

## SERVICE LEARNING AS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT? LOCAL RESIDENT PERSPECTIVES OF COMMUNITY-ENGAGED EDUCATIONAL TRAVEL

NOEL B. HABASHY\* AND CARTER A. HUNT†

\*International Agriculture, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA, USA

†Recreation, Park, and Tourism Management, and Anthropology, The Pennsylvania State University,  
University Park, PA, USA

---

There is strong body of literature exploring community member and resident perspectives on tourism that has emerged from numerous locations across the globe. Yet virtually none of this writing explores the role of repeat community-engaged service learning with local communities. What theory does exist on the topic indicates that increased rates of community member participation yield more positive viewpoints on community–program partnerships. Engagement in this form of tourism development in communities may have an influence on participation in the community institutions that have the most ability to influence local development outcomes. This qualitative, ethnographic study fills this gap in the literature by analyzing community members’ emic perspectives of a recurring educational service learning program to a lesser developed region of Costa Rica. Surprisingly, community residents do not view educational service learning as a form of tourism, though they do see it as valuable for setting the stage for desired tourism development in the future. Findings also indicate community members’ involvement in key institutions makes it more likely that they perceive the impact of students in the community positively. As the first study to analyze educational service learning travel from a community development and resident perspective, this work will provide a valuable theoretical contribution relevant to those engaged in this form of travel across the Global South.

**Key words: Community development; Residents’ attitudes; Participation; Institutions; Costa Rica**

---

### Introduction

Travel has long been promoted as a powerful tool for promoting educational and intercultural exchange outcomes (Ritchie et al., 2008). The

educational travel literature has been enriched with writings on volunteer tourism/voluntourism, service learning travel, and formalized educational travel in the form of study abroad programs. The clear focus in these earlier writings is outcomes

for travelers. Despite an increase in scholarship on these topics in recent decades, to date empirical research addressing the impacts of this form of tourism on local community development, and ways that such travel may be different from other forms of tourism in which communities may be engaged, remain absent. Therefore, it is a good time to research the ways that these forms of educational and service learning travel are perceived by local residents and the extent to which programs provide contributions to local community development or resident well-being.

The broader field of tourism studies is replete with research that has explored resident perceptions of tourism impacts and attitudes towards tourists and tourism development. Some of the most influential tourism writings put forth the notion of destination life cycles with stages that correspond to shifting attitudes towards tourism over time (e.g., Ap & Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1980; Dogan, 1989; Doxey, 1975). These writings have inspired numerous scholars to explore resident attitudes over time in tourism destinations (Agrawal, 1997; Akis et al., 1996; Baum, 1998; Butler, 2006; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Ko & Stewart, 2002; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Smith & Krannich, 1998; Tosun, 2002).

Drawing upon writings from development studies, other scholars contrasted such stage-based models with other writings on community empowerment resulting from community engagement in ecotourism. As these scholars argue, greater *participation* in decision-making, management, and ownership of tourism projects (i.e., more involvement) is associated with better outcomes for local residents and local communities (Hunt & Stronza, 2014; Stronza, 2010). Despite the broader interest among tourism scholars in the perspectives of community residents over time, educational service travel is a form of tourism that has yet to be scrutinized from the perspective of community participation.

The purpose of this article is to present exploratory research capturing the *emic perspective* of community members about the nature of their participation in global service learning travel taking place in their community in recent years. Given the absence of prior research addressing educational service travel from the perspective of local residents, an inductive approach embodied by the

ethnographic research design was selected to carry out this research (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Data were gathered via semistructured ethnographic interviewing and participant observation with residents of a community that serves as a recurring service travel destination. With relevance to both scholars and practitioners of educational travel, this work provides the first step in better accounting for the ways that service learning influences locally defined development needs, and thus it identifies ways that this form of travel can be conducted in more sustainable ways in the future.

### Literature Review

To account for the absence of prior research on this specific topic, theoretical framing for this study integrates two related, though previously unconnected, bodies of writing. First, we provide a succinct review of community development considerations as related to educational service travel. While service travel writing has tended to focus on outcomes for program participants and travelers as opposed to local residents, insights can be drawn from broader community and tourism development literature. We then present a second body of literature that focuses on nascent service travel and voluntourism research, with an emphasis on outcomes for local communities. Reviewing these materials allows us to then present a set of research questions that integrates concepts from both bodies of writing. This resulting framing for research on educational service travel is novel, and it promises to yield important insights into how educational service travel can be better managed for sustainable community development outcomes in the future.

### *Service Learning and Communities*

Travel is an enormous phenomenon, transporting more than 1.4 billion travelers across international borders every year (United Nations World Tourism Organization [UNWTO], 2020). Travel's potential to facilitate international collaboration and enhance intercultural understanding has led to the vast growth in the educational and service learning travel subsector (Hartman, 2014; Kiely, 2004). Yet, as is true with other forms of travel, service learning travel can also be a setting where power dynamics

and stereotypes are reinforced, and where the perspectives of people in a local community are often overlooked, ignored, or, worse, patronized (Escobar, 1995; Mowforth & Munt, 2015; Ogden, 2007; Perold et al., 2012; Prins & Webster, 2010). Scholars from various disciplines have written of the challenges of power dynamics and historical contexts which highlight the challenges of exchanges of movement from the Global North to the Global South (Blaut, 1993; Escobar, 1995; Peet, 2007; Summers, 1986). Effective service travel programs should thus account for the dynamics of power of outsiders entering into a community, as well as the internal power dynamics that influence who is most affected, positively or negatively, by tourism activities (Telfer & Sharpley, 2015).

Most scholarship on global service learning and study abroad emphasizes outcomes for travelers rather than for the surrounding community (Hartman, 2014; Reynolds, 2014). Yet since service learning travelers are purposefully working to support and engage in communities, scholars are recognizing the value of these programs to communities' economic development, defined as the "capacity of the local state to continue generating income and employment to maintain, if not to improve, its relative economic position" (Summer, 1986, p. 357). Central to the concept of community development is increasing a person's or a community's capacity, since having capacity provides the ability to "express an opinion; to make decisions; to prioritize issues; to participate in a meeting; to write a proposal; to speak in public; to work in committees" (Vira & Jeffery, 2001, p. 138). Capacity, and the related concept of agency, emphasize a community's ability to have the power to take control of one's own issues or concerns (Luloff & Bridger, 2003).

