

Tourist Philanthropy, Disparity and Development:

The Impacts of Tourists' Gift-giving

on Developing Communities.

Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus, Cuba.

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any final revisions, as accepted by my examiners. I understand this thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

Abstract

For more than a decade tourists originating in developed nations have been giving various gifts to locals of tourism communities in developing nations. This occurrence is commonly associated with the Caribbean, and is particularly well known to occur in Cuba. Tourism has often been adopted as a part of economic development strategies of developing nations, however due to a lack of studies on tourists' philanthropic gift-giving it is unclear how the occurrence affects both human and economic development, and likewise its impacts such as possibilities of population disparity. There are current restrictions in Cuba which forbid locals from accepting the gifts of international tourists (Taylor & McGlynn 2009; Mesa-Lago 2005), however the island's unique need for material goods seems to over-rule this policy. The implication herein indicates benefits to accepting gifts from tourists. Tourism employees most frequently come in contact with tourists and the potential of gift receipts by tourism employees is heightened. This in turn carries implications of social disparities amongst the population resulting from unequal gift receipts by tourism employees. Furthermore, current research suggests that complex social relationships are created through gift-giving yet little is understood within the context of tourist-to-local community member. The goal of this thesis is to determine whether international tourist philanthropic gift-giving contributes to social disparity within a local community as well as its affects on human and economic development. This has been achieved through case study research from a mixed-methods approach in Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus, Cuba.

The results of this research point to significant economic gains and improvement in access-to-material-goods through tourists' gift-giving, which in turn have been found to contribute to economic development. However, the external nature of tourists' gift-giving

limits using the phenomenon as a reliable tool for economic development. Impacts on human development are not as clearly defined. Although tourists' gift-giving contributes to some aspects of human development, the phenomenon cannot be considered to contribute to overall human development. Although population disparity was found to be an impact of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving, community members viewed the occurrence as a positive benefit of tourism. The policy in Cuba restricting locals from accepting tourists' gifts has been largely ineffective as this type of economic gain was found to be well integrated in the informal economy. The general public is largely unaware of the policy and it is likely Cubans will continue to accept tourists' gifts. Although this research has revealed interesting insight regarding tourists' philanthropic gift-giving much remains to be known of its impacts and several recommendations for future studies are suggested.

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List of Abbreviations

CTP	Cuba Transition Project
CUC	Cuban Convertible Peso
CUP	Cuban Peso (<i>moneda nacional</i>)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
IISD	International Institute for Sustainable Development
MINTUR	Ministerio de Turismo, (Cuba)
ONE	Oficina Nacional de Estadísticas, (Cuba)
TDS	Tourisme et Développement Solidaires
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	World Tourism Organization
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The Research Problem

According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), (2011), “[i]n 2009, international tourism generated US\$ 852 billion (€ 611 billion) in export earnings”. Although tourism, like any export earning-sector, has experienced dips and peaks in income generation over the years, tourism earnings and arrivals have increased exponentially since the introduction of mass tourism in the 1950’s (Seetanah 2011; UNWTO 2011). The economic prospects of tourism are attractive given these statistics and these prospects have led many developing nations to focus mainly on earning foreign dollars through tourism. Although leakages of tourism earnings frequently occur and is particularly true of small island economies, tourism is the primary foreign dollar earning sector of one in three developing economies which have focused mainly on tourism (Schubert *et. al* 2011).

Tourism’s contributions to economic development have been studied by many tourism scholars, and although there have been various criticisms, several scholars agree (Schubert *et al.* 2011; Croes & Vanegas 2008; Ioannides 1995) that tourism does make positive contributions to economic development. An addition various, “[g]overnments and multilateral organizations such as the Inter-American Development Bank, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations development agencies promote tourism as a viable mechanism for economic and social development” (Cabezas 2008 :22). Among the numerous criticisms of tourism as an economic and human development strategy, tourism has been criticized for creating or perpetuating social problems such as prostitution, begging, human disparity, social tensions, and perpetuation of negative stereotypes, among others (Guttentag 2009; Cabezas 2008).

Although the exact length of time it has been occurring is unknown, likely within the last 20 years, international tourists from developed countries have been bringing gifts with them on their vacations to countries in development, and giving them to local community-members in the destination. This is most commonly known to occur in Cuba. However, there is reason to believe it is occurring in other Caribbean island nations with an economic focus on tourism, as well as other developing destinations. Common knowledge of this occurrence has likely been spread through various media such as among travel partners, local news media, tourism guidebooks, internet travel forums, and so on. Despite it being what is assumed a relatively common occurrence in particular known destinations, tourists' gift-giving has not yet been addressed by scholars, and as a result essentially nothing is known about the impacts of international tourists' gift-giving and how tourists' philanthropic gift-giving affects both economic and human development, and likewise the affects on population disparity.

Historically, it has been common for definitions of development to originate in developed nations, and these definitions have subsequently been employed in defining problems related to development in underdeveloped nations (Simon 1997). It is likely that the people in underdeveloped nations have different perspectives on important aspects of development (Simon 1997), and thus research on international tourists' philanthropic gift-giving is important. While it cannot be said with complete certainty that tourists' gift-giving is intended as development aid, international tourists' gift-giving is a prime example of those from developed nations defining the problems of people in underdeveloped nations. Assuming that international tourists' philanthropic gift-giving is an aid effort, there is value in knowing the impacts of tourists' gift-giving as well as the views of the gift recipients in the local destinations on whether there is a problem in terms of accessing material goods, and whether

tourists' gift-giving is an appropriate solution. While previous scholars have focused on quantifiable aspects of human and economic development in terms of researching the impacts of development aid (Quazi 2005; Bezuneh et al. 1988), there is a lack of research that investigates the general impacts of development aid, and this is particularly true of tourism-based development aid.

1.2 Research Purpose and Scope

Tourists' philanthropic gift-giving is occurring in various developing nations, and has been occurring for a significant time period, yet very little is known about this phenomenon. Research on tourists' gift-giving may foster new insight on the contributions of tourism to economic and human development. It may also provide insight into the associations of tourism to population disparity in tourism destinations. In addition, this study will contribute to closing the gap in research where knowledge is lacking on the general impacts of tourism-based development aid efforts. This will be accomplished by addressing the occurrence and impacts of tourists' gift-giving. In summary, the goal of this thesis is to determine whether international tourist philanthropic gift-giving contributes to population disparity within a local community as well as its affects on human and economic development.

As Cuba is the most commonly known destination for tourists' philanthropic gift-giving to occur, a single case study research design was created, and Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus was selected as the location in which the research would be conducted. Tourism has been Cuba's main economic focus since the early 1990's immediately following massive trade losses with the Soviet Union which were preceded by the historic trade embargo enacted by the United States (Quintana et al. 2004; Leogrande & Thomas 2002). Despite the general economic success of tourism in Cuba (O.N.E. 2009; Quintana et al. 2004; Leogrande &

Thomas 2002), and high human development indicators (UNDP 2009), few would disagree that Cuba remains an underdeveloped nation and a major and large-scale need for basic material goods and money persists. A lack of basic needs is the quintessential definition of a nation in poverty (Meurs & Ranasinghe 2003).

Although many scholars have researched the contributions of tourism to economic and human development, including many studies specifically focusing on Cuba, research on general impacts of tourism on poverty is lacking (Croes & Vanegas 2008), and this suggests reason for further research. This research takes a pioneer approach to addressing impacts and affects of tourism on economic and human development by addressing the phenomenon of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving.

1.3 Research Goal and Questions

This study examines the occurrence and impacts of international tourists' philanthropic gift-giving. The goal of this study is to determine whether international tourists' philanthropic gift-giving contributes to population disparity within a local community as well as its affects on human and economic development.

In summary, this study is designed to address four fundamental research questions:

1. How does philanthropic gift-giving by international tourists impact the local community?
2. Does tourists' gift-giving affect population disparity of community members?
3. How does tourists' philanthropic gift-giving affect human development?
4. How does tourists' philanthropic gift-giving affect economic development?

1.4 Research Objectives

This research has also been designed to address the four following research objectives which contribute to a better understanding of tourists' gift-giving:

- To determine how commonly local community members receive gifts from international tourists.
- To determine whether tourism employees receive gifts more frequently than non-tourism employees.
- To determine what happens to the gifts that are given to local community members by international tourists.
- To determine the views of community members on tourists' gift-giving.

1.5 Organization of Thesis

Chapter 2 is a literature review which provides the necessary background information for this study. The chapter notes the many gaps in the literature in relation to tourists' philanthropic gift-giving. Five main themes are discussed: tourism and development; development and philanthropy; tourism and philanthropy; pro-poor tourism; and gift-giving research.

Chapter 3 provides information on the context of the research location. A brief history of Cuba is provided, with information on political history, the U.S. trade embargo, and Soviet trade losses. The chapter goes on to describe the current social and economic conditions in Cuba, and concludes with a brief history of tourism in Cuba.

Chapter 4 describes the research methods used in this study. In addition, the research location is briefly described, and research challenges and limitations are discussed.

Chapter 5 provides a detailed explanation of the key research findings of this study. Demographic characteristics of the sample are described, followed by a detailed explanation of

the occurrence of tourists' gift-giving in the research location. The four major themes that emerged from the data were identified and analyzed.

Chapter 6 concludes this thesis. It begins with a discussion of the research findings in which the research questions are revisited and analyzed with respect to the literature. The research objectives are then revisited. Criticisms are identified, and a discussion is provided on mitigating the negative effects of tourists' gift-giving. Implications of this research are addressed, and recommendations for further research are made. Concluding remarks complete the chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review has been designed with the intention of providing a conceptual background on themes related to tourist philanthropy in relation to disparity of a local population and to development. The chapter is opened with a general overview of international tourism, and provides definitions for development within the tourism context including definitions of economic and human development. The role of tourism in development is also discussed. The chapter moves next to the theme of development and philanthropy and explores the complexities of their relationship. This discussion is vital to understanding development in the global South as a fragile entity with many external pressures as it discusses aid efforts from the global North which have been found (Kohls & Christensen 2002; Linnekin 1991), often to function through political ulterior motives. The need to study the impacts of philanthropic giving from the perspective of the recipient is emphasized. The third theme moves on to discussing the relationship between tourism and philanthropy, and the fourth theme briefly discusses pro-poor tourism. Finally, literature on gift-giving is addressed. Emphasized throughout the chapter is the lack of information on international tourists' individual gift-giving to local community members. In bringing together the literature on tourism, development, philanthropy, and gift-giving, it is anticipated that these discussions provide the necessary conceptual framework required to better understand the relationship between tourist philanthropy, population disparity, and development.

2.2 Tourism and Development

2.2.1A Brief Overview of International Tourism

Although historically there have been difficulties in providing accurate measurements of tourism as a distinct GDP sector (Frechtling 2009), the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), has asserted that, “[o]ver the past six decades, tourism has experienced continued expansion and diversification to become one of the largest and fastest growing economic sectors in the world” (UNWTO 2010: 2). Growth of tourism has been “phenomenal”, and has experienced an average annual growth rate of 6.5% from 1950 to 2007 (Seetanah 2011: 291). Over the same period, tourist arrivals increased by 800 million from 25 million in 1950 (Seetanah 2011). Over the last two decades, tourist-arrivals have steadily increased in developing nations to account for 47% of all international tourist arrivals in 2009 (UNWTO 2010: 2). This increase in arrivals in developing nations is noteworthy because it has been asserted (Schubert *et al.* 2011), that tourism has the most prominent economic impacts on small-island developing-economies.

Tourism has often been associated with economic development (Schubert *et al.* 2011; Croes & Vanegas 2008; Ioannides 1995), and is a primary means of income for many small island economies (Schubert *et al.* 2011; Miller *et al.* 2008). Tourism is present in most national economies, and as mentioned in the opening chapter, accounted for more than \$852 billion in worldwide export-earnings in 2009 (UNWTO 2011). As a large scale export-earning sector expected to continue growing, tourism has the potential to make impacts on economic growth (UNWTO 2011), and as some scholars argue (Schubert *et al.* 2011; Croes & Vanegas 2008; Ioannides 1995), economic development, which is particularly relevant to developing countries focusing on tourism for economic gains. As such it is not surprising that tourism scholars,

planners, and managers often focus their attention on topics related to economic gains. However, very little attention has been given to issues of improving access-to-material-gains through tourism, or to the impacts of material gains acquired through tourism.

The phenomenon of *tourist philanthropic gift-giving*, an external means of improving access-to-material-goods in a destination community, has possibly been occurring for approximately two decades. It has become a popular topic on international tourist blogs, in popular media, and among travel partners. Little is known about tourist philanthropic gift-giving however it seems to be occurring in the context of developed-nation tourist giving to local community members of tourism destinations in developing nations. Tourists' gift-giving is not restricted to the type of tourism one engages in, and is likely to occur among mass tourists as well as those who engage in alternative types of tourism such as eco-tourism, voluntourism, *etc.* Regardless of its popularity and potential contributions to development and to economic gains it has gone unstudied by scholars.

2.2.2 Development Definitions

Although definitions of *development* applied within the tourism context have changed significantly over the last half century (Cukier 1996), there is reason in mentioning that economic growth was the central theme of many of the first definitions of development (Cukier 1996; Todaro 1994). As Ezeala-Harrison explained, economic-growth and economic-development have a close association: “economic development must be preceded and prompted by economic growth. Economic development involves the *process* through which a country or region achieves economic growth in addition to *structural transformation* of its economy.” (1996: 10). Ways of measuring economic development have been much debated among scholars as there are many ways of defining this term, and the values of its components

are subjective (Ezeala-Harrison 1996: 14). Ezeala-Harrison (1996) was one of the first scholars to produce a definition of economic development that is quantifiable. She stated that economic development could be defined as,

the process through which, over time, sustained increases occur in the nation's per capita real income (output), accompanied by significant structural changes that allow for elevated income distribution and large increases in individual economic well-being. This implies that economic development must be associated with the general masses of the country's population benefiting from the changes it brings, rather than just a small portion of the population being beneficiaries. The rise in income must be evident through such changes in basic living conditions as improved nutrition and high nutritional and clothing standards, improved (modern) housing, improved health and health care. Low infant mortality rates, higher literacy rates, and a general environmental face-lift from a predominately rural to an increased metropolitan flavour (14-15).

This definition is dependent upon the occurrence of the state of underdevelopment of some countries or regions. Underdevelopment can be defined as, "a state of economic deprivation, dependence, and a vicious circle of long-term poverty. Absolute poverty pervades economic underdevelopment: a significant part of the society's population remains below a minimally acceptable level (standard) of living, while the prospects of the economy's ability to raise incomes and to effect desired structural changes remain bleak" (Ezeala-Harrison 1996: 12).

Also pertinent is a definition of population disparity. Population disparity is a lack of equality of assets, both social and economic among a population (Pendakur & Pendakur 2007: 43). As explained later in this chapter, wealth is never distributed equally amongst a population and thus it could be argued that population disparity is unavoidable; Nevertheless, population disparity is viewed by some tourism scholars (Cabezas 2008; Torres & Momsen 2004) as a social-problem that commonly results from tourism. Associated problems of increased population disparities due to tourism are: increased social tensions amongst the population (Cabezas 2008); and resentment of tourism by the host population (Wilson 2008; Mathieson &

Wall 1982), which ultimately may threaten the success of tourism and its possible contributions to economic development in the destination.

The term *human development* is most often associated with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). In 1990 the UNDP introduced the Human Development Index (HDI), a method used “to measure improvements in income, life expectancy, and education resulting from economic growth” (Jha & Bawa 2006: 907). The HDI is calculated per country, is comparable against other countries, and is based on measurements of per capita gross domestic product, life expectancy, adult literacy, and enrolment in educational institutions (Jha & Bawa 2006: 907). Given this explanation of human development, one could confuse human development as a by-product of overarching economic development. Alternatively, Simon defined human development as, “the process of enhancing individual and collective quality of life in a manner that satisfies basic needs (as a minimum), is environmentally, socially and economically sustainable and is empowering in the sense that the people concerned have a substantial degree of control (because total control may be unrealistic) over the process through access to the means of accumulating social power” (1997: 185).

Sustainable development, referred to by Simon, was first defined by World Commission on Environment and Development (1987), and as quoted by the International Institute for Sustainable Development (2009) its most common definition is as follows, “[s]ustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It contains within it two key concepts: the concept of need, in particular the essential needs of the world’s poor, to which overriding priority should be given; and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of

technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs" (IISD 2009).

In summary, definitions of economic development, human development, and developing sustainably are all pertinent to this study. Although it is not the aim of this study to quantify economic development Ezeala-Harrison's (1996), definition of economic development is useful and will be adopted for this study because the components are visible to both a researcher and the population in question. Additionally, this study will use Simon's (1997) definition of human development as it is useful to discussions of social improvements within a country or region, and will refer to the definition of sustainable development by the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) as quoted by the International Institute for Sustainable Development (2009). Development as an overarching concept will refer to a combination of economic, human, and sustainable development for this study.

2.2.3 The Role of Tourism in Development

In the past decade there have been many scholars that have studied the role of tourism in economic development. These studies generally focus on the economic development of developing nations, and include studies by Croes and Vanegas (2008); and Wattanakuljarus and Coxhead (2008). Cukier (1996) observed that early models of tourism's contributions to development focused on regional (national) development. Emerging from those models is the recognition that it is necessary to consider tourism in a broad context of regional development, "because of its crucial role in the development process", rather than tourism's isolated contributions to development (Cukier 1996: 30).

Croes and Vanegas (2008) made a couple of interesting points. First, throughout history, international tourism has been a successful-means for many developing countries

intending to be competitive in the global economy (2008: 94). Second, tourism is a “good prospect” for both economic growth and poverty reduction in developing countries where impacts of poverty are most severe (2008: 94). Regardless of these assertions, “[m]any governments, however, do not take tourism seriously, fail to make the connection between tourism and poverty reduction, or both” (2008: 94). This is a significant factor in the outlook for the reduction of poverty through tourism, as governments in developing nations often maintain a high degree of control over tourism-planning as a development-strategy (Yang *et al.* 2008). Thus, it is unlikely that poverty will be significantly reduced through tourism unless governments can clearly make the association between tourism and poverty reduction; this is the basis for the need for academic studies that directly assess the impacts of tourism on the world’s poor, particularly those in developing nations.

Despite expected economic growth, and possible poverty reduction (Croes and Vanegas 2008) through tourism, Wattanakuljarus and Coxhead (2008) warned that tourism is not a “panacea” for development. In their study conducted in Thailand, it was found that tourism did raise “aggregate household income”, however also increased general economic disparities. Their study concluded that development plans based on increasing international tourism must also include policies aimed at reducing disparities for tourism-growth to truly contribute to regional development.

Sustainable development studies within the tourism context are often addressed in terms of types of alternative tourism such as ecotourism, or voluntourism. Butcher (2006) notes that ecotourism has been modeled as an “exemplary” form of sustainable development by both the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), which engages both the natural environment and local community involvement

while contributing to economic growth. However, neither ecotourism nor voluntourism are without their critiques. Voluntourism will be discussed later in the chapter in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2. Although there are many critiques of ecotourism, from Butcher's (2006) perspective ecotourism functions under the guise of empowerment, and limits sustainable development due to possible discouragement of culture modernization over preference and demand for the traditional.

It may be concluded from this discussion that better understanding the impacts, and thus the links between tourism and development, could provide the necessary information for governments and NGOs to create development plans and policies that generate optimal benefits.

2.3 Development and Philanthropy

2.3.1 Philanthropy Definitions

Although there have been many definitions philanthropy offered throughout history, in the current academic literature many focus on defining philanthropy for the purpose of researching corporate philanthropy. Thus, the definitions usually describe a form of voluntary giving on a large scale by corporations, and usually include an aspect of reaching strategic goals (like improving the public image of the corporation) through philanthropy, and which are not applicable on a smaller scale. For example, Ricks and Williams wrote, “[c]orporate philanthropy describes the action when a corporation voluntarily donates a portion of its resources to a societal cause. Although the thought of philanthropy invokes feelings of altruism, there are many objectives for corporate giving beyond altruism. Some of the objectives for corporate philanthropy are increased visibility, enhancing corporate image, and thwarting negative publicity (Varadarajan and Menon, 1988)” (147). While this may be a valid

description of corporate philanthropy, it is not applicable on a micro scale involving person to person giving.

