before being sustainable (Sriyantha, 2017), or eco-tourism actually being efficient (Ratnayake & Kasim, 2011; Senevirathna & Perera, 2013) the country has recovered well from the war. The Tourism Development Strategy plan launched by the government has been efficient in order to increase international tourism and local communities are happy about the tourism development in smaller towns (Kotuwegoda Palliyaguruge, 2010).

1.4   Research questions and methodology

As noted through the literature review, responsible tourism and its increase in the Global South has been studied through pro-poor tourism practices, through ethical and sustainable tourism, through community-based tourism and through CSR in tourism. The different responsible tourism practices include not only NGOs, but all companies and organisations with social and sustainable goals. How responsible tourism is being practiced or the partnerships perceived in the Global South have been less studied. Therefore, the present study aims to participate in the discussions about responsible tourism partnerships by approaching it from local entrepreneurs' perspective. Through interviews with local tourism managers in Sri Lanka, the study seeks to understand how the increase of social entrepreneurship and CSR contributes to the development of responsible tourism development and how it affects the partnerships between in the Global South and the Global North. From these aims, the following research questions were formulated. Primarily, (RQ1): How are the partnerships with responsible tour operators from the Global North influencing tourism development in the Global South? Then, (RQ2): What are the motivations of local tourism companies in the Global South, to establish partnerships with tour operators from the Global North? Finally, (RQ3): How is the voice of local companies heard in the development of responsible tourism?

To answer these questions, the study draws upon a postcolonial approach. The study seeks to look at the partnerships between the Global South and the Global North through a critical lens by analysing the power-relationships and the cultural influences within the partnerships.

By interviewing the local entrepreneurs, I have tried to contribute to the ongoing postcolonial studies being often too focused on the western viewpoint (Chambers and Buzinde, 2015). Therefore, the study follows a qualitative research method, supported by the empirical data which consists of nine semi-structured interviews and my own fieldnotes. The data was collected in through ethnographic fieldwork in Sri Lanka during the four weeks I stayed there in April 2018. The interviews were conducted with local tourism managers from Destination Management Companies (DMC), accommodation-providers and safari-providers. Few interviewees were individual guides and hosts. Most of the interviews were conducted with one person, but in few there were two to three participants. In total 14 people participated in the interviews.

In the past, ethnography was particularly used by anthropologists and has been assimilated with research about indigenous, or non-western people, and remote communities, in order to understand their life and culture (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2003; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003, p. 1; Prasad, 2005, p. 77). Although, the ethnographic approaches of the colonial times were questionable in terms of Westerns studying *the other,* the research method has grown into an established method among scholars (Prasad, 2005), and is part of those qualitative methods used to study critical subjects such postmodernism, feminism, or postcolonialism (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2003, p .x). The data-analysis was done by using content analysis (Smith, 2010, p. 201).   The study does not look at proving the postcolonial theory, but to use it as an approach and to find new perspectives related to partnership and responsible tourism practices. Therefore, inductive and deductive coding methods were alternatively used for the data-analysis, done with the help of Atlas.ti software.

Although, the study is implemented in the Global South, it seeks to connect with previous postcolonial tourism studies and the results to be adapted outside of the South-North position, to other postcolonial environments. The practical approach of this study is to provide information for the social enterprises, NGOs, and traditional tourism companies, as well as to come up with suggestions for the local tourism companies which are collaborating or planning to collaborate with partners from the Global North. By focusing, not only on the partnerships, but on social entrepreneurship and CSR perspectives, the study also aims to take part on the discussion about the development of more responsible tourism.

1.5   Structure of the study

Including this introduction chapter, the dissertation consists of a total of six main chapters which are presenting the theoretical framework, the research methodology, the findings of the data-analysis, the implications of the analysis, and finally the conclusion.   The *second,* chapter is divided in four parts and will draw in the theoretical framework used in this research. The chapter defines postcolonialism in the academic world, by then explaining the concept more in detail in tourism research. Then I attempt to define the connections between partnership and postcolonialism regarding the present study, before concluding the chapter on the evolution of socially responsible tourism practices. The *third* main chapter explains the research context in Sri Lanka and why certain choices have been done for this study. Then the methodology for the data collection and analysis are enlightened, before drawing on the research ethics and implications of the methods for this research. The *fourth* chapter presents and discusses the findings of the analysis. The *fifth* chapter presents the answers to the research questions by discussing the implications of the study and making recommendations for the Sri Lankan tourism development, before concluding the study with the *sixth* chapter.

2   THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The World Bank has classified world's countries based on the national income levels as following; low, lower-middle, upper-middle, and high incomes (The World Bank, 2017). The 'United Nation's (UN) World Economic Situation and Prospects'-report (United Nations, 2014) classifies the world to *developed economies*, *economies in transition* and *developing economies*. Geographical regions for developing economies are Africa, Eastern, Southern, and Western Asia, Latin America and some of the Caribbean islands. The Western countries, the countries of the Global North, or the so-called developed countries are described "…As societies with a high level of economic, political, social and ecological development" (Garcia-Rosell, 2016, p. 7) and generally include all European countries, North America, Australia, New Zeeland and some countries from Asia and South America, such as Japan and Argentina.

As the terms 'developing- and developed countries' are today seen as terms which emphasize the hierarchy between western and other societies (Silver, 2015) I chose to use the terms Global South and Global North when talking about the geographical locations. To make the text more fluent throughout the dissertation, I use "western" when talking about the people of the Global North, or "Western power" when referring to the influence of the Global North.   The terms Global North and Global South are also more adapted to postcolonial study as they refer to the power structures where the north benefits and the south does not (Salminen, 2018). Although the term Global South has been increasingly used to describe culturally and economically marginalised regions and countries, and Global North for describing the developed economies, (Dados, & Connell, 2012; Salminen, 2018; UN-OHRLLS 2019; World Bank, 2019), it is important to remember that the division is not always geographical. There can be a 'south' in the north and a 'north' in the south of the equator as well (Salminen, 2018). The terms Global South and Global North are relatively new terms, but the society has always had different terms for describing more advanced and less advanced regions or countries, as since the fifteenth century the colonizers have brought information about other societies to the intellectuals of Europe and North America (Dados, & Connell, 2012).

2.1 Defining postcolonialism

The colonial period lasted from the 15th century until the 1960s' and affected todays' commercial relationships between the North and the South. Many ex-coloniser countries as France, the UK, Spain, Netherlands and others are still holding strong connections to those areas in Africa, South America, or Asia where they used to control during the colonial era. Thus, the colonial period is an important starting point for understanding the contemporary pattern of trade, aid, and political links between Europe and the Southern countries (Lister, 1997, p. 42). It also helps to understand discussions and issues between the mainstream population, indigenous people and other minorities within the Global North (Keskitalo, Linkola, Nyyssönen, Mcintosh, Paksuniemi & Turunen, 2016).

In addition to climatic and other natural differences between the north and the south, the colonial history is one of the reasons why the tourism industry is highly characterized by the North-South position. Even though the colonial period has officially ended, the industry still seems to be shaped by the colonial paradigms, for instance the colonial setting drives the tourism flows and leads the rich northern states to invest into poorer southern countries. Most of the southern countries which are former European colonies have also become important tourism destinations today, with visitors originating particularly from the ex-coloniser countries. The position between the tour operators from the Global North and local entrepreneurs from the Global South contributes to the fact that the postcolonial theory has been chosen to support this study.

The postcolonialist approach draws attention on how the historical fact of European colonialism continues to shape the relationship between the Global North and the Global South, or how the relationships between the main populations and minorities are presented. According to Hall and Tucker (2004) postcolonialism represents the western thought which aims to reconsider the terms by which the duality of the coloniser and colonised, and the knowledge and power related to it, are established. Postcolonialism refers to the position against imperialism, colonialism and eurocentrism, the 'post' invoking the time 'after' the colonisation period (Hall & Tucker, 2004, pp. 2–3). Neverthless, as Baaz Eriksson (2005, p.34) describes 'post' also refers to 'continuance' which means that postcolonialism should not and cannot be thought as the end of the colonial period, but as something which continued after. Through the postcolonial, sometimes also written as post-colonial, and neo-

colonial approaches researchers are speculating if the colonial period has actually ended, or in which way it continues influencing today's society.

The *postcolonial theory* and postcolonial studies in the academic world were brought to common knowledge by Edward Said and *Orientalism* (first published in 1978). According to him, academic research and science have been positioning the people of the Global South as inferior to the dimensions of the Global North and based on these ideas he constructed the *Oriental Other.* According to this construction, in the western literature, art, or academic writing the *Orient* was showed as exotic, mysterious, sensual, despotic and sly, and the *Other* was referring to the colonised inferior (Tucker & Akama, 2009, p. 505). Said's construction has been influencing many scholars as Spivak (1985), who brought postcolonialism and feminism together by questioning if the lowest members of society can express their concerns and be heard. Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2002) were talking about the postcolonial oppression in texts and language, and Bhabha (1994) about the concepts of mimicry, hybridity and cultural identity. Postcolonial studies have later joined feminism and gender as well as ethnicity and race studies. Today, the *other* is not only representing the colonised inferior, but all those who are part of oppressed minorities (Tucker & Akama, 2009, p. 505).

Even though, postcolonialism includes imperialistic and colonial critics (Sambajee and Weston, 2015), it actually critiques the act of neo-colonialism, defined as the 'new colonial period'. Neo-colonialism appears often when referring to capitalism and economic globalisation – important powers are exercising influence and power over postcolonial peripheries (Hiddleston, 2014, pp. 2-3; Hall & Tucker, 2004). Although, former colonies are politically independent nations today (Ashcroft et al., 2002), their economy mainly works through the multinational corporations of the Global North. In lack of their own financial resources, the countries of the Global South depend on external capital investors (Hall & Tucker, 2004, p. 186).

2.2   Postcolonialism in tourism

Postcolonialism has become part of diverse tourism studies about the Global South, indigenous cultures, identity and representation, and studies about cultural, political or economic implications for the tourist experience (Hall &Tucker, 2004, p. 1). The North-

South setting, where tourists from the north visit the southern destinations has contributed to the creation of a link between tourism and neo-colonialism. Also, the northern indigenous populations' commodification for tourists is connected with the same setting (Hall & Tucker, 2004; Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016). Neo-colonialism is said being guilty of creating dependency and obstructing the economic development of the locals (Tucker & Akama, 2009, p. 506).

The neo-colonial setting in the destinations of Global South has been presented for instance by Akama (1997) who studied the tourism development in Kenya and showed that the country's' tourism industry was led by the European tour operators who also collected directly a bigger part of the tourism incomes than the country itself. Tucker and Akama (2009, pp. 509–510) also refer to the representation of the Maasai people in Kenya and the deformed image which European tour operators send about the indigenous people for the western tourists. Similar findings were showed in Finland within the representation of Sami people; otherness and exoticism being strongly present in tourism promotion about Lapland (Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016; Saari, 2017). In the same way, the touristic sub-Saharan Africa or the Caribbean, are still imagined with imperialist myths about exotic destinations and represented with adulatory messages about colonialism (Brito-Henriques, 2014; Wilkes, 2016). In addition, the identity construction of the natives in the Pacific islands has been affected by the by ex-colonisers way of representing the indigenous people (D'Hauteserre, 2011).

By using the postcolonial perspective Echtner and Prasad (2003) discuss the three myths related to tourism marketing of the Global South. These myths of *Unchanged*, *Unrestrained*, and *Uncivilized* are stereotypes which tour operators use for selling the exotic destinations to western tourists. The colonial forms of discourse are highly present in the marketing and sales material and reflect the image of destinations which have stayed 'unaffected by the time'. They are inviting tourists to visit 'wild and primitive nature and people' of those destinations (Tucker & Akama, 2009, p. 511). The power relation and the construction of a postcolonial space were also showed by Teo and Leong (2006) who wanted to decentre the western orientation of backpackers in Bangkok, by focusing on Asian backpackers and their point of view. Through their study became evident that the postcolonial setting is visible in the district of *Khao San* which is constructed and planned mainly for western tourists with their taste and requirements.

Not only the marketing of locals or the destinations are subject of postcolonial tourism research, but heritage as well. Heritage, which here is understood as physical buildings and relics from the colonial times, or as cultural heritage from people, is often highlighted by the tourism marketers and is a valuable tourism resource (Henderson, 2004, p. 113). Even though, heritage brings tourism incomes for a destination, it is also a form of exploitation and can be the subject of a local conflict. The commercialisation of heritage encourages neo-colonial forms of tourism and the conservation of old colonial relics is not always understood by the locals, nor supporting their economy. People are losing money because they are asked to invest in the conservation instead of investing in their agricultural activities (Fisher, 2004; Henderson, 2004).

However, by defending a postcolonial country as an important tourism destination Wong, McKercher and Li (2016) argue how the mixed multifaceted cultures and architecture of eastern and western societies can meet the tourists' needs thus create a 'third culture' which can only appear in the postcolonial destinations and add different value and exoticism for the tourism product. The authors claim that their study "…Advances the theory of postcolonial tourism by illustrating how all three cultural elements (original, imposed colonial, and hybrid) play a critical role in co-creating an appealing tourism product" (Wong et al., 2016, p. 638). According to the authors, former colonies should utilize their colonial history and heritage, instead of ignoring or minimizing it. The perspective given by Wong et al. (2016) is interesting and new. By creating a more appealing tourism service together with the local destination organisations and the tour operators of the Global North, the image of the destination and the tourists has a chance to turn postcolonial critics into a positive advantage.