#### *Participation in Development and Tourism*

*Participation* is a concept that is pervasive throughout the development studies and sustainable development literature (Perez, 2002). This concept overlaps in many ways with the ideas of capacity and agency mentioned above, whereas it is generally argued that more community member involvement (i.e., participation) in development projects equates to greater agency, enhanced capabilities (e.g., Bebbington, 1999), and increased

empowerment (Arnstein, 1969; Chambers, 1994; Perez, 2002; Pretty, 1995). In some cases, applied methodologies have been developed to promote participatory development, including but not limited to Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD), a development framework that seeks to mobilize individuals, associations, and institutions to act collectively to leverage local assets (García, 2020; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993).

Yet the imposition of external ideas about participatory development, forced local participation, and disruption of local decision-making processes has led to important critiques of the participation concept in the context of community development (e.g., Cooke & Kothari, 2001). Yet despite such occasional outcomes, development scholars have continued to endorse participation as a more valid, ethical, and effective means of promoting community development (e.g., Hickey & Mohan, 2004). With the body of writing on participation are typologies that account for a gradient of community member involvement in a given development project. The most widely cited typologies of community involvement come from Pretty (1995) and Arnstein (1969), both of whom outline greater community participation in decision-making and greater integration of local knowledge as essential for the empowerment of local communities.

These typologies have also found purchase in tourism studies (e.g., Cornwall, 2008; Tosun, 2006), where scholars have adapted them to assess changes in community members' perceptions based upon greater levels of involvement (i.e., participation) in the tourism sector (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1980; Dogan, 1989; Doxey, 1975). Unlike the positive outcomes associated with participation in development studies, the tourism-related writings suggest increased levels of community member involvement lead to negative outcomes, including antagonism (Doxey, 1975), stagnation (Butler, 1980), resistance (Dogan, 1989), and withdrawal (Ap & Crompton, 1993).

To reconcile the divergence in perspectives between development-oriented ecotourism scholarship and that emerging from broader tourism writings (Mowforth & Munt, 2015; Telfer & Sharpley, 2015), Hunt and Stronza (2014) augmented the popular stage-based tourism models to account for the wider range of participation-based resident

Community Participation Stages				Tourism Stage Models			
Arnstein (1971)		Pretty (1995)		Doxey (1975)	Butler (1980)	Dogan (1989)	Ap & Crompton (1993)
<i>Citizen control</i>	Citizen Power	<i>Self-mobilization</i>	More community member involvement ↑ ↓ Less community member involvement	<i>Antagonism</i>	<i>Stagnation</i>	<i>Resistance</i>	<i>Withdrawal</i>
<i>Delegated power</i>		<i>Interactive participation</i>		<i>Irritation</i>	<i>Consolidation</i>	<i>Retreatism</i>	<i>Adjustment</i>
<i>Partnership</i>		<i>Functional participation</i>		<i>Apathy</i>	<i>Development</i>	<i>Boundary Maintenance</i>	<i>Tolerance</i>
<i>Placation</i>	Tokenism	<i>Participation for material incentives</i>		<i>Euphoria</i>	<i>Involvement</i>	<i>Revitalization</i>	<i>Embracement</i>
<i>Consultation</i>		<i>Participation by consultation</i>			<i>Exploration</i>	<i>Adoption</i>	
<i>Informing</i>		<i>Passive participation</i>					
<i>Therapy</i>	Non-Participation	<i>Manipulative participation</i>					
<i>Manipulation</i>							

Figure 1. Comparison of community development and tourism stage models (Hunt & Stronza, 2014).

perspectives that can exist in lesser developed, emerging destinations (Fig. 1). They showed that increased involvement and history with tourism leads to a shift in resident focus from economic benefits of tourism (i.e., employment and income), which are necessary but not sufficient for promoting community development, to other outcomes that are more closely linked to community empowerment, including participation in decision-making and ownership of tourism projects. To the extent that these forms of participation exist, favorable attitudes towards tourism and more meaningful development outcomes are more likely (Hunt & Stronza, 2014; Mowforth & Munt, 2015).

*Community Perspectives of Service Travel*

Despite much need for understanding of service travel on local communities, there is minimal empirical research evaluating how participation, or lack of, in educational service-learning travel programs in the communities hosting these students influences local community perspectives towards tourism. Caldwell and Purtzer (2015) touched upon the topic by identifying ethical dilemmas related to the impacts of service travel on host communities. These authors found that students began to question their

own service efforts and their implications for local power dynamics efforts within a short-term medical program to Honduras. “By setting their sights outside of themselves, students became aware of political systems that affect health inequities as well as their own power over this vulnerable population. Students began to ask themselves who benefited more, the community, or themselves?” (Caldwell & Purtzer, 2015, p. 582). Yet as this continuing focus on the student perspective makes clear, there is a great need for further study on the impact and ethical implications of short-term study abroad programs from the perspective of local community residents.

Some indications of the impact of educational service travel on local communities may be gleaned from the field of volunteer tourism/voluntourism. For instance, McGehee and Andereck (2009) explored a volunteer tourism program from the US to Tijuana, Mexico. The researchers found that all community respondents were aware of the positive attributes of voluntourism, but echoing the findings of Hunt and Stronza (2014), those with higher levels of education (i.e., were more informed about tourism) were more likely to be aware of the negative influences of voluntourism. Certain members of a community may participate to a greater or lesser extent than others, and this level of participation

influences views of whether tourism has a positive impact on one's local community. Such findings highlight the necessity of obtaining diverse perspectives from community members who are participating in tourism to different degrees.

While much further study of the impacts of educational service travel and the extent of participation within host communities is needed, prior studies have revealed several key ways that this form of travel can influence local communities. First, a strength of service travel is that volunteers can inject new ideas into a community. While this can be disruptive in some situations (Cooke & Kothari, 2001), this is not necessarily the case. Outside perspectives can occasionally help local residents see development challenges with a fresh perspective (Perold et al., 2012). Second, community residents often exhibit enhanced pride and self-value when receiving international, likely wealthy, students into their community (Lough & Matthews, 2013; Perold et al., 2012; Reynolds, 2014). Host organizations often aspire to motivate their students and international volunteers to continue to advocate on the host community (Perold et al., 2012), thus elevating external consciousness related to the community (Reynolds, 2014). Finally, residents perceive other benefits that can include community capacity building, transfer of skills, enhanced intercultural understanding on the part of community members, and enhanced innovation within the community (Lough & Matthews, 2013).