Sulek (2010) identified Salamon (1992) as the academic who created the modern yet broad definition of philanthropy most commonly accepted by many current philanthropy scholars. According to Sulek, Salamon, “defines philanthropy as, ‘the private giving of time or valuables (money, security, property) for public purposes.’ He then goes on to characterize philanthropy as ‘one form of income of private non-profit organizations’ (10)” (2010: 201). This definition is still lacking however and is not suitable for application on an individual recipient level. While Sulek himself offers an interesting framework of meanings of philanthropy dependent upon the orientation of the nature of use (literal, archaic, ideal, ontological, volitional, actual, or social), his research was focused on the definitions’ applicability in time periods throughout history rather than offer a solid stance on what *philanthropy* means when referred to in modern academic literature.

In 1970 Schwartz offered the following definition that refers to the philanthropic transfer of wealth, “a voluntarily generated, one-way flow of resources from a donor to a donee; the flow is one-way in the sense that it is based upon no donor expectation that an economic *quid pro quo* (in the usual sense of that term) will reward his act” (1264). This description of the act of giving without an expected return ignores any implications of altruism of the giver, and can be applied on a large or small scale. Schwartz’s (1970) description of the philanthropic transfer of wealth is useful to research on the impacts of tourists’ gift-giving. As there is currently a lack research regarding reasons why tourists are giving gifts to local community members in the destination, it is not suitable to assume this giving is altruistic or

alternately preformed to reach selfish strategic goals. Therefore a separation of the act of philanthropic giving, and the motives behind giving is necessary.

Historically, philanthropy has commonly been considered a synonym of “charity”, of which the meaning and purpose is to provide relief to the needy (Schuyt 2010). Inadvertently the act of charitable giving of one to another implies there are social inequalities between the parties involved (Schuyt 2010: 775). For-profit organizations, non-profit organizations, as well as individuals may be considered to engage in philanthropy and/or charitable giving (Rose-Ackerman 1996).

A comprehensive definition of tourists’ philanthropic gift-giving will include aspects of several definitions of philanthropy described in this section, as well as concern for the interpretation of what may be considered to be a charitable gift by the recipients. Tourists’ philanthropic gift-giving will therefore refer to the giving of gifts by unaffiliated international tourists without the expectation of return, as considered to be charitable gifts by local recipients in the destination, which by nature of the phenomenon, the destination is located in a developing nation, and the giver originates from an international developed-world destination.

2.3.2 Research on Philanthropy’s Role in Development

Philanthropy dates back to ancient Greece, but was not the subject of scholarly study until modern day, and lack of an all-encompassing definition has complicated the understanding and applicability of academic studies focused on the subject (Sulek 2010; Sulek 2010). When considering philanthropy’s relationship to development in the literature, development definitions also pose a problem. The definitions of development outlined in this thesis are bound by their creation in the global North. The problem is not exclusive to this thesis; there are many definitions of development that were created within the global North with intentions

to apply them to situations in the global South (Simon 1997). Dividing the world into the global North and global South refers to a socio-economic and political division between developed (global North), and developing (global South) (Arrighi *et al.* 2003: 3). This problem and its importance were first recognized by Simon (1997), as he pointed out that the emphasized aspects of development may vary considerably between the global North and global South. The implication due to a lack of consensus of the meaning of development is that when considering aid for the purpose of development, each involved party may have a unique viewpoint of the problems and possible solutions for developing countries (Simon 1997).

Simon (1997) pointed out that in general world public opinion many development aid programs developed in the global North have been focused on second-agenda issues of politics in the global South. Other scholars (Barnes 2005; Sanchez 2000), researching this issue have confirmed that this focus on politics is a problem that hinders the optimal effects of philanthropic acts. Furthermore, Simon recognized that it is more pertinent to survival to satisfy basic human needs than it is to attempt to change politics in a developing country. This research indicates that it is likely there is conflict between what is being done by corporations/development aid programs engaging in philanthropic efforts, and what is perceived to be needed in terms of development by the population in question. Therefore the impacts of philanthropic acts are likely to be disconnected from development when considered by the recipients. Understanding the impacts of philanthropic acts on development is not only complicated by political agendas of the donors, but many of the studies that have researched corporate philanthropy (Wang *et al.* 2008; Gan 2006; Brammer & Millington 2005; Sanchez 2000; Williams & Barrett 2000), and aid organization philanthropy (Barnes 2005; Bobrow & Boyer 1996), have instead focused on motives, actions, and other aspects related to the donors

rather than impacts on a population. Although there are studies of aid programs' impacts they tend to focus on specific, quantifiable aspects of development such as hunger reduction (Bezuneh *et al.* 1988), or GDP growth (Quazi 2005), rather than investigating general impacts of aid on development, which would include both economic and social impacts.

Overall, the literature on the impacts of philanthropy on development are lacking because they tend to ignore impacts and development needs perceived by the population in question. The notion made by Simon (1997) that people in development must have a high degree of social power in the human development process makes the relationship between an individual or organization who engages in a philanthropic act geared towards development, and the intended recipients extremely complicated (and important), yet seldom discussed. More research is needed in general concerning impacts of philanthropic acts for the recipients. It is also necessary to research the impacts of philanthropic acts on micro-level development. Large-scale versus small-scale philanthropic acts are likely to have significantly different impacts, yet there is a lack of literature on the impacts of small scale philanthropic acts. Furthermore there is a total lack of research on the impacts on development (social and economic) of the philanthropic acts (philanthropic transfer-of-wealth) on a micro-level from individual tourists to a host population.

2.4 Tourism and Philanthropy

2.4.1 Voluntourism: What Is It and Why Did It Emerge?

Volunteer tourism, endearingly dubbed *voluntourism* is a fairly new phenomenon of travel. Voluntourism is, “a form of tourism where the tourists volunteer in local communities as a part of his or her travel” (Sin 2009). Marketing strategies for voluntourism have been notably successful; they often indicate a virtuous and/or philanthropic nature of participating in this

particular form of tourism which is highly attractive to tourists (Sin 2009). There is an implication inherent to voluntourism that both the tourist and the host will receive benefits. Furthermore it is often touted as “justice” and “goodwill” tourism by authors of various backgrounds, including travel media (Sin 2009). It is no wonder with its promises of universal goodness that it has exploded as a popular trend currently on the rise, with increasing numbers of voluntours available reaching all corners of the globe (Guttentag 2009; Sin 2009).

Voluntourism emerged as a response to a growing boredom and dissatisfaction of mass tourism. Although mass tourism remains a popular form of travel, Lo and Yee (2011) noted that since mass tourism became popular 50 years ago in the 1960s the travellers themselves have evolved, are more sophisticated, and are now seeking, “unique and meaningful travel experiences to satisfy their specific needs and desires” (326). This form of travel has developed over the past 10 years, and offers a broad range of experiences (Lo & Yee 2011). Rogers (2007) found that there is an increasing desire among tourists to participate in volunteer travel. This type of tourism has been viewed admirably by some scholars (Lo & Yee 2011; Callanan & Thomas 2005), and it has been found to contribute, “not only to the personal growth and satisfaction of travellers but also to the development of the host community and its culture” (Lo & Yee 2011).

Although it is likely that this type of tourism will continue to be popular in the coming years, voluntourism has many critics. Critiques of voluntourism as well as its associated negative impacts will be addressed in the following section.

2.4.2 Critiques of Voluntourism

In the recent literature there has been much discussion indicating that the impacts of voluntourism are not as clear cut and positive as is suggested by the description. Among its

skeptics, Guttentag (2009); Sin (2009); and Raymond and Hall (2008) have made influential criticisms. Guttentag warned of the dangers of ignoring potential negative impacts of voluntourism as ignoring them could have significant negative social and cultural effects on the communities involved, which in turn would not leave a positive outlook for growth and economic success of tourism.

Guttentag (2009) identified a set of five disadvantages of voluntourism. First of all, he pointed out that volunteer tourism programs are often designed to accommodate the motivations of tourists wishing to engage in this type of travel; the result is that the opinions of members of the community in question are generally ignored when considering what type of work will be performed by tourists (Guttentag 2009). Secondly, the work performed by tourists is generally non-skilled labour and furthermore they, “are not familiar with the local culture, and only stay for a very short period of time” (544). It is possible that this type of contribution can actually stunt progress as time has to be taken away from the skilled local labourers to repeatedly teach groups of tourists what to do (Guttentag 2009). Tourists also frequently perform sub-par workmanship, and development is seldom mentioned as a goal by voluntourism organizations (Guttentag 2009). Third, although volunteer tourists do provide direct financial benefits to community members through accommodation, the income multiplier is actually very low given high seasonality of voluntourism work (Guttentag 2009). In addition, labour demand amongst community members may be reduced with the presence of volunteer labour, and there is a possibility of dependency developing due to essentially fear-mongering that the tourist may actually be the “expert” (Guttentag 2009). Fourth, although improved cultural understanding has been cited by some scholars (Guttentag cites McIntosh and Zahra 2008; McGehee and Santos 2005; and Wearing 2001) as a benefit to voluntourism,

Guttentag states, “Not only are the personal and intercultural benefits of volunteer tourism possibly overstated, but in some instances, volunteer tourism participation may have the opposite of its desired impact and actually reinforce stereotypes” (546). It is also possible that seeing poverty tourists were previously unfamiliar with, they rationalize it as an acceptable struggle through observing “poor but happy” locals (Guttentag 2009). Finally, the intensive cultural contact has the possibility to influence and accelerate cultural change, particularly communities may experience the demonstration effect where they become drawn to affluent lifestyles and material goods (Guttentag 2009).

Sin’s (2009) criticism touches on concern for the “effectiveness” of voluntourism, having given regard to motivations of the tourists who participate. Sin’s is the first academic paper to address the issue that voluntourism may not be altruistic in the wake of public media publications that first brought the issue to the forefront of scrutiny. Sin addressed both positive and negative aspects in order to provide a well-rounded understanding of volunteer tourism. Sin’s research findings are based on a fieldwork study with participants from a voluntourism organization working in South Africa. The major contribution from Sin’s article was the finding, “that many voluntourists are more interested in achieving personal goals rather than interacting or helping residents in need” (Woosnam & Lee 2011). Essentially, the findings of Sin’s research suggested that volunteer tourism is not actually philanthropic in the altruistic sense (Woosnam & Lee 2011).

Raymond and Hall (2008), pioneer critics of volunteer tourism, were influential to Guttentag (2009). These academics were amongst the first to scrutinize the belief that voluntourism has the ability to improve cross-cultural understanding (Woosnam & Lee 2011; Guttentag 2009). Raymond and Hall’s research concluded that although tourists often had

friendly relationships with locals they, “did not change their perception toward nationalities or the culture of host residents” (Woosnam and Lee 2011: 309).

Although volunteer tourism emerged as an alternative to mass tourism with supposed ability to improve socioeconomic conditions in the destination while simultaneously satisfying the desires of sophisticated tourists (Lo & Yee 2011), there are many criticisms suggesting volunteer tourism can be equally or more destructive both socially and economically to the host population than mass tourism because of its closer level of contact. However, regardless of its criticisms and possible negative impacts it would not be ideal to abandon this niche in tourism practices. Guttentag (2009) has argued that negative impacts associated with voluntourism could be mediated through careful planning and management. The awareness of negative impacts will contribute to a well rounded understand for planners and managers which in turn has the ability to improve negative conditions created by voluntourism (Guttentag 2009). For this reason, continued research and critiques will be beneficial to volunteer tourism as well as the communities and tourists involved.

2.4.3 Tourism and Gift-giving

There are a limited number of academic research papers that address the association between tourism and gift-giving (the philanthropic transfer of wealth). The lack of literature is somewhat surprising considering tourists’ gift-giving occurs on what one can only assume as a significant scale. The assumption is two-part: there have not yet been any studies that have quantified the occurrence of philanthropic gift-giving; however, this assumption can be justified by the abundance of tourism and travel blogs which discuss recommendations of bringing gifts for host populations in popular international tourism destinations. The travel forums contain within them contributions from past tourists recommending to future tourists to

bring gift items with them on their vacations to give to locals. Examples of such forums (TravelBlog 2011; Tripadvisor 2011; Tripadvisor 2011) are referenced by the author in the bibliography of this thesis. Tourist gift-giving has even been receiving media attention from reputable popular media sources, such as the Edmonton Journal (February 25, 2007, see bibliography) for as long as five years, and is commonly suggested by tourism guide books for certain destinations.

It is a general observation of the author through many internet searches and countless hours of browsing that Cuba is the most frequently discussed destination as the platform for tourist-to-local gift transfer. Other destinations discussed in travel forums about tourists' gift-giving are the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica. The characteristic that the Dominican Republic and Jamaica share is that both are usually considered emerging economies, or countries that are not fully developed; the Dominican Republic and Jamaica were designated as countries in medium human development in 2009 according to the UNDP's Human Development Index (HDI), (UNDP 2009). Socioeconomic conditions in Cuba, including human development are discussed in Chapter 3. There is reason to believe that international tourists' gift-giving is occurring in several developing nations and furthermore that the gifts may have an economic impact on those economies given the significant scale tourists gift-giving is occurring; this issue is becoming more pressing to research as international tourist arrivals are expected to continue to increase in developing nations (UNWTO 2010). Contributions of tourism to economic development has been the focus of many tourism scholars, however the lack of studies on international tourists' philanthropic gift-giving indicate there is still reason for future research on tourism's associations to economic development.

Although the focus of their article mostly concerns authenticity and fetishization issues of culture in “fair tourism” programs, Cravatte and Chabloz (2008) are among the few that have mentioned tourist gift-giving from an academic perspective. Their article addressed the practices of a French “fair tourism” non-governmental organization, *Tourisme & Développement Solidaires (TDS)*, and their specific practices in Burkina Faso. “Fair tourism” as used by Cravatte and Chabloz refers to alternative tourism, which necessarily has a high degree of community involvement, and is practiced on a significantly smaller scale than mass tourism (231). Cravatte and Chabloz highlighted the measures taken by TDS in their effort to promote equality and solidarity the organization feels is necessary for a symbiotic relationship amongst the tourists and the locals. The following excerpt (Cravatte & Chabloz 2008: 238-39) explains the “safeguards” taken by TDS:

- Before the trip, through preparatory briefings, the NGO warns tourists against making individual gifts: they ‘kill the relationship’, ‘provoke begging’ and ‘stir up rivalry and jealousy in the village’.
- TDS requires the tourists and the villagers to sign a ‘TDS charter of tourism in host villages’, which stipulates that ‘the traveller must abstain from making individual gifts to the villagers, which are contrary to the view of development promoted by TDS’ and that ‘the villagers are invited not to request individual gifts from the travellers’.
- During the stay, the relations between tourists and villagers are mediated by an ‘accompagnier’, a young Burkinan from outside the village, recruited and trained by the NGO, who supervises the correct application of the charter, particular as regards ‘individual donations’ and ‘gifts’.
- After the stay, the NGO offers to act as an intermediary for tourists who want to support village projects: ‘Travellers sensitized to the projects of development of the TDS host villages can provide technical or financial support for the efforts of local associations, relayed by TDS and the UNVA (Union Nationale des Villages d’Accueil) in Burkina Faso’.

TDS feels that individual tourist to local gift-giving promotes “bad solidarity” between tourists and locals in which gifts become distributed in “ill-considered” ways which are non-democratic, and often based on emotion (Cravatte & Chabloz 2008: 239). This is opposition to

“good solidarity” which TDS considers to, “consist in going to the village to understand better how it operates, leaving money for collective development projects decided democratically by the village, and, if need be, supporting village projects on their return to France (making decisions with the proper perspective)” (Cravatte & Chabloz 2008: 239). Cravatte & Chabloz support TDS in employing their safeguards. Their rationalization is that in following the safeguards tourists will receive a more authentic experience; relationships formed between tourists and locals will not be based on material, commercial, or financial exchanges; and TDS will earn credibility for supporting community development as donations are only accepted for communal projects decided in democratic community votes.

The other context that tourist gift-giving has appeared in academic literature is in reference to the specific situation of tourist gift-giving in Cuba. The Cuba Transition Project (CTP), undertaken by scholars at the Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies at the University of Miami has been running since 2002, and is aimed at making recommendations for economic and social development once, inevitably, the revolutionary era ends (Mesa-Lago 2005). In a publication for the CTP, Mesa-Lago (2005) explained that in an effort to recentralize the economy from private sector endeavours established and practiced from 1993 until 1996, the Cuban government implemented many new policies from 2003 to 2005. Mesa-Lago stated the following of the policies regarding tourists, gifts, and tourist-host interactions:

In the fall of 2004, the government placed four decentralized state tourist companies directly under the control of the Ministry of Tourism (MINTUR). In January 2005, the following draconian regulations were enacted that applied to 100,000 tourist workers in their relations with foreigners: a ban on receiving gifts, donations, lodging, invitations to meals, and parties, fellowships or trips abroad, and use of cars-without previous government permission. All gifts must be immediately reported in writing to the immediate supervisor who will decide what to do with them; electronic and video equipment will be kept by MINTUR. Tourist employees shall restrict their regulations with foreigners to those strictly necessary; conversations and negotiations with foreign partners

must be conducted in the presence of one witness (a euphemism for an internal security agent); employees must be discreet with information they have and not disseminate anything that could be sensitive; they must abstain from expressing ideas harmful to the government, be loyal to state politics, report in 72 hours any contact from a foreigner not related to work issues or contrary to revolutionary morale, and exert permanent vigilance on any potential action that could damage state interests. Gifts given by Cubans to foreigners in Cuba or abroad must be authorized by the MINTUR minister himself (“Resolución 10” 2005); (2005: 27-28).

Although he does not make any further specific comment on gift-giving, Mesa-Lago warns that during previous periods of economic centralization, “its results were rigidity and inefficiency, with adverse effects on production and services” (30). He goes on to mention that workers, and officials employed in tourism will be “severely disadvantaged” due to the “absurd” communication restrictions that have been legislated, and points out that other severe restrictions like the closure of the parallel market in the late 1980s have failed (30).

Tourists’ gift-giving in Cuba was also briefly mentioned by Taylor and McGlynn (2009). In significantly less detail than Mesa-Lago (2005), they indicated that laws had been implemented by MINTUR to restrict tourism workers from accepting gifts from tourists. Their discussion was rather limited, but they pointed out that non-monetary gifts, in addition to tips had been commonly accepted by tourism employees. It is likely that government believed that only tourism workers were receiving gifts and money from tourists, as Taylor and McGlynn state that the policy was instated to deter unproportionally high volumes of people seeking work in tourism. Finally they express that, “it is doubtful that all tourist workers will abide by these new regulations” (408). Reasons regarding why tourism workers may not follow the regulations, and impacts associated with the intended halt of tourists’ gifts were not discussed.

As should be obvious, there continue to be many gaps in research regarding tourists’ gift-giving to local populations. It is only once the many issues regarding tourists and gift-

giving (impacts of gift-giving, social implications, tourist motivations, the manner and reasons gifts are given, situating the occurrence of tourist gift-giving etc. to name a few), are addressed of which a total study is far beyond the scope of this thesis can informed regulations and policies with optimal benefits be implemented. Without knowing on what scale tourist gift-giving occurs, and what its impacts are on both the tourists and the local populations, there could be far more harm than good to both the economies and the development of the host destinations. Not only must this information be discussed in an academic setting, but given its relevance with conceivably hundreds of thousands of tourists each year multiplied by the destinations in which tourist gift-giving occurs, it is reasonable that this information should be made public on a grand scale.

2.4.4 The Distribution of Wealth

This section is concerned with an evaluation of how wealth in the form of gifts, either monetary or in-kind, are distributed within a community. Because there have been no previous studies on tourist-to-local gift-giving it is unknown how tourists gifts are distributed; this applies to the tourist-to-local context, and the subsequent local context in terms of whether gifts are kept by their recipients, or get further distributed into the community.