Yet, the study by Wong et al. (2016) does not fit with the previous postcolonial tourism studies (for instance Brito-Henriques, 2014; Echtner & Prasad, 2003), which claim that the countries of the Global South are often seen as exotic and unspoiled destinations for wealthy western tourists (Scheyvens, 2011, p. 36). Scheyvens (2001) notes that there are two types of western tourists: Those who are attracted by the 'untouched paradise' destinations, and the ones attracted by the cheap prices. Both types often overlook the fact that the good flight or accommodation deals are generally due to the low price of labour in the destination. Tourists also fail to remember that 'unspoiled' might equate to poverty: The locals living outside the hotel areas and white beaches may not have access to clean water, proper sanitation or schools (Scheyvens, 2011, p. 36). However, Wong et al. (2016) might be right

on the fact that postcolonial tourism academics have for a long time focused on distancing the local culture from the western. Instead of finding common interests and trying to connect both cultures, studies have enforced the gap between them. Although, postcolonial studies seek to defend the position of the oppressed minorities, researchers should pay attention to how they position the western tourists. Picturing them as 'ignorant' and 'disrespectful' does not necessarily enforce equality between cultures.

Still, when observing from a postcolonial perspective, the development of tourism has impacted the local economy, but also the locals' sense of entrepreneurship, as was showed by Tucker (2010). With a postcolonial approach, related to increasing tourism and locals becoming tourism practitioners, he found out that the sudden increase of peasants turning to tourism entrepreneurs in one community in Turkey, has increased social and economic differentiation and reluctance to business. He also showed that the global capitalist system, which grew with the increasing tourism, created tensions in the moral of the peasants and in the local economy of the village (Tucker, 2010, p. 942).

Postcolonial tourism studies have brought out particularly the neo-colonial perspective of the North-South position in tourism, and many researches have focused on discursive analysis of tourism marketing related to representations of the destinations and local people (Brohman, 1996; Caton & Almeida-Santos, 2008). As described in the first chapter of this study, tourism has started to develop towards a more responsible and ethical business, which aims to be aware of the industry's' key issues, such as nature conservation, local communities, and different minorities among hosts and travellers. The will of helping in the destinations of the Global South has grown amongst western entrepreneurs and the creation of social enterprises and visible CSR programs have increased. Today's society, which used to be characterised by the colonial oppression, is now talking about empowerment and about lifting up the oppressed subgroups, as much in the Global South, as in the Global North (Jutila & Harju-Myllyaho, 2017; Niskala & Ridanpää, 2016).

The shift of tendencies still has postcolonial influences, as showed by Eshun and Tagoe-Darko (2015) who argued that the development of ecotourism in Ghana depends on foreign capital and international visitors (Eshun & Tagoe-Darko, 2015, p. 399). Also, the marginalisation of the locals' ecological knowledge and the local community are challenges in the development of ecotourism in a postcolonial African destination (2015, p. 403). Within their study about the wildlife conservation of Kenya, Akama, Maingi and Camargo

(2011) suggested that certification programmes related to wildlife conservation and ecotourism should include criteria, which help the countries to move outside the dependency and get detached of the Western domination (Akama et al., 2011, p. 288).

Research from a postcolonial perspective, within tourism as a solution to poverty reduction and community development, is still highly relevant. It is suggested that for tourism to be an effective development tool, the recognition of the role of postcolonial governments is essential in the design and practice of tourism services (Lacey & Ilcan, 2014, p. 55). On the other hand, as argue by Höckert (2015, p. 313), the search for more responsible and ethical encounters between hosts and guests requires decolonization of tourism epistemologies. Chambers and Buzinde (2015, p. 3) have also suggested that too many tourism studies 'about locals' have a western emphasize by using the locals as the "objects" of the studies instead of the "producers" of knowledge. I cannot change the fact this study is partly made from a western perspective, but I can include the local entrepreneurs in the academic discussion about tourism development in the Global South. Giving the possibility for the local companies to tell how they experience working with the partners of the Global North, is an important contribution to the postcolonial tourism discussion (Aitchison, 2001; Sambajee & Weston, 2015).

The use of the postcolonial theory is also a reminder to me, to the whole research community, as well as to tourism companies, that the risk of falling in the "us" and "them"-binary, presented by Said (1977), is highly present and should be avoided. Many tourism studies have been made from the western viewpoint by using eurocentrism and by silencing the southern knowledge. Therefore, postcolonial studies have been criticized of not giving the voice for the subaltern even though it is said to be one of the goals of using the postcolonial theory (Chambers and Buzinde, 2015 p. 4; Majid, 1995). Hall and Tucker (2004) have also reminded that studies using postcolonial theory should not limit the framework to 'active' colonisers and 'passive' objects, or 'givers' and 'perceivers' (2004, p. 16), but to make the parties equal. By using the tour operators from the Global North and local entrepreneurs in Sri Lanka, the present study has a risk for similar positioning if attention is not paid.

2.3   Tourism entrepreneurship and partnerships in the Global South

Tourism industry has been initially seen as endorsed by the public sector as governments and cities (Franchetti & Page, 2009, pp. 107–108), but today it encompasses several private sectors all serving the tourists one way or another. Because of the global economic impact of tourism, the industry has important potential to motivate entrepreneurship and firm formation. Therefore, tourism is not only an important sector of employment for millions of people within hotels, restaurants, airports among others, but also a large sector for innovative people willing to start their own business activities and becoming entrepreneurs. Entrepreneur refers to a person starting a lucrative organization by himself (Ateljevic & Li, 2009, p. 22), and especially tourism industry is highly characterised by a large amount of small and medium size enterprises (Gursoy, Saayman, & Sotiriadis, 2015).

However, studies agree (e.g. Ateljevic & Li, 2009; Solvoll, Alsos, & Bulanova, 2015) that lack of research in tourism entrepreneurship exists. Especially sensitive subjects, such as women and ethnic minorities as entrepreneurs should be more addressed (Ateljevic & Li, 2009, p. 31), as well as sustainable entrepreneurship from local cultures' perspective (Solvoll et al., 2015, p. 132). Few studies focusing on community-based tourism in rural areas have suggested that local hosts in rural communities should be better recognized as entrepreneurs, instead of being seen as simple locals who are still learning about the tourism industry (Höckert, 2015; Tucker, 2010). Women, or other minorities, are often approached from postcolonial perspective, which does not mean that this should be applied only in ex-colonies or the Global South. For instance, some scholars have brought up women's' working roles in the western tourism sector, which are characterised by 'hostessing' and lower-level occupations (Pritchard, Morgan, Ateljevic & Harris, 2007 ; Veijola & Valtonen, 2007). As explained by Aitchinson (2001) women often appear as *Others* also in tourism, where the gender-power relations are strongly present.

More recently it has been showed that indigenous female entrepreneurs have a positive impact on the local community and its touristic development. For instance, the Maori female entrepreneurs in New Zeeland experience that their entrepreneurial activity based on maintaining the cultural heritage benefits their local community and enriches the global tourism (Zapalska & Brozik, 2017). According to Maliva (2017) local women in Zanzibar working as handicraft producers, retailers, or distributors have similar experiences about their activity maintaining cultural tourism in the destination. However, the marital and

religious expectations in the Islamic culture, or lack of education, can affect these women's' ability of sustaining or even starting their entrepreneurial activity. On the other hand, the gender-issues in business seem to be an advantage and allow the women to use their husbands as business partners for negotiations among other tasks (Maliva, 2017). In addition to the gain of emancipation and independency, the local women entrepreneurs are adding important value to the distribution chain of the communities in the Global South.

To keep the value and the quality of tourism services, the supply chain of a destination includes several different tourism actors who need to work together and form partnerships. These actors are all the small and medium size companies offering their services from accommodation, meal, and activity providers, to producers of cultural events and local handicrafts. In addition to the local producers in the destination, the tourism industry includes the whole distributor chain counting destination management companies (DMC), travel agents and tour operators. The two latter are usually located in the sending countries. Collaboration between companies can vary from small marketing operations to an agreement of delivering a regular service (Gursoy et al.,2015, p. xvii). Partnerships are different forms for companies or individual entrepreneurs to work together and to reach common business goals and improving activity (Gursoy et al.,2015, p. xviii).

According to Gomez-Nieves and Reyes-Uribe (2015) the development of tourism industry and destinations has been efficient thanks to the different alliances and partnerships between the organisations and companies. Partnerships are an important way of cooperation for small- and medium size companies, since otherwise they would not have enough resources to maintain themselves in the market, which is increasingly competitive and evolving in tourism. This applies especially in the Global South where small companies must fight against the power of international tourism corporations. Instead of lowering their prices to the same level as large distributors from the Global North, and thus become unprofitable businesses, the locals are forming family-owned organisations to reduce operational costs. Therefore, it has been suggested that cooperation between local and international companies might help reducing the potential negative effect of some global monopolies, and increase greater social, economic, and demographic balance in different regions (Martin, 2001 as cited in Gomez-Nieves & Reyes-Uribe, 2015, pp.6–7). Collaboration between important national companies and small businesses in the same country is also encouraged.

The usefulness of partnerships has been similarly showed in the development of sustainable tourism (see Jamal & Stronza, 2008). According to Hind (2004 as cited in Thomas 2007, p. 40) partnerships and collaboration are the keys to attain sustainable tourism, as there are always many organisations involved in the creation of a tourism product, and no product is created by only one tourism actor. He emphasizes that the stakeholders need to work together in order to develop and implement strategies which will result the goals of sustainable tourism. For instance, in the island of Gili in Indonesia, a multi-stakeholder approach had successful results in the development of sustainable tourism (Graci, 2013). The fact that local and western companies, as well as tourists, were all involved with the sustainability program, resulted better communication between the parties and concrete actions in terms of monitoring illegal fishing, education about waste management and coral-reef protection among others (Graci, 2013, pp. 38-39).

As one of the key concepts of sustainable tourism is the inclusion of local communities to the tourism development, partnerships are also discussed within empowerment (Atkinson, 1999; Lapeyre, 2011). It has been showed that partnerships between local communities and private companies have positive influence on the community within job creation and incomes, but also the socio-economic impacts are an important part of empowerment (Lapeyre, 2011). For example, in Namibia the partnership between a community owned eco-lodge and a private company derived positive non-financial benefits for the community, such as increased human capital through training and decreased farmer's vulnerability in a risky environment. Positive impacts on the nature and animal conservation were showed as well (Lapayere, 2011, pp. 231–233).

The connection between entrepreneurship, partnership, sustainable tourism and community development within postcolonial studies is thus clear. Empowerment refers generally to less developed countries, minorities and vulnerable communities whose consideration is important in the development of sustainable tourism. Partnership and postcolonialism have a connection, not only in the tourism industry but in the whole business world of today. Partnerships between the Global North and South have been approached through postcolonial perspectives and some scholars have suggested that the relationship between the northern and southern governments and organisations is almost paternalistic (Baaz Eriksson, 2005; Power, 2009). The problem of southern countries is that due to the lack of resources they have difficulties to fight against the superiority of the western dimensions (Sambajee & Weston, 2015).

Sambajee and Weston (2015), who focused on entrepreneurship and postcolonialism in Sub-Saharan Africa, showed that African countries seem to be unable of contesting the dominance of countries from the Global North. According to the authors, this also remains undiscussed in research, especially the local entrepreneur's perspectives. Their study examined how global measurement tools have silenced those who are making an important contribution to the economic development of Africa, thus making the local entrepreneurs absent from the discussions about the ways of improving their conditions (Sambajee & Weston, 2015, pp. 12–16). The authors also suggest that one problem in Africa is that many companies are viewed as informal under the northern definitions of formality, which in turn positions entrepreneurship in Africa as inferior. This agrees with the suggestion (Höckert, 2015), that tourists are not considering the local hosts in rural areas as entrepreneurs, but instead their effort and contribution to creating tourism services, is diminished. This phenomenon does not apply only in the Global South, but in countries as Finland as well (Höckert, 2015, p. 270).

According to Baaz Eriksson (2005), there are two different discussions which are contradicting each other: The first one, partnership discourse emphasizes equality, and denies the paternalism of partnership – the second one, development discourse, points that partners are not equal and are on different stages of development (Baaz Eriksson, 2005, p. 167). Using developing studies and the postcolonial theory Baaz Eriksson has focused on the partnership between Scandinavian development workers and the local partners in Africa. Her study draws particularly on the identity constructions of the donors during their work with the locals in Tanzania. She argues, for example, that the European development workers are seen as reliable and trusty when the local partners are seen as unreliable. Those seen as reliable, the expatriates from the Global North, tend to function as informal controllers in the development projects in Tanzania. This supports the discussion about the power-relationship between the postcolonial countries of the Global South and the countries of Global North (Höckert 2015; Scheyvens 2011).