Acknowledging the potential for less favorable outcomes of community participation in service travel, Perold et al. (2012) drew a direct comparison between international volunteer programs and colonialism. Emphasizing local residents' emic views of the staff of the Volunteer and Service Enquiry Southern Africa program as well as the accompanying university faculty provided a crucial decolonized South African perspective to conversations about community involvement and impacts. While underscoring the colonial legacy, Perold et al. (2012) still highlighted many positive opinions among local residents involved in service travel programs that bring volunteers from the Global North to work in Southern Africa. These researchers conclude that the resident views on the potential for service travel to provide meaningful community development outcomes are likely dependent on

numerous factors, though chief among them may be the degree to which community members feel that they have an influence on the nature of activities undertaken—participation in decision-making—and thus the benefits provided to the community.

### Research Questions

The theoretical framework of community participation presented above provides a lens through which to examine the outcomes of international educational service travel programs for local communities, and thus directly suggests the following research questions to guide the remainder of this study:

1. What are community member perceptions of, and attitudes toward, the impacts, opportunities, and challenges of community engaged educational service travel programs for students?
2. In what ways do these perceptions and attitudes align with prior findings:
  - a. Are they consistent with the broader stage-based models of resident participation in tourism that suggest more experience and involvement in tourism is associated with more negative perspectives?
  - b. Or are they more consistent with the community development theory, including community-based ecotourism research, emphasizing the ways the participation and involvement in decision-making are associated with more favorable views and outcomes of tourism in local communities?
3. What types of insights can be yielded regarding future research, and what type of lessons can be learned about how to better design and manage educational service travel programs to support local community development in the future?

### Research Methodology

#### *Study Site*

Costa Rica was selected as the location of this research given its abundance of service-oriented education abroad programs (Institute of International Education, 2020). Several key selection criteria were utilized to narrow down the focal community for this project: 1) community participation in a service



travel organization, 2) a location that has hosted students for a minimum of 5 years, and 3) a location that hosts students year-round with a consistent presence in the community. These criteria enabled the researchers to identify a community where Student Service International (SSI) operates (pseudonyms used for the community, community members, and service travel organization). Based in the US, SSI operates international volunteer and service learning programs in 15 nations around the globe. University and high school students from a variety of countries enroll for either academic credit-bearing programs or individual volunteer programs.

SSI operates out of the community of Santa María, a town of over 30,000 residents that plays host to tourists seeking beautiful beaches or world-class sportfishing. In service components of the SSI program, student volunteers work in the outlying community of El Pequeño, the focal community in this research. El Pequeño is isolated, with just 3,000 residents. It is located on a peninsula and its access to the mainland is inhibited by undeveloped marshland. The only access is by ferry boat.

#### *Research Design and Data Collection*

This research is an exploratory ethnographic case study of an educational service learning travel program operating in Costa Rica. As Yin (2014) noted, case studies are “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the ‘case’) in-depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (p. 16). As such, a case study is especially useful in exploring a real-world situation or case where it is essential to understand various aspects of the context to gain a richer understanding of the case. Data collection occurred between June and July of 2018, though preliminary site visits took place during a prior visit to Costa Rica in August 2017. During this scoping visit, the lead author visited the community to be studied and conducted initial pilot interviews. A 5-week follow-up visit took place in June–July 2018, during which the work outlined below occurred.

The ethnographic nature of this case study involves employing a suite of data-gathering techniques, the hallmark of which is participant observation. Participant observations allow for additional

insights by capturing emic understandings of phenomenon, that is, the point of view of those being studied (Harris, 1976), and generating a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) of the outcomes of the service learning program for local residents. All participant observation data were recorded in daily field note entries. Semistructured interviews were conducted to capture participants’ thoughts in their own emic perspective. Interviews were conducted and recorded verbatim in Spanish, and later transcribed into English for analysis. Interviews ranged in length between 20 min and 1.5 hr. Lastly, archival information was gathered from SSI websites, orientation materials, strategic plans, and reports to gain a richer understanding of the organization’s goals for service work in El Pequeño.

The target population purposively sampled for the semistructured interviews were community members who participate in some way with the educational service travel program. Chain referral sampling was employed to collect “data on the few members of the target population he or she can locate, then asks those individuals to provide the information needed to locate other members of that population whom they happen to know” (Babbie, 2012, p. 129). Chain referral methods are useful in situations where the desired population is challenging to find, or it is challenging to make contact with the population (Bernard, 2011). In each location, the program facilitators made introductions to first “seed” contacts or key informants in the community connected to and surrounding the service learning partnership. Additional residents identified through participant observation as having involvement in the SSI program were also purposively sampled for semistructured interviews. Guest et al. (2006) has suggested the metathemes in semistructured interviews often emerge after just six interviews. These sampling strategies resulted in interviewees ( $n = 30$ ) from community members who represented a range of SSI project participation and community status level (Table 1).

#### *Analysis and Interpretation Plan*

Field notes, interview transcription, and archival data were assembled into a corpus of text within MAXQDA qualitative data analysis software. Inductive analysis of the data proceeded to utilize First and Second Cycle coding as outlined

Table 1  
Overview of Research Participants

Role in Community	Research Participants	Gender	Relationship to Community
Community resident	16	9 females, 7 males	Parents, residents, people who work within and outside of the community
Community board member	2	1 female, 1 male	Members of community boards in addition to other roles
Community leader	4	0 females, 4 males	Pastor, manager of community organizations, leadership of school
Business owner	8	5 females, 3 males	Owners of small restaurants, corner stores, tailors, or ferry boat drivers

by Saldaña (2009). First Cycle coding provided a preliminary examination of the data identifying key concepts and ideas. Descriptive Coding, Initial Coding, and In Vivo Coding were all used in First Cycle. A Descriptive Code provides a summary and identification of a topic in a word or short phrase (Saldaña, 2009). An Initial Code serves as a starting point to offer insights to “see the direction in which to take [the] study” (Glaser, 1978, p. 56). Second Cycle coding involves a second examination of the data and First Cycle codes (Saldaña, 2009). In this study, Pattern Coding was used in the Second Cycle. Pattern Codes are “explanatory or inferential codes, ones that identify an emergent theme, configuration, or explanation. They pull together a lot of material into a more meaningful and parsimonious unit of analysis. They are a sort of meta-code” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 69). Key themes directly related to the research questions are presented.