It is commonly accepted that wealth is never distributed equally among a population; this general acceptance is based on the Gini Coefficient—an economic equation proving that income distributions are always unequal among any given population (Arnold 2008). Arnold explained that, “[g]enerally, income inequality exists because people do not receive the same labor income, asset income, and transfer payments, or pay the same taxes” (2008: 579). Receiving gifts from tourists could be considered an additional type of payment that is not

received equally amongst a population; thus it is possible that tourists' gift-giving may contribute to population disparity.

Kohls and Christensen (2002) and Linnekin (1991), both identified associations between distributing wealth and political motivations. Kohls and Christensen (2002: 224) identified that within the context of wealth distribution of corporations, to be able to situate themselves politically and otherwise socially favourable the corporation has to consider that they are in the public eye and if their wealth is not distributed to maximize the common benefits then they risk losing their good social standing. Linnekin (1991) has also made some interesting points regarding wealth distribution through gift-giving. First, she mentioned that in a classical anthropological line of thought first sparked by Mauss (1976) there has been a tendency to romanticize in-kind exchange within global South societies (Linnekin 1991: 2). She then made the following relevant point:

The extent to which parties in exchange are knowing and conscious of the political-economic implications of their transactions tends to be seen as an index of Western intrusion and the inverse of authenticity. Parry and Bloch (1989: 9) note that even Marxist writers 'tend...to treat the world of gift exchange as non-exploitative, innocent and even transparent.' (1991: 2).

If the underlying idea of Kohls and Christensen's (2002), and Linnekin's (1991), research is that there is essentially always a political or economic motivation for gift-giving and wealth distribution (even within a global-South to global-South context), it is possible that within the context of a local re-distributing a tourist's gift into their community there may be an implied heightened social or economic status of that individual.

Although there have been many previous academic studies, (Pradelles de Latour 1994; Linnekin 1991; Feil 1981; Shepherd 1977; Han-yi & Shryock 1950; Meek 1936), that have focused on in-kind exchanges, it would not be appropriate to compare their findings about the

structures of in-kind giving to the international tourists' gift-giving example. The inability to compare the results of these studies to tourists' gift-giving is based in the understanding that many of the studies on in-kind exchange, (Pradelles de Latour 1994; Linnekin 1991; Feil 1981; Shepherd 1977; Han-yi & Shryock 1950; Meek 1936), have focused on the in-kind exchanges of marriage-payments. Because of the extremely personal nature of gift exchanges related to marriage, the structures and dynamics of in-kind gift exchange cannot simply be applied in the tourist-to-local or tourist-to-local-to-local context. The current literature on structures of in-kind exchange while useful in discussions of marriage-payments, is lacking in its ability to apply to broad contexts and suggests there is value in further research.

2.5 Pro-Poor Tourism

Although tourism has been linked with poverty reduction and economic development by some including Croes and Vanegas (2008) and the World Tourism Organization, other scholars including Blake *et al.* (2008); and Wattanakuljarus and Coxhead (2008) have been more critical of generalizing the relation between tourism and poverty reduction. As discussed in section 2.2.3, Wattanakuljarus and Coxhead (2008) found that although tourism may increase household incomes, economic disparities increase. Blake *et al.* (2008) pointed out that research on tourism and poverty reduction seldom takes an "economy-wide" approach, and furthermore that very few studies "quantify the interactions" of tourism on poverty reduction meaning that there are actually few studies that prove the two are closely linked. Although Blake *et al.* found in their study of Brazil that the lowest-income households do economically benefit from tourism and that it, "has the potential to reduce income inequality", the poor are not the primary benefactors of tourism gains (2008: 124).

Pro-poor tourism is a relatively new tourism strategy, and as explained by Gilmore (2008: iii) is, “tourism that aims to generate net benefits specifically for the poor population of the tourism community or country”. Pro-poor tourism emerged partially in response to doubts that tourism is sufficiently beneficial in terms of economic gains and development for the poorest economic sector of a tourism region. Furthermore, Gilmore (2008) attributed the development of pro-poor tourism to the current shortcomings of sustainable tourism development lacking a “people” aspect. Pro-poor is not a distinct type of tourism development (Gilmore 2008), rather it can be viewed as a point of view through which tourism planners, policy makers, and developers focus on maximizing benefits of tourism for the poor in the tourism destination (Blake *et al.* 2008; Ashley *et al.* 2000).

Because pro-poor tourism focuses on “enhancing” the impacts of tourism on the poor (Ashley *et al.* 2000), much of the research focusing on pro-poor tourism has resulted in policy recommendations contributing to sustainable tourism development. From these policy recommendations, such as those made by Blake *et al.* (2008), and Ashley *et al.* (2000) emerge the line of thought that if the poorest people are to benefit most from tourism, policies must be very carefully designed to specifically address the issue. Naturally this implies that poverty reduction amongst the lowest-income earners is not a standard by-product of generalized tourism development. There is a need to address the general dearth of poverty alleviation in tourism development agendas, as the previous focus on macro-economic growth and private sector earning of generalized tourism development has been associated with a myriad of issues such as, “negative social and environmental impacts; control by local elites or transnational corporations; high levels of leakages and expatriation of profits; and wealthy tourists who have little interest in visiting poor regions” (Torres & Momsen 2004).

2.6 Gift-giving Research

2.6.1 Overview of Research on Gift-giving

The phenomenon of gift-giving has been addressed from a variety of disciplines including anthropology (Joy 2001; Carrier 1991; Sherry 1983; Malinowski 1920), sociology (Zelizer 1996), and psychology (Schwartz 1967); however its research prominence remains in anthropology. Bronislaw Malinowski, an extremely influential anthropologist and ethnographer, has been credited by scholars as the catalyst for gift-giving research that has been prominent since the early 1920s (Carrier 1991). Malinowski first published a paper in 1920 about gift exchange in the Trobriand Islands, which was influential to Marcel Mauss (Carrier 1991). Mauss published a ground-breaking paper indicating the necessity of reciprocity in gift-giving exchanges in the mid-1920s, and has since commonly been considered the founder of gift-giving research (Carrier 1991; Sherry 1983). However, nearly a century after the first gift-giving paper was published research possibilities related to gift-giving have not been exhausted.

Gift-giving is related to social dimensions of society, and has been accepted by anthropologists as a human universal which occurs within every population on earth (Joy 2001; Carrier 1991; Sherry 1983). In Joy's (2001: 239) opinion, "its significance derives from the economic and symbolic value each culture places on the gift (Carrier 1991; Mauss [1925] 1967; Otnes, Lowrey, and Kim 1993) The gift is generally defined as the circulation of goods to promote ties and bonding between individuals. This process happens over time and space, and includes three different phases: giving, receiving, and reciprocating". The importance of the study of gift-giving is related to the implications of social power involved in giving, receiving, and reciprocating (Johnson 1974).

While the social dimensions of gift-giving have been addressed within the context of a single culture (Joy 2001; Johnson 1974; Malinowski 1920), fewer studies focus on these issues cross-culturally (Millington *et al.* 2005; Aragon 1996), and all lack contributions on the economic and social impacts of receiving gifts as they relate to economic and human development. The following sections will discuss social implications of gift-giving, and reciprocity.

2.6.2 Social Implications of Gift-giving

Considering that the basis of this thesis is focused on tourist-to-local philanthropic gift-giving, of which there is currently no academic data, this section addresses general social implications of gift-giving. Because there is potential for tourist philanthropic gift-giving to impact human development, and maintaining autonomous control as a means of gaining social power is an essential aspect of human development (Simon 1997), it is important to understand the social implications that are involved in gift-giving transactions.

Not all social relationships are created equally. In one's daily life, with every person with whom one interacts what takes place is a social transaction. One acts in a certain way based on one's social position whether real or imagined in relation to the social position of the other person or persons. This interaction creates social capital (Ostrom *et al.* 2003: 159). Social relationships and how they are understood inevitably will vary from place to place, culture to culture, and change over time (Crothers 1996). Crothers (1996) suggested that it is possible that the concept of social structure in general may not be culturally transferrable, however went on to mention that to qualify the study of social structures researchers must assume they exist regardless of what is believed by the culture in question. An underlying curiosity related to this thesis, what takes place in the social transaction when a tourist gives a gift to a local

community member, cannot directly be addressed due to the lack of research; however Zelizer (1996), and Desforges (2001), have made interesting contributions on the social relationships creating through the giving of money in particular.

“Payment” is the term used by Zelizer (1996) to describe any exchange of money as a social transaction. She has distinguished three unique forms of monetary payment as follows: “As compensation (direct exchange), as entitlement (the right to share), and as gift (one person’s voluntary bestowal upon another)” (1996: 482). Within this context, Zelizer describes the social relationships created through these types of exchanges in her statement,

Money as compensation implies an equal exchange of values and a certain distance, contingency, bargaining, and accountability among the parties. Money as entitlement implies strong claims to power and autonomy by the recipient. Money as a gift implies subordination and arbitrariness (482).

Notably, Zelizer goes on to explain that the gifts and entitlements allow for more flexibility in social relationships than do compensation payments.

Desforges (2001), similarly, and within the context of tourism, has noted the rigidity of social relationships that are implied through the giving of money. Desforges asserted that money in and of itself weakens the authenticity of social relationships between the giver and the recipient. This is based on the explanation that for the giver and the recipient to associate themselves with money and payment relationships, it would necessarily be to disassociate themselves from “genuine” social interactions (359). To be perceived or not perceived as being involved in a social relationship as a result of monetary payments may be a concern of tourists, and many experience discomfort with making decisions regarding payments such as tipping (Desforges 2001).

Zelizer (1996), and Desforges (2001), have provided satisfactory and interesting explanations to address the relationships that payments create between a giver and recipient.

However they address *only* the relationship created between the giver and the recipient. In all cases of “payments”, there is a gain for the recipient (monetary or otherwise), and as Joy (2001) pointed out, there is merit to the study of gift-giving due to the “economic and symbolic values” bestowed upon the gift not only by the individual, but by the culture of the recipient. This suggests that having received a gift, a recipient has undergone an economic or symbolic improvement within the context of their culture, yet, there are no academic studies that address changes in social relationships (the social impacts), of a gift recipient with a non-recipient in the same culture and community. This idea that to receive a gift may change the social status of an individual within his/her home community may at first seem a bit far-fetched in a strictly global North context; however if the giver originates from a global North country and bestows wealth upon a recipient in a small community in the global-South where poverty is rife, it is possible that social relationships between community members could change.

Malinowski (1920), in one of the first academic papers discussing gift-giving, touched on the subject gift utility in relation to community social status. In his report on exchange by means of a cultural gift exchange ceremony in the Trobriand Islands, Malinowski (1920: 98) claimed that in a Kula ceremony, the receipt of frivolous things that had no value of “utility” were extremely valuable to social status. While Malinowski’s research was conducted close to a century ago, few academics have since researched the contextual/cultural values of the utility-of in-kind gifts. While Malinowski’s research may be dated, this discussion highlights a gap in the literature on in-kind gift-giving; little is known about the social implications of a gift based on its utility. In the context of this research, this raises interest in the utility aspect of gifts which are given to individuals in communities where obtaining the given articles may be near impossible without the act of gift-giving due to poverty or unavailability of the item.

What is clear in the research on gift-giving is that a complex relationship exists between giving of money or gifts and social status of both the giver and the recipient (Desforges 2001; Zelizer 1996; Linnekin 1991; Malinowski 1920). There have been interesting academic research contributions regarding gift-giving and social status in regard to the relationship between the giver and recipient. However, information on the social status of a recipient in regards to relationships with community members is inconclusive. Lack of information contributes to the importance of the study of this issue.

2.6.3 Reciprocity

There are a significant number of academic papers from anthropological (Joy 2001; Levi 1999; Aragon 1996; Parry 1986; Sherry 1983; Johnson 1974) and sociological (Dolfsma *et al.* 2009; Komter & Vollebergh 1997; Carrier 1991; Schwartz 1967) perspectives that have discussed reciprocal aspects of gift-giving. Their complete results, theories, and exchange models are beyond the scope of this thesis; select notable aspects will be briefly discussed in this section.

There tends to be a disagreement among anthropologists and sociologists about the general structures of reciprocity. According to Komter and Vollebergh (1997), most sociological research on gift-giving has found that reciprocal exchanges are not generally connected to the feelings toward the social relationships between a donor/giver and a recipient, but connected to feeling obligation to return a gift when a gift is given. In opposition, other sociologists and anthropologists have found that social closeness between the donor/giver and the recipient determines whether reciprocation is necessary in the sense that a gift can be “pure” only from close family, and reciprocation is expected in cases where there is a higher degree of social distance (Komter & Vollebergh 1997). As an alternative, the component of reciprocity as an essential aspect of gift-giving has been challenged by various (Joy 2001;

Parry 1986) scholars. Joy found in her study of gift-giving that, “Hong Kong Chinese regard family relationships as such a reality: they are inviolable and lifelong, and reciprocal gift-giving would violate the sanctity of this principle” (2001: 247). Joy goes on to mention that Parry (1986) in his study of the caste system in India found that, “asymmetrical giving also characterizes Indian culture and fulfils a similar function: one-way gift flow from members of the higher caste to members of the lower caste maintain and reinforce the hierarchical social order” (2001: 247).

Johnson found that among Japanese-Americans in Honolulu, reciprocity is expected and, “serves important social functions by facilitating status placement, providing generational continuities, reducing conflict, and equalizing class differences” (1974: 295). While Levi in a study of the Raramuri of Mexico, also states that reciprocity and sharing of resources is always expected, and furthermore without the expected sharing, “survival would be jeopardized for the needy and because of the unpredictable environment, most households experience periodic shortfalls” (Levi 1999: 102). Interestingly Levi noted that the Raramuri institution of expected giving was occasionally abused by individuals, “claiming to be needy when they are not, causing people to be rather canny and on guard about showing others what they have” (102). Finally, Sherry (1983) has found that regardless of whether the giving of a gift has ulterior motives, it has the ability to forge meaningful, and sincere amicable relationships.

There are no studies discussing elements of reciprocity in tourist to host destination gift transactions. There is very little information on individual philanthropic gift-giving and corporate/aid giving (Sherry 1983), suggesting the need for further research.

2.7 Summary

In summary, the discussion of the literature provided in this chapter has revealed there is need and benefit in understanding the nature of the relationship between the philanthropic transfer of wealth acquired through tourism, tourists' gift-giving and population disparities and with development. There is currently no academic literature that links these issues together directly. However, without any academic research as guidance there have been policies enacted in Cuba (Mesa-Lago 2005), and among at least one international tour operator (Cravatte & Chabloz 2008), which restrict tourists from giving gifts to local community members. Although tourism is often associated with development, Croes & Vanegas (2008) appropriately pointed out that little academic attention has been given to impacts of tourism on the poor. It is with respect to impacts of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving on local community members in developing nations that disparity and development require research.

Chapter 3: Context: Cuba

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines life and a brief history of Cuba, specifically focusing on international politics leading to Cuba's importation difficulties, and current socioeconomic conditions of the Cuban people. A brief history the government will be provided, and is used to set the background for explanation of Cuba in international politics and relations with the United States and the former Soviet Union in particular. The deterioration of the relationship with the United States government is discussed leading to the irreconcilable trade embargo. Cuba's complications with importing goods are then elaborated as the impact of trade losses with the Soviet Union are discussed.

Understanding the socioeconomic conditions in Cuba is important to understanding the significance of tourism in a cultural context, and why there is a potential for philanthropic gift-giving by tourists to significantly affect lifestyle and access to goods. Major aspects of life in Cuba are briefly examined. Information on wages, acquisition of hard currency, and how far monies go with consideration for the ration system, and access and availability of goods in general are of heightened importance in the discussion of socioeconomic conditions in Cuba. Human development in Cuba is briefly explored and explains how the nation's high ranking Human Development Index (HDI) according to the UNDP may misrepresent the standard of living in Cuba. This discussion is important because it provides the background data indicating necessity of sustainable human development in Cuba.

Finally, tourism in Cuba is briefly looked at from a historical perspective. Tourism plays an important role in the Cuban economy; today tourism is the largest export earning-sector of the GDP (O.N.E. 2009). Tourism is on the rise in Cuba, and continued growth is

expected (Jayawardena 2003). The growing interface of tourists with local people is important because of the potential for tourists to bring unavailable items into the country, often by gift-giving. Regulations regarding tourists and gifts are explained.

3.2 A Brief History of Cuba

3.2.1 Geography and Introduction to Government

Cuba is an archipelago comprised of the largest island mainland in the Caribbean, the Isla de la Juventud, and several sets of smaller cays. It is located 150 kilometres south of the American state of Florida (C.I.A. World Factbook 2010). The coasts of Cuba touch the Atlantic Ocean to the northeast, Gulf of Mexico to the northwest, and the Caribbean Sea to the south. The peoples' official name for the country is la República de Cuba. Figure 3.1 below is a map of Cuba. The star on the map indicates the location of the capital city of Havana, (referred to as *la Habana* in Cuba).

Figure 3.1 Map of Cuba



(C.I.A. World Factbook 2010).

Cuba is divided into fourteen provinces, and the special municipality of Isla de la Juventud (U.S. Department of State 2010). The city of *la Habana* is included and is considered a separate province, see figure 3.2. Guantánamo is Cuba's most easterly province. *Bahía de Guantánamo* (Guantanamo Bay) located in the province of Guantánamo has been occupied by the U.S. Navy since 1903 through a perpetual lease signed by Cuba's first president (Sweig 2009: 15). Cuba retains ownership of the land at Bahía de Guantánamo, and since 1959 has refused to cash the lease cheques in the amount of \$4000 USD issued yearly by the United States (Sweig 2009: 15-6). The Platt Amendment, a U.S. policy rider, requiring agreement of both countries to end the lease has prevented the Americans from leaving (Sweig 2009). A Presidential Memorandum was signed by U.S. President Barack Obama on December 15, 2009, and indicated the intention to close the U.S. Navy detention center located in Bahía de Guantánamo (Office of the Press Secretary 2009). In 2010 the U.S. Navy continues to occupy this land.

Figure 3.2 *La Habana* Skyline. *La Habana*, Cuba.



(Laura Wiebe 2010).

Cuba covers an area of 110, 860 square kilometres (U.S. Department of State 2010). The population of Cuba is 11.2 million, of which 75% are urban dwelling (U.S. Department of State 2010). The work force in 2010 was comprised of approximately 5.1 million people or 45.5% of the total population (U.S. Department of State 2010). Table 3.1 below indicates sectors of employment.

Table 3.1 Cuban Employment by Sector

Employment Sector	Percentage of Workforce
Services (including, education, health and social services)	42%
Agriculture	19%
Commerce and tourism	12%
Industry	11%
Transport, storage, and communications	6%
Construction	5%
Mining, electricity, gas, and water	2%

(U.S. Department of State 2010)

Cuba officially subscribes to Marx and Marxist-Leninist ideologies of a communist society, and claims to be a socialist State (Constitución de la Republica de Cuba 2010: Chapter I, Articles 1, 5). There is a one party government system, *El Partido Comunista de Cuba* (The Communist Party of Cuba) (Constitución de la Republica de Cuba 2010: Chapter I, Article 5). There is a free vote every five years for every Cuban citizen over the age of 16 (with certain exception) to elect 609 members to the National Assembly (Constitución de la Republica de Cuba 2010: Chapter XIV, Article 132; Sweig: 2009: 214). National Assembly members then elect the 31 members of the Council of State and include, “[o]ne president, one first vice president, and five vice presidents. The president of the Council of State is also the president of the republic and the commander in chief of the armed forces. The Council of State then appoints the cabinet, known as the Council of Ministers” (Sweig: 2009: 214). Raul Castro, originally provisionally assigned on July 31, 2006, is the current president of Cuba, president

of the Council of State, commander and chief of armed forces, the Minister of Defence, as well as serving other associated civic duties (Sweig 2009: 207-9). Raul succeeds his brother, Fidel Castro who officially resigned his presidency and other civic duties in 2008 after lengthy illness (Pathfinder 2009: 62). Raul was officially voted to presidency on February 24, 2008, by the National Assembly (Sweig 2009: 214).