2.4 Promoting socially responsible practices in tourism

The movement of social entrepreneurship has its roots in the 'third sector', born in the 80's and associated with the idea of civil society and voluntarism. It originated from the wish to

address the social and environmental problems through morality and fairness (Von der Weppen & Cochrane, 2010, p. 498). If voluntary work and non-governmental Organisations (NGO) became an established activity after the second World War, social entrepreneurship appeared in Europe in the 1990s' (Nyssens, 2006; Simkute, 2017). According to some scholars (Dees, 1998; Nyssens, 2006) the term social entrepreneurship used to be difficult to define and had different meanings for different people. However, social enterprises refer to market-oriented activities or divers' non-profit or profit-driven organizations with social goals (Nyssens, 2006, p. 4). The importance of entrepreneurial skills with social entrepreneurship has been showed to be particularly important for tourism development in rural communities. Without the "innovative, committed and risk-taking entrepreneurs" the remote destinations and their tourism products would have difficulty in evolving (Mottiar, Boluk & Kline, 2017, p. 86)

Mottiar et al. (2017) identified the different motivations which drive social entrepreneurs and thus contribute to the lack of a specific definition for the concept. While in general social entrepreneurship adopts financially sustainable strategies in pursuing social goals, some social entrepreneurs can be more motivated about increasing tourism in a certain area, while others are motivated about addressing the social problems of the community and using tourism to achieve this objective (Mottiar et al., 2017, p. 86). Social enterprises still differ from NGO's and other voluntary organisations by being for-profit organisations. Their aim, in addition to addressing social issues, is to generate incomes through the business model. In contrary to non-profit organisations, social enterprises aim to be self-financing and independent – not reliant on donations and philanthropy (Haugh, 2005, pp. 1–3). As social entrepreneurship approaches the problems, such as durable poverty, environmental degradation, violent conflicts, and demographic unbalances (Dorado & Ventrensca, 2013, p. 70) it operates in several fields of business and is not exclusively about tourism.

However, as argued by Power et al. (2017, p. 37) tourism is an important global industry facing several challenges, which need to be addressed by the main players, entrepreneurs. Thus, social enterprises, and ethical entrepreneurs in tourism have been understood as an important and increasing concept. Power et al. (2017), who studied especially the increasing ethical entrepreneurship in tourism, make a distinction between entrepreneurs using ethical approaches in their business activity, and between social entrepreneurs. The distinction between social enterprises and traditional enterprises, which act in a socially responsible way, is that the income strategies of social enterprises are directly tied to their mission

(Boschee & McClurg, 2003, p. 3). Social and ethical entrepreneurships, as well as CSR, which will be elaborated below, have emerged as answers to the ethically concerned consumers seeking alternatives to tourism's negative impacts (Smith & Nemetz, 2009). According to Power et al. (2017), "ethical entrepreneurship in tourism is mostly shaped by the quest for individual good … and societal wellbeing". In addition, ethics of care and virtue are important bases for ethical entrepreneurship, and actually, ethical entrepreneurs should be seen through the theoretical field of ethics which aim is to achieve goals with a notion of the greater good (Power et al., 2017, pp. 45–47).

The ethics and virtue are closely related to CSR which, like social entrepreneurship, is connected to ethical entrepreneurship. CSR is a complex concept with many definitions and it is understood and practiced differently from a company to another. However, as with social and ethical entrepreneurship, also CSR addresses various topics such as human rights, corporate governance, health and safety, environmental effects, working conditions and contribution to economic development. Companies adapting CSR strategies are committed to the same main dimensions than sustainable development: Protect the environment and the society, through their business strategies and they are asked to report about their actions (De Grosbois, 2012, p. 897; WBCSD, 1999, p. 6). The difference between CSR and social entrepreneurship relays on the fact that companies with a social entrepreneurial approach have based the whole business model on the social cause they are supporting, and the aim is to distribute a part of the incomes directly for that cause. Hence, CSR is a management concept adopted by small or bigger corporations which might have been existing for a certain time already. The CSR program aims to bring new value for the company, and through different actions included in the program, the company can show its care towards the environmental and social issues (Arnaudov & Koseska, 2012).

Especially in the United States, CSR is considered with more philanthropic approaches which include monetary donations and aid given to local organizations and disadvantaged communities in the Global South. In Europe on the other hand, CSR programs have a stronger community approach which benefits the companies and the community; European organizations invest in activities that are profitable for the society and based on their business activities and resources (Arnaudov & Koseska, 2012). The fact that CSR is understood and implemented differently in different regions and corporations has influenced the blurry and sometimes negative image of the concept. It is not always clear if the adopted CSR programs are truly efficient or if they include green-washing.

According to Delmas and Cuerel Burbano (2011) companies misleading communication about their environmental performance, also called green-washing, has increased at the same time with the growth of green products and social marketing approaches. Phillips, Lee, Ghobadian, O'Regan and James (2014) suggested that companies wanting to increase their value through CSR programs should learn from social entrepreneurship. According to their study, CSR initiatives are not a working solution to solving social inequalities and urgent social issues. Social entrepreneurs, on the other hand, seem to have more functioning means, thanks to their reinvestments of profits which deliver positive outcomes for communities or stakeholder groups. In contrast to for-profit companies using only CSR programs to communicate on their cause, social entrepreneurs focus on the "double bottom line," a motivation to perform both financially and socially (Phillips et al., 2014, p. 27).

The role of social entrepreneurship has been identified as important in the development of rural tourism destinations (Mottiar et al., 2017) and companies with goals to empower local communities and support sustainable regional development, are increasing in the sector. Still, not much research has been done about CSR and social enterprise's' influence in the destinations. While some preliminary findings have suggested that also social enterprises in tourism have difficulties in proving their authentic motivations (Mody & Day, 2014), research has showed that social enterprises are particularly useful and needed in the Global South where governments do not support sufficiently entrepreneurial activities in the tourism sector (Altinay et al., 2015). The same study also noted that the local destination management organisations (DMO) have an important role and responsibility in enhancing partnerships between companies. The DMO's should actively participate in the dialogue about the ecosystem they are part of and find means for enhancing the understanding about social values (Altinay et al., 2015, p. 405).

The concept of sustainable development, and with that CSR, social entrepreneurship and responsible tourism practices have emerged as an answer to address the environmental problems and negative effects of the fast-economic growth of the Global North (Banerjee, 2003, pp. 144, 173). However, as mentioned above, CSR practices have been criticised, but not only about misleading intentions and green-washing. In general, multinational corporations have been accused about imperialistic exploitation, regardless their social or environmental approaches. In this view, Banerjee (2003) argues that one problem of sustainable development is that it has been considered too much with the economic

perspective of the Global North, leaving the rural population of the Global South diminished and ignored (Banerjee, 2003, p. 145). Garcia-Rosell (2016) and Sambajee and Weston (2015, p. 21–22) agree that the western view and ideologies seem to play an important role in the construction of CSR meanings and in the way from which perspective CSR practices and social entrepreneurship are implemented.

As it has been showed (Jamal & Stronza, 2008; Martin, 2001 cited in Gomez-Nieves & Reyes-Uribe, 2015, pp. 6–7), partnerships between local communities and companies from the Global North are vital in order to enhance the business practices. Yet, the southern countries dependency of western partnerships is also defined with the neo-colonial setting, which can be understood as a continuation of direct western colonialism (Banerjee, 2008, p. 8). Partnerships and postcolonialism are thus closely related with power and control, but on the other hand, that setting has increased the creation of social enterprises and more responsible business approaches which aim to take the southern partners, and local communities into consideration. The problem is that this ethical business approach can still be considered as patronizing (Baaz Eriksson, 2005; Power, 2009), and the freedom of constructing something 'own' is challenging for the local companies, because of the lack of resources (Sambajee & Weston, 2015).

I would like to emphasize that the earlier postcolonial research on tourism and responsible partnerships has mostly concentrated on the host-guest relationships (See Cole 2006; Höckert, 2015) the empowerment of the local communities and the importance of the partnerships in the development of sustainable tourism. This study aims to widen the postcolonial research perspective by focusing on the power relationships and cultural influences between the tour operators in the Global North and the local tourism companies in the Global South (Tucker & Akama, 2009, p. 513). It takes as its main concepts partnership, social entrepreneurship and corporate social responsibility (CSR), the points of view that have been earlier often neglected.

3   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the empirical setting where the study was conducted and discusses the methodological approaches used for the study. The chapter covers four sections: empirical setting, data collection in a different cultural context, content analysis, and ethical research considerations.

3.1   The empirical setting: Sri Lankan inbound tourism

Before outlining Sri Lanka as a case destination several details were taken into consideration. The first step was to go through different Finnish, French and other European tour operators (TO), NGOs and social enterprises operating in tourism field. The process of scaling European companies started in November 2017 and lasted until January 2018. The research included very much of browsing between the websites of different tourism organisations with the aim to find out what kind of social and sustainable causes the entities were presenting, and in which way. If they were enhancing their business model, CSR programs, or if they were mentioning about responsible tourism at all? The second part on which I paid attention was the destinations where the companies were practicing – the goal was to find one destination operated by several responsible tour operators. In addition to the web browsing, I used different channels of social media to find out about start-up companies and associations which could help in the scaling. Organisations, as the Finnish Association for Fair Tourism (Reilun Matkailun Yhdistys) and Lemma Travel House, were also contacted.

To choose the suitable destination the following criteria were taken into consideration: First, it was important to think about the local language. As one important baseline for interviewing is that the researcher and the interviewee understand each other (Rastas, 2005, p. 79), the best would have been to conduct the interviews in the native language of the interviewer, or, if this was not possible, in a language the interviewer and the interviewee speak as well as possible, thus in my case English, Finnish or French. Second, tourism must be commonly practiced in the destination since a few years at least. As the aim was to collect information about the collaboration between companies, the chances to get more valuable information are bigger if the collaboration is not totally novel.

I had to abandon the idea of travelling to a French destination at a quit early stage of the study. Although French is largely spoken in several African countries, the tourism in these countries is still small or focused on safari and beach holidays in mass tourism complexes. It was difficult to find European companies offering French speaking African countries in their selection, particularly from those companies who had a responsible tourism approach. Therefore, I started considering English-speaking countries, and in January 2018, I chose Kenya and Sri Lanka as possible case countries. Both, Kenya and Sri Lanka, were fitting the criteria in terms of the local language, English being largely spoken at least in urban areas, and in terms of quite stable tourism industry. Both countries were also previous colonies from The UK and Netherlands which was not a requirement for the study, but an extra fact fitting with the postcolonial framework.

When starting more in-depth research about the two countries it appeared that Sri Lanka is seen as a nature destination and many of the local tourism companies have terms as 'eco', 'nature', 'responsible' in their names and slogans. This held my attention as the present study was a possibility to find out more about responsible tourism of Sri Lankan and how it is perceived there. Also, the fact that I got direct contacts for some Sri Lankan partners from European tour operators facilitated the decision of choosing this particular destination. After collecting information about Sri Lanka as a tourism destination between January and April 2018, I contacted around 20 Sri Lankan tourism companies, local travel bloggers, development workers and national tourism officers. From all the people contacted, around 10 answered and were interested in helping with the study. I travelled to Sri Lanka for fieldwork and data collection in April - May 2018 and stayed there for one month.

The nine different companies participating in this study are all specialists in inbound tourism in Sri Lanka. Their sizes vary from under 10 to 200 employees, and the newest companies started operations two years ago, while the older ones have been operating in Sri Lanka for the last 40 years. All companies, except one, are established in Sri Lanka and managed by locals. Some of the companies operate only inbound services in Sri Lanka, some have outbound-departments or several sister companies all operating with different target groups. The biggest companies interviewed for this study, where Sri Lankan Destination Management Companies (DMC's) or the inbound department of a local TO.

The four DMC's have similar business approaches and company values, even though the main target groups vary. One of the DMC's is highly focused on eco-responsibility and local

communities, another is a family enterprise since its inception and emphasizes small groups and sustainability. One of the companies focuses on its ethical values and selling 'real experiences', while the fourth, one of the biggest DMC's in the country, has eight different sister-companies and works with all the main TOs in Europe. All the DMC's sell similar products to their customers: Stays, tours, and itineraries including wildlife-visits and cultural-visits. The smaller ones also sell cycling tours while the bigger ones have their own high-end hotels and bungalows in different areas of Sri Lanka. Despite the biggest company, all these DMC's have one or two main partners in Europe with whom they work very closely. In addition, all of them work with individual partners who ask tailor-made services, but with whom they generally do not have contracts.

The DMC's collaborate with the local service-producers and accommodation providers, who take care of organising part of the tour or package the DMC has sold. Some of the service providers work only with DMC's, like one of the safari companies which participated in the study. The company sells only safaris combined with high-end tent accommodation in two national parks of Sri Lanka. The product is a luxury service combined with, according to the company, responsible and unique experiences. Although, the services are sold through Sri Lankan DMC's, the company's main clients come from an important British TO focusing on high-end tailormade tours.

Another service-provider interviewed for the study, focuses on renting tuk-tuks from the local tuk-tuk owners to the tourists. A tuk-tuk, also called a three-wheeler, is one of the most common transportation means in Sri Lanka and many locals have at least one vehicle in their garage without using it regularly. The aim of the company is to make the locals benefit about their tuk-tuks and cover the fees of owning one. By renting them from the locals to the tourists, the company, which qualifies itself as a social enterprise, directs part of the incomes directly to the local tuk-tuk owners. This company, recently established, does not work yet with many partners, as most of their clients come directly through online bookings. They are however, looking to expand the business towards international partnerships, especially for group customers. This is the only company interviewed for the study, which is not owned by Sri Lankans, but the head-office is in Australia.

The two accommodation providers selected for the study, are both ecolodges, and differ from traditional hotels in many ways (Erdem & Tetik, 2013, pp. 26–27). They are small, very focused on the community development and eco-sustainability. In addition to the

ecologically constructed bungalows or wooden cabins, they offer different activities for travellers, such as trekking, nature-based tours, or possibilities to participate in community projects or workshops. The focus of these establishments is not in luxury services, but in nature, and their business approach is very 'close to the earth'-minded. Both receive clients through Online Travel Agencies (OTA), directly through their own websites, and through some DMC's. The ecolodges seem to be struggling in finding new customers and acquiring conspicuousness, which can be typical for niche markets (Toften & Hammervoll, 2013, pp. 274–276).