### Findings

This section first presents ethnographic data detailing the nature of service learners with the local community. Then residents’ emic perspectives on community development outcomes associated with their participation, or lack of, in service-learning travel in their communities, as well as the factors limiting better outcomes, are introduced. Finally, data that provide theoretical evidence to explain patterns exhibited by the data are presented.

#### *Service Learner Interactions with Community Members*

The students from SSI all live in a community house in the city of Santa María but walk about 10

min to a small port and then take a short ferry ride each day to get to the community of El Pequeño. SSI students interact with a variety of community members—some directly, and others very indirectly. The main projects for the SSI students are situated around a community center (or “salón comunal”), next to a park a few hundred meters from the main port of entry to the community. Surrounding the park is colorful, simple playground equipment, exercise equipment, and painted tires turned into planters for plants around the park. These amenities were installed by visiting students and are a visible reminder of the students’ involvement in the community.

From the salón, the students teach English classes for children and adults and host childcare during the day. They also use the salón as a launchpad for a variety of projects such as picking up garbage in the community, planting grasses to help reduce erosion of the beaches, and filling large potholes with sandbags after a time of major rain and flooding. The centralized location of the community center serves as a useful gathering point for those who live nearby but also leaves residents who live further away from the salón feeling left out of activities planned as visiting students don’t often venture further down the road.

Many interviewees spoke of seeing students in their blue shirts in the community but not having significant interactions with them. Emilia, the mom of a girl who goes to the daycare run by the students, said:

Us parents, like, they don’t take us into account. It’s [the students] and the children. Us parents, we don’t know much about what they do.

Despite her comments on not having much contact with the students, she also shared that she had

started going to English classes for adults that the students had hosted and planned to continue to go to the classes.

Don Gabriel is a community leader who owns a lodge at the end of the peninsula and has been actively involved in supporting the work of SSI. He has met with the leadership of the organization and arranged to bring resources into the community to support various projects. He said that he saw the students working in the community often; however, he also acknowledged that he hasn't had many direct interactions with students:

Well, I haven't had much interaction with them; I haven't been here for long. My daughter goes there to enjoy classes—I don't know about what, the activities they have there—so they invite my daughter and she goes there. And I go to drop her off there in the community center, I leave her and return. That's it. I don't have a significant relationship [with the students].

Despite a closer relationship with the leadership of SSI, Don Gabriel held perceptions shared by other community members and felt that he didn't have many direct interactions with the students besides seeing them in the community. For him, however, the relationship of greater value was with the leadership of SSI rather than the students.

Representing a counterperspective, Laura, who lives further down the road, commented that students rarely come to her end of the road:

Well, really those students, more than anything, are down there, not up here. Because down there they have the area where they are. They have the little park. They have when they put up signs that they are going to give English lessons or something like that. But up here it's rare for them to come. Not even put up a little sign saying yes let's go up there where there are so many people.

The theme of geography referenced by Laura plays a consistent role in the community members' perceptions of their interactions with the students. While there were concerns about safety further down the road, the main reason for students to not venture further away is that most of the programs are based out of the *salón*, much to the chagrin of residents who live further away.

Limits to interaction can also be a function of residents' own lack of availability. Fernando, a tailor, stated that he didn't know much about the work of the service learners:

I am always here in the corridor of my house, so I do not have too much contact with people. I know that sometimes they come to help someone, but I do not know who they are.

He said that his work kept him from getting more involved with the visiting volunteers, and he does not know who they are because he does not talk to them.

While some residents felt that they had more or fewer interactions with visiting students, and some desired more interactions with students, there was an almost unanimous consensus that the presence of visiting students was a benefit for the community of El Pequeño. Daniela, a local resident and seamstress, commented:

They are always very kind. . . . they are always looking for what to do, with the people who are most involved, they get together and they already carry out the, the programs. . . . personally, I'm very happy because I've seen that they've done so much, that what they've done has changed a lot [in the community]. . . . they work a lot, they're very brave, they're always ahead of things.

Daniela's comments reflect a generalized approval throughout the community of the work of the service learners. Indeed, when asked, "How successful is this relationship?" about the relationship between service learners and the local community, 17 out of 20 of interviewees who answered the question viewed the relationship as either "very successful" or "successful." Two people viewed the relationship as "neutral" and one person responded that the relationship was "unsuccessful." No one responded that the relationship was "very unsuccessful." Yet the existence of varying perspectives highlights the importance of speaking to residents with varying interactions with these visitors. Where criticisms existed, it often had to do with not having more opportunity to interact with the visitors or receiving the perceived benefits that came from interacting with them.

#### *Development Outcomes for the Community*

Through the thematic analysis of semistructured interview and participant observation data,



regarding the perceived outcomes—positive and negative—of this service learning program for the community of El Pequeño, the themes discussed below emerged among resident responses.

*Infrastructure.* Many members of the community commented in interviews and casual conversations on the valuable contributions of the visiting students in improving the infrastructure of the community. Don Gabriel, an active member of the community board, stated, noted about the filling of potholes and other road repairs:

I work here in maintaining this space, I clean, but personally, we are grateful because of their work, for them, it is excellent what they have done, it's great, I'm very grateful. Even if we say no, yes, we benefit from them because having them it's good, there is more tourism because it's clean, prettier, everyone benefits, mostly because of the businesses.

This finding aligns with other scholars' findings that visible improvements to the community are seen as a benefit. Similar to this finding, Reynolds (2014) identified that community members viewed improved infrastructure through service travel as a great benefit to the community.

Burnt trash is visual evidence of the limited infrastructure available to residents and the remote nature of El Pequeño. Community residents appreciate when students can transport garbage on a ferry to the mainland. One resident in the community, Don José Pablo (Don and Doña are terms of respect for male and female elders, respectively), stated of the visiting students:

They pick up the trash, they pick up—if you have to take out some trash, they take it out. If you have to go to bring trash bags to fill them, just look for [the students] so they can take it out.

Don José Pablo has a relationship where he felt he could ask a student to take the trash off the peninsula for him to the mainland. If not taken by a student, community members will have to transport the garbage to the mainland themselves, give it to individuals in the community looking to make a small amount of money by transporting trash, or burn the garbage.

*Benefits for Children.* Another benefit described by residents involves the impact that service learners make in the lives of children in the community. In a conversation outside a local church, several community members commented on the benefits the visitors were making in the lives of children in the community:

Daniel: In labor, they themselves collaborating, with the children giving them training and some subjects like English or helping them in other areas, helping many poor families. They collaborate at some time, so for me, they are excellent.