3.2.2 Cuba Before 1959

Monopolized ownership of agricultural land, high unemployment rates and temporality of available work, lack of female presence in the work force, roughly half of all housing of poor or sub-standard quality, and highly unbalanced earnings among the total workforce is how the Government of Cuba characterizes Cuba's socioeconomic conditions prior to the 1958 revolution (Gobierno de la Republica de Cuba 2010). The Government has also listed additional socioeconomic problems prior to the revolution noting that few people had access to meat, literacy rates numbered less than 50%, and healthcare was not universal (Gobierno de la Republica de Cuba 2010). The desire to change these factors provided motivation for the revolution (Gobierno de la Republica de Cuba 2010).

For the first two years of Gerardo Machado's presidency, 1925 to the end of 1926, Machado and his government were well respected by seemingly all of Cuba as they employed a bold new strategy of policy making in an effort to ensure economic independence of the country (Aguilar 1972). Machado was ruthless in his quest to defend his political decisions. His defence of policy eventually led to the organized killing of several labour union representatives, and the repression of free speech (Aguilar 1972). Eventually a stacked vote (Aguilar 1972: 65-6) by the Constituent Assembly passed a policy that would allow Machado to serve a second presidential term without re-election. This was the beginning of dictatorship

in Cuba, and was openly opposed by Cuban citizens (Aguilar 1972: 66). With peak opposition, and lack of military backing, on August 12, 1933, Machado asked for a leave of absence and fled to the Bahamas (Aguilar 1972: 150; Farber 1976: xvii).

The coup d'état on March 10, 1952, of Prío Socarrás by Fulgencio Batista was formed under the guise of response to the increasing presence of imperialism in Cuban government, and degradation of policy (Roca 1961: 8). This was a time of extreme corruption in the Prío Socarrás government and had allowed, encouraged even, the development of gangster groups (Roca 1961: 8; Cirules 2004: 74). Cuban-United States relationships were at their peak between 1950 and 1952 due to Cuba's inevitable turn to imperialism (Cirules 2004: 75). There was in fact an alliance formed between Cuban gangsters and U.S. intelligence agencies and this support from the U.S. was a key factor in the success of 1952 coup d'état to overthrow Prío Socarrás (Cirules 2004: 75). Batista was in cahoots with U.S. intelligence, and thus to his advantage regained dictatorship in Cuba though the coup while Prío Socarrás fled to Miami (Sweig 2009; Cirules 2004).

3.2.3 The Revolution

On July 26, 1953, a group of 137 young Cubans, many of which were students and professionals, launched a guerrilla attack on the Cuban military at the Moncada barracks (Sweig 2009: 21). Among them were 27-year-old Fidel Castro, and 22-year-old-Raul Castro (Sweig 2009: 21). The motivation for the attack was the desire to end dictatorship and move toward capitalism and democracy (Sweig 2009). The attack was unsuccessful and the result was that near half of the guerrillas were captured and imprisoned, and the rest were killed in battle or execution (Sweig 2009).

The families, friends, and other supporters of the imprisoned guerrillas campaigned against Batista for their amnesty, and they were set free in 1955 (Sweig 2009: 21). Once freed, the Castro brothers left Cuba for Mexico, where they conspired a second attempt at a coup with a new group of supporters (Sweig 2009). Che Guevara was among them as they returned to Cuba on a boat named *Granma*, December 2, 1956 (Chaffee 1989: 6; Farber 1976: xviii). The Cuban army met the guerrillas, but the Castro brothers and Guevara managed to escape to hiding in the Sierra Maestra mountains (Chaffee 1989: 6).

The group to launch the attack at Moncada was not the only group of young Cubans to revolt against the Batista dictatorship during this time (Chaffee 1989: 4). Notably, a group of students from Havana University known as *Directorio Revolucionario* had formed an anti-dictatorship guerrilla group as well (Chaffee 1989: 6). This group launched an attack on the Presidential Palace in March 1957, but also failed and the attempt resulted in the deaths of the majority of the leaders (Chaffee 1989: 6).

Eventually, an order from the United States made it necessary for Batista to leave Cuba on January 1, 1959 (Chaffee 1989: 7). Fidel Castro was seen in the eyes of the people of Cuba as the hero of the dissolution of Batista's government (Chaffee 1989). Blas Roca was the General Secretary of Cuba's Popular Socialist Party in 1960 and described the revolution at the National Congress that year by saying, "[i]t is a revolution which, by virtue of the historical tasks that it is meeting and solving, can reasonably be called a national-liberating and agrarian revolution, a patriotic and democratic revolution" (Roca 1961: 52). Roca identified fifteen "historical tasks" at the forefront of the revolution to improve the socioeconomic status and government condition in Cuba. Among those are the situations listed at the beginning of

section 3.2.2., *Cuba Before 1959*. The current social policy in Cuba was created by the socialist government following the revolution in 1958 and has six main objectives:

1. Access to basic food;
2. Ensure the citizens' right to health and education;
3. Adequate income for those who retire or require economic support of the society;
4. Sources of employment; protection and rest of the worker;
5. Comfortable housing, preferably of self ownership;
6. To achieve a more just and united society progressively.

(Gobierno de la Republica de Cuba 2010, author's translation).

This has been a brief and simplified overview of the history of Cuban politics. It should be recognized that there are gaps in the explanation of the ever-changing relationships with Cuba and the United States, and mention of associations with the government of the Soviet Union however cannot be assessed in detail due to the scope of this work. In the next sections, 3.2.4 *Cuba, the United States, and the Trade Embargo* and 3.2.5 *Soviet Trade and the Cuban Economy*, the history of major events in Cuba-U.S. relations, the U.S. trade embargo, Cuba's economic dependence on the Soviet Union, and immediate economic effects of the crash of the Soviet Union will be discussed.

3.2.4 Cuba, the United States, and the Trade Embargo

The events in Cuba's history with the United States are crucial to understanding Cuba's current international trade situation. For this reason, the major events describing the poor relationship between these countries will be discussed. Only once Cuba's international trade situation is understood can the significance of Cuba's means of obtaining goods from foreign tourists be evaluated. Significant dates and basis of the U.S. trade embargo are discussed in this section.

Following the revolution, Cuba signed a trade agreement with the Soviet Union in February 1960 which, "provided for Cuba to receive Soviet oil in exchange for sugar, among other products" (Suchlicki 1990: 43). At this time there were several American and English oil

refineries in Cuba, and they responded to this agreement in June by refusing to process Soviet oil (Suchlicki 1990). The U.S. then passed a policy that allowed the President to reduce the quantity of sugar purchased from Cuba, and subsequently cut the rest of the year's quota to deliberately hurt the Cuban economy (Suchlicki 1990: 44). The Cuban reaction was to nationalize oil, which took effect June 28, 1960 (Suchlicki 1990: 44). As their next strike, in October of the same year, the U.S. implemented an embargo on many American exports to Cuba (Suchlicki 1990: 44). This was only the first stage of the embargo, and as relations between the U.S. and Cuba progressively worsened, the restrictions were reinforced and tightened.

On January 2, 1961, Fidel Castro demanded that the number of U.S. embassy staff in Cuba be reduced by nearly 90% by January 4, accusing the U.S. that these employees were spies of Cuban internal affairs (Sobel 1964: 33). In response the U.S. openly called Castro a dictator and formally declared a break in diplomatic relations on January 3 (Sobel 1964: 33). The same day, Cuban embassy and consular staff were asked to leave the U.S., and American citizens in Cuba were asked by the U.S. State Department to return to America (Sobel 1964: 34). By January 4, several international governments made comment on the diplomatic break (Sobel 1964: 34). Criticisms of the U.S. action were voiced by the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, China, and Ecuador (Sobel 1964). Haiti, Columbia, Guatemala, and Peru supported the Americans (Sobel 1964). U.S. embassy staff complied with Cuba's demand and shut down operations and left for home January 4 (Sobel 1964: 34). On January 4 and 5, Cuba made claim to the United Nations that they believed the U.S. was planning an invasion (Sobel 1964: 34). The U.S. denied the accusation, and on January 5, the U.N. voted that the charge was not valid (Sobel 1964: 34).

On January 5, 1961, Cuba formally blamed U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower personally for the break in diplomatic relations (Sobel 1964: 34). John. F. Kennedy had won the U.S. Presidential Election in late 1960, and was inaugurated on January 20, 1961 (Cosimo 2008: 305). Meanwhile the same day, Castro declared that Cuba would like to resume diplomatic relations with the U.S., but this must be initiated by the Americans (Sobel 1964). Several weeks went by, and on February 14 Castro repeated his bid for reconciliation and added a stipulation that for relations to be resumed, the U.S. must abandon, “the alleged U.S. policy of interfering in Cuba’s internal affairs” (Sobel 1964: 35). After waiting more than a month, on February 24 the U.S. State Department announced in a policy statement that relations could only be resumed once government democracy is established in Cuba (Sobel 1964: 35).

There seems to be some disagreement as to the exact date the speech was made, but in early April 1961, due to Castro’s belief that the U.S. would invade Cuba he declared he was a socialist, and furthermore that motives of the revolution were socialist (Sweig 2009: 42,87; Fauriol 1990: 46). On April 15, the U.S. supported an invasion of Cuba at Playa Girón (Sweig 2009: 81). This attack is known as *La Batalla de Girón* (the Bay of Pigs Invasion), and invaders included Cuban exiles, as well as American nationals (Sweig 2009). April 17, 1961, was the official day the invasion began and vessels landed at Playa Girón (Suchlicki 1990). However, the vessel transporting all of the weaponry and ammunition was sunk before it arrived (Suchlicki 1990:44-5). For the next two days land and air strikes continued. By April 19, *La Batalla de Girón* proved unsuccessful for the Cuban exiles, and for the United States (Suchlicki 1990: 45). On December 1, 1961, Castro declared that he is a Marxist-Leninist in a

speech designed to ally with the Soviet Union for protection from the United States (Suchlicki 1990: 45-6; Carbonell 1989: 202).

The aftermath of the embarrassment of the U.S. in *La Batalla de Girón* continued into 1962 as the Americans forced the Organization of American States (O.A.S.) to suspend Cuba (Suchlicki 1990:45). They furthermore pressured their allies to reduce economic trade (Suchlicki 1990:45). Between January 22 and 31, 1962, the O.A.S. held its annual meeting in Uruguay where a vote was held, and Cuba was officially suspended (Carbonell 1989: 203-4).

On February 3, 1962, the United States formally declared a near-total trade embargo on Cuba (Suchlicki 1990: 45; Carbonell 1989: 209). The embargo took action February 7, and forbid the import of Cuban tobacco, molasses, and vegetables (Sobel 1964: 101-2). The U.S. allowed the continued export of various food and medicine to Cuba (Sobel 1964: 101-2). On March 23, the U.S. Treasury Department added to the embargo that any good made from Cuban materials would be prohibited from import taking effect the following day (Sobel 1964: 102).

As amicable relations with the United States became less likely to be reconcilable, Cuba's alliance with the Soviet Union became stronger (Suchlicki 1990: 46-7). By mid-1962 the Soviets began stocking Cuba with warring equipment, missiles, and other offensive weaponry in what would culminate in October of the same year and is now known as the Cuban Missile Crisis (Suchlicki 1990: 47, Medland 1990). As a reaction to the arsenal in Cuba, on October 22, 1962, the U.S. demanded to the Soviets that no more weaponry be brought to the island, and furthermore that what was there must be removed (Suchlicki 1990: 47). After several tense days of negotiations, the Soviets agreed to allow the removal of the arsenal which was supervised by the United Nations (Suchlicki 1990). This was on the condition that the U.S.

must not invade Cuba, and although the Americans did not officially declare their acquiescence, they later passed, “a ‘hands-off’ U.S. policy towards the island” (Suchlicki 1990: 47). Although victorious in their removal of Cuba’s arsenal, the U.S. had not succeeded in forcing a democratic government.

Thirty years after the U.S. trade embargo was imposed on Cuba, in 1992, the U.S. passed a bill, the Cuban Democracy Act, in an effort to pressure Cuba into democracy, and “which aimed to restrain the development of the Cuban economy’s new driving forces by hitting the inflow of funds and goods (..)” (Herrera 2003: 4310). Essentially the Cuban Democracy Act in the United States ensures that the embargo will exist as long as the government in Cuba remains non-democratic (Herrera 2003: 4310). Before the revolution, almost 70% of Cuba’s economic foreign trade was with the U.S. (Suchlicki 1990: 59). As of 2003 it has been estimated that the Cuban economy has taken more than 70 billion dollars in damages due to the embargo since 1962 (Herrera 2003: 4310).

Between 1994 and 1996 Cuba reduced its restrictions on foreign investments within Cuba (Falk 1996: 15). The result was that European, Canadian, and Asian investors, among others, came into Cuba through tourism, automobiles, and other sectors (Falk 1996). There is some worry among companies that there is a chance that if Cuban trade is opened to the U.S., they will struggle with the existing foreign competition (Falk 1996). However there are many products produced in the United States there would be an immediate market for, especially considering the geographical proximity and low shipping costs relative to importing necessary foreign goods from other countries.

The vast majority of United Nations members have voiced that the embargo be abolished, however the U.S. remains firm in its stance against abolition (Herrera 2003: 4310).

On September 2, 2010, U.S. President Obama issued a Presidential-Memorandum indicating that, “in the national interest of the United States”, under the *Trading With the Enemy Act*, the embargo of trade with Cuba would be renewed and continue until September 14, 2011 (Office of the Press Secretary 2010). This memorandum does not indicate that the embargo on Cuba will be terminated on this date, however will require review.

3.2.5 Soviet Trade and Cuban Economy

Che Guevara had been appointed as the head of the National Bank, as well as Minister of Industry after the revolution leading Cuba to socialism alongside Castro (Pathfinder 2009). As briefly mentioned in section 3.2.4, in *La Habana* on February 13, 1960, the Soviet Union signed an agreement to purchase 4 million tons of sugar from Cuba over a four year period (Sobel 1964: 20). At then-current world market prices for sugar this worked out to be a deal worth approximately \$100 million USD, which Cuba could use as credit to purchase technology and equipment, machinery, or any other Soviet product (Sobel 1964: 20). This amount was subject to 2.5% interest, and could be used over a period of twelve years (Sobel 1964: 20).

Guevara initiated a five-year-plan for Cuba to help the economy cope after the U.S. stopped importing sugar in mid-1961 (Sobel 1964: 55). This plan heavily depended upon sugar purchases from communist countries in Europe including the Soviet Union, as well as from China (Sobel 1964). In addition the plan included allowances for technology training, and purchasing industrial equipment among other things (Sobel 1964).

Cuba did try to diversify the economy from its main sugar export after the revolution by trying to grow new crops, and trying to industrialize (Hamilton 1989). However, by 1963 the efforts were realized as a failure mainly due to inexperience and lack of knowledge (Hamilton

1989: 39-40). By 1963 Cuba returned its focus to sugar, of which the profits would be used to diversify crops, and purchase machinery for industrial production (Hamilton 1989: 40-1). The intention of both efforts was to diversify the economy, while accumulating the least amount of debt (Hamilton 1989: 39-41). The economic strategy that best fit with socialism was debated within the Cuban government, and between Guevara and Castro (Hamilton 1989:42). Due to his frustrations, eventually Guevara left Cuba in 1965 for other revolutionary efforts (Pathfinder 2009).

Throughout the 1970s Castro implemented economic policies that took a longitudinal approach toward socialist economic development, and developed several successive five-year-plans (Hamilton 1989:43). Recognizing economic dependence on the Soviet Union, focusing on sugar export, creating economic plans through government organizations, and emphasizing material gain to stimulate productivity of workers were the main features of these policies (Hamilton 1989:43-4). By 1988, “85 percent of Cuban trade was with the former Soviet Union” (Kaplowitz & Kaplowitz 1993: 225). It is important to note, however, that the economic dependence on the Soviet Union and the trade agreements were designed to compliment Cuba’s economic development five-year-plans (Hamilton 1989).

The last year of normalized trade between Cuba and the Soviet Union was 1988 (Kaplowitz & Kaplowitz 1993: 225). The collapse of the Soviet Union brought severe economic impacts for Cuba. With the loss of trade credits and subsidized prices, Cuba lost between three and four billion dollars a year (Leogrande & Thomas 2002: 342). The Soviet collapse also meant the loss of its guaranteed market for sugar and other products (Leogrande & Thomas 2002: 342). In addition, many of the new governments of the former Soviet Union demanded debts be repaid and that future trade must be conducted in hard currency (Leogrande

& Thomas 2002). The generalized outcome of the Soviet collapse for Cuba was that its ability to import goods was reduced by 74% (Leogrande & Thomas 2002: 342).

As a chain reaction to the economic and trade losses, Cuba suffered massive fuel and food shortages (Leogrande & Thomas 2002: 343). The ration system was tightened at the head of the crisis in 1990, as Cuba entered the “Special Period in a Time of Peace”, and the purpose of this was to, “control and limit consumption, reduce expenditures, and strengthen domestic food production” (Leogrande & Thomas 2002: 343). There was acknowledgement that Cuba’s economy could not survive by these measures alone and by about 1993, the government relied mainly on tourism to boost the economy (Leogrande & Thomas 2002: 344-47; Quintana et al. 2004: 187). Tourism had been present in the Cuban economy for some time. However, this was a major shift in economy from sugar to tourism. Tourism accounted for about 5.6% of the GDP in 1993, and rose to 12.9% by 1999 (Leogrande & Thomas 2002: 347). Tourism has been a growing sector of the economy since, and money earned has been re-invested into other sectors as an economic development strategy (Leogrande & Thomas 2002: 349). In 1990, tourism earned Cuba \$243 million CUC, and \$2.6 billion CUC in 2000 (Leogrande & Thomas 2002: 347). Of course there are market fluctuations, and in 2003 Cuba earned \$2 billion CUC, and \$2.2 billion CUC in 2006 (O.N.E. 2009). The most recent data available at the time this thesis is being written is for 2008, with tourism revenue at \$2.3 billion CUC (O.N.E. 2009).

Once again this is a simplified overview of some of the main events in Cuban economics as a result of the United States trade embargo on Cuba. The most important thing to take away from this section is the understanding that Cuba had historically, as well as currently has difficulty in importing goods and food to Cuba. Because of anti-communism U.S. policy it is unlikely that this difficulty will be rectified any time in the near future. Tourism is of

growing importance to Cuba’s economy, and is an important interface for earning foreign currency.

3.3 Fifty-One Years in the Revolution: A Glimpse into Life in Cuba

3.3.1 Currency in Cuba

Cuba is the only country in the world that uses two national currencies; the Cuban Peso, abbreviated as CUP, also known as *moneda nacional* (national money); and the Cuban Convertible Peso, abbreviated as CUC. The CUC is referred to in Cuba as *divisa* (foreign currency); although it holds no value outside of Cuba, it is the currency used for foreign trade, as well as the currency exchanged for use by foreign tourists. The Central Bank of Cuba does not list CUP with a national or international exchange rate in official postings. See table 3.2 for exchange rates.

Table 3.2 Cuban Currency Exchange Rates

CURRENCY	ABBREVIATION	EXCHANGE RATE
Cuban Convertible Peso	CUC	1.0000
Cuban Peso (Moneda Nacional)	CUP	25.000
Canadian Dollar	CAD	0.9234
United States Dollar	USD	0.9259
Euro	EUR	1.3153
British Pound	GBP	1.5079
Swiss Frank	CHF	0.9656
Japanese Yen	JPY	1.1480
Mexican Peso	MXP	0.0735
Danish Krone	DKK	0.1764
Norwegian Krone	NOK	0.1613
Swedish Krona	SEK	0.1420

(Banco Central de Cuba, November 5, 2010; *Cadeca*: Palacio de las Convenciones, La Habana 2010). *Exchange rate for CUP from Cadeca July 12, 2010. All other exchange rates from Central Bank of Cuba, November 5, 2010.*

About two decades ago, CUP was the single currency used in Cuba. The Soviet collapse was the stimulus for change. Because of trade credit losses and difficulty of the

government to earn foreign exchange due to market losses of sugar exports, ex-Cuban nationals, many of which lived in the U.S. felt obligations to send remittances to Cuba (Eckstein 2010). Feeling pressures of economic crisis while sugar and other exports were being re-marketed and before tourism had a sufficient opportunity to earn hard currency, the Cuban government encouraged remittances, and legalized the U.S. dollar in 1993 (Eckstein 2010: 1049).