Three of the participants were 'the local contact person' and hosts receiving travellers to their home-village in Neluwa and sharing their daily lives with the tourists. They were new in tourism business and differed from the other informants in a way that their business activity is significantly smaller. Their partner in Europe, taking care of the sales, is a social enterprise directing the incomes directly to the local community of Neluwa, and other Sri Lankan villages. The activity sold by the company can be compared with homestays which are increasing in Sri Lanka, by local people becoming independent accommodation providers (Buultjens, Ratnayake, & Gnanapala, 2016, pp. 10–11). The three locals I interviewed in Neluwa all have another daily work or source of incomes, and they consider hosting the travellers as a part time job with the aim to get extra savings.

The fact that I stayed in different places in Sri Lanka, and interviewed different companies, helped me to get a composite image about the tourism setting in the country, from the local companies' perspective as well as from a tourists' perspective. I was a solo traveller who had booked all my accommodations and transportation tickets by myself, and I did not use almost any services of tour operators. When preparing the trip, I already paid attention to the fact that various blogs, online forums and social media posts talked about Sri Lanka as a cheap destination, but particularly safe for solo-travellers and easy for using public transportation. Hostels, yoga and surf classes seemed to be one focus of interest, as well as wildlife safaris. For many, Sri Lanka seemed to be a destination for backpacking or for combining active cultural and wildlife tourism with beach-holidays. Lonely Planet's (2019) introduction about Sri Lanka probably reinforces that image:

> "Endless beaches, timeless ruins, welcoming people, oodles of elephants, rolling surf, cheap prices, fun trains, famous tea and flavourful food make Sri Lanka irresistible."

In addition to traditional beach holidays, combined tours are what international TOs sell for Sri Lanka. The tourism activity is mainly based on the southern beach cities, such as Hikkaduwa, Mirissa and Unawatuna, as well as to the surf-beaches of Arugam Bay in the East. On the other hand, the so-called cultural triangle, as well as the hill-country with the famous Adam's Peak for hikers and pilgrims are very visited, together with Sinharaja rainforest or the national parks. Galle Fort in the south is famous for its lighthouse and the old town surrounded by the historical wall dating from the Dutch colonial history. This is the main area marketed for tourists, and today full of restaurants, cafeterias, expensive handicraft shops and colonial architecture. The capital city, Colombo, where most of the interviews took place, is under big important renovations as Chinese investors are constructing a new business district in the harbour of the city. Hundreds of skyscrapers with offices and luxury apartments, tree-lined canals and beachfront villas, are rising just next to the city centre (Berg, 2018). Traditionally, Sri Lanka is not a destination for city tourism but with the construction of the new business district, this might change in the future. Today, travellers are spending only few days in Colombo and visiting the huge local market of Pettah, the national museum, and the Dutch Hospital, which nowadays is a fancy shopping mall with colonial architecture.

The destinations of the Global South can often be marketed as exotic because of the lack of infrastructure, and poverty is a sort of tourism attraction (Scheyvens, 2001 & 2011; Steinbrink, 2012). However, Sri Lanka definitely has much more to offer than commodified voluntary and slum tourism (see Scheyvens, 2001; Simkute, 2018; Steinbrink, 2012) or elephant orphanages (see Prasad, Pastorini, Jayewardene, Hendavitharana & Fernando, 2011, pp. 100–102). It became clear for me during the month I stayed in Sri Lanka, that the country has a lot of potential as a rich tourism destination, and that in addition to the beaches and cheap prices, the nature and local culture are splendid. The tourists visiting Sri Lanka are not only solo-travellers and backpackers looking for hostels and cheap homestays. Many visitors also search for luxury services, private car drivers and pay important amounts of money for TOs organizing their holidays.

3.2 Data-collection in a different cultural context

3.2.1 Fieldwork with ethnographic approach

Social sciences, including tourism research, often apply qualitative research methods which are used to collect data about activities, events and behaviour for analysing problems in their social context (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004, p. 3). According to Denzin and Lincoln (2008a, p. 4), qualitative research can be done by using different tools, such as field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos which become explanatory research material and help us to see the world. Through the collected material, qualitative research tries to make sense, or interpret, the different social phenomena from a people perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008b). In qualitative tourism research, one of the regularly used methods is ethnography. Ethnography is a social research method where the researcher participates in peoples' daily lives - for a certain period and watches what happens, listens to what is said, and maybe asks questions. Ethnography allows to collect whatever information is available about the issues with which the researcher is concerned (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 2). The method can include a combination of techniques, such as interviews, observation, and documents, and it takes place on the field, where the researcher meets the interviewees or the subject of observation (Hall, 2011; Leopold, 2011, p. 88; Rantala, 2011a, p. 153).

Even though, according to some scholars (Hobbs & Wright, 2006) ethnography is synonym for fieldwork, Hall (2011, p. 1) notes that researchers doing fieldwork can utilize far more methods than the above-mentioned, but from which ethnography is one. Therefore, doing fieldwork from a social science approach is important for understanding tourism and its global changes. In tourism, fieldwork has existed as much for observing tourists and their interaction with the destination, but also for better understand the social, economic, political and environmental effects of the industry (Hall, 2011). Fieldwork is defined by three main meanings: It happens outside the usual research setting, it refers to a certain period of time during which data-collection happens in the field setting, and, especially in social sciences it includes the observer (researcher) in the subject matter itself (McCall, 2006, p. 3).

Ethnographic fieldwork though is combining research at the field and ethnography as a method. It aims at finding out things which are not always seen as important but belong to important structures of people's life (Blommaert & Jie, 2010, p. 3). As noted by Rantala

(2011a, p. 153) the ethnographic approach to the fieldwork, and the fact that the researcher is participating in the life or activity of the subject, gives a deeper approach and allows the researcher to get more personal knowledge about the research subject. Although ethnography still consists of similar layers than other qualitative methods, such as physical, written and textual field, it has been recently used for critical reflexivity for instance in feminist studies (Rantala, 2011a, p. 154). For the present study, I also felt that taking an ethnographic approach to my fieldwork would bring me more insight to the tourism context in Sri Lanka. I believed that observing the tourism context through my own fieldnotes would help me to analyse the power-relations between the North and South more deeply and add different perspectives to the study, than if I only focused on the data collected through interviews.

Tourism is a particularly demanding sector for fieldwork and ethnographic studies, as the application of the research method often requires a trip, not only in a nearby region, but frequently outside the home country, emerging in a different culture and being partly a tourist in a new destination (Hall, 2011; Rantala, 2011a). Therefore, fieldwork in tourism comprises several challenges for the researcher, such as positioning one-self and knowing what one's role is in each situation, and different ethical and theoretical considerations during the stay at the field (Hall, 2011, pp. 7–17). Scholars have criticized fieldwork in the Global South and indigenous research, about colonialism (Allan, 2011; Smith, 1999) and noted that research in 'exotic' destinations can be related to the observation of *the other* (Hall, 2011, p. 8). This positions people from the Global North on higher positions compared with the locals. Therefore, research related to local people in the Global South asks particular attention from the researcher when applying the postcolonial theory.

For this study, I also needed to consider my role as a researcher in Sri Lanka. Like was stated earlier, many postcolonial studies have been made from an Eurocentric viewpoint, and the voice of the locals has been missing (Sambajee & Weston, 2015). As I am a student from the Global North and interviewing locals of the Global South, the research is still constructed through western lenses (Jennings, 2009, pp. 683). During my stay in Sri Lanka, I questioned my position between a tourist, a researcher, a student, and a western person. As a student or a researcher, I felt like Allan (2011), more powerful and literate person, although, it was also the most contradictory position I had. As it was the first time ever, I was travelling in such a context I almost felt I had to show that I know *something* about *something* that I actually

was not so sure about. These were for instance, tourism business in Sri Lanka or the way locals perceive responsible tourism. On the other hand, as a western tourist and traveller in Sri Lanka I met various ethical issues which might have been less important without the position as a researcher about responsible tourism. Still, as Allan (2011, p. 149) noted, the different roles and positions can affect the research positively and in the case of the present study, being in Sri Lanka as a tourist and at the same time a student doing research, was very useful and allowed to get a deeper insight in the tourism industry.

3.2.2   Semi structured interviews

In addition to the fieldnotes collected in Sri Lanka an important part of the data are the nine (9) in depth semi structured interviews collected during the fieldwork. As mentioned above, qualitative research aims to understand different social phenomena, and to do so, researchers conduct personal interviews with people touched by the research subject. The interviews allow me to tell more openly how the participants feel and think about certain issues or experiences (Smith, 2010, p. 109). I*n depth* refers specifically to the type of interviews where the interviewee is expected to give deeper answers than *yes, no, maybe,* and by preparing *semi structured* questionnaires I was thinking beforehand what kind of questions will allow detailed and rich answers about the specific subject I was studying (Rapley, 2004, p. 15). The interviews in Sri Lanka were conducted following the semi structured questionnaire of 11 open-ended interview questions (Annex 1).

The interviews were conducted with local tourism actors in Sri Lanka. Before contacting the companies, I was first looking from their web-pages that they were local Sri Lankan companies providing tourism services for foreign visitors. The services may be tours and excursions, accommodation, guiding, safaris and the list could continue. I also looked at how the companies' web pages were showing their involvement in ethical and responsible tourism activities. Before being certain of interviewing the companies, I asked further questions about their western partners. I requested to know at least few of their most important partners in the Global North, to see how involved the partners were in social entrepreneurship or CSR. As mentioned above, some Sri Lankan contacts were given directly by their European partners. In these cases, further information about the Sri Lankan companies was still verified through their web page and through email. All those companies, who answered the criteria, were sent an official invitation to participate in the study (Annex 2).

After the above-mentioned criteria, the interviewees were selected by using the theoretical sampling method. The theoretical sampling method, also called purposive sampling, lies on the researcher's own knowledge and opinion about who s/he believes would be an appropriate interviewee (David & Sutton, 2004, p. 152). As described by Taylor, Bogdan, and DeVault (2016) in qualitative research is not necessary to know the number of the interviews, the sample size, beforehand. The researcher should be able to define the sufficient amount of data when conducting the interviews and seeing how much new information the informants are giving. Therefore, with the theoretical sampling method it is not important how many cases are going to be interviewed, but the potential of each case to help the researcher in developing theoretical insights into the studied subject (Taylor et al., 2016, pp. 106–107). During the data collection in Sri Lanka, I could notice that the interview answers started to repeat each other and not much new information was coming out after nine interviews.

During the first week in Sri Lanka, I conducted four interviews with the people I had been in touch beforehand, and during the second week five other interviews, from which two happened 'accidentally' by meeting people, who were working in responsible tourism and social enterprises near the accommodation where I was staying in Colombo and Kandy. From all the interviewees four (4) are working for a destination management company (DMC), two (2) are accommodation providers, two (2) are service or activity providers, and one (1) interview was done together with the local hosts of a rural village and a local guide working as a contact person between the hosts and the western company. All the interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees. One of them was made in Kandy, one in the village of Neluwa, and the remaining seven in the capital, Colombo.

Most of the interviews were individual and counted in only one informant, the exception being three interviews where a few other people working in the company, joined the meeting and were giving minor information during the interviews. The interviews were done in English, except the one between the hosts and the contact person of the rural village, Neluwa. There the hosts were talking in *Sinhalese* and the contact person was translating into English. The local contact person was the main informant of this interview but the presence of the two hosts was useful and a good way to get their points of view in the service they are providing for the tourists, and about their partnership with the western company which is operating the sales.

The fact that the interviews were operated in English and in cultural context different from my own asked for particular attention and adaptation. As explained by David and Sutton (2004, pp. 87, 99) interviewing requires listening and understanding from the interviewer. In the case of semi structured interviews, the questions might be pre-defined in order to conduct the interview in the direction of the study and the wished information (David & Sutton, 2004). However, to collect deeper and detailed answers the interviewer should be able to ask new in-depth questions regarding to what the informant has said, and which have not necessarily been planned in advance. Therefore, it is important to understand and hear what is said during the interview. In the case of the interviews in Sri Lanka, this part was sometimes challenging because of the strong local accent of some informants.

Not only understanding the language is an important fact, but also the local culture. As explained by Rastas (2005) if the interviewee and interviewer have been living for a long time in very different countries and cultural contexts, there are bigger chances for misunderstandings. On the other hand, depending on the purpose of the interviews, the gender, age or the social and educational status of the interviewee it is already possible to anticipate the possible cultural differences which could appear in the interview situation. In Sri Lanka, I was happy to notice that thanks to my own experience in the tourism field, and the fact that with many of the informants we had travelled and were used to different cultures, big misunderstandings did not appear. Sometimes I had to repeat the question or be more specific if I had the feeling that I was not well understood.

Through the email exchange with most of the participants, which had happened before the actual interviews, I had already gotten an idea of the English skills of the informants. What was a little surprising, was the fact that in some interviews so many people wanted to participate, and that it seemed to be a hierarchical question. For instance, in one case I had been emailing with one person whose working title in the company was "travel designer" and the appointment for the interview was fixed. When I arrived at their office, it appeared that two other people were going to join the interview because they were on a higher position in the company. The same happened with another interview, where the person taking care of setting the appointment was on a lower position and was not talking much during the interview. In both cases, it did not feel correct to ask for an individual meeting with only one person as all the people attending were obviously prepared to be present. Because of

these few situations, the total number of participants in the interviews was fourteen (14) although I did nine (9) interviews. However, all of them were not very active participants.