Pastor: Benefits that I have . . . the children who go there and have been many years and have taught them their language a lot.

While much has been written about the concerns of volunteers working with vulnerable children in orphanages (Freidus & Caro, 2018; Lyneham & Facchini, 2019; Proyrungroj, 2017), there is minimal research examining the community perspectives of visiting students' work with children who live with their families. Adult community members express how greatly their children value the opportunity to interact with visiting students.

*Benefits of English Language Learning.* Another perceived benefit of the service learning program is English language training. Santiago, an administrator at the school, commented:

They also collaborate with the teaching of, of a second language for the children of the community and the adults.

Community members see the acquisition of English as an opportunity for economic advancement. Scholars have commented on the value of language learning among community members in domestic and international service learning programs (Cruz et al., 2018; D'Arlach et al., 2009; Selby et al., 2020). The theme of English language learning also relates to the idea of professional benefits provided through these programs. Scholars have identified these professional benefits, such as free labor or individualized attention for clients, within both international and domestic service learning programs (Blouin & Perry, 2009; Irie et al., 2010; Schmidt & Robby, 2002; Vernon & Ward, 1999).

### *Factors Limiting Development Outcomes*

*Transitory Nature of Relationships.* While benefits were easy to identify for community members, they identified challenges related to having service learners present in the community. The first challenge identified by community members was the transitory nature of the visitors. Some service learners are there for several months at a time; many are there for only 2 weeks. Emilia acknowledges a close relationship between her 5-year old daughter and the visiting students (e.g., “She likes to go a lot with them because they play, they take time for her, they draw, they paint and they teach them a lot”); however, the biggest challenge Emilia identified was that when specific volunteers with whom she had developed a strong relationship left, her daughter was heartbroken and would cry. This finding relates to the critiques of domestic service learning providers of the challenges of having volunteers engaged in work for short time periods (Stoecker et al., 2009).

The above concern has surfaced in other writings related to the concerns volunteers have of working with vulnerable children (Freidus & Caro, 2018; Lynham & Facchini, 2019; Proyrungroj, 2017). While these children may or may not have stable home situations, there are concerns about the emotional strain when children develop relationships with people and then they leave.

The transient nature of interactions is of particular relevance since community residents often expressed the desire for more opportunity to interact with visitors and to develop a relationship with them. Laura, a resident who lives far from the salón that serves as the focus of SSI activities, when asked what the visiting students did in the community commented:

I have no idea—I know they give lessons in English there. . . . But I do not know, I have no idea what they do. Neither here nor there, because we do not know, nobody here knows anything about them. Where you see them is down there [points down the road].

Victoria also lives down the road and lamented about the limited interactions she had with the visiting students. When asked how she would describe an ideal relationship with the students, she responded:

If I had more relationship with them, it would be good, successful.

These emic views allude to a desire for higher levels of participation, as embodied in the community development frameworks (Arnstein, 1969; Pretty, 1995). Indeed, in this community, those who indicated more engagement with SSI visitors also expressed more positive perspectives on the project’s contributions to the community. Community members who live closer to the salón spoke of seeing the visiting students more regularly and being able to make requests of the visiting students. Additionally, the members of several committees in the community addressing safety, security, and other needs within the community were seen as more significant influencers of the actions of SSI.

Conversely, for those residents who felt they had no relationship with SSI or the visiting service learners, a perception existed that involvement in community committees was limited as a result. While any member of the community can form part of a community board, very few community members chose to participate in them. Many believe the community committee members have more opportunities to interact with SSI participants and thus to influence the decisions about where the service learners direct their efforts in the community. The leadership within SSI would often talk to members of local development committees to discuss projects to implement. When Antonia, a local resident, was asked how she saw the service learners getting involved in the community, she responded:

Yes, I do see them passing by, but no, because I live back here [removed from the main road]. So no, I mean no, my children do interact with them. . . . They help the community a lot but there are many people who don’t have a relationship with them because they always spend time with the community security committee.

This finding also aligns with community development frameworks (Arnstein, 1969; Pretty, 1995), in that community members who have less involvement with SSI visitors feel less empowered to influence decision-making in the community.

*Students Doing the Work of Community Members.* Community residents also shared interesting

thoughts about how the service learning project has forced the community to see itself through a different lens and consider its own responsibilities. Santiago, the director of the primary school in the community, commented:

[The volunteers] get involved doing social activities that should really be done by the community and not them.

Comments of this nature invoke thoughts of paternalism, colonialism, and disempowerment of community members. Some scholars (Escobar, 1995; Ogden, 2007; Peet, 2007; Perold et al., 2012; Stoecker, 2016) argue that international service learning, volunteer tourism, and even development projects, in general, perpetuate colonialist practices of people from higher income nations marginalizing people in lower income nations by reducing their autonomy and abilities to address their own problems.

Community members in El Pequeño recognized a tension upon seeing volunteer visitors doing work that local community members feel they should be doing themselves. When asked, local residents also felt this was a reflection of the lack of commitment of community members, rather than the ill-timed efforts of the volunteers. The efforts of the visiting students were greatly appreciated, and the perception is that it is the people in the community that need to do more.

### Theoretical Discussion

This section will address the theoretical implications of this study's findings. While connections to relevant theory were presented throughout the preceding section, this section will explicitly explore that topic. To that end, we revisit the questions that guided this study:

1. What are community member perceptions of, and attitudes toward, the impacts, opportunities, and challenges of community engaged educational service travel programs for students?
2. In what ways do these perceptions and attitudes align with prior findings:
  - a. Are they consistent with the broader stage-based models of resident participation in tourism that suggest more experience and involvement in tourism is associated with more negative perspectives?
  - b. Or are they more consistent with the community development theory, including community-based ecotourism research, emphasizing the ways the participation and involvement in decision-making are associated with more favorable views and outcomes of tourism in local communities?
3. What types of insights can be yielded regarding future research, and what type of lessons can be learned about how to better design and manage educational service travel programs to support local community development in the future?

Our findings provide much insight into these research questions. To begin, the data indicate much in the way of variation among resident attitudes towards the service learning projects. Cutting directly across these varying attitudes is the concept of participation, highlighting the influence that it has on views of whether or not the community obtains benefits from its interactions with visiting service learners. This desire for participation was exhibited by residents who lived further away from visitor activities and thus feel excluded from participation in the project. Yet even for those community residents who lived close to the salón, and who feel directly involved as a participant in the SSI project, a strong desire for an even stronger relationship with visitors (i.e., increased participation) was present. While these findings align with the Community Participation Stage Models of Arnstein (1969) and Pretty (1995), which both indicate that more community participation yields more positive outlooks on the programs, even those less involved in service learning travel see these programs as beneficial for their community.