Possession and use of USD in Cuba was made illegal in the late 1970s for nationalistic reasons related to the revolution (Eckstein 2010). The exchange ratio was set in 1993 at \$1 CUP to \$1 USD by the Cuban government, but because of black market trade that developed within Cuba the CUP “street exchange rate” inflated quickly to reach \$130 CUP per \$1 USD in the same year (Eckstein 2010: 1049). The government continued to provide rations, but also opened stores in which items could be purchased with USD. Eckstein notes that, “[t]hese stores offered basic foods, but also such non-durables as freezers, fans, furniture, and televisions” (2010: 1049).

Remittances became extremely important to enable Cuban people to purchase goods in non-ration stores, and an equally important platform for the introduction of hard currency into the economy. By 1993 remittances as a source of foreign income boomed, and soon accounted for the third highest source of foreign income, after sugar and tourism (Cerviño & Bonache 2005: 85). The upward trend continued. In fact between 1998 and 2003, 80% of foreign currency held by Cuban people was gained through remittance, accounting for the majority of dollar-based purchasing (Eckstein 2010: 1049). Of course not all Cuban people have family abroad, in the United States in particular, that are able to send remittances. The result was that not all Cubans had access to US dollars. In an article on challenges during the period following

the Soviet Union collapse Toro-Morn *et al.*, (2002) illustrate the importance of the U.S. dollar to Cuban people in the following passage:

La búsqueda is a survival strategy that encompasses both the formal and informal economy, but operates mostly as an underground economy. For Cubans, *la búsqueda* literally means ‘the search’ for well being, for survival, and most importantly, the search for U.S. dollars (USD). As one respondent told us ‘no one in Cuba can survive without dollars, *everyone* is engaged in *la búsqueda*.’ (33).

When the government began to allow the trade of USD for CUP at 1:1, this was the birth of the Cuban Convertible Peso CUC. People could now convert Cuban Pesos for American dollars. The CUC is a hard currency because it is exchangeable, but it can only be exchanged for other currencies within Cuba. Because of the inflation to the CUP through the black market, and U.S. restrictions on the amount of money that could be sent to Cuba, it was necessary to use a currency that was more accessible to Cuban people. In November of 2004, the Cuban government passed a law that restricted the domestic use of USD (Eckstein 2010: 1051). The U.S. dollar remains legal. However, “[c]ubans were required to trade in dollars for CUCs (Cuban Convertible Pesos), promissory notes with dollar value on the island” (Eckstein 2010: 1051). The new law imposed a surcharge of 20% on exchange from USD to CUC after a short grace period (Eckstein 2010: 1051). This surcharge on USD exchanges remains, but it has been slightly lowered, and in July 2010 was at 18%. There are also surcharges for other international currencies, but they are about half those charged for USD. High service charges were also imposed in 2004 for international money transfers to Cuba (Eckstein 2010: 1051). These fees allowed the Cuban government a percentage of remittances, and the amount that Cuban people received from the original remittance was greatly reduced (Eckstein 2010: 1051). The CUP remains a valid currency and is the currency government wages are paid according to participants of this research. However CUP is used only within Cuba among nationals, and is

not exchangeable for foreign currency. In the experience of the researcher it was possible to exchange CUC for CUP at *Cadecas* (government exchange houses); some items can only be purchased in CUP.

In recent history remittances from abroad have been declining with only about 50% of foreign family sending money in 2008, compared to 73% in 2006 (Díaz-Briquets 2008: 154). In April 2009, U.S. President Obama removed the restrictions on money transfers to Cuba (NBC News 2009). As this report is being written, there has not been sufficient time for researchers to investigate the impacts of the dissolution of the restrictions. It is not known if American citizens are sending more money to friends and family in Cuba, and consequently if it has led to income increases however marginal.

Tourism also plays an important role in bringing hard currency to Cuba. With the expanding development of tourism in Cuba, an increasing volume of resources are being consumed by tourists. This requires the Cuban government to work on developing infrastructure and to provide adequate services and amenities to tourists (Martin de Holan 1997). The majority of the goods and services must be purchased from foreign sources, and furthermore must be paid for in hard currency (Leogrande & Thomas 2002: 342; Martin de Holan 1997: 777). This is problematic for the economy for several reasons. The Cuban government has very little money to use to purchase goods and services required for a successful tourism sector (Martin de Holan 1997: 778). Also, Cuba has little experience competing in an international tourism market (Martin de Holan 1997: 778). Because of historic losses of important trade partners, Cuba has had and continues to have a rather limited sector of the economy which earns foreign currency. The tourism industry is a part of this sector. See table 3.3 for other hard currency earning industries within the economy.

Table 3.3 Exports Earning Foreign Currency (by percent of total exports)

Export	1990	1994	2000	2002
Sugar	72.7	30.0	10.4	11.4
Alcoholic Beverages	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.5
Tobacco	1.2	2.2	3.2	3.2
Nickel	6.5	7.9	13.3	10.7
Tourism	4.1	34.1	45.1	45.5
Others	15.3	25.5	27.7	28.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(O.N.E. 1996, 2002, as cited by Quintana et al. 2004: 182, author's translation).

In a 2004 report published for the National Institute of Economic Investigations in Cuba, Quintana *et al.* note that 1990 to 2003 was an important period for tourism within the Cuban economy (187). Foreign currency earned from tourism during this period covered approximately 64% of the deficit of the external balance of goods and services (Quintana *et al.* 2004: 187). The external balance of goods and services is the percentage of the GDP that, “equals exports of goods and services minus imports of goods and services” (Trading Economics 2010). However, the external balance on goods and services increased from -1.3 in 1995 to almost -3 by 1999, indicating growing deficit (Trading Economics 2010; World Bank 2010). The GDP per capita growth fluctuated widely, hitting a high of 7.4% annual growth in 1996, and a low of 0.93% in 1998 (Trading Economics 2010). Average GDP growth over this period was 3.9% (Trading Economics 2010).

Regardless of the overall GDP growth, and the growing percentage of hard currency earned through tourism since 1990, some scholars (Sixto 2006; Martin de Holan 1997), doubt that Cuban citizens are receiving sufficient benefits and returns from tourism dollars spent in Cuba. Martin de Holan (1997: 782) points out that “serious social consequences” are often the result of poorly managed tourism development in poorer countries. Sixto (2006: 316) outlines

some of these social consequences in current day difficulties in Cuba such as inadequate access to fresh water and basic medicine, poor housing and infrastructure, and decreasing state-run basic services, with no end to these conditions in sight. Furthermore, Blue asserts in a 2007 study that there is a growing social divide between people, which she attributes mainly to *la búsqueda*, and furthermore this divide, “has gradually eroded many of the socioeconomic gains made during the first three decades of the socialist period” (36). These are all examples of problems, related to difficulty securing hard currency.

3.3.2 The Ration System

One of the fundamental problems identified by Castro and his followers prior to the revolution was a large gap between the rich and the poor. With only a small number of agricultural land owners, a disproportionate number of persons were receiving the benefits of the successful sugar crops. One of the socialist ideas motivating Castro in the revolution was to give the Cuban people the opportunity to have good life, a good job, and feed their families (Barkin 1972). Poverty, inequality, and unemployment are characteristics of the population that plagued the island prior to the revolution (Gobierno de la Republica de Cuba 2010). The perspective that some scholars have taken is that the potential for social unrest due to these circumstances made redistribution of land and access to basic food and services a favourable option for the government, and one that could allow for development, both social and economic (Barkin 1972: 81). Other scholars have taken the perspective that social justice was sufficient motivation for redistributions, and others yet offered the possibility that focus on economic gains by the wealthy could impede other forms of development on the island (Barkin 1972: 80-1).

In some ways redistribution and rationing has been successful in Cuba. People “enjoy” equality with one another in terms of access to health and medical care, education, and food. Article 41, Chapter VI of the Cuban Constitution states: “[a]ll citizens enjoy equal rights and are subject to equal duties” (Constitución de la República de Cuba 2010, author’s translation). People will not be discriminated against for, “race, skin colour, sex, national origin, religious beliefs”, and furthermore, “any other harm to human dignity is prohibited and sanctioned by law” (Constitución de la República de Cuba 2010: Chapter VI, Article 42, author’s translation). The unemployment rate in Cuba was 1.7% in 2009 (CIA World Factbook 2010). This is quite impressive as the unemployment rate in the same year was 9.3% in the United States, 9.1% in France, 8.3% in Canada, with a world average of 8.7% (CIA World Factbook 2010).

On the other hand, the rations Cuban people receive are grossly insufficient. Rationing was introduced as a coping mechanism following the U.S. trade embargo to ensure that the small supply of food and other basic goods could be distributed equally among the population (Hamilton 1989: 40). Rations were reduced further in 1990 following the crash of the Soviet Union (Leogrande & Thomas 2002: 343). Ration books are distributed in December of each year, and are provided for every person from birth to death. Families living together may be listed together. The distribution centers for rationed goods are referred to as *bodegas*, or “shops/warehouses” translated literally. The *bodegas* are open daily, usually early morning until mid-day, and again from about 2 pm until 7 pm. Typical items to be rationed are:

- Rice
- Beans
- Bread
- Soap
- Eggs
- Fish
- Potatoes
- Chicken

- Cooking oil
- Coffee
- Sugar
- Cigars
- Fuel for stoves
- Milk for children under 7 years, and adults over 60

Distributions are based on monthly rations. However the rations are insufficient in providing food for the entire month, and quality and variety of food is quite poor (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 787-88; Hamilton 1989: 46). Roberg and Kuttruff (2007: 788) list a “typical” ration list for one per person for one month as: Six pounds of rice, twenty sausages, three pounds refined sugar, two pounds raw sugar, $\frac{3}{4}$ pound salt, $\frac{3}{4}$ bar bath soap, $\frac{1}{2}$ pound cooking oil, twenty ounces of coffee, eight ounces of soup noodles, and eight ounces of canned beef (once per 6 months). On average, rationed food will last only about a third of the month, and fills only about two grocery bags for the entire month’s food (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 787-88).

Lowered rations in 1990 resulted in a reduction of daily caloric intake by 33% from 1989 to 1993 (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 788). Malnutrition is rising in Cuba, opposite of the general trend in Latin America (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 788). Items such as toilet paper, and cleaning products are not usually rationed, as they are in short supply in general. Feminine hygiene products are often available only from international medical clinics at the price of nearly a month’s wage per package, if they are available at all. Clothing is expensive, even more so on the black market, and few people use socks and underwear because it is highly priced or unavailable (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 788).

Hunger, lack of variety, and resulting malnutrition are obvious shortcomings of the Cuban ration system. In addition lack of hygiene products like soap, cleaning products, underwear, and feminine products contribute to the deteriorating living conditions in Cuba. Additional food items are available at state-run stores to be purchased in CUC and from

farmer's markets, although prices run quite high in relation to meagre monthly wages. It is true that the population has equal access to *basic* food and goods through rationing, but the system is equally insufficient.

Figure 3.3 Men Unloading Supplies in Non-Ration State-Run Store. Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus.



(Laura Wiebe 2010).

3.3.3 Employment and Wages

As explained in the last section, unemployment was one of the issues that motivated the revolution. It was important to the Cuban people to have the opportunity to earn a fair wage, relative to the type work performed, but without drastic income differential as the pre-revolution era is characterized by. In Cuba's early history labour unions were formed to fight for fair treatment, rights, and adequate wages (Aguilar 1972: 78-84). One of the most notable problems was that foreigners working in Cuba were being paid higher wages than nationals (Magnusen & Rodríguez 1998). From the Machado dictatorship until the revolution the population suffered unjust working conditions (Aguilar 1972: 78-84). Recalling section 3.2.2,

the Machado dictatorship was the time in which labour union representatives were killed, and free speech was repressed (Aguilar 1972: 60).

Castro's government addressed these issues, and with stone letters the peoples' rights are inscribed in the Constitution. Chapter VII of Cuba's Constitution, *Derechos, Deberes y Garantías Fundamentales* (Rights, Duties, and Fundamental Guarantees), addresses workers' rights amongst education and healthcare. Article 46 states: "[a]ll who work have the right to rest, which is guaranteed by the work day of eight hours, the weekly rest, and the annual paid vacations. The State promotes the development of facilities and vacation plans" (author's translation). Articles 47, and 48, ensure social security for invalids or otherwise sick, and family in case of death, as well as the elderly. Article 49, addresses health issues in the workplace, and in case of accidents ensures care will be provided and appropriate compensation be provided whether through subsidy or retirement. Article 45, discusses that work in Cuba is not mandatory, but is a right for all people. These policies are admirable in terms of social equality and justness, and likely not so dissimilar from labour policies in developed countries.

Most Cuban people are employed by the state and work in the public-sector. Included in this sector are government officials, police and military, teachers, doctors and hospital staff, social programming, and other professions. Other major employment sectors are agriculture, commerce and state-run hotel and restaurants, and industrial manufacturing. In 2008, Cuba's workforce consisted of 4,948,200 people (O.N.E. 2009). This workforce number does not include private business owners/self-employed, which was about 150,000 in 2007 (Scarpaci 2009: 350). See table 3.4 for statistics on workforce sectors and numbers of employees.

It is possible for Cubans to own their own businesses, *cuenta propias* literally translated. In the sake of socialism, *cuenta propias* are not favoured by the government, but are legal provided they are licensed and pay appropriate taxes (Osborn & Wenger 2005: 32-3). After the revolution *cuenta propias* waned as public-sector government employment dominated the workforce, although it was possible for tradespeople to obtain special permission to continue their practices (Scarpaci 2009: 350). Work laws were somewhat relaxed in 1993 when the U.S. dollar was legalized, and this employment sector experienced an initial rapid growth, but has since experienced some decline (Scarpaci 2009: 350). By 1996 *cuentapropistas* (the people who own their own businesses) accounted for nearly 2% of the labour force with approximately 200,000 workers (Scarpaci 2009: 350). By 2007 the number of *cuentapropistas* had dropped to approximately 150,000 (Scarpaci 2009: 350). Common occupations of *cuentapropistas* are artisans, bici-taxi drivers, street food vendors, bike and tire repairmen, aestheticians/hairdressers, and waiters/waitresses (Scarpaci 2009: 350; Cato 2003: 608). *Paladares* are restaurants run out of a person's home, and account for many *cuentapropistas* (Scarpaci 2009: 350; Cato 2003: 608). *Casa particulares* are private homes with rooms available to be rented by foreigners, and are another common occupation for *cuentapropistas*. *Casa particulares* are not permitted in all destinations, such as Varadero, so as not to compete with the business of state-run hotels. In destinations with few state-run hotels such as Trinidad, *casa particulares* are plentiful. Generally *cuentapropistas* are independent workers, meaning self-owned businesses and do not include additional employees (Cato 2003: 608).

Wages in general are poor, and the majority of Cuban people struggle to survive daily life on their monthly salaries (Ritter 2005; Magnusen & Rodríguez 1998). Because of their

poorly designed economic policies Mesa-Lago (2005), predicts that despite the economic aid they are currently receiving from Venezuela and China, economic conditions for the population will continue to deteriorate. State employees are paid in CUP, and this is beneficial to the government but arguably unfair to the population. As tourism continues to grow in Cuba, a higher percentage of the GDP is being acquired in CUC. This money is then exchanged from CUC to CUP through government banking systems for wage payments, and the exchange differential is kept by the government (Magnusen & Rodríguez 1998). Lack of access to CUC limits the types of purchases that can be made with the wages the population earns.

Table 3.4 Workers Employed by Economic Activity by Thousands of Workers

Economic Activity	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total	4,607.0	4,641.7	4,722.5	4,754.6	4,867.7	4,948.2
Agriculture, hunting, forestry, & fishing	997.7	982.4	956.3	951.9	912.3	919.1
Mine and quarry exploitation	18.5	27.6	26.2	22.0	25.7	26.7
Industrial Manufacturing	609.1	573.1	565.6	525.1	523.3	543.1
Electricity, gas, and water	65.0	62.6	67.4	72.7	85.0	79.8
Construction	238.3	236.7	243.4	242.4	243.7	245.2
Commerce, restaurants, and hotels	636.9	610.3	617.8	603.1	613.6	610.2
Transport, storage, and communications	258.8	278.2	280.7	275.3	289.3	301.4
Financial establishments, insurance, real estate, and business services	149.9	104.0	105.2	116.6	111.4	123.0
Community services social and personal	1,632.8	1,766.8	1,859.9	1,945.5	2,063.4	2,099.7

(O.N.E. 2009, author’s translation)

Employees of companies that earn national profit are entitled to earn wage bonuses in CUC. These payments are distributed by the Ministry of Labour. These bonuses had been introduced after the U.S. dollar was legalized so that Cubans without remittances or work in tourism may have some access to CUC. However, a cap was placed on bonuses. The bonus cap was removed in 2008, and bonuses are paid based on employees who, “meet or exceed production targets” (Yaffe 2009: 49). Bonuses are paid based on profitability (Yaffe 2009).

This means that anyone working in public-sector, which is the largest sector of the workforce, will not have access to CUC through their labour.

Table 3.5 Average Monthly Salaries of the Cuban Workforce in CUP

Economic Activity	1998	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Total average excluding <i>cuentapropistas</i>	214	273	284	330	387	408	415
Agriculture, hunting, forestry, & fishing		276	297	332	387	420	444
Mine and quarry exploitation		315	353	407	540	544	562
Industrial Manufacturing		275	290	338	404	433	430
Electricity, gas, and water		314	339	398	496	508	517
Construction		339	349	400	478	497	522
Commerce, restaurants, and hotels		225	230	280	334	353	365
Transport, storage, and communications		280	295	331	406	418	427
Financial establishments, insurance, real estate, and business services		317	332	402	477	493	445
Community services social and personal		276	285	331	378	398	385
<i>Cuentapropistas</i>	743						1157

(O.N.E. 2009, author's translation; Scarpaci 2009: 351) Data for 1998, and *cuentapropistas* in 2008 obtained from Scarpaci, all other data from O.N.E.

Cuentapropistas earn an average monthly wage of three times more than employees of other sectors (Scarpaci 2009: 350). However *cuentapropistas* are heavily taxed and also must pay licensing fees (Scarpaci 2009). In an 1998 study, Scarpaci and Peters surveyed 152 *cuentapropistas* and they found that people enjoyed the freedom to own businesses, experienced few business difficulties other than paying high fees and taxes, and none had ever been extorted or experienced things like illegal shakedowns (Scarpaci 2009: 350). In a subsequent study by Scarpaci in 2008 (2009), major findings were similar apart from fewer number of *cuentapropistas*, and were that taxes had risen to approximately 45% of their total earnings up from 41% in 1998. In general *cuentapropistas* have more disposable income,

including *divisa*, granting them access to goods from CUC stores, and black-market items (Scarpaci 2009).

Table 3.5 lists the salaries of the Cuban workforce. The wages are grossly unproportionate to the cost of non-ration items. See Appendix A for price listing of non-ration items. The consequences of not having adequate access to money and goods often results in the population engaging in illegal activities, most often involving tourists, to earn sufficient money to survive (Jennissen & Lundy 2001).

3.3.4 Public Amenities: Education, Healthcare, Housing, and Transportation

Perhaps the most well known fact about Cuba is that provided to the citizens is universal access to health and medical care, education, food stuffs, and subsidies for electricity and other services. This is the basis of the socialist system in Cuba. The socialist system in Cuba strives to provide equal access and facility of basic human needs. However the systems used are certainly not without their problems. This section describes and discusses the public amenities of education, healthcare, housing and transportation.

The educational system in Cuba has roots with Spanish Colonialists, in which education was available only through private institution and was not supported by the Spanish government (Cruz-Taura 2008). The importance of education was recognized early in the nineteenth century, however as diplomatic relations declined between Cuba and Spain, so did efforts to educate the population (Cruz-Taura 2008: 171). Once Cuba finally won their war of independence, an educational board was established in 1900 while Cuba was under occupation by the U.S. military (Cruz-Taura 2008: 171). By 1902 the board had opened 3600 classrooms, and schools were opened in all provinces by 1915 (Cruz-Taura 2008: 171). Education was lacking in accessibility to rural populations and in the 1950s, less than 25% of the total

population was literate (Cruz-Taura 2008: 173). The handful of scholars that had made significant contributions to education blamed Batista's government who was unable to rectify the educational problems (Cruz-Taura 2008: 173).