3.2.3   Field notes

As mentioned above, the ethnographic research approach includes observation of people and life-style in the environment the researcher is undertaking the study. Observation can be participant or non-participant, which means that it can be done passively or by asking questions. In both cases observation requires that the researcher takes notes about his/her thoughts and findings (David & Sutton, 2004, p. 108). The field notes I collected in Sri Lanka are also part of the data and are helping me to better understand the country and to get familiar with the locals and the tourism industry (Sambajee & Weston, 2015).

The observation in Sri Lanka was done through both methods, by passive observation at the beach, in restaurants or when visiting different sites, but also through conversations I had with the locals. I was lucky to meet many people who were eager to talk about their country, their work and the tourism industry. I had discussions with Tuktuk drivers, beach sellers, restaurant keepers, and with random people I met in the train or the bus when travelling from a city to another. Many had been working in the tourism field at least for a small moment and were telling me their personal opinions about the business in Sri Lanka. During these unofficial conversations, I was able to get a different insight to the industry than through the official interviews with the entrepreneurs.

The process of working with field notes includes three different layers, from writing notes down already in the field, the writing process when handling the data after collecting it, and finally writing the data for the readers of the study (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Rantala, 2011b, p. 16). I did not always take notes during the conversations but tried to write my observations and thoughts down during the same day, as advised by David & Sutton (2004). Sometimes I wrote quick notes on my smartphone, or used audio notes, and sometimes in the evenings I wrote a few lines or pages to my notebook. It is notable that taking fieldnotes is personal and includes the observers' viewpoint. As it is difficult to take notes in the view of someone else, the fieldnotes can sometimes be a bias data (David & Sutton, 2004, p. 110). Therefore, in my personal opinion it is good to combine fieldnotes with another data-collection method, such as interviews.

3.3   Content analysis

The interviews lasted between 30 to 50 minutes and were all recorded and transcribed. After transcribing the nine interviews, there was a total of 59 pages of data to analyse, in addition to eight (8) pages of handwritten field notes. The data-analysis for the present study was done by using content analysis, which is a widely used method in qualitative research and employed for examining visual, verbal and printed communications (Elo & Kyngäs 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Smith, 2010, p. 201). The aim of content analysis is to identify smaller units from a large amount of written data (David & Sutton, 2004, p. 197) such as interviews and fieldnotes, and to make inferences by identifying specific characteristics of messages (Holsti, 1969 cited in Smith, 2010).   Different approaches can be used for interpreting the data, such as inductive and deductive coding (David & Sutton, 2004; Elo & Kyngäs, 2007) which were both used for analysing the data of the present study. The goal of deductive coding is to validate or spread conceptually a theoretical framework or a theory (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1281). As explained by David and Sutton (2004, p. 205) deductive coding involves the creation of a list of categories through which the existing data is to be coded. Inductive coding involves the generation of codes at any moment of reading the data and the researcher can make conclusions or categories of those inductive codes during the analysis or at the end of the analysis process (David & Sutton, 2004, p. 205).

Before coding my data, the transcribed interviews and field notes were first read through several times, separately, and as a whole. During the reading process, the material was clarified by cutting off irrelevant parts (e.g. working history of the interviewee, company's history if it did not reveal anything notable) or repetition (different questions which were giving the same answers in different forms). On the other hand, some repetition from the interviewee was considered as emphasized information and was kept with the highlighted parts of the data. After some attempts of coding the data manually with Word, I choose to use Atlas.ti software for facilitating and hastening the coding process. Software for qualitative data analysis are made for helping the process, but not for doing it, therefore interpretation, creativity, and contextualization of the data are still the researchers' tasks when using the program (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, pp. 310–315; Mehmetoglu & Dann, 2003, p. 4). I also realized that by using Atlas.ti, it was easier to keep track on the codes and to create connections and links between them and the quotations of my data.

The choice of using deductive coding was based on the theoretical framework of this study; the postcolonial theory. Issues to power, language and representation, identity, space and landscape are central to postcolonial analysis (Hall & Tucker, 2004, p. 185), therefore these concepts were working as a base through which the data-analysis was made. For finding new perspectives related to partnership and responsible tourism practices inductive coding method was alternatively used. By using deductive and inductive coding, altogether from the data, emerged ten (10) different code groups. After re-reading and going through the data and the code groups I finally choose seven (7) main themes which were the most important appearing in the data:

- Economic importance
- Overseas Partners
- Local companies' challenges
- Western power

- Local's vue on responsible tourism practices
- Partnership-relationship
- Western impact on the local communities

At the end, when going through these code groups again, I emerged some of the themes together. For example local companies' challenges where related to partnership relationships, and finally I realized that the western power somehow appeared through all the data, and was not just part of it. At the end, all the codes and groups were embedded in few large groups with subgroups. The final results are presented in the next chapter, where I am also using quotations from the interviews and from my fieldnotes to support the findings and conclusions. The quotation of an interviewee is marked with the letter *I* and the number according to the chronologic order in which the interviews were made, e.g. *I3* is interviewee number 3. The same applies to my fieldnotes marked with the letter F and a number.

3.4 Research ethics

All the researchers are expected to consider the ethical issues of their research, and to follow responsible research methods. The fieldwork in Sri Lanka, the data-handling and the writing of the dissertation also included ethical considerations. In this section, I will explain the

principles of responsible research conduct related to the data collection and explain how the guidelines on research ethics of Finnish Advisory board (TENK, 2012) were strictly followed in the realization of this study.

For protecting their anonymity and emphasizing the voluntary participation in this study, all the interviewees had received an official invitation letter (Annex 2) to participate in the study stating that their participation was fully voluntary and that they have the possibility to withdraw from the study whenever they want if they feel so. They were also promised anonymity during the whole project, as much from their personal involvement as from the company's side. This is guaranteed in a way that any names are published in the present study, and the data collected through the interviews is accessed only by me. These facts were reminded at the beginning of each interview when the participants were asked to sign the consent letter showing that they have understood their rights and their involvement in the study. The consent letter reminded that the interviews were recorded, and at the beginning of each interview, I explained also orally how everything was recorded only for the purpose of this study and the transcriptions of the interviews. The participation in the study was totally voluntary and nothing was promised as exchange for the interviews.

As the interviews were done in a place designated by the interviewee, usually the office of the company, and the questions covered mainly about the company's operations no physical harm was caused to the interviewees. The informants were also totally free to decide what and how much information they were giving about the company, or about their personal feelings, so no psychological harm was involved either. The data-analysis follows the principles of presenting the results accurately and without falsification. When writing the dissertation, I have included the recognition of other researchers work by mentioning them, and not taking credits for anything that someone else would have previously showed (TENK, 2012).

4 WESTERN HEGEMONY WITHIN THE SRI LANKAN TOURISM CONTEXT

4.1 The dependency on the west

According to the findings, the western power still dominates the tourism system and the partnerships between TOs of the Global North and the local companies of Sri Lanka. The interviews showed that the local tourism companies viewed the western TOs as important for helping them to grow their market. All the interviewees brought out that the companies from the Global North are the ones bringing them incomes, new customers and bookings. Many also claimed that if they did not work with western TOs, they would not have enough customers to keep going with the business. The respondents mentioned also that their main customers are from 'overseas', mainly from Europe, which highlighted the fact that the western TOs main contribution to Sri Lankan tourism development is to bring incomes through new clients.

This finding is not surprising as it confirms previous studies about tourisms' economic impact in the Global South (Mathieson &Wall, 1982; Seetanah, 2011). On the other hand, the results also suit with the postcolonial setting and demonstrate how the Sri Lankan entrepreneurs and the country's economy are highly dependent on the west. Several interviewees explained that tourism is now one of the main economies of the country and it is good that western tourists, but also foreign investors have finally found the destination, as showed in the following quotation:

> *In Sri Lanka it [tourism] is actually one of the main income resources. For economy it's right now standing in number two position. So that's very important…especially after 2009. There was a sudden boom in the tourism. Lot of people wants to join, and a lot of people wanted to invest in the trade, so since then tourism is doing very well and not only Sri Lankans but even foreigners, foreign investors have been investing in Sri Lanka. (I3)*

The economic dependency of postcolonial countries on the west has been previously discussed by Hall and Tucker (2004), Akama (2004) and Jaakson (2004). It has also been showed that the tourism development in the countries of the Global South is characterised by postcolonial influences because of the assumptions that tourism can be sustainable only because of international visitors (Eshun & Tagoe-Darko, 2015). For example, in the case of Ghana, the development of national parks has been only advertised for attracting international visitors and

investors leaving national tourism aside (Eshun & Tagoe-Darko, 2015, p. 399). This is reflected in the case of Sri Lanka as the interviews brought out that the local entrepreneurs are not trying to develop national tourism, and they do not see it as important. According to the respondents, what is important in Sri Lanka now is to enjoy about the foreign investors and to focus on the most important clients coming from the Global North. European travellers are the ones maintaining and increasing the business. It could be distinguished from the interviewees discourse that they did not make a difference between economic impact and other kind of impact, for example social or environmental. One of the interviewees illustrates it as following:

> *We have a relationship with our agencies based on that, on clients coming…that the country is benefitting. Apart from that I don't know what else they can do more. (I8)*

Furthermore, the western power becomes evident in the way local entrepreneurs are dependent on the methods their partners use for giving information about the destination to the tourists. The findings show that the interviewees wish that travellers were aware about the cultural habits, and "the do's and the don'ts" before travelling to the destination. However, according to the interviewees, in addition to guidebooks, the best information sources for the tourists would be the selling agencies and tour operators in Europe, who could use the local DMC's as their key informants. Yet, it appears that for getting fast information, too many western agents seem to rely on Google for advising the clients. According to the locals, this kind of information given to the customer, is often wrong or not applied to the reality of the destination, as can be seen from the following quotation:

> *Most of the tourists they check online and based on that they have a lot of ideas. Even starting with my tour operators, we try to conduct a lot of training programs and we try to send them a lot of materials and try to have an idea. And who ever the top sellers, we'd ask them to come and see Sri Lanka…Because Google will say a lot of things. And people will say a lot of things. Because it's your perspective about Sri Lanka, right? You should come to Sri Lanka and really experience it. Even a road condition you know… Google will say only half an hour, but you may not be able to drive that fast, and you have to be careful. (I8)*

One interviewee explained how they send an 'information kit' to the customer directly once that the booking is confirmed, because they cannot trust that the distributor, or any tour operator would do the same:

> *We send an invoice, and we give all the information of what to expect, what to wear, where the client will be… ALL the details! (I9)*

The biggest problem seems to be, as brought up by many informants that the TO or their distributors in the Global North do not know the destination well enough because they have not visited the country by themselves. The local DMCs are trying to organize educational short trips for their partners to get them to visit Sri Lanka and to know the products and services. Despite this, many still feel that the partners do not make enough efforts in getting to know the country by themselves and thus selling it better. Therefore, some locals think that the foreign companies are not trustful enough regarding the information given to the travellers. They feel that one point of the partnerships should be that it helps on getting the right information "for free", hence, serving the customers and the destination better. Many of the local companies seem to be powerless in this case, as they are not able to influence on how much their partners ask for their help. Consequently, the locals are depending on the westerns taking decisions regarding their own country.

When talking about the countries of the Global South being dependent of the west, we are on the limits of the dependency theory and postcolonial theory. However, both being close to each other often use the Global North, or the West, as a universal model (Kapoor, 2002, p. 654). Even though, postcolonial thoughts do not focus much on capitalism and the economic aspects of the relationship between north and south, the power-relationship and hegemony are highly discussed (Kapoor, 2002, pp. 658–659). This is reflected in the case of Sri Lanka, where the western TOs are exercising their power in the countries of the Global South. The locals would not be able to increase their economic development without the customers sent by the western companies. At the same time, Sri Lankan companies are dependent on the information their western partners distribute about the country.

4.2   Western requirements shaping the tourism landscape

It is worth mentioning that all the local DMC's find that they have the freedom to choose their suppliers, and all the service providers choose their partners and retailers freely. The respondents agree that the pricing of the local services is done accordingly to the local market and western TOs' hardly influence on the prices – they feel that the western partners have a full trust in their experience and knowledge. However, the interviews brought up that the

suppliers seem to be chosen based on the TOs' and western client's requirements and habits, as illustrated in the data.

> *[…] has certain standards… there are some, what we call SOPR, standard operating procedure-manual. In that, there's a section on accommodation, so those whatever we choose, have to fit in to that criteria. And very commonly especially in regard to health and safety… (I2)*

Positioning western countries as superior and highlighting their importance in making managerial decisions is a tendency (Garcia-Rosell, 2016) and this is reflected in Sri Lanka where the western requirements and standards are shaping the partnerships. As showed by the respondents, it is also evident that the whole tourism system in the country is constructed for western tourists. This finding is consistent with the study done by Teo and Leong (2006) on Asian backpackers being ignored in the tourism planning of certain areas of Bangkok, where the whole tourism scene is constructed for western backpackers only. This is illustrated by one interviewee as following:

> *…a little problem for us is that hotels are used to handle western tourists better than Asian. So the Asians sometimes find difficulties, they sometimes complain: The amenities, the beds and the food are mostly for westerns… (I3)*

I could confirm this equality during my stay in the small village of Neluwa hosted by a local family, as described in my fieldnotes:

> *[the guide's] words about asking the local family to do things, like constructing a "real" toilet, not to cook too spicy… The family has also constructed/renovated a room for the guests only, and a better, hidden shower answering for western habits. + when I was there the host bought yoghurts and apples from the shop only for me. I don't know if they buy that kind of food for themselves sometimes, or was that to please me? Apples did not grow in the area, and the yoghurts were the Danone-brand, not any local style. (F1)*

During the month I spent in Sri Lanka, I noticed that more touristic was the city or village I went, more similar to other tourism destinations it looked. Even though the local culture was present in food, language, buildings, or clothing, in big cities I had to look for it. For Instance, in Ella, a little town in the Hill country, I felt that I could have been somewhere in the Mediterranean, in Brazil, or even in Helsinki, because of the hipster-styled coffee places, the

colourful warm lightning of the restaurants and international cocktails sold in all the bars. Also, the breakfast served in most of the hotels and hostels where I stayed was often westernized. One could get a local breakfast for an additional price or by ordering it in advance, because it was not something that was automatically prepared and easily served, as were the fried eggs, toasted bread and fresh fruits.