Our findings were less consistent with theories of stage-based models of tourism (e.g., Ap & Crompton, 1993; Butler, 1980; Dogan, 1989; Doxey, 1975). Whereas those writing broadly suggest that more participation in tourism could result in antagonism, irritation, or withdrawal, the outlook of community members towards visitors' involvement in this study suggests that service-oriented travel did not evoke such strong negative attitudes. While residents acknowledged different degrees of benefit for different community members, the range of

attitudes did not extend to irritation or antagonism, regardless of level of participation or involvement in SSI (Hunt & Stronza, 2014).

Given that this particular service travel program espouses the ABCD framework (Garcia, 2020; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993), this finding suggests that the leadership of service learning programs can, by seeking an awareness of who in the community is included and who is not, have a direct influence on local resident perspectives of the value of such projects for one's community, including in situations where oneself is not participating directly in such projects. Additionally, communities having a communication conduit in which to convey a desire for more in the way of equitable and/or rotational benefit distribution strategies is likely another characteristic of tourism-related development projects, service learning and otherwise, that are favorably perceived in their communities (Stronza & Gordillo, 2008). Such insights are foundational to the nascent scholarship on educational service travel, and they emphasize the further insights that development studies are likely to yield for tourism scholars (Mowforth & Munt, 2015; Telfer & Sharpley, 2015).

The theme of power also emerged among residents, particularly those who are on the community board. Interestingly, those residents who participated to a greater extent in community governance also have more positive perspectives on the work of SSI (Hickey & Mohan, 2004). They had a more informed perspective on the limitations of the students' involvement in the community as well as areas where SSI could improve its impact on El Pequeño (Hunt & Stronza, 2014). Other residents in the community who felt less involved in community governance likewise held less favorable attitudes towards SSI.

Acknowledging these power dynamics, SSI has endeavored to promote effective relationships with the community and the inclusion of many people with various degrees of power in the community through the ABCD initiative. The effects of SSI's ABCD efforts have started to appear through responses of community members such as Daniela when she was asked by SSI staff to teach a sewing class to members of the community:

I, at least I haven't gone there to make a lot of profit, but when they make sales and stuff for the

benefit of the community, if they ask for little things I come and contribute or so. It's too little because I'm too busy here. On some occasions I have been told that if I have, if I want to give a course on something, such as helping them learn, I have said yes, but they have not yet reached that stage of teaching for the people of the community, then they tell us. But I very little, I haven't been involved at all. . . . Yes, I would like to participate with them, but sometimes I get so busy here that I haven't been able to meet them. I like working with the community.

By utilizing ABCD, the strengths of community members are acknowledged. ABCD is beginning to be put in place to include the voices of many people with varying degrees of power in El Pequeño; however, there is room for growth to listen to those community members who still feel excluded. These insights, again, suggest further opportunity to integrate practices in the development sphere with efforts to promote tourism-supported community development (Telfer & Sharpley, 2015). Perhaps more so than many other forms of tourism, educational service travel may already take these concerns to heart and espouse such approaches.

Putting it all together, this study helps reconcile the dueling theoretical perspectives on participation and involvement in tourism that have persisted in the broader tourism scholarship in recent decades, and it has provided cornerstone work on local resident perspectives of a particular form of travel that has grown dramatically during that same timeframe—educational service travel. As revealed here, it appears that the community development perspective was reflected in the perspectives of those with more contact with SSI visitors (i.e., more participation = more favorable local views). While those with more limited interactions with service learners exhibited a less favorable view of this form of travel, their views were not nearly as negative as those noted in other tourism contexts (e.g., withdrawal, resistance, antagonism, or irritation).

As a new focal area for research, the slate is largely blank regarding how future community-based research on the outcomes of educational service travel might extend our understanding. Despite its value for exploratory research to capture emic views, the ethnographic case study approach taken here has limitations of generalizability to

other research sites, other organization–community partnerships, and other sociocultural contexts. An obvious opportunity thus exists to carry out future survey-based research, in this same community or elsewhere, to provide more generalizable results. Such work could involve quantitative tests of whether the level of participation in tourism is a function of benefits received or view held towards tourism or visitors, or vice versa. Such work would require careful consideration of sampling issues to account for the varying degrees of resident participation in tourism activities. Cultural consensus modeling may also provide a means of quantitative comparison that is less dependent on probability sampling strategies. Focusing instead on shared cultural models, such analytical techniques could determine the extent to which a shared idea about educational service travel exists among local residents, as well as the extent to which individuals adhere to such shared models. By doing so, cultural consensus analysis could reveal the mechanisms that best determine who consider themselves “inside” versus “outside” of tourism-related opportunities, and what these groups characteristics are (Fig. 2).

Conclusion

Through an ethnographic, exploratory case study of residents’ emic views of an international service learning program’s impacts on a local community in Costa Rica, many insights emerged that provide a first step toward filling a gap regarding the value of service learning travel, volunteer tourism, and study abroad programs for local community development. One central theme includes the importance of meaningful relationships, where both hosts and guests are heard and where reciprocal benefits exist for both community members and visiting university students. The findings of this study align with development studies’ perspective on community participation and tend to suggest that high levels of the overall community and individual resident participation result in more positive outlooks on these types of travel programs. The findings continue to dispel the highly influential yet simplified tourism stage-based models (Butler, 1980; Dogan, 1989; Doxey, 1975) that may lead to overrepresentation of negative attitudes towards tourism development.