Educating the population was a priority, and an important reform as a part of the revolution. Part of the reason education was prioritized was to convince the population of newly adopted Marxist-Leninist ideology (Cruz-Taura 2008: 173). Today education has been subsidized by the government to provide free education to all citizens. An impressive 99.8% of people were literate in Cuba according to a 2002 census (C.I.A. World Factbook 2010). The literacy rate was 99% in the United States according to a 2003 census, 99% in Canada according to a 2003 census, and 97.9% in Spain according to a 2003 census, with a world average of 82% in 2005 (CIA World Factbook 2010).

The government has succeeded in providing education, however the education system is of questionable standards. Following the revolution in order to meet the revolutionary educational requirements the government allowed people without university degrees to be teachers (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 785). Currently, university students are permitted to teach and completion of the degree is no longer a requirement (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 785). It is required to attend public schooling until grade nine; it is optional to attend technical school or university subsequently (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 786). As of 1998, only about 8% of the population had obtained schooling past grade nine, and is on a declining trend (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 786). There is pressure on teachers to pass students, passing grades were lowered in the 1980's and furthermore final exams in several subjects have been abolished (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 786). Pushing students through a system that lowers its standards to accommodate substandard performance cannot be considered successful.

Cuba's population has been granted through constitutional legislation free access to their healthcare system. Positive aspects of the healthcare system include accessibility, diseases such as polio, malaria, and diphtheria have been eradicated, and Cuba enjoys relatively high healthcare statistics when compared to other Latin American countries (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 786). Cuba has made some impressive contributions to biotechnology within the context of drug development (Scheye 2009: 383). Because of the trade embargo with the United States, 80% of the drugs administered are produced within the country; however drug production is limited by inability to purchase sufficient materials (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 787). A high percentage of new drugs are developed in the U.S. and patents and intellectual laws of American drugs severely limit types of drugs that can be produced (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007).

Negative aspects of the healthcare system are also plentiful. The medical system is geared toward preventative measures, and is not sufficiently prepared to deal with health problems of an aging population (Scheye 2009). Scheye (2009) attributes this to lacking ability to purchase medical equipment due to general lack of capital, and blockades of the U.S. embargo. Receiving medical care is a two-stage process. Patients must first be assessed at primary care centers called *consultorios*, and be referred to a *policlínico* for care (Scheye 2009). *Policlínicos* provide "essential services" and only a limited number offer specialized care (Scheye 2009: 383). *Policlínicos* are severely under numbered at an approximated 498 in 2009, each serving between 30,000 and 60,000 patients (Scheye 2009: 383). Access to basic drugs is severely limited, and hospital conditions are poor. The smell when walking past a hospital can be horrific. A 2007 study by Roberg and Kuttruff best outlines the appalling hospital circumstances in the following excerpt:

It was reported in 1995 that when individuals check into the hospital, they must bring their own sheets, toilet paper, soap, and other personal items. Running

water and disinfectants are regularly unavailable, and blackouts are common. (...) there is a lack of medicines, and even basic medical supplies, such as gloves, gauze, and antibacterial soap are in very short supply (787).

Furthermore medication and supplies are regularly stolen by hospital staff, contributing to shortages (Scheye 2009: 787). The conditions are unlikely to improve in the near future, and scholars Scheye (2009), and Roberg and Kuttruff (2007) have attributed this directly to the U.S. trade embargo. Regardless of the positive aspects of Cuba's medical system, there is a pressing need for improvement. Hospital conditions need to be rectified, and Cuba needs better access to medication.

While the population has grown by nearly four million people since 1960, existing homes are crumbling and relatively few new homes are being built (Díaz-Briquets 2009; Roberg & Kuttruff 2007). All real estate is controlled by the government, and it is not possible for individual people to buy or sell a home legally (Pujol 2009: 5). It is possible to trade a home with another consenting citizen by paying a nominal fee to the government. Generally, houses are inherited by family living in the house at time of death. Adult children most often live in the same house as childhood, and upon marriage choose to live in the dwelling of the spouse's parent with the fewest occupants at the time. Most people were not forced to leave the homes they occupied prior to the revolution, and remaining people were assigned modest accommodation (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 789). An unintended result of housing distribution was a continued class distinction that was meant to be abolished through the revolution (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 789).

Building and repair materials are severely limited on the island, and the majority of homes are in a poor state of repair (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 789). Some building materials are available almost exclusively on the black market, making legitimate repairs by residents near

impossible (Pujol 2009). Furthermore electricity, water, and phone services are limited and unreliable (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 789). Figure 3.4 is an example of urban Cuban housing.

Figure 3.4 Crumbling Residential Homes, Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus.



(Laura Wiebe 2010).

As if lack of materials for regular maintenance were not enough, hurricanes are devastating the already poor situation. In 2008 alone, 63,000 homes were completely destroyed and damage was sustained to an additional 444,000 (Díaz-Briquets 2009: 429). The damages to infrastructure in this one hurricane year were estimated at \$10 Billion USD (Díaz-Briquets 2009: 429). Although nothing can be done to stop hurricanes, they require some of the credit for the poor state of housing and overcrowding. Díaz-Briquets (2009), has called the housing situation in Cuba a “crisis” as the aging housing deteriorates and natural disasters take their course. The massive investments that would be required to solve the housing crisis are out of reach with little hope aspiring (Díaz-Briquets 2009: 439).

The loss of the oil trade deals with the Soviet Union had a significant impact on transportation systems (Alfonso & Penin 2009; Scarpaci 2009). The population was forced to

adapt to limited fuel supplies. Bicycle use exploded in the years following the soviet collapse, and Scarpaci (2009) cites Scarpaci *et al.* (2002) that, “bicycle use soared throughout the island, from about 70,000 in 1989 to several hundred thousand a few years later” (350). A common form of transportation is a *bici-taxi*, a bicycle that has been modified to carry up to two passengers on a covered bench. See figure 3.5 for a bici-taxi illustration.

Figure 3.5 Bici-taxi Stand, Holguín, Holguín.



(Laura Wiebe 2010).

Bici-taxis are generally used in urban areas to travel distances of not more than a few kilometres. They are reserved for Cubans only, and drivers can be fined heavily for transporting foreigners. The cost is minimal for citizens to use, however drivers will charge rates similar to taxis if a foreigner is picked up in order to cover potential fines.

Public transit services are available in urban areas and fares tend to be quite marginal, although service is far from ideal. In Havana there are large busses are called *camellos* (camels) and, “resemble sardine cans with people squeezed into every inch of the vehicle” (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 788). *Camellos* are tractor trailers able to carry up to 200 people and

have several levels creating a shape that resembles the humps of a camel (Alfonso & Penin 2009: 490). According to Alfonso and Penin (2009), the government started a process to phase out *camellos* in 2008. Throughout Cuba there are many old busses used for public transit that have origins in the Soviet Union, acquired during the trade deal times. Canada is currently the primary importer of busses, although a notable donation of 1500 used busses was received from the Netherlands in the mid-1990s (Alfonso & Penin 2009: 490). Canada's bus imports are also mostly second hand, and yellow Canadian school-bus numbers are on the rise on Cuban streets (Alfonso & Penin 2009: 490). In general, urban bus services have not been able to expand with the population and in 2003 there was only one bus per 7,000 people; this is a 5,000 person per bus increase since 1959 (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 788). Alfonso and Penin (2009: 492) estimate an investment of \$5.1 billion USD would be required for long term revitalization of Cuba's public transport system.

The coloured licence plate system in Cuba makes it easy for officials to identify the type of registration a vehicle has, state-owned, military, private, registered to carry foreign passengers, *etc.* It is common at major intersections along the highway for people to gather to hitch a ride. Police or military are often present and will stop the appropriate trucks or cars and instruct the loading of people based on the destination of the vehicle. This type of transportation is restricted to foreigners.

Another common mode of transport, both local and long distance is the *Cuba-taxi*. Almost anyone who has a private vehicle is a Cuba-taxi. Because gas and maintenance costs are so high, people who have private vehicles help maintain them by transporting paying passengers. Picked up from the side of the street, passengers confirm the destination and negotiate a price before getting in. On average a Cuba-taxi fare is four times less than a tourist

would pay for a regular taxi in the same location. Private cars/Cuba-taxis are not permitted to carry foreign passengers, and fines are heavy and include impound of the vehicle.

Other modes of long distance travel include train, and the services of two state-owned bus companies. Import difficulties have contributed to the deterioration of railways in Cuba, and the track system has been reduced by 45% since 1958 (Alfonso & Penin 2009: 490-91). Rail transport is unreliable at best. ASTRO Bus and Viazul offer long distance services, ASTRO being the lower budget, lower class of service (Alfonso & Penin 2009). Due to the high price per ticket to wages ratio, few people are able to travel long distances for family visits or vacations.

3.3.5 The Black Market

The current black market in Cuba has origins in the Special Period (Toro-Morn et al. 2002). Toro-Morn *et al.* (2002) indicate that contributing factors to its initiation were a surplus of pesos that had been printed to cover national losses, and the lack of ability to purchase goods in stores. Inflated prices of goods on the black market during the Special Period is directly related to the devaluation of the CUP, and subsequent creation of the CUC (Toro-Morn *et al.* 2002: 38). The creation of the CUC, being comparable and exchangeable with the USD, was intended to curb black market dealings (Toro-Morn et al. 2002: 38). The continuation of black market activities has led to the creation of the dual economy in current day Cuba (Jennissen & Lundy 2001).

A wide range of goods and services are available on the black market. Occasionally people will accept jobs, particularly in government production, to be able to steal things that are sellable on the black market (Pujol 2009: 3). Drugs are available on the black market, and are imported through world scale drug operations (Nilsen 2007). Ritter lists a myriad of illegal

operations and black market items in his 2005 article, *Survival Strategies and Economic Illegalities in Cuba*. Some common illegal activities leading to black market goods and services listed by Ritter are: finders' fees for *casa particulares* and *paladares*, selling of stolen cigars, stolen car parts, stolen gasoline, accepting bribes for movie admissions/illegal room rentals, personal use of state cars and/or use of state cars to collect fares from tourists, and over-reporting of ingredients required to make pizza or other foods.

There is presence of non-localized sex trade in Cuba, and tourist areas are popular for this type of activity (Colantonio 2004: 32). Colantonio (2004) uses the term *jinetera(f)/jinetero(m)* to describe prostitutes and pimps, the term *macetero* for money launderers, the term *luchadores* to describe street hustlers that may approach a tourist to sell an illegal cigar, tour, or something of the sort, and explains the lifestyle of these general street criminals as *jineterismo*. The term *jinetero* as all encompassing seems to be phasing out the use of *luchadores* recently. Tourists are often the targets of *jinetero* dealings, and Colantonio (2004) notes a correlation between tourism development and *jineterismo*. An example of a common way for *jineteros* to find female business is under the guise of selling fruit. The term *Mango* is a colloquialism used to describe an attractive male in Cuba. A man will stand on the side of the street with a bag of mangos and ask a lone female if she needs a mango, with the fruit in his hand. As she walks away, he will ask again if she needs a *Man-go* and displays his body with his hands.

The presence of the black market is highly visible. There are a significant percentage of individuals that engage in black market activities, and these activities are often linked to tourism (Ritter 2005). People who choose to work in the black market do so mainly as a survival necessity to earn the pesos they require for survival (Maldonado 2009). Life tends to

be highly stressful for people engaged in black market activities as many live in constant fear of shakedowns (Maldonado 2009). All types of people are involved in black market activities, most of who generally conform in society (Maldonado 2009; Ritter 2005). Many people tend to alter the frequency of their black market dealings at times when the government cracks down in order to avoid fines, punishment, or other complications (Maldonado 2009: 267). Despite government efforts to stop them, black market dealings have accelerated in recent years (Pujol 2009: 12).

3.3.6 Human Development in Cuba

Living conditions for the general population in Cuba have improved greatly since the rule of the revolutionary government in 1959 (McGuire & Frankel 2005). The intention was to redistribute wealth and expand basic services like access to drinking water, sanitation services, healthcare, education, *etc.* “in favour of the poor” (McGuire & Frankel 2005: 84). While these endeavours were somewhat accomplished, attractive constitutional policies outlining things like equality and universal access to education and healthcare are deceptive in Cuba’s case. For example the quality of healthcare that is received is questionable, and the educational system standards have been altered to accommodate underperformance as explained in section 3.3.4. Access to basic goods is a major problem for functioning of services provided by the government. Impacts of the U.S. trade embargo were cushioned by deals with the Soviet Union, but after the Soviet crash Cuba entered a state of crisis that 20 years later they have not fully recovered from. Less money is available to be invested in social benefits than years prior to 1990, and social benefits are continuing to suffer (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007: 785). So essentially, there has been an overall improvement in living conditions since 1959, but these

improvements were stunted by Soviet trade losses and have regressed to be poorer today than in 1990 (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007).

United Nations did not calculate a Human Development Index rank for Cuba in 2010, but ranked Cuba 51 of 182 countries worldwide in 2009 (UNDP 2009). This rank placed Cuba in a high human development category. In 1990 the UNDP ranked the countries in ascending order (order is descending in 2009) and Cuba ranked 92 of 130, also in a high human development category (UNDP 1990). Regardless of the high indicators Cuba is still generally considered a country in development. Furthermore, questions of whether human development in Cuba is sustainable human development remain. This is an important aspect of this research, and will be discussed in further depth when analyzing the results of the investigation for this thesis.

3.4 A Brief History of Tourism in Cuba

3.4.1 Tourism in Cuba Before 1959

The favourable fate of tourism in Cuba was sealed for Cuban scholars Quintana *et al.* (2004), when on October 27, 1492, Christopher Columbus landed and exclaimed, “this is the most beautiful land that human eyes have ever seen” (as quoted by Quintana *et al.* 2004: 68, author’s translation). Since *La Habana* was founded in 1519, it has been an important center which attracted all types of travellers. Alongside development the sugar and tobacco exports in 1819 there was major development in *la Habana* and Matanzas including construction of theatres, roadways, bandstand parks, meeting areas, cafés, and commercial centers to welcome ships carrying international visitors (Quintana et al. 2004). As economic development continued to thrive foreign developers and people wishing to immigrate were arriving more frequently. Guest houses were no longer sufficient and the first commercial hotel, *Perla de Cuba* was built

in 1835 in *La Habana* (Quintana *et al.* 2004: 70). The thirty years of Wars of Independence, and Spanish-American war of 1898 took their toll on development and general health of the population (Quintana *et al.* 2004). The economy was able to recover over the next ten years and continued with hotel development, but the next real peak for tourism was in 1920.

Tourism in Cuba exploded as a law was passed in the United States in 1920 prohibiting alcohol, casinos and gambling (Quintana *et al.* 2004). Cuba became a frequented location for U.S. citizens who wished to engage in activities under prohibition in their own country. Over the next decade this type of tourism continued to grow and tourist numbers almost tripled from 31,566 in 1924-1925, to 86,270 in 1929-30 (Quintana *et al.* 2004: 74). When Batista seized power in 1933 he organized a trade deal based on rum exports with American gangsters (Nilsen 2007). Later in the decade prohibition was ended in the United States, and U.S. government officials in New York cracked down on gangsters (Nilsen 2007).

World War II brought a decline for tourism in Cuba because of inaccessibility to the island. The primary method of transport for international tourists was by boat. U.S. Marine operations in the Atlantic and Caribbean Sea prevented casual traveler visits from the U.S., Canada, and Europe (Quintana *et al.* 2004: 77). Tourism hit its greatest low in 1943 (Quintana *et al.* 2004: 78). In 1946, after the war had ended Cuba's tourist numbers and revenue quickly rose again (Quintana *et al.* 2004: 78).

In 1947 U.S. gangster operations in *la Habana* branched out and included distribution of heroin en route from France to the U.S. (Nilsen 2007: 378). Batista was once again in power by the early 1950's and prostitution, drugs, and gambling had a dominant presence in Cuban tourism for the next decade. By 1959, almost 25% of visitors were excursionists staying in Cuba less than twenty-four hours (Espino 2008: 131). Cuba was the most popular destination

in the Caribbean, and Jayawardena (2003: 52) notes, “[b]etween 1948 and 1957 Cuba increased tourist arrivals by over 94 percent”, indicating the extreme success of tourism in the decade.

3.4.2 Tourism from the Revolution to 1988

Decline in international tourism was notable in 1958 and Jayawardena (2003) attributes this to increasing presence of guerrillas in eastern provinces and frequent gang related killings in *La Habana*. Exotic women and lavish amenities were major factors for marketing tourism internationally under Batista (Jayawardena 2003). Castro changed this quickly after coming to power by changing the focus to domestic beach tourism, nationalizing hotels, and converting golf courses into schools. Presence of drugs, gangsters, prostitution and gambling lowered, and so did tourism and related revenue. In 1961 only 4,180 international tourists arrived in Cuba (Jayawardena 2003: 54). Statistics are unavailable for most of the 60’s, but are assumed to be marginal. It is not likely that the Cuban Missile Crisis was an attractive stimulus for international travellers.

International tourism began to make a comeback in the early 1970s as the government began to employ a strategy to stimulate the struggling economy. The first year for Cuba to make a favourable return to international tourism following the U.S. trade embargo was 1972 (Quintana *et al.* 2004). By 1975 the government had instituted a plan for international tourism revitalization with a \$65 million CUP investment in hotels and beach development (Quintana *et al.* 2004: 97). The main marketing strategy was to promote international tourism based on the natural environment, and to see the social changes of the country. Canadian tourism grew rapidly given the climate and accessibility thanks to the development of charter/all inclusive vacations during the second half of the 1970s, and throughout the 1980s (Quintana *et al.* 2004).

Tourism in general grew steadily with 15,000 tourists in 1974 to 130,000 by 1979 (Jayawardena 2003: 54). By the late 1980s as the Cuban economy suffered a blow with the Soviet trade losses the government began planning for tourism as the main economic development strategy and tourist dollars spent in Cuba nearly doubled from 1985 to be \$166 million USD in 1989 (Jayawardena 2003: 54).

3.4.3 Tourism from 1988 and Beyond

Tourism was on the rise in 1988, but it was 1989 when tourist arrivals finally exceeded the highest previously recorded in 1957 (Jayawardena 2003: 55). Exponential growth continued throughout the 1990s. Colantonio (2006) explains, “[t]ourism, which was previously generally considered an unproductive economic sector by socialist governments, was rediscovered as a key economic activity and became the main driver of Cuba’s economic reinsertion into the global economy” (325).

Economic development strategies focusing on tourism since the Special Period have been undeniably successful. Cuba’s rate of tourism growth in the 1990s was exceptional, and ranked number four for arrivals in the Caribbean by 1999 (Jayawardena 2003: 55). Today tourism and associated services account for the largest section of the economy, earning \$2.4 billion CUC in 2008 (O.N.E. 2009) and the potential for growth remains. Jayawardena (2003) explained two-part reasoning to expect continued tourism growth in Cuba; Cuba has the largest landmass in the Caribbean. Low population density may allow tourism to develop in a relatively sustainable fashion with minimal inconvenience to local populations (55). Secondly, the population is better educated, and healthier than any other competing Caribbean population contributing to a strong workforce (55).

3.4.4 Tourists and Gift-giving

Canadians are the most frequent visitors to Cuba by far. In 2008, Canadian tourists numbered 818,246 which is nearly half of all tourists, and more than four times the number of English tourists, the second most frequent visitors (O.N.E. 2009). The majority of Cuba's tourists originate in developed countries, and can be assumed to have reasonable access to purchasing goods. Following the growth of tourist numbers in the early 1990s, a new phenomenon began to occur. Tourists began to bring gifts, small things that they would give to local people. A common method of dispersion is to leave gift items on the hotel bed for the maid to take. Others may give gifts to waiters, or to people in the artisan markets. There is general world awareness that Cuban people have difficulty obtaining goods, even things as simple as pens and bath soap. As of the current time there is no academic research that addresses why this philanthropic gift-giving began, and why its occurrence has grown to be commonplace in Cuba. Although travellers are now bringing gifts to other developing countries, particularly in the Caribbean, Cuba is a primary location for this interface.