Although the interviewees emphasized many times how happy they are about the partnerships and the freedom of their work in the destination, all of them highlighted that the most important is to know the western clients, because that is how the partnership works the best. One of them said:

> *When I visited there [Europe] I got really hear about the clientele, your requirements, about what they really want… So it's easy for me to cater to that market. (I8)*

Many informants also proudly explained that their services and products are high quality because they train the staff constantly. In particularly the DMCs work in close collaboration with their western partners, who sometimes travel to the destination for training periods. During the training, the western representatives give information about their requirements and the kind of suppliers and services to be used. It appeared also that some DMCs use local Tour Leaders, who are trained by the western TO, but with some companies the Tour Leader is sent to Sri Lanka by the European TO, and only the guides and drivers are local Sri Lankan people. The interviewees also experienced those training periods as a good opportunity for them to teach the westerns about the destination and show them the products they are selling for tourists. As explained above the locals had the feeling their partners do not know the destination well enough because they do not visit regularly, at least those training periods are a possibility to train both sides.

The western requirements are mostly related to accommodation, sometimes to food, but also to cars and drivers and the language skills of the guides. The informants explained that some TO have their own set of hotels and itineraries which they prefer to be used, others prefer small or big hotels or certain chains. Many have specific wishes depending on the customer. The DMC's feel that they know what their partners prefer according to the duration of the partnerships, and they also have the possibility to choose and advise the partner on the choice of the supplier.

Basically, with experience we know the hotels the partners prefer and like. Sometimes some of our tour operators they want 4 and 5 starts hotels. Some tour operators, especially small tour operators they don't like big hotels, they like small hotels. (I3)

When we are in contact with new people, some of them they have their own criteria. So we have different suppliers, and depending on the client and their recommendations we choose to which supplier we go. For accommodation we have seriously gone through the different hotels, we have visited them. Not only we select this particular hotel… If it doesn't totally match to our criteria, then we remove it from our database. (I4)

It is very clear that, although the local company can choose the accommodation for the customer, the place must answer the requirements from the western partner. Therefore, they experience that working with the western TOs is easy as long as the requirements are clear, and the culture well known. Similarly, locals have noticed that if the guide or the driver (who is usually the person spending most of the time with the guests) does not speak English well enough, it creates complications in the customer experience, thus between the partnership.

The postcolonial regions are often shaped by the western world, as much in the architecture and urban design as by culture. King (2003, p. 385) describes how the planning of cities and hotels have changed during decades towards a more sanitary, contemporary and urban planning. For instance, the 'bungalows', a general accommodation type in all tropical countries today, were initially representing the regional culture, thus constructed for tourists to introduce the local way of living. Today the bungalows are to be found in all the tropical tourism destinations, standardised according to the tourists' requirements and cultural needs, and they barely represent any local culture anymore. According to the Foucauldian construction about power (Cheong & Miller, 2000), the brokers, residents of the destination and locals earning incomes from tourism, can often be told by the tourists what to do and how to behave. This can appear as tourists' requirements about food and accommodation among other.

4.3 Western business practices influencing the partnerships

Some critics of globalisation have used postcolonial perspectives to argue that globalisation homogenises certain behaviours, thus erases cultural differences (Nederveen Pieterse, 2015,

p.1; Westwood, 2006, p. 105) for example in business practices. This aspect also emerged from the data. After first saying that they are happy with how things are working, many respondents started to express their worries about the uncertainty related to contracts, price negotiations and deadlines imposed by the western partners. These concerns are also translated as the adoption of western ways of working between partners. Similar practices have been showed in postcolonial management literature when western managers have been represented as superior to those from the east (Frenkel & Shenav, 2006, p. 868; Richman & Copen, 1972).

According to the findings, these practices arise when the local companies must accept how their western partners make agreements with them. Most of the DMC's have a contract with the western partner for the season or for the year, but each time the contracts must be renewed. As illustrated through the following quotation, the renewing of the contracts brings uncertainty to the local companies, and they have no possibilities to affect that.

> *I Think the way we are going now is fine. But of course, as much as we have been working with […] for a very long time, every year it's like signing a new contract. So, there's no guarantees, absolutely no guarantees. (I2)*

The partnership setting is clear in Sri Lanka: The DMCs have direct contracts with their biggest partners from the Global North, but most of the service providers, as safari and wildlife companies, have contracts or agreements, with the DMC's. There is a mutual respect between the locals; the service provider does not work directly with the western TO. However, with accommodation providers the setting is different as they get clients directly through their own web-pages, through OTA's and through travel agencies and DMC's. One of the hotel owners told that they would prefer to work directly with the western companies, without any DMC's as a middle-man, because they rarely have any guarantee or contracts with the DMCs, so they cannot rely on them. That is also the reason why hotels and different lodges try to be present on as many OTAs as possible, to be sure clients find them. The below excerpt from my fieldnotes illustrates the situation and shows what I was personally felt when trying to book my accommodations in Sri Lanka.

> *When looking for a new accommodation for the next city, I realize that most hotels and accommodations appear in all OTAs, but bookings through their own website seem to be impossible. Why? Is it more expensive for the hotels to manage direct bookings? (F2)*

The answers to my questions varied depending on the respondent. Some found that it is very difficult and expensive to work with OTAs, for others it only depends on the agency or the platform, but for all, most of the clients come through the OTAs, not through their own websites.

> *[...] guesthouse appears on Airbnb and Booking. According to the owner, Booking is better even though both take the same commissions. (F3)*

> *Booking.com is the worst of all, they are very unethical. They hide all the taxes, once you have got the booking you find out that they have taken 20 percent more taxes... A lot of problems with them. (I1)*

Furthermore, some interviewees mentioned that they wish the partners did not negotiate so hard on the prices. Even though they mostly feel that they can set the prices accordingly to the local market, currency and products, their partners still compare between other Sri Lankan companies and sometimes it happens that they have gotten better offers and prices from someone with whom they have not worked as much. As one of the DMC managers told, there have been times that their very regular partner has gotten much better prices from a bigger DMC in Sri Lanka. To find an agreement, he had to negotiate with his own suppliers and reduce the prices. When this kind of situations happen, the locals find it sad because, according to one of the respondents, very low prices show clearly about unsustainable practices by the competitors and that local communities are not able to benefit at all. On the other hand, that kind of situation also compromises the products of the western companies:

> *We have to be sustainable, right? If we don't make living out of this, and we keep cutting margins every time somebody goes and offers a little price, then sometimes there's no point in this. (I2)*

Some service providers mentioned that the price negotiations are also difficult because of the long supplier chain, and the margins which the selling agent has settled at the end. It seems unfair that the companies negotiate the prices very hard, but at the end they put huge margins on their selling prices. Needing to negotiate very much on the prices shows about the western partners' superiority or will of controlling the situation.

Related to the supplier chain, another difficulty for the locals, is to get the right information from or to the client. As in general in tourism, also in Sri Lanka the chain starts from the local

service provider to the local DMC, who is in contact with a western TO who still sometimes sells the product through a western travel agent. However, the actual service is still provided by the first person of the chain, who does not get to communicate with the clients generally, at all, during the booking process. For accommodation providers it is different, as often clients have their contacts since the beginning, but for activity organizers and safari companies, the information about client's special requirements can reach the right person only once that the service is being implemented.

The challenges related to the long supply chain are somehow a paradox, as one of the ideas of pro-poor tourism, community-based tourism and in general tourism as a leveraging industry in the Global South, is to involve locals to the tourism activity and help them to increase their economy (Spenceley & Mayer, 2012, p. 302). According to Spencley and Mayer (2012, p. 308) tourist destinations linked into the global value chains are often accused of leakages and power relations between generating and receiving countries, thus western TOs and local partners. A value chain is what connects international or national firms to a supplier and a producer in order to deliver a satisfying good or a service. In order to keep the customer happy, all the stakeholders of the value chain, which here could also be synonym for supplier chain, must coordinate their activities and collaborate successfully (Mitchell, 2012, p. 465).

However, as showed in the data, the fact that many tourism companies work together by supplying different services to travellers makes their work more difficult and thus, it does not improve the value creation. The global structures do not allow the poverty reduction as most of the decisions according to tourism management are made by the international organisations (Spenceley & Mayer, 2012, p. 298). This shows that the principles of pro-poor tourism are not working, as have been argued by academics before (Scheyvens, 2007), and agrees with the colonial management viewpoint where the 'other' is represented as inferior to the west controlling not only the global economy but also the culture (Frenkel & Shenav, 2006, p. 872).

Another point which many of the interviewees mentioned, as much service providers, as DMC-agents, was that all services going online create sometimes too short deadlines for answering the emails. As clients can also get information by themselves from internet, they have become more impatient, expecting fast answers. Many of the interviewees told that they have changed their company policies in a way that all the emails need to be answered within the same day, and if it is not possible it is necessary to at least let the receiver know about the delay. However, related to knowledge about the local culture and the way people work in Sri Lanka and in

Europe, differences are clear, and locals wish their partners would understand that sometimes it is impossible to get an answer from the supplier within the same day. The shorter deadlines and answering times sometimes create tensions and give the feeling for the locals that is not possible to do as good work as they could, if they had more time.

The data clearly shows that as most of the clients and partners are European, the business methods and working together between different cultures is trying to adapt the western ways, thus, to homogenize the cultural differences in the business practices. This also appeared through the fact that working with other nationalities has been more difficult for Sri Lankan companies, as mentioned by one interviewee. She explained that last year their biggest customer group used to be the Chinese, but then collaboration with the main Chinese partner had to stop for some disagreements. Without going to the details of this event, she expressed that the company lost a very important client and showed that also south-south partnerships are important. She also mentioned that her company does not work a lot with Baltic TO's because they find the partnership and way of working difficult. The respondents in general showed happiness and a feeling of freedom of choosing their way of working in Sri Lanka. The fact that the western TOs standards and clients' requirements are strongly affecting what they offer is not seen negatively by the locals, but as something that works and makes the partnership easier.

4.4   Responsible tourism practices in the hands of locals

The economic development and industrialization have allowed the western countries to become more productive, richer, and bigger travellers, but have also increased the global warming and the need for sustainable and ethical behaviours (Banerjee, 2003). The Global South, which has been at an important phase of economic development for a long time, needed to be told how to develop sustainably (Banerjee, 2003, p. 174). According to this way of thinking can be seen that the concepts, practices and policies of sustainable development continued to be influenced by the colonial thought, resulting a loss of power particularly among the rural population of the countries of the Global South (Banerjee, 2003, p. 144).

According to Banerjee (2003; 2008) and García-Rosell (2016) one problem with responsible business practices is that one still easily positions the Global North as superior by giving the northern countries the role of a problem solver regarding the global environmental and social

problems. Although, it is true that the use and need for these practices is not equal because the southern countries have not had the same resources and economic development with the north (Banerjee, 2003), the data shows that the local Sri Lankan companies do not experience the western TOs as problem solvers. Researchers have suggested that marginalized local communities are to be either victims or beneficiaries of the development (Banerjee, 2003; Mies & Shiva, 1993), but according to the interviews in Sri Lanka the locals see that it is their own duty to make tourism responsible. The data does not agree with the suggestions that communities have continued to be inscribed as the passive objects of Western history and to bear the brunt of, what has ironically been called, the 'white man's burden' (Mies & Shiva, 1993).

The white man's burden has initially referred to the need to educate and civilize the non-white people of the Global South and later to develop their countries, but these practices have always involved deprivation of resources and rights of the local communities. Today, the third phase of white man's burden refers to the environmental protection (Mies & Shiva, 1993), but is also viewed as a mode to exercise power in the countries of The Global South by telling them how to develop their economy in a responsible way, or in the case of tourism, implement responsible destination management practices. It is the image that the TOs from the Global North send to their customers which also affects the image of the destination. This can be a reason why the destinations are not seen like wished by the locals and, a critical issue, particularly when talking about responsible tourism and companies with social tourism approaches (Scheyvens, 2001).