Service learning and volunteer tourism projects have many priorities, and no program can do

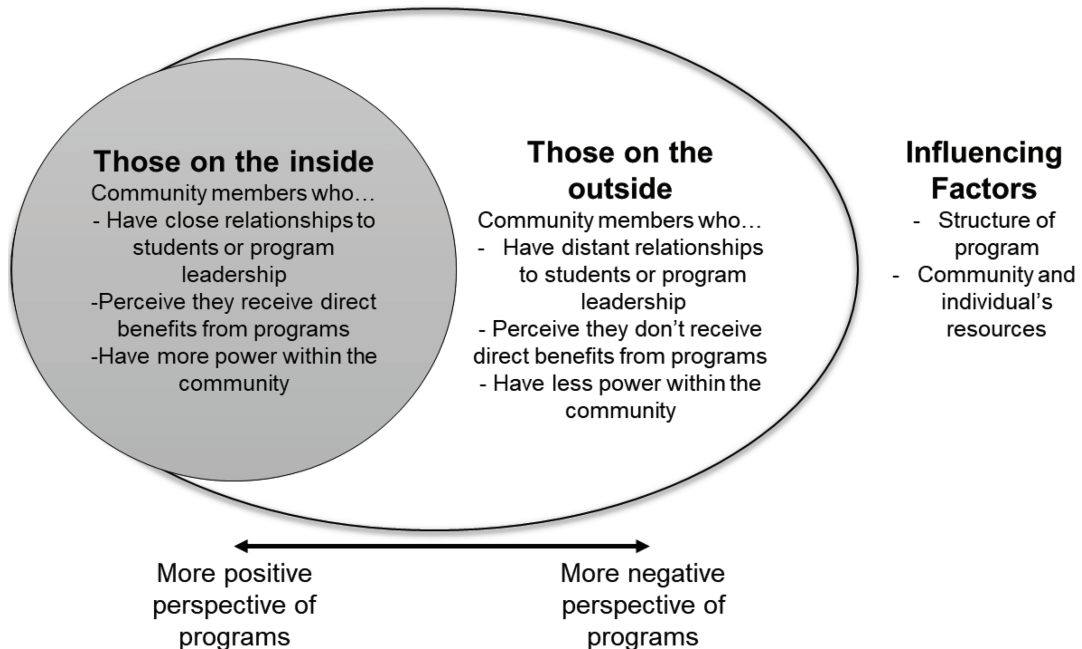


Figure 2. Theoretical framework of findings.



everything. Universities, private entities, and non-profit organizations that aspire to provide meaningful programs with reciprocal positive impacts on visiting students but also on the communities where their programs operate can benefit from the insights provided here. Yet this activity also remains simultaneously a form of tourism and a form of community development, and an important implication of this study is that community engagement should ensure equitable forms of participation exist across all sectors of any given destination community, not just perpetuate prior inequalities by providing opportunities primarily to those who are already politically or economically powerful.

This study highlights the importance of recognizing that community members may have different priorities for a program beyond those determined by universities or organizations. This study implies that enhanced relationships with community members will allow program administrators to develop more robust partnerships and design programs with greater social, economic, and ecological sustainability for community members. Without engaging in listening and acting on what they hear, program administrators, faculty, and students are at risk of implementing programs that, in fact, do not benefit the lives of community members and may create unanticipated challenges. Listening to the perspectives of local community residents, developing relationships with reciprocal benefits, identifying community members' priorities, and adapting service learning programming in response to feedback are requirements for sustainable service learning, voluntourism, faith-based missions, and other international educational travel programs.

#### References

- Agrawal, S. (1997). The resort cycle and seaside tourism: An assessment of its application and validity. *Tourism Management, 18*(2), 65–73.
- Akis, S., Peristianis, N., & Warner, J. (1996). Residents' attitudes to tourism development: The case of Cyprus. *Tourism Management, 17*(7), 481–494.
- Ap, J., & Crompton, J. (1993). Resident strategies for responding to tourism impacts. *Journal of Travel Research, 32*(1), 47–50.
- Arnstein, S. R. (1969). A ladder of citizen participation. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 35*(4), 216–224. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01944366908977225>
- Babbie, E. R. (2012). *The practice of social research* (13th ed.). Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Baum, T. (1998). Taking the exit route: Extending the tourism area life cycle model. *Current Issues in Tourism, 1*(2), 167–175.
- Bebbington, A. (1999). Capitals and capabilities: A framework for analysing peasant viability, rural livelihoods and poverty. *World Development, 27*(12), 2021–2044.
- Bernard, H. R. (2011). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (5th ed., Vol. 1). AltaMira Press.
- Blaut, J. M. (1993). *The colonizer's model of the world*. The Guilford Press.
- Blouin, D. D., & Perry, E. M. (2009). Whom does Service Learning really serve? Community-based organizations' perspectives on Service Learning. *Teaching Sociology, 37*(2), 120–135. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0092055X0903700201>
- Butler, R. (1980). The concept of a tourist area life cycle of evolution: Implications for management of resources. *Canadian Geographer, 24*(1), 5–12.
- Butler, R. (2006). *The tourism area life cycle* (Vol. 1). Channel View Publications.
- Caldwell, P., & Purtzer, M. A. (2015). Long-term learning in a short-term study abroad program: "Are we really truly helping the community?" *Public Health Nursing, 32*(5), 577–583. <https://doi.org/10.1111/phn.12168>
- Chambers, R. (1994). Participatory rural appraisal (PRA): Analysis of experience. *World Development, 22*(9), 1253–1268. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(94\)90003-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(94)90003-5)
- Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. (2001). *Participation: The new tyranny?* Zed Books.
- Cornwall, A. (2008). Unpacking "participation": Models, meanings and practices. *Community Development Journal, 43*(3), 269–283. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsn010>
- Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed methods research* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Cruz, A. R., Selby, S. T., & Durham, W. H. (2018). Place-based education for environmental behavior: A 'funds of knowledge' and social capital approach. *Environmental Education Research, 24*(5), 627–647. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13504622.2017.1311842>
- D'Arlach, L., Sánchez, B., & Feuer, R. (2009). Voices from the community: A case for reciprocity in service-learning. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning, 16*(1), 5–16.
- Dogan, H. Z. (1989). Forms of adjustment: Sociocultural impacts of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 16*(2), 213–236.
- Doxey, G. V. (1975). A causation theory of visitor-resident irritants: Methodology and research inferences. In *Travel and Tourism Research Association Sixth Annual Conference Proceedings* (pp. 195–198). San Diego, CA.
- Escobar, A. (1995). *Encountering development: The making and unmaking of the Third World*. Princeton University Press.