According to the Cuban Embassy in Canada to bring donations into the country legally, it is necessary to obtain an import permit (Canadian Network on Cuba 2010). It is reasonably expected that most tourists do not do this. Most items given as gifts by tourists are small and ordinary items. Additionally tourists must adhere to airline baggage regulations, and are primarily transporting items required for their vacations. At the discretion of authorities upon arriving in Cuba items may be taxed or seized if they are not believed to be for personal use, or are restricted items (Aduana de Cuba 2010).

Although there are no legal consequences for tourists who give gifts to Cubans, Taylor and McGlynn (2009) refer to the Ministry of Tourism (2005) as they explain, “[i]n February

2005, the Ministry of Tourism established regulations that forbid Cubans from receiving tips, gifts, or accepting dinner invitations from foreigners” (408). *Gifts* is an encompassing term, and includes monetary and in-kind varieties. Taylor and McGlynn question the adherence of tourism workers to the Ministry of Tourism (MINUTR) regulations. The gift-giving regulations were initiated in order to curb an unproportionate number of people seeking jobs in the tourism industry (408).

There is no previous academic research that explores whether only tourism workers are receiving gifts, what people receive, what people do with the things they get, and the social effects of these gifts. The government saw gift-giving as a significant problem which stimulated regulation five years ago, yet there is virtually no information about this phenomenon. There is a great potential for social impacts on the population as access to goods is assumed (by population seeking employment in tourism) to vary according to employment sector. In a socialist system equal access to goods, healthcare, education, or whatever is ideal. As tourism continues to grow in Cuba, the research on affects of philanthropic gift-giving by tourists is of increasing importance to understanding not only access to goods, but any social and economic changes that may be occurring. This is the essence of the importance of the research within this thesis.

Chapter 4: Research Methods

4.1 Research Design

There is a lack of information available about the affects of international tourists' philanthropic gift-giving on population disparity and human and economic development of local populations in developing tourism destinations. As a result, basic aspects of the phenomenon such as how commonly gifts are received by local community members, what the impacts of tourists' gift-giving are, and how locals view the occurrence are unknown. Determining these basic aspects of tourists' gift-giving is important to ensure a well rounded understanding of the associations between tourists' gift-giving to population disparity and development. Because these basic unknown aspects of tourists' gift-giving include both quantitative and qualitative information, a mixed methods research approach has been used for this research. Although the research goal of this thesis leans toward the necessity of obtaining qualitative information, it is common for mixed methods research to be inclined to lean more heavily on one type of approach either qualitative or quantitative, and rather than as competing strategies they can be used effectively in tandem (Creswell 2009). Furthermore, there is value in combining these strategies as, "[t]he goal of mixed methods research is not to replace either of these approaches but rather to draw from the strengths and minimize the weaknesses of both in single research studies and across studies" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004: 14-15).

Creswell has described the mixed method research approach as, "[a]n approach to inquiry that combines or associates both qualitative and quantitative forms. It involves philosophical assumptions, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches, and the mixing of both approaches in a study" (2009: 4). Complimentary to a mixed methods research approach, a pragmatic paradigm has been adopted for this research (Creswell 2009; Johnson &

Onwuegbuzie 2004). Throughout this thesis the importance of addressing the research problem has been stressed and several research methods have been used to obtain knowledge about the phenomenon of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving; this emphasis on the research problem and use of various methods is the fundamental structure of inquiry for the pragmatic paradigm (Creswell 2009; Morgan 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie 1998; Patton 1990; Rossman & Wilson 1985).

According to Creswell, “[p]ragmatists agree that research always occurs in social, historical, political, and other contexts” (2009: 11). In the opinion of the author, the information obtained through this research is highly dependent on the political, social, and trade history of Cuba; the data cannot be separated from this context. Regardless of the fact that research occurs within specific contexts, the value of a pragmatic paradigm that lacks a firm and total stance in any single reality or philosophy (Creswell 2009), is embedded in Greer's (1969) fundamental assumption of social science research that there is value in knowing the consequences of interactions between people and the world they live in, and as such there is value in collecting information about the world (Daly 2007).

A concurrent mixed methods strategy has been employed to obtain the data for this research conducted through the pragmatic paradigm. Creswell has described the concurrent mixed methods strategy as procedures, “in which the researcher converges or merges quantitative or qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In the design, the investigator collects both forms of data at the same time and then integrates the information in the interpretation of the overall results” (2009: 14-15). Several methods of data collection have been used for this research and are discussed in detail in section 4.3.2.

4.2 Identification of the Research Location

Since the Cuban Government turned its economic attention to tourism in the early 1990's, Cuba has experienced massive tourism growth and tourism has been an undeniably successful contributor to economic development ever since (Colantonio 2006; Jayawardena 2003).

Tourism in Cuba experienced a major facelift in the wake of the revolution since the prohibition days of the United States when Cuba offered a reputation of lavish vacations that included drugs, gambling, exotic women, and alcohol (Jayawardena 2003). While the island is still somewhat plagued by prostitution and drugs (Colantonio 2004), these problems are a mere fraction of their former presence and the new face of tourism in Cuba represents culture and natural beauty of the island (Jayawardena 2003). Tourist gift-giving has become an interesting addition to tourism popular culture in Cuba. Today one would be challenged to open a tourism guidebook for Cuba and not find a section that discusses bringing gifts to Cuba.

Guidebook recommendations to bring gifts to Cuba often cite that still in the wake of the U.S. trade embargo, many items are difficult to access in Cuba and gifts are well appreciated by the Cuban public. While tourists' gift-giving occurs in other developing nations, the presence and visibility of the phenomenon in Cuba is not easily rivalled. The location chosen for the case study research was Trinidad, in the Sancti Spiritus province.

4.2.1 Introduction to Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus

Trinidad is located in the south of the province of Sancti Spíritus, Cuba. The city of Trinidad was founded in the early 1600's, and was named after the Christian Holy Trinity (UNESCO 2010). The city is characterized by cobblestone streets, colonial period buildings, and terracotta roof tiles. Together, Trinidad and the *Valle de los Ingenios* (Valley of the Sugar Mills), were declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1988 (UNESCO 2010). Trinidad lies at the eastern

foothills of *Sierra Escambray* (Escambray Mountains), adjacent to the *Topes de Collantes* natural reserve. Nearby to the south along the coast are Playa Ancon on Peninsula Ancon, the village of La Boca, and the fishing community of Puerto Casilda. All are easily accessible to tourists via cocotaxi, taxi, or beach train from the city. Given the diversity of attractions, Trinidad is a primary location for tourism in the province of Sancti Spíritus. See figure 4.2 for mapped location of Trinidad.

Figure 4.1 Templo de Santería Yemayá. Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus, Cuba.



Laura Wiebe (2010).

Trinidad is not as easily accessible to mass tourists as popular locations such as Varadero, and Holguín. Trinidad does have a small airport, but it does not accept international flights. The main cross-country train line does not stop in Trinidad. Likewise the main cross-country highway *Carretera Central* does not go through Trinidad, although it is connected to the main system by the *Circuito Sur* highway. Day trips to Trinidad are widely offered by tour operators from both Varadero and *La Habana*. It is also possible to reach Trinidad by Viazul, a national bus service available to foreigners. Registered official taxis can be hired for cross-

country trips, and fares may be similar or higher than Viazul fares. Although illegal, it is also possible to hire non-registered “taxis” for cross country fares.

Figure 4.2 Map of Cuba, Indicating Location of Trinidad.



(Lonelyplanet.com 2011).

The city of Trinidad lies in the municipality of the same name. The official population of the Trinidad municipality in 2009 was 74,892 (O.N.E. 2009). In the municipality, 52,988 people lived in urban areas, and 21,904 were rural (O.N.E. 2009). Among the main attractions of the Trinidad municipality are: Playa Ancon; hiking and horseback riding tours through *Topes de Collantes*; antique steam train ride to a lookout point in the *Valle de los Ingenios*; colonial architecture; and the ability to experience Cuban culture from outside the resort atmosphere with ample *casa particulares* in the colonial center of Trinidad city. The city also has several small museums; a lookout tower to view the *Sierra Escambray* and the Caribbean Sea; *Iglesia Parroquial Santísima Trinidad*, the largest church in the Caribbean; Santería worship temple, *Templo de Santería Yemayá* (Figure 4.1); and a culture of needlepoint handicrafts unique to the municipality. Like all Cuban cities, there is a *Casa de la Trova*

(Cultural House) and *Casa de la Musica* (House of Music) that attract foreign visitors for nightly entertainment.

The researcher was told by residents that tourism in Trinidad has two peaks annually, from November to March and again from mid-June to September. Residents explained that European tourists more frequently visit during the summer months, and Canadians comprise the majority of tourists during winter months. There are ten hotels within the municipality of Trinidad (O.N.E. 2009). Only one is located within city limits, Hotel Iberostar Trinidad, and the end of 2009 they offered 40 rentable rooms (O.N.E. 2009). The researcher was also told by residents that there are 500 registered *casa particulares* in Trinidad and that registered *casa particulares* may offer up to two rooms for rent, with a maximum occupancy of two adults and one child per room. Official statistics for *casa particulares* are not available from O.N.E.

In the Municipality, there were a total of 1355 available hotel/motel rooms in 2009 (O.N.E. 2009), however this number does not include the number of rooms available in *casa particulares*. According to O.N.E. (2009) the total number of foreign tourist days for 2009 is 311,828, but a large margin of error in the statistics must be considered. If there are in fact 500 *casa particulares* in the city of Trinidad, this could mean that there are up to 1000 additional rooms available to foreigners. Although it is unlikely that these rooms would be filled at maximum occupancy for the entire year, there are 365,000 room nights non-accounted, and it is unclear if the number of tourist days listed by O.N.E. includes day trip tourists, *casa particular* guests, or only room rights of hotel/motel guests.

The total income in the Trinidad Municipality from international tourism in 2009 was \$52.9 billion CUP, down from \$64.3 billion CUP in 2008 (O.N.E. 2009). It is likely that the drop in revenue was due to damages and travel aversion due to the highly active hurricane

season in 2008 (Díaz-Briquets 2009), as total income from tourism grew steadily from 2005 to 2008. The total cost and expenses to the municipality due to international tourism in 2009 was \$56.7 billion CUP (O.N.E. 2009). Cost per Cuban Peso of total income was one to one (O.N.E. 2009). Perhaps more easily understood as a U.S. dollar conversion, for the equivalent of every \$1 USD spent by a foreigner, the municipality spent \$0.62 USD in providing tourist services (O.N.E. 2009). This means the municipality earned the equivalent of \$0.38 USD for the equivalent of each U.S. dollar spent in 2009.

4.2.2 Selection of the Case Study Site

Although three of the municipality's hotels are resorts located on the nearby Ancon Peninsula, there are no resorts in the city of Trinidad. This forces tourists who visit the city to have interactions with a mixture of local residents who may or may not be tourism workers. In resort destinations tourists usually far outnumber local residents, making it easier to interact with other tourists than with locals. In Trinidad although tourism is booming, there are many more locals than there are tourists considering an average daily basis (O.N.E. 2009), facilitating interactions between tourists and locals. As mentioned in the last section, there are few hotel rooms available within the city, and for this reason many tourists who visit stay in *casa particulares*. Tourist guidebooks and online blogs often discuss leaving gifts for Cuban people inside their hotel rooms. While resort staff are expected to report all gifts to their employers (Mesa-Lago 2005), *casa particulares* are *cuenta propias* and there is little incentive for a person to report themselves to the government. Thus, if gifts are being kept by Cubans, Trinidad seemed like a likely place for this to occur. The impacts of tourists' gifts on a local population cannot easily be addressed if the gifts are being expropriated from their recipients by MINTUR, or resort managers.

In addition to the likelihood that gifts would not be expropriated from their recipients, another incentive of conducting the research in Trinidad was a personal support system. A good friend of the researcher had family that owned a *casa particular* in the city center. The family provided a support system to the researcher through encouragement, travel assistance to other parts of Cuba, and peace of mind in terms of trust and safety of person and ability for her to safeguard the research information.

4.3 Research Methods

4.3.1 Preparations

Several preparations were undertaken prior to conducting the research required for this thesis. Discussion of the preparations provides the background context in which the research was conducted. The preparations that will be discussed in the following sub-sections are: pre-departure, arrival and orientation, and language qualifications.

4.3.1.1 Pre-Departure

The proposal for this thesis was developed over a three month period from October to December 2009. The proposal was entitled, *Tourist Philanthropy, Population Disparity, and Development*. A brief literature review was included and methods that would be used to obtain the data were outlined. This proposal was approved by the researcher's advisor in December 2009, and was later submitted and approved by the Office of Research Ethics in April 2010.

Efforts to obtain a research visa for Cuba began in February, 2010. In mid-February the researcher visited the Cuban consulate in Toronto, Ontario, where she was informed that visas for research are provided through Cuban educational institutions. She attempted to contact many scholars at various universities throughout Cuba via e-mail, however did not receive any

responses for nearly two months. The researcher continued to attempt to contact various Cuban tourism scholars, and received what she believed to be a promising response in April 2010.

4.3.1.2 Arrival and Orientation

The researcher arrived in Cuba on June 5, 2010, and the research was conducted over a two-month period. A few days after her initial arrival in Varadero, she visited the university with which she had discussed her research. The researcher was told that a decision had been made to reject her proposal and the university could not help her obtain a research visa. Her advisor was informed, who gave her the e-mail addresses of several other academic contacts. These contacts were e-mailed, but the researcher did not receive any responses. Her advisor suggested the researcher attend a tourism conference which was held in *La Habana* in mid-July. She did attend, but was unable to find any Cuban scholars interested in her research that could help her to obtain a research visa.

Although a research visa was not obtained, conducting the research was not illegal. The author's rejection of a research visa was based on the disinterest in a collaborative research effort of a specific university. This university was located in a different province, and denial to conduct research was specific to the region of the university. Tourists are freely permitted to speak with residents, and in accordance with ethical guidelines for research, informed consent for voluntary participation was obtained from all research participants. The lack of research visa was a limitation to this research which be discussed later in the chapter.

The researcher arrived in Trinidad in the early morning of June 9, 2010 on the Viazul bus service. She was met by the family who owned the *casa particular* she stayed in for the rest of her time in Trinidad. Once at her *casa particular* she spent some time introducing herself to the family and discussed tourism in the city before going out to familiarize herself

with the city. The researcher fairly quickly found herself in the *candonga* (artisan market) and immediately recognized it as an important location for meeting local people. Because it is a tourist attraction, workers are expected to converse with tourists and this made it an appropriate place to speak with residents without apprehension about stepping over the acceptable line of socializing.

Upon further exploration of the city, the researcher found a plaza that several hundred Trinidad residents walked across at some point during the day. As a central hub, it was recognized as a prime location in which to conduct the questionnaire surveys. Within the first few days the researcher had met several local people interested and willing to participate in this research and had administered ten pilot questionnaires.

4.3.1.3 Language Qualifications

During her undergraduate degree which she obtained in May 2008 from the University of Manitoba the researcher completed Spanish language courses as electives up to an intermediate level. In her third-year of undergraduate studies she completed one semester at the Universidad Latina de America (UNLA) in Morelia, Mexico, during which she completed an intermediate Spanish grammar course, in addition to being submerged in use of Spanish language in daily life. Her home-stay family did not speak English, and she was forced to communicate solely in Spanish while at home and in public. After returning from Mexico in the spring of 2007, the researcher felt her Spanish was fluent and proficient for regular communication. She was subsequently hired by the University of Manitoba to assist in the promotion of the exchange program with UNLA in 2008. She gave presentations to university classes in Spanish for this work, and was comfortable doing so. For these reasons, she felt comfortable that she was able

to communicate effectively in Spanish and chose to conduct the research for this thesis without the aid of a research assistant.

The researcher found that Cubans use different colloquialisms than are used in Mexico, and the accent of some words is pronounced slightly differently. However, she did not have any major problems with dialect. She kept a Spanish-English dictionary with her at all times and reviewed it when necessary, although most times words she was not familiar with were explained to her using alternative terminology. Questionnaires, consent script, and information letters were translated prior to receiving ethics clearance for the research, and were reviewed by a recent ex-patriot Cuban friend living in Canada for appropriate grammar.

4.3.2 Data Collection

The data for this research were collected over a two month period from June to the end of July, in 2010. The researcher did travel to other locations within Cuba during this time including Cienfuegos, Havana, Holguín, and Varadero, but the majority of the research period was spent in Trinidad. All data collected in questionnaires and informal interviews for this research was gathered in Trinidad. Personal experiences and conversations with locals in other locations have also contributed to the researcher's knowledge and understanding of Cuba. Travel to other destinations in Cuba, including both cities and resorts, helped her confirm that Trinidad was an appropriate destination in which to conduct the research.

The researcher found a warm welcome into the Trinidad community upon her arrival. She conducted pilot tests and introduced herself to many residents during her first week in the research community. Residents seemed pleased to speak with her and expressed interest in her research. Residents regard the existence of tourism in the Trinidad community highly and were

open to speaking about tourism and life in Cuba in general. They also had many questions for the researcher about life in Canada, and she was happy to share her experiences with them.

As several weeks past, community members were regularly greeting the researcher on the streets and occasionally stopped by her *casa particular*, sometimes with gifts of fresh fruits and vegetables. She was also invited to several social gatherings. By the end of the research period, news of her research had spread and several community members approached the researcher to ask if they could complete questionnaire. From the perspective of the researcher, the community began to view her differently than an average tourist after she had been staying in the community about two weeks, which is longer than the average tourist. The researcher feels strongly in the quality of information she was able to obtain, as well as in the sincerity of relationships that she was able to build with community members during the research period.

4.3.2.1 Questionnaire Surveys

Questionnaire surveys were used as a primary means of data collection. The questionnaires were used to gather both qualitative and quantitative data. Cukier (1996) and Babbie (1995) agree that the combination of data types in a single data collection instrument is an appropriate practice for social science research and indicate that benefits of combination include reduction of 'inherent' weaknesses in each type. A combination of questions were used, but the majority were open-ended questions investigating qualitative issues. Quantitative data were gathered regarding age, sex, tourism employment status, close family tourism employment status, and whether the respondent had ever received a gift(s) from a tourist. An English sample of the questionnaire is available in Appendix B.

The intention in the research proposal was to distribute paper copies of the questionnaire, which would be filled out by respondents. However, upon arrival in the

destination, the researcher decided to change this approach to oral administration. As a result, the researcher was able to answer all of the respondents' questions about the questionnaire as they were answering the questions, and was able to translate answers in the moment.

Translation in the moment allowed for her to ask the respondents if she had interpreted their answers correctly, and she had many opportunities to ask for elaborations if responses were vague or if she did not understand the implications of their statements. Furthermore, by orally administering the questionnaire the researcher was able to build rapport with respondents. In the opinion of the researcher, this approach was the most culturally appropriate manner for collecting the questionnaire data. In these ways, conducting the research orally improved the validity of the research. Cukier (1996: 63) explained validity as, "the extent to which an empirical measure adequately reflects the real meaning of the concept under consideration, and problems of validity can lie within the questionnaire design. These problems can be accentuated when research is taking place in a country and culture which is foreign to the researcher. Misunderstandings are possible when the researcher does not fully understand the cultural context in which the questions are framed".

The pilot tests revealed that the questionnaire instrument was gathering desired data. However, cultural relevance of questions regarding social status and social change were somewhat challenged due to the socialist political views of many respondents. However, these questions were not removed because respondents varied in their views on whether social status existed in Cuba.

A total of 101 respondents completed the questionnaire. Participants were given an information letter about the research, and verbal consent was obtained prior to conducting the questionnaire. For anonymity names were not recorded. Questionnaires were administered in

three locations throughout the city: in the *candonga*; at a plaza identified by the researcher to be a central hub passed by hundreds of community members each day; and on the residential streets of the city center. Criteria for selection were based on age of majority, whether the person was alone, and if they were sitting. Initially the researcher tried to ask each fifth person. However, it often resulted that the person was a part of a group. Because questions were administered orally, there was a tendency for the entire group to provide answers and she began to doubt the accuracy of the individual's answers as opposed to a group negotiation. This was recognized quickly and each single individual was approached. The rationale for approaching people sitting down was that the researcher would not be interrupting them from an activity they were currently engaged in or en-route to so they would likely be more inclined to speak with the researcher. Questionnaires were administered at various times throughout the day including morning, afternoon, and evening to be able to include people with various schedules of free time. As a small token of appreciation respondents were given pens upon the completion of the questionnaire.