Some scholars, (Budeanu, 2005) have suggested that it is under the big TOs responsibility to enhance sustainable tourism and to spread knowledge about responsible tourism practices on the supplier and customer-side. Even though the most important TOs are European (Budeanu, 2005, p. 94) from the interviews in Sri Lanka can be drawn that the local companies do not think that the development of sustainable tourism would be the western TOs responsibility. All the local companies emphasized that it is their own duty to make tourism more responsible in Sri Lanka. It is them who decide how the incomes get distributed by the selection of suppliers, and the actions related to environment and wildlife. As seen in the first part of this chapter, the locals could hardly imagine that the western companies had other than economic impact on the destination, as it is not them who take decisions regarding the local actions. The following quotation illustrates this point of view:

> *We, in Sri Lanka, we have to be more responsible of our own country. Because our agencies are out there, so they don't know exactly what's going on here. (I8)*

As the local companies selected for this study were not particularly all focusing on responsible tourism practices, but some of them only showing some CSR implications on their website, the answers related to responsible practices varied regarding the company. Those companies having a more ecological business approach had more clear opinions on how things should be done in Sri Lanka and what needs to be changed. They see Sri Lanka as a nature destination, where the natural environment is particularly important and requires preserving. One interviewee, an accommodation provider who has been thinking to start his own tour company as well, had a very clear vision of how he would organize the partnership connected with responsible tourism practices if he was totally free to organize and decide how everything works:

> *It would be tours that don't have a harmful impact on our culture and environment, where we don't over visit certain sites, where we probably go to less known sites in Sri Lanka and also where [?]...meaningful experience, where they learn about our culture and where they can participate, meet our local communities, maybe do a few activities with them. So basically, a way where we would be planning the entire local operation. (I1)*

When travelling inside a city or the country I was constantly considering the different transportation modes myself; whether to use public or private and whether it was better to take a bus or the train for certain distances. I also found myself considering the different visits I wanted to do; which wildlife parks or service-providers had a better reputation etc. I was lucky to get indirect information for my own choices through the interviews. It appeared that as much the DMC's, as the service providers have recently started to undertake different actions to make their business practices more responsible. Some are on the process of changing plastic bottles to glass bottles, many mentioned about using more public transportation when possible, using local guides and drivers in the different regions instead of bringing them from the capital, some are choosing the most responsible wildlife parks, and blacklisting the ones with unethical reputation. One of the DMC's, the biggest and very well known in Sri Lanka, however, had taken the decision not to change one of the elephant orphanages which all the other interviewed companies had blacklisted. This particular elephant orphanage has been largely criticized in Sri Lanka because of the elephants being chained and because of their very close contact with many daily visitors. In the following quotations from the interview, the DMC agent gives shortly his viewpoint:

We promote it but some of the tour operators they don't want to use [name of the orphanage], because some things have changed…We haven't changed, because only few tour operators don't want to promote and also, we think that this place runs with this, so if we stop, what will happen to those animals? (I3)

The agent added that customers have not complained so there is no reason to change something that is working well for them. As it was already the end of the interview the subject was not addressed more deeply. However, the same company explained in detail about their social projects with local schools, in which they have organized English classes, and about their use of solar energy and biomass for heating water in the hotels of the company.

None of the interviewees neither mentioned that anyone from the western companies would come to monitor or audit the responsible tourism practices implemented in Sri Lanka, even though their web pages clearly present their values about responsible tourism or highlight charity projects done in the destinations. For instance, one of the DMC's have recently gotten a Travel Life-certification to prove their involvement in sustainable tourism and the company was obviously proud about this achievement. No-one from their western partners however, had asked for any certifications, or at least this did not come out in the interview. In this particular case it is interesting in the way that the main partner in the UK shows to be highly involved with different charity projects around the world and gives responsible advises for travellers to take into consideration before, during, and after the trip. According to the interview with the DMC, the requirements given to the Sri Lankan partner were mainly about health and sanitary instructions when selecting the suppliers.

It is important to remember that for many of the western companies, Sri Lanka remains a small destination and the biggest actions have been implemented in other destinations with other partners. As was explained earlier, the local companies wish that the western TOs would visit the destination more and give more importance to the services and activities they are selling in Sri Lanka. The fact that the westerns are neither monitoring nor checking the responsible business practices shows about the power they have in Sri Lanka, as a small destination. TOs have been putting more importance on mass destinations which are economically more important for them (Curtin & Busby, 1999) and this practice still seems to apply. Previous studies have also showed that international TOs are not performing very well on sustainability reporting, which appears stronger with small and medium-size TOs (Persoon & Wijk, 2006). On the one hand, those who are showing more important CSR reporting are the big

multinational TOs who have more to lose if they do something wrong, and on the other hand it is the smaller companies who actually can have more effective social and sustainable business models (Jenkins, 2009).

Today, in Sri Lanka, especially those accommodation providers and smaller DMCs which are particularly focused on ecotourism and sustainable development, are a niche market who find the activity and the partnerships more challenging than bigger companies. These niche companies are aiming to give highly authentic experiences by keeping their activity small in order to offer economically and environmentally sustainable products. The interviews showed that the challenge for the local niche companies is that for them it is more important to match their values with their partners' ideology. They see themselves more ethical and responsible than their traditional competitors in Sri Lanka, and they find it difficult to work with other local companies because they are small, and they do not have contracts with local DMCs, thus no guarantee of any bookings. The problem for these small companies is that it would be badly seen from the local partners, if they started working directly with western companies. However, they believe that direct relationships with the west would lead towards more security, but at the same time would disrupt the relationships and trust in the destination and between the local partners.

> *I would prefer working directly. For the simple reason that lot of the [local] companies, especially the older ones, who are very fixed on their thinking, they are not flexible, they think what they know is the best… (I9)*

> *…because as a Sri Lankan small camp operator, we always need the support of the local DMC at all times. (I7)*

According to Cheong and Miller (2000, p. 387) the successful sustainable tourism programs lie on the power of the local habitants and local tourism companies. They suggest that understanding who has the power in the development of tourism could contribute to the formulation of new tourism policies. According to the interviews with the Sri Lankan companies, the power of sustainable tourism development is in their hands, but what can be seen underneath is that tourists and their behaviour affects the production and planning unintentionally.

During the fieldwork in Sri Lanka, I also found myself thinking about many ethical issues related to my personal consumption and actions as a tourist. For instance, I was making constant choices about the accommodations and the restaurants I choose, whether they were locally owned or not, for who were the revenues directed, was the staff local or foreign, western or Asian?

> *What is the best when hiring a tuktuk-driver; to negotiate the price as much as possible, as the locals do, or accept higher prices because they will always remain cheap for me anyway? Is it so bad that they ask higher prices from tourists, than from locals? Isn't that normal also? (F4)*

According to previous studies and partly to the data, perhaps that the western power is present in the responsible tourism practices in Sri Lanka as well. However, the interviews with the local tourism companies show that the white man's burden is not only a white man's burden anymore. Locals want to enhance responsible tourism and do it by themselves, and they do not consider it important if their western partners enhance those practices or not. What remains unclear is if they see it as their own responsibility because the western countries are not doing it enough, or because they think western countries cannot do it, or because it is their home country so their duty – should each country take care of their own land? Are the environmental problems so much talked today, that they go beyond anyone's particular responsibility, and are accepted as a global problem from which everybody is responsible, no matter from where the problems have started?

5   IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN SRI LANKA

The study shows that the increase of social entrepreneurship and CSR in tourism contributes only partially to the development of responsible partnerships between the Global South and North. Although, local companies have started different actions related to environmental protection or local communities, these actions cannot be seen as direct results of the partnerships. The interviews showed the Sri Lankan companies do not particularly need their partners to be social enterprises or to implement responsible practices, as they see these practices under their own responsibility. However, the tourism actors from the Global North influence the tourism development of Sri Lanka through the planning and designing of tourism services and through the western business practices. These influences are impacting the partnerships and the tourism development of the destination through several aspects, such as ignoring certain customer groups and taking risks for the future development.

In Sri Lanka, the local companies are focusing on the western customers and their habits and requirements when choosing their suppliers, their partners and when planning the itineraries and services for the customers. This arises the question of how well the local tourism infrastructure and politics are prepared for new customer groups? For instance, the BRIC-countries; Chinese, Indians, Brazilians or Russians have been an increasing customer group for several years already (Buckley, Gretzel, Scott, Weaver, & Becken, 2015; Winter, 2009), and it is only a question of time that they will arrive in bigger groups to Sri Lanka. At the same time, as Sri Lanka and China have established close relationships since the end of the civil war, increasing Chinese tourism is already visible (Keethaponcalan, 2015, p. 320). It would be important to remember by the local tourism organisations and companies that new customer groups bring different demands and expect service behaviour according to their culture (Buckley et al., 2015, p. 63; see Linnanen, 2018).

The focus on the Global North can affect the customer-experience and the way that tourists see the destination. It could also have implications on how partnerships with other countries are working or will work in the future. If the companies are too focused and used to the western way of working, will they meet more challenges with partners from different cultures? This might already have happened with some of the companies, as come out in one of the interviews: The informant told that the company had to stop working with an important Chinese partner

for disagreements. As explained by Flint (2004), global, or national, business to business commerce where many customer organisations influence the buying decisions, the sellers and marketers should integrate the different value perceptions of their customers. To do so, they must understand the culture and the way of working of their partners and suppliers. That involves considering the fact that all companies and organisations are embedded with different cultures and business norms, or the destinations have varying economic situations and regulatory environments (Flint, 2004, p. 46). Winter (2009) suggested already ten years ago that the long-term growth of Asian tourism should change the ways how tourism is researched and thought. The focus on a Western and Anglo-Saxon way of seeing the world should come to an end, and in addition to researchers, also tourists and tourism companies should educate themselves about the new cultures and environment they are getting in to (Winter, 2009, p. 30).

Partnerships between the Global North and South seem still to have a strong influence on the tourism development, but the main motivations for the local companies to seek western partnerships rely most clearly on economic reasons. The accommodation providers interviewed for this study, agreed that they would prefer direct collaboration with western partners for easier ways of working but also for getting more guaranteed bookings. All the participants showed that they wish to have more growth and customers, and they rely on the western partners on that. Nevertheless, should the companies consider what could happen if western customers suddenly reduce their traveling to Sri Lanka, and choose other destinations? Is it not risky to be strongly dependent on one customer group? For instance, the growing discussion about climate change and the negative impact of flight traffic to the environment could affect the way of travelling and the consumption of western tourists in the future (see Higham, Cohen, Cavaliere, Carvalhedo Reis, & Finkler, 2016; Korkala, 2018; Nironen, 2019). If western tourists change airplanes to trains and buses, the island-destinations could be the first ones affected by this change, as their accessibility would decrease (Saarinen, 2017, p. 45). Therefore, it would be good to be prepared to receive and work with those customer groups which are less affected about the environmental consumption habits, or those coming from closer.

Although the discussion about the negative effects of air traffic has amplified, recent studies show that flying in general is still growing (Repo, 2019; Rosen, 2017; Tervo, 2009). The BRIC-countries are travelling increasingly (Rosen, 2017) and are not yet putting as much effort at sustainable travelling habits than western travellers. Green consumption and environmental behaviour have for years now been discussed form the angle that countries from the Global North are the ones who increased production and by doing so, had harmful effects on the

environment. According to some, it is not because the Global North has caused many of the environmental problems, that the Global South should only suffer about the consequences and for example not enjoy traveling, now that their economy allows it (see Beer, 2014). That is also why social entrepreneurship and CSR have increased in tourism business and companies want to offer more responsible, ethical and sustainable ways of travel for everyone. Still, the increase of social entrepreneurship and CSR in the Global North does not seem to contribute directly to the development of responsible tourism in the Global South. According to the interviews, the highest voice of the development of responsible tourism belongs to the locals and they experience their role important in the tourism development of their country.

Although, the long supplier chains in tourism, also between partnerships in Sri Lanka, bring difficulties, the fact that a local company or an NGO is working together with the local community forms bridges between the two cultures and facilitates the communication (Nahi, 2018, p. 71). In the same way locals in Sri Lanka, experience that if western companies want to have a positive impact on the destination, they need to collaborate closely with their partners, but also with local organisations. The local companies see themselves as facilitators between tourists and the local communities. Different social projects on which the TOs from the Global North want to participate, are well seen in Sri Lanka and the locals have a positive attitude towards the fact that their partners want to help in the destination. Nevertheless, all the companies did not have very much, or any, experience about the different projects which are often related to wildlife and nature conservation or bringing social and environmental help to local communities. Those, who had worked together on some projects with their western partners have the experience that also their clients love to participate in them. Some mentioned that it is good that this kind of partnerships are increasing also in Sri Lanka, but it was again emphasized that the collaboration with the local NGO's should be strengthened, to facilitate the actual sustainable impact for a longer time. The interviews also showed that the Sri Lankan companies believe the development of responsible tourism is under their own responsibility and control. Therefore, they do not need their partners to be specifically focused on that kind of business, if the relationship otherwise works well and is stable.

Previous studies have already approached the negative impacts of tourism and the questions of responsibilities in making tourism a better business (Kavallinis & Pizam,1994; Saarinen, 2013). Kavallinis and Pizam (1994) showed that tourists perceive the residents and tourism entrepreneurs more responsible for the negative impacts of tourism and were more critical about the environmental impact than the locals. The residents recognized their significant

negative impact on the environment, and, like in Sri Lanka, considered themselves more responsible for better development and practices in their country. As was also discussed at the beginning of this dissertation, the increase of sustainable tourism is commonly given to the change of consumption habits and tourist's new ethical requirements (Sharpley, 2013; Saarinen, 2013). Tourism industry is also said to be adopting sustainable development principles, not only because of increasing ethical customers, but because of a progress towards responsible modes of production and TOs' initiative to sustainable tourism (Saarinen, 2013).

The fact that the Sri Lankan companies experience the partners from the Global North less important in the development of responsible tourism does not necessarily mean that social enterprises and CSR are pointless. The TOs are still answering the customer demand by offering more social and sustainable services and in that way increasing the knowledge and discussion about the subject. What is important, is to pay attention on the implementation of the actions, and if they are let to the hands of the locals, how the projects and declarations about responsible tourism are monitored. Involving the locals to do their part in the destination agrees with the point of view of Saarinen (2013) who suggests that sustainability in tourism is a matter of both local and global responsibilities. It is as much the responsibility of the distributors and sellers, as the local producers.