- Faulkner, B., & Tideswell, C. (1997). A framework for monitoring community impacts of tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 5(1), 3–28.
- Freidus, A., & Caro, L. (2018). Malawi, orphans, and the search of authenticity in Protestant short-term missions. *Human Organization*, 77(4), 347–358. <https://doi.org/10.17730/0018-7259.77.4.347>
- García, I. (2020). Asset-based community development (ABCD): Core principles. In R. Phillips, E. Trevan, P. Kraeger, & I. García (Eds.), *Research handbook on community development* (pp. 67–75). Edward Elgar Publishing Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781788118477.00010>
- Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. *Turning Points in Qualitative Research: Tying Knots in a Handkerchief*, 3, 143–168.
- Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity*. Sociology Press.
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods*, 18(1), 59–82.
- Harris, M. (1976). History and significance of the emic/etic distinction. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 5(1), 329–350.
- Hartman, E. (2014). Educating for global citizenship: A theoretical account and quantitative analysis. *EJournal of Public Affairs*, 3(1), 252.
- Hickey, S., & Mohan, G. (Eds.). (2004). *Participation: From tyranny to transformation? Exploring new approaches to participation in development*. Zed Books.
- Hunt, C., & Stronza, A. (2014). Stage-based tourism models and resident attitudes towards tourism in an emerging destination in the developing world. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 22(2), 279–298. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2013.815761>
- Institute of International Education. (2020). *Open Doors report*. Washington, DC. <http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Open-Doors/Data>
- Irie, E., Daniel, C., Cheplick, T., & Phillips, A. (2010). *The worth of what they do: The impact of short-term immersive Jewish service-learning on host communities*. [https://werepair.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/repair\\_bt看\\_twowtd\\_full\\_report.pdf](https://werepair.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/repair_bt看_twowtd_full_report.pdf)
- Kiely, R. (2004). A chameleon with a complex: Searching for transformation in international service-learning. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 10(2), 5–20.
- Ko, D.-W., & Stewart, W. P. (2002). A structural equation model of residents' attitudes for tourism development. *Tourism Management*, 23(5), 521–530.
- Kretzmann, J. P., & McKnight, J. L. (1993). *Building communities from the inside out: A path toward finding and mobilizing community assets*. Institute for Policy Research.
- Lough, B. J., & Matthews, L. (2013). *Measuring and conveying the added value of international volunteering* (Forum Discussion Paper). <http://forum-ids.org/2013/12/forum-discussion-paper-2013-measuring-and-conveying-added-value/>
- Luloff, A. E., & Bridger, J. C. (2003). Community agency and local development. In D. L. Brown & L. Swanson (Eds.), *Challenges for rural America in the twenty-first century*. Penn State University Press.
- Lyneham, S., & Facchini, L. (2019). Benevolent harm: Orphanages, voluntourism and child sexual exploitation in South-East Asia. *Trends and Issues in Crime and Criminal Justice*, No. 574. <https://www.aic.gov.au/publication/tandi/tandi574>
- Mason, P., & Cheyne, J. (2000). Residents' attitudes to proposed tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(2), 391–411. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(99\)00084-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(99)00084-5)
- McGehee, N. G., & Andereck, K. (2009). Volunteer tourism and the “voluntoured”: The case of Tijuana, Mexico. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 17(1), 39–51. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669580802159693>
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Mowforth, M., & Munt, I. (2015). *Tourism and sustainability: Development, globalisation and new tourism in the Third World*. Routledge.
- Ogden, A. (2007). The view from the veranda: Understanding today's colonial students. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*, 15, 2–20.
- Peet, R. (2007). *Geography of power: Making global economic policy*. Zed Books Ltd.
- Perez, N. (2002). Achieving sustainable livelihoods—A case study of a Mexican rural community. *Community Development Journal*, 37(2), 178–187. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/37.2.178>
- Perold, H., Graham, L. A., Mavungu, E. M., Cronin, K., Muchemwa, L., & Kough, B. (2012). The colonial legacy of international voluntary service. *Community Development Journal*, 48(2), 179–196. <https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bss037>
- Pretty, J. N. (1995). Participatory learning for sustainable agriculture. *World Development*, 23(8), 1247–1263. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(95\)00046-F](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(95)00046-F)
- Prins, E., & Webster, N. (2010). Student identities and the tourist gaze in international service-learning: A university project in Belize. *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*, 14(1), 5–32.
- Proyrungroj, R. (2017). Orphan volunteer tourism in Thailand: Volunteer tourists' motivations and on-site experiences. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research*, 41(5), 560–584. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1096348014525639>
- Reynolds, N. P. (2014). What counts as outcomes? Community perspectives of an engineering partnership. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 21(1), 79–90.
- Ritchie, B. W., Carr, N., & Cooper, C. (2008). School excursion tourism and attraction management. *Managing Visitors Attractions*, 181–196.
- Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers* (Vol. 1). SAGE Publications Inc.
- Schmidt, A., & Robby, M. (2002). What's the value of service-learning to the community? *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 9, 27–33.

- Selby, S. T., Cruz, A. R., Ardoin, N. M., & Durham, W. H. (2020). Community-as-pedagogy: Environmental leadership for youth in rural Costa Rica. *Environmental Education Research, 26*(11), 1594–1620.
- Smith, M. D., & Krannich, R. S. (1998). Tourism dependence and resident attitudes. *Annals of Tourism Research, 25*(4), 783–802.
- Stoecker, R. (2016). *Liberating service learning and the rest of higher education civic engagement*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Stoecker, R., Tryon, E. A., & Hilgendorf, A. (Eds.). (2009). *The unheard voices: Community organizations and service learning*. Temple University Press.
- Stronza, A. (2010). Through a new mirror: Tourism and identity in the Amazon. In *Tourist and tourism: A reader* (pp. 279–304). Waveland Press.
- Stronza, A., & Gordillo, J. (2008). Community views of ecotourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 32*(2), 448–468.
- Summers, G. F. (1986). Rural community development. *Annual Review of Sociology, 12*, 347–371.
- Telfer, D. J., & Sharpley, R. (2015). *Tourism and development*. Channel View Publications.
- Tosun, C. (2002). Host perceptions of impacts: A comparative tourism study. *Annals of Tourism Research, 29*(1), 231–253.
- Tosun, C. (2006). Expected nature of community participation in tourism development. *Tourism Management, 27*(3), 493–504. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2004.12.004>
- United Nations World Tourism Organization. (2020). *World tourism barometer*.
- Vernon, A., & Ward, K. (1999). Campus and community partnerships: Assessing impacts and strengthening connections. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning, 6*, 30–36.
- Vira, B., & Jeffery, R. (2001). *Analytical issues in participatory natural resource management*. Palgrave.
- Yin, R. K. (2014). *Case study research: Design and methods* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications Ltd.