The local companies in Sri Lanka experience that their partners have a full trust on their way of working. When the interviewees talked about the impact of the western companies, the conversation usually turned more towards the local culture and correct distribution of information. That shows that in terms of responsibility and sustainability respecting the local culture and informing correctly about it, is important for the locals. It can be deduced that the locals wish their western partners would also communicate more about these issues. Regarding the freedom of the locals in the development of responsible tourism, from the data-analysis can be drawn that the question is not so much that do the locals have a voice in the development of responsible tourism, but do the companies of the Global North control how their business actions are impacting the destination?

The findings of the study can be used directly by both parties, the tourism companies from the Global South and the TOs from the Global North. For instance, the western companies could pay attention on allocating more time and resources for getting to know the partner and the local culture. It is advisable to visit the destination country and the partner's site to find out about the services offered by the partner and the ways the locals work. Similarly, it should be

kept in mind that the tourism activity has a direct and indirect impact on a big group of local people. Therefore, it would be good to identify the possible power inequalities between different groups of people in the destination and try to prevent any negative effects on humans caused by the TO's actions. The western companies could also think if bidding the partner's prices is always necessary. As mentioned by the interviewees, the less the service is paid, the less the service provider can pay its employees. It would be good to remember that many times also tourists are ready to pay a higher price for ethically produced and eco-labelled services (see Kang, Stein, Heo & Lee, 2012; Karlsson & Dolnicar, 2016; Tagbata & Sirieix, 2008). Similarly, it is important to be aware that renewing the contracts with the partners every year brings uncertainty and makes the conditions for proper operation more difficult. The locals would appreciate that their partners were interested in the certificates and effort the company had put on getting the certification. At the same time, it is good to remember that for example strict requirements and time-limits can make the local's way of working more difficult and impinge the provision of quality services. Instead of advising and trying to educate the local partners, or setting themselves as superior, the western companies should remember to see their partners as equals who have direct influence on the destination and the best position for making changes there.

The local companies in the Global South could think whether they really need the western partners as much, or if they should focus on other destinations and growing markets as well. On the other hand, the local companies could think if it was possible to enjoy the partnerships in a more holistic way and not only from an economic point of view. It is a different thing to want to learn from the partners than to let them to teach and impose their ways. The locals might also want to think how they could themselves improve the partnerships in a more equal direction. Many interviewees mentioned that why the partnerships are working so well, is because they have good relationships and they communicate regularly and honestly, this is of course something to maintain from both sides. Finally, I suggest that the development of responsible tourism should be seen as a holistic concept from which the international and national companies, and tourists are all responsible. If a company from the Global North wants to implement responsible practices in a destination, it should also follow the implications through close collaboration and communication with the local partner.

6 CONCLUSION

Social enterprises and CSR in tourism have increased as a response to the enhanced discussion about the negative impacts of tourism. As a result, more and more tourism companies from the Global North are willing to bring their help and responsible tourism practices to the Global South through partnerships with the local companies. The objective of this study has been to understand how the increase of social entrepreneurship and CSR contributes to the development of responsible tourism partnerships between the Global South and the Global North. In addition of advising TOs from the Global North about the motivations of local tourism companies to establish partnerships with them, the study has sought to bring answers to the local managers about the challenges they might encounter when collaborating with companies from the Global North, and how these collaborations might influence the tourism development of the destination. Finally, through the interviews with the local managers in Sri Lanka, I also tried to find out how is the voice of the local companies heard in the development of responsible tourism in the Global South.

To achieve these objectives, I conducted an ethnographic fieldwork by leading nine interviews with 14 local managers and collecting fieldnotes in Sri Lanka. By following the postcolonial theory within this study, I was looking at the partnerships through the concepts of cultural influences, power, dependency, as well as language and representation, identity, space and landscape. My main aim, and at the same time the main difficulty, was to keep the parties equal, instead of deepening the gap between the companies of the Global South and the Global North (Hall & Tucker, 2004). This task was particularly difficult, because of my personal involvement in the subject: during the research project, I got recruited as a shareholder and the chief of operations for the start-up where I did my internship in 2017. My work includes daily communication with the local partners of the company's different destinations in Africa and Asia. Writing this dissertation from the postcolonial perspective, about the western practices and powers, meanwhile that I wrote messages to my partners about how to answer clients through email within a certain timeframe, or why certain clients get discounts and others not, I sometimes felt very contradicted. I felt like educating my local partner, instead of considering him or her as equal.

The results of the analysis show, like often in postcolonial studies (see for example Aitchison, 2001; Caton & al.,2008; Teo & Leong, 2006), that western hegemony is omnipresent, as much in the business practices, as in the tourism planning. The contradictory feeling between my

daily work and this thesis was getting stronger more I advanced in the analysis. Meanwhile I wrote the analysis-chapter, I communicated with my partners in Indonesia and tried to get fast answers for questions about the local infrastructure or transportation times for customers. I sometimes struggled in getting a clear enough answer which would satisfy our European client, but I felt it was important to put the effort in getting right answers from the locals, instead of giving an approximate answer from my own viewpoint. During the whole writing process, I constantly tried to find the balance and make a difference between my daily work and the thesis project, although they were more closely related than I had thought at the beginning of the project.

The western power reflected in the results of the analysis agrees with previous postcolonial studies about tourism planning (Akama et al.,2011; Eshun & Tagoe-Largo, 2015; Teo & Leong, 2006). Not only the western companies prefer their working methods and the locals adapt to them, but this also seems to affect the tourism planning in a way that other nationalities and customer groups are slightly ignored and left apart. As showed by Teo and Leong (2006) some areas in Thailand have been *othering* Asian tourists by clearly favouring western travellers. Also, in Sri Lanka, the western requirements are present in all the tourism planning and the way the partnerships are working. It seems the local companies are better prepared to work with westerns and to receive western customers, than for example Asian tourists. As this study was very strongly driven by a postcolonial approach and the north - south setting, it is necessary to remember that postcolonial practices, and *otherness* appear inside smaller regions and countries as well. The fact that the world is often seen through western perspectives does not strengthen the fact that other cultures and geographical areas are even bigger and more important than Europe or North America. With the growing Chinese tourism, this western way of thinking and planning tourism services might change in the future (see Dai, Jiang, Yang, & Ma, 2017).

With the evolving tourism setting and tourism streams moving more and more to the east, also a change in the development of responsible tourism is possible. The results of the present study show that the local companies recognize the need for responsible practices and want to take responsibility in enhancing them. These results also indicated that the neo-colonial way of thinking about Global North having the responsibility on sustainable development, does not necessarily any long apply (Sin 2010; Zein, 2019). The increase of social entrepreneurship and CSR among western tourism companies does not affect directly the local companies, but they experience that the development of responsible tourism is under their own responsibility. This,

perhaps luckily, does not agree with the paradox observed by previous researchers (see Barnett & Land, 2007; Sin 2010) placing people in two categories of 'rich', who need to assume responsibilities, and 'poor', the ones remaining the receiving parties of responsible actions. That setting has raised questions if the people of the poor regions of the Global South are capable of having and assuming any kind of responsibilities, and shows how the locals have been marginalised and disempowered (Sin, 2010, p. 988). However, if the western will of help and bring responsible tourism development to the Global South was seen as a way of control and maintain existing power between the rich and privileged, and the poor and less privileged, the data-analysis of this study showed that the setting is changing. When taking the locals' own perspective into account, which has not been done too often (Sin, 2010, p. 988), it seems that they enjoy about their partners' will to help but keep the responsibility of the implementations in their own hands.

It is recognized that the present study has several limitations. The restricted resources for the implementation of the study, made that only one destination of the Global South was chosen, and the sample of participants remained relatively small, with nine interviews in total. A bigger sample and more detailed results could have been gathered if another destination was included in the study, and if I had had the possibility to gather similar data from another country. Secondly, only managers from the local companies in Sri Lanka were interviewed, but not their partners from the Global North, therefore the study has only one viewpoint on a subject that includes at least two parties. Furthermore, the study is strongly driven by the postcolonial perspective, which shows only one way of seeing the results. As the interviews were particularly focused on the north-south position, we do not clearly know how much the locals are focusing on customers outside Europe, and partnerships in other destinations.

The limitations can be used as suggestions for further studies. As this study focused on the viewpoint of local tourism managers in the Global South working with companies from the Global North, vice versa would be interesting in order to get the point of view of managers who are originally from the Global South but nowadays working within western companies. Similarly, interviewing managers from the Global North for getting their point of view on the partnerships and the tourism system is advisable. As came out in the interviews, the long supplier chains and different distributors and actors bring challenges in delivering a good tourism service. Improving the chain management and the way all the different parties in tourism work together, would be a suggestion for future research as well. As this study was particularly focusing on the influence of the Global North to the local tourism development,

future studies could focus more in depth on the impact of the responsible tourism companies in the destination. By using quantitative and mixed methods, researchers could gather bigger and more accurate data about the various CSR projects and the implications of social enterprises in the destinations.

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APPENDIX 1: Interview structure

The interview structure is for all the interviews, but some questions are to be adapted to each interview. The question in **bold** is the main question, and unbold is to help the interviewee to respond.

<u>Background questions:</u>

- **Which company do you work for?**
- **What is your role/position in the company?**
- **Gender and age?**
- **Where are you from?**
- **Where do you live?**
- **What have you studied?**
- **How long time have you been working for this company? And how long time in tourism business?**
- **How old is the company?**
- **Size of the company?**
- **In how many places you are located?**
- **Do you operate outside Sri Lanka?**

I.   <u>About your business model</u>

1. **What does tourism mean to you? What about sustainable tourism?**
2. **Tell me about your business model / work**
   - What are you exactly doing?
3. **Does your company follow certain values or ideology?**
   - What kind of?
   - Why / Why not?
   - Is it in relation to the partnership with the western companies?

4. **Who are your main customers (nationality, how they book, what kind of travellers)?**

II.   <u>About the partnerships:</u>

5. **Tell me about your partners**
   - What kind of partners do you have in western countries?
   - Would you call the partners traditional tour operators or some of them more specialized on social and sustainable tourism?
   - How long time have you been working with them?
   - Has the type of the partners changed since you started the activity?
   - Have you noticed a rise of companies willing to act more socially and sustainably? Why/How?

- What kind of local partners do you have? Who are your local suppliers? Who have chosen the local suppliers? How they have been chosen? Has the partner influenced on that?
- How do you feel in general about the partnership? Is it working well/bad, why? Is it productive or not?

6. **Would you be interested to work with more western companies?** What kind of, and why?

III. **About the western partners' impact on the local community:**

7. **What do you feel about the following appearing on the website of one western tour operator: "**We are committed to…

-Using locally owned, and environmentally and socially responsible, accommodation wherever possible.

-Preference for locally owned partners in our destinations, and using local guides and drivers.

-Fair wages and conditions for all staff involved in your trip.

-Wild and domestic animal protection alongside broader good environmental practice.

-Encouraging community-led initiatives from craft shops to restaurants, homestays to wildlife protection…. "

The above example and other ones from different companies, to be printed and showed for the respondent to be read by himself.

8. **How do you feel about the fact the western companies want to participate on social projects and help your country or the local people here?**
- Why is it good or why you don't like it?
- Would you be interested to work with them on these projects in Sri Lanka?
- If you have participated already, do you think the projects or your partnership with them have been benefitting the local community?

9. **Tell me about the economic and social impact of the western partners to the local community**
- Does the context of 'helping through tourism' contribute to the development of the local community?
- Do you think the western companies wanting to help, contribute to the local economy, job creation and sustainability?
- Which customers bring you the biggest incomes: The ones from the western tour operators, direct customers, groups (coming by which channel?)?

10. **If you were free to organize your partnership with the westerns as you like, would you change something, what? Or how would you organize it?**

- What kind of tourism you would develop/promote?

11. **Would you like to add something that didn't come up in this interview?**

APPENDIX 2: Invitation letter to the study

Dear tourism professional

I am a tourism student at the university of Lapland in Finland and I am currently working on my master's thesis which focuses on the partnership between the local tourism companies in developing countries and the western tour operators. The study is focusing on those tourism companies which market themselves as sustainable and ethical, or as social enterprises in tourism. The aim of the study is trying to understand how the locals experience the partnerships with the western tour operators and what kind of impact the western Social Enterprises have on the destination. Sri Lanka have been chosen as a case destination for this study.

I am going to collect my data through interviews with local tourism employees and entrepreneurs during my trip to Sri Lanka this April-May (16.4-12.5.2018). The aim of the interviews is to find out how local people in tourism industry in Sri Lanka experience the fact that western tour operators sell their services and try to 'help' the destination to remain sustainable and self-sufficient.

Participating to the interviews is totally voluntary and the interviewee can stop the interview whenever he/she wants, if he/she feels like that. The interviews are going to be recorded and the records are going to be used only for the purpose of the study. To realize this research the Finnish Advisory board's guidelines on research ethics will be followed. The interviews will be handled confidentially and anonymously, the individual respondent cannot be identified from the material. The duration of the interview is about one hour.

I kindly ask you to take part of my research project. Your contribution to this research is very important. I am happy to answer all questions related to this research. You can easily reach me by email X or by phone (for example WhatsApp) X.

My supervisor for this project is the Senior Lecturer José-Carlos García-Rosell from the University of Lapland. He can be reached by phone X or by email: X.

The research will be published online in the following address: https://lauda.ulapland.fi. I will also be happy to send it personally for those who are interested.

Kind Regards,
Salia Binaud