As exemplified above, the sampling method used in this research was non-probability sampling. While methods of probability sampling are preferable as they minimize bias and allow for statistical analysis of probability, it is seldom possible to employ probability sampling in the developing world context (Cukier 1996). Usefulness of non-probably sampling is amplified in situations where the sample population is involved in informal economic activities (Cukier 1996), which are common to Cuba.

4.3.2.2 Informal Interviews

Traditional secondary data sources such as government statistics, reports, and databases were not used in this research. The reason being, that these secondary sources simply do not exist for

tourists' gift-giving in Cuba. This lack of secondary data sources heightened the importance of informal interviews. Meaningful data were obtained through these interviews and the researcher's understanding of tourists' gift-giving in Cuba was enriched. The informal interview technique is useful for obtaining in-depth data in which the goal is to, "understand meanings, perspectives, and life experiences" (Daly 2007: 143). In some instances, several interviews are conducted with the same people over a period of sessions, and are characterized by asking a few questions about a general subject area and allow conversation to naturally develop, but lack pre-determined interview questions (Daly 2007; Esterberg 2002).

The researcher conducted informal interviews with a total of 21 residents of Trinidad. She spent a period of several hours most mornings conducting the interviews. Interview sessions were recurrent with all but one participant; however, numbers of sessions varied for each individual. Topics discussed were broad, and included discussions on life in Cuba, how the political and social systems work, tourism in Cuba and Trinidad, and various aspects of tourists' gift-giving in Cuba. These interviews were conducted both individually and in small groups in a public area, or in the participants' homes. Eighteen of the interviewees were tourism employees, one was a former tourism employee, and one was trying to get a licence to operate as a *cuentapropista* with a tourism business. The information the researcher was able to obtain was rich and provided the necessary opportunities to learn about tourism in Trinidad, life in Cuba, and thoughts and experiences about tourists' gift-giving in a manner that was not possible by administering questionnaires. The researcher was able to establish trust and rapport with the informal interview participants, which led her to gain many friendships.

The researcher anticipated being asked for things, as she learned from previous visits to Cuba, and therefore had many things to give away such as shoes, clothing, watches, sunglasses,

toiletries, baby bottles, toys, and so on. Several of the informal interview participants had asked her if she had brought any of these things with her and she made her best efforts to give each person what they had asked for. In other instances the researcher took the initiative to give participants gifts of appreciation. Although the researcher was aware of MINTUR's policy restricting acceptance of tourists' gifts, the community was not. Tourists' gift-giving is customary in Trinidad and as a foreigner it was not appropriate for a foreigner to announce Government policy to community members. The researcher does not feel the recipients were put at risk by her actions because there was no evidence that this policy had ever been enforced; as such she was confident in her belief that the policy would not be enforced in response to her actions. However, the researcher was mindful not to distribute gifts in the presence of law enforcement or work supervisors. In addition, each recipient had the opportunity to decline the gifts and the actions by the researcher to give gifts did not violate MINTUR's policy (Mesa-Lago 2005).

In order to protect the identities of informal interview participants in the research findings, all names have been changed. Informal interviews were not tape recorded. Following the discussions, the researcher wrote detailed notes about the conversations in a notebook in order to maintain cultural appropriateness of her research. As per ethics clearance for this research the notebook and electronic transcriptions will be destroyed after a period of three years.

4.3.2.3 On-Site and Participant Observation

A third method of inquiry used in this research was on-site observation. As Daly explained, “[o]ne of the chief advantages of doing observations is that they provide opportunities to see social life in a *natural* form where people are observed in situ” (2007: 131). In this manner

observations of natural social interactions are facilitated, and furthermore, “[t]his approach to observation reflects the relative invisibility of the researcher and is rooted in the assumption that portrayals of that reality can be accurately and essentially unmediated by the researcher’s perspectives” (Daly 2007: 131). While social interactions usually conducted in privacy such as those among families is a challenge for a researcher to observe, this method is effective for observing public social interactions (Daly 2007), such as those involved between tourists and local community members. Regardless of the researcher’s perception that she was welcome in the community, it is an inherent possibility to this type of data collection that the, “[r]esearcher may be seen as intrusive” (Creswell 2009: 179).

On-site observation was useful in this research. The researcher was able to observe first-hand the gift-giving interactions between tourists and local community members, and subsequent actions of gift recipients and their interactions with other community members. At the end of each day the researcher wrote out observations of events and social interactions that had occurred. She was mindful of her time in the research location and on-site observation was a continual and perpetual process. Observing natural social interactions between tourists and community members and amongst community members was important for cross-referencing the data obtained through other methods. For these reasons this form of inquiry was invaluable to this research.

In addition to on-site observation during which the researcher watched the interactions of others, by practicing gift-giving she engaged herself in participant observation. Participant observation refers to the researcher engaging in activities such as those of every-day and socio-cultural life in an effort to gain a deep and personal understanding of aspects of these activities (Carnevale *et al.* 2008). Engaging in gift-giving gave the researcher personal insight to the

process and social interactions involved in tourists' gift-giving which she was later able to cross-reference with participant stories, and questionnaire data.

4.3.3 Data Analysis

In the following sections the processes of data analysis used for this research will be discussed. The research methods included the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data, and data analysis of each type is discussed separately in sections 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.3.2 respectively. A discussion of validity and reliability of the data completes this section.

4.3.3.1 Qualitative Analysis

Reflexivity is an important aspect of qualitative studies (Auerbach & Silverstein 2003). Reflexivity refers to addressing inherent bias of the researcher which includes the social positioning of the researcher as well as their subjective views and values which ultimately may affect the interpretation and results of research (Auerbach & Silverstein 2003). While it is impossible to eliminate researcher bias completely, reflexivity approaches generally share, “an underlying concern with getting at the truth and using reflexivity as a way of minimizing distortion and bias” (Daly 2007: 197). Essentially, if a researcher is able to recognize his/her personal influences and discuss them, future readers of the research will be able take the conclusions of the research into context. Reflexivity strengthens the validity of research in this manner.

The researcher is a Canadian female in her twenties of European-descent and comes from a middle-class background. She has completed a post-secondary degree, has no children, and is not married. While her native tongue is English, she is comfortable speaking Spanish with knowledge and use of both formal and informal language. The researcher previously visited resort destinations in Cuba on two occasions several years prior to her research. On

these prior occasions she became aware that tourists' gift-giving was a common occurrence, and on these occasions had left various toiletries or other small gifts for the resort maids. One occasion was prior to 2005, and one was after; she was not aware of MINTUR's tourist gift policy on that visit.

Figure 4.3 Roadside Billboard: “Patria o Muerte”. Ancon Peninsula, Sancti Spiritus.



(Laura Wiebe 2010).

The researcher's largest concerns for bias were her social positioning and political views. Some respondents may have had difficulty relating to her due to her age and social positioning. Furthermore, the researcher has lived in a democratically governed country her entire life, is content with democracy, and as such likely has different mindset and perspectives on liberation and freedoms than members of a totalitarian nation. Furthermore she was informed by respondents, her review of the Cuban Constitution, and sun-bleached billboards reading, “*Patria o Muerte* (Homeland or Death)”, that Cuban people are not permitted to say anything contrary to socialist beliefs. For this reason, it is likely that information was censored by respondents, and for these reasons it is possible that the information the researcher has

obtained may be skewed to accommodate political perspectives of Cuba. Furthermore with access to essentially any material good and no cap on earnings, the researcher may not fully comprehend the personal values and meanings of receiving a gift from a tourist as experienced by a Cuban.

Data analysis for this research followed common procedures of qualitative analysis including transcription, open coding, creating categories, axial coding, continual memoing, and finally writing the results (Daly 2007). Transcription of the questionnaire data and field notebooks took place in September, 2010. Following transcription, qualitative data obtained through the questionnaires was analyzed through line by line open coding. Next, the data were organized into categories based on the open coding, and continued the analysis process by employing axial coding techniques. Through axial coding of the data, 13 categories and 12 sub-categories were identified. The data was finally arranged into four overarching themes.

Because the informal interviews were not recorded in the moment, notes about them were subject to memory at the time they were written so the researcher could not always guarantee precise terminology of the participant and were often told in the voice of the researcher, so were not included in the line by line open coding process. Notes and stories from informal interviews and observations of tourism and tourists' gift-giving were selectively added to categories that had been formed after the initial open coding of the questionnaire data, or formed new categories. Use of memos in conjunction with notes and stories from informal interviews and observations helped the researcher to organize and feel confident with categories and resulting themes she had created.

It was pertinent to do a separate analysis of gifts received by respondents. As an open-ended question, participants were asked what that had been received as gifts from tourists. The

data for this question were analyzed separately from other qualitative data through open coding, categorical organization, and axial coding. This resulted in identifying 10 themes of gifts, and respondent comments related to these gift themes were included in descriptions of these themes in Chapter 5, section 5.3.2.

4.3.3.2 Quantitative Analysis

Although the majority of the data obtained for this research was qualitative, quantitative data was also collected. Quantitative data mainly concerned determining the number of respondents to receive gifts in the research location. Quantitative data were also collected for demographic characteristics of the respondents. Initially, the quantitative data were organized by creating a spreadsheet of characteristics (both demographic and gift recipient status) by respondent number. Basic statistical math skills in addition to SPSS software were used in the quantitative analysis of the data. In February, 2011, the researcher visited the University of Waterloo statistical consulting services to confirm she had interpreted and explained the results correctly. Field notes were used to assist the description of the quantitative data. Results of quantitative analysis are discussed mainly in Chapter 5, sections 5.2 and 5.3.

4.3.3.3 Data Validity and Reliability

Among social-science researchers, a common way to improve the validity of research is to use multiple research methods (Payne 1997). The underlying assumption to using a multiple methods approach to research is that reliability of the data improves when investigated through various methods as a single method cannot provide significant information to fully explain any given phenomenon (Payne 1997: 108). According to Creswell and Plano Clark, “[v]alidity differs in quantitative and qualitative research, but in both approaches it serves the purpose of checking on the quality of the data and the results” (2007: 133).

Application of the Chi-square statistical significance of frequency test is a commonly accepted manner of improving validity of quantitative data in social-science research (Healey 2011). Possible complications with using the Chi-square test are misunderstanding the results, which is particularly true when categories of data compared increase to five or larger, and when using small sample sizes where answer frequencies number fewer than five (Healey 2011). In an effort to mitigate complications with understanding the results of the Chi-square tests applied in this research, the researcher visited the statistical consulting services at the University of Waterloo. After explaining her applications and interpretations of the Chi-square test to the consultant, it was confirmed her understanding of the results was correct.

It is beneficial to analyze the results of the instrument used in quantitative data collection against previous scores of the instrument to improve validity and reliability of research (Creswell 2009; Creswell & Plano Clark 2007). However, it was not possible to compare the questionnaire results of this research to the results of the instrument in previous studies; this problem is inherent to unique studies in which a new instrument was created. The questionnaire used for this study was designed by the researcher and has not been applied in previous studies.

Validity of the data collected through qualitative measures is improved through the use of validity strategies, which include using multiple methods of data collection and through member checking (Creswell 2009). Efforts have been made to enhance the validity of the data collected for this research by using multiple data collection methods, as well as reviewing memos, field notes, and stories across types of data collection. As the questionnaires were being conducted, respondents were asked if the researcher had interpreted answers correctly. Several informal interviews were conducted with the same participants, in which the researcher

had the opportunity to ask for elaborations on previous sessions, and that information from previous sessions had been understood correctly. These practices have contributed to the confidence of the researcher in the accuracy of the findings of this thesis including the resulting themes of the qualitative analysis.

4.4 Research Challenges and Limitations

4.4.1 Research Challenges

In general, research on tourists' gift-giving is very new, and there were several challenges to conducting this research. The first challenge was choosing a destination that was appropriate for the research to be conducted. As there were no previous academic studies indicating that tourists' gift-giving was actually occurring *anywhere*, choosing a destination appropriate for the research was subject to the personal knowledge of the researcher, as well as that of her advisor. After the country of Cuba was decided upon, Trinidad was chosen as the destination community in which to conduct the research after the researcher reviewed many tourism guidebooks for Cuba.

Designing an appropriate questionnaire was the next challenge. Also related to the lack of previous studies, the researcher did not have any previous instruments to compare the questionnaire design with. Because very little is known about tourists' gift-giving it was difficult deciding which questions need to be asked first in this primary study. While the information obtained in this research is valuable and interesting, the researcher thought of many more questions she would have liked to ask after returning home from Cuba. Because names of questionnaire respondents were not taken in combination of the volume of respondents and the unlikelihood of locating each one, it would have been impossible to return to Cuba to ask the same people a second set of questions.

Conducting the research without a research visa proved to be a challenge, partly due to the researcher's own apprehensions. She had some concern that because the acceptance of tourists' gifts is banned in Cuba (Taylor & McGlynn 2009; Mesa-Lago 2005), that the information she was seeking was somewhat sensitive. Because she did not have a research visa she was constantly concerned that she would arouse the attention of local or national law enforcement, who she believed may confiscate the research materials. However, the researcher had the utmost trust and respect for her *casa particular* hosts, who provided her a locking room to safeguard research materials. She was constantly aware of law enforcement while conducting the research, and was always cautious to hide research notebooks. Neither her hosts nor the researcher were questioned by officials about the research.

This lack of visa also presented a problem of determining where the researcher was able to conduct the research. As noted earlier, the researcher had deemed the *candonga* likely a safe place, and so conducted much of the research there in addition to a busy plaza, and the residential streets of the city center where she was occasionally invited inside respondents' homes.

A final challenge to the research was the researcher being female in a male-centered culture. There seems to be more tolerance toward objectification of women in Cuba than she is used to in Canada, and frequently observed men making cat calls and extending invitations for male escorts. The researcher was not comfortable approaching men who made these types of calls or comments, and so this reduced the number of males who she potentially could have asked to participate in the research.

4.4.2 Research Limitations

In addition to the challenges, there are also several limitations to this research. The most prominent, and perhaps most important limitation was the lack of interest in this research from both the Cuban Government and Cuban educational institutions. This lack of interest presents a major limitation to immediate applicability of this research. As the researcher did not receive an explanation as to why this research was not of interest to the one particular educational institution, any explanations about why the research was declined would be merely guesses. It is possible that the lack of interest is related to the policy banning the receipt of tourist's gifts in Cuba. Because of the lack of interest, it is unlikely that this research will influence Cuba to review the policy on receiving tourists' gifts, or otherwise benefit from this research. Despite this limitation it is hoped that the information on this thesis is distributed broadly to governments, NGO's, tourism planners, and other policy makers, and that the information within may make significant contributions in decision-making regarding tourist gift-giving policy in other destinations. There is reason to believe that tourists' gift-giving is occurring in nations other than Cuba, and it is hoped that this research may help various officials and scholars in understanding the impacts of tourists' gift-giving.

A second limitation to this research is related to the inability of the researcher to obtain a research visa in Cuba. Lacking a visa, she did not have access to hotel staff as respondents. While there was a potential chance of speaking with hotel or resort staff while at the plaza used for research, or in the residential streets of Trinidad, the researcher was not able to speak with staff through the hotels. Attempts were made to speak with staff, however a supervisor at the only hotel in the city informed the researcher that if she did not have a research visa, and accompanying certificate from MINTUR, employees were not permitted to speak with her. As

much of the staff working in the Ancon resorts lived in Trinidad, the researcher also attempted to speak with staff in these resorts. Although beaches are public, the resorts had heavy security, and the researcher was not permitted inside despite several efforts. Including hotel staff may have provided additional or alternate perspectives on the impacts of tourists' gift-giving.

Much of the research for this thesis was conducted in the *candonga*. For this reason, the research may present the opinions of a higher than representative portion of tourism workers than is present in the general population. If more non-tourism workers than tourism workers were included, it is possible results of the research may have varied.

Originating from a democratically governed country, the political viewpoint of the researcher is likely fundamentally different from citizens of a totalitarian nation. For these reasons, she may not have completely understood implications or weight of what respondents had to say. Constraints of language may have also contributed to misunderstandings of the information. Although she was able to communicate effectively with respondents, the researcher was not aware of many colloquialisms used in Cuba, and may have misunderstood their meanings and implications.

There was apprehension of some community members to participate in the research, several people who were asked to participate declined. It is possible that community members declined to speak with the researcher due to the policy restricting Cuban people from socializing with tourists (Mesa-Lago 2005). It is also possible that the people the researcher did speak with were reserved, due to political restrictions, and left information out of their conversations with the researcher.

Finally, the information obtained in this research is highly politically bound. It is likely that if tourists' gift-giving was researched in a non-socialist nation the results would vary.

Although it was not possible to mitigate all limitations, best efforts were put forth by allowing flexibility in the research process and careful review and acknowledgement of research challenges and limitations with attention given to validity and reliability of the data.

Chapter 5: Findings: Philanthropic Gift-giving in Cuba

5.1 Introduction

International tourism is extremely important to Cuba. Not only for its economic benefits but because of the access to material goods it grants given Cuba's complicated trade past and present. While the Government chose to restrict people from receiving tips and gifts from tourists, an in-depth examination of the extent and impacts of tourists' gift-giving as explained by local Cuban participants provides an interesting insight that suggests the need for policy change. This chapter explores the data collected mainly through respondent questionnaires, but also includes data from informal interviews, and on-site observations. Through the analysis of the data the occurrence of tourists' gift-giving is examined, and four major themes have been revealed. After the demographic characteristics of respondents are outlined, the occurrence of gift-giving reveals the percentages of respondents to receive gifts as well as what types of things have been received. Statistical significance of data was tested through Chi-square frequency tests when appropriate. The first theme explored in this chapter is gift-giving culture in Cuba. It provides an account of locals' perceptions on receiving gifts from tourists including an examination of respondents' preferences between receiving gifts versus money. Cuban customs in regard to gift-giving are also looked at. The second theme examines social and economic impacts of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving. The next theme takes a look at Cuban peoples' access to material goods, including distributing gifts received from tourists. The final theme in this chapter takes a look at some of the impacts of tourism in general, both social and economic in the research location, Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus.

5.2 Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

One hundred and one people provided responses for questionnaire surveys. All respondents were residents of Trinidad, where the questionnaires were administered. Furthermore, Cuban citizenship was held by all respondents. The sample was comprised of 43 (42.6%) males and 58 (57.4%) females. Respondents were not asked to identify their exact age, but to indicate the age category to which they belong. See table 5.1 for additional listing of respondent ages.

Table 5.1 Detailed Age Groupings of Sample, Total and by Sex

Age Category	Total Number of Respondents	Number of Female Respondents	Number of Male Respondents
18-24	8 (7.9%)	6 (5.9%)	2 (2.0%)
25-34	25 (24.8%)	16 (15.8%)	9 (8.9%)
35-44	31 (30.7%)	16 (15.8%)	15 (14.9%)
45-54	17 (16.8%)	13 (12.9%)	4 (4.0%)
55+	20 (19.8%)	7 (6.9%)	13 (12.9%)

Additional demographic characteristics relating to employment categories are discussed in the following section.

5.2.1 Employment Sector Characteristics of Respondents

Among respondents, 67 (66.3%) were employed in tourism occupations. Thirty-four (33.7%) were not employed in tourism occupations. These numbers have been adjusted for relevance and consistency. Originally 65 (64.3%) of the respondents claimed to work in tourism occupations, and 36 (35.6%) claimed to be employed in occupations unrelated to tourism. Respondents were asked both their occupation, and whether they considered themselves to be employed in a tourism job. Discrepancies occurred within five categories of job title: teacher; *casa particular* owner; dancer; pizza vendor; and artisan.

To ensure consistency, the categories in which the discrepancies occurred were reviewed and a decision was made as to whether the occupation was or was not a tourism job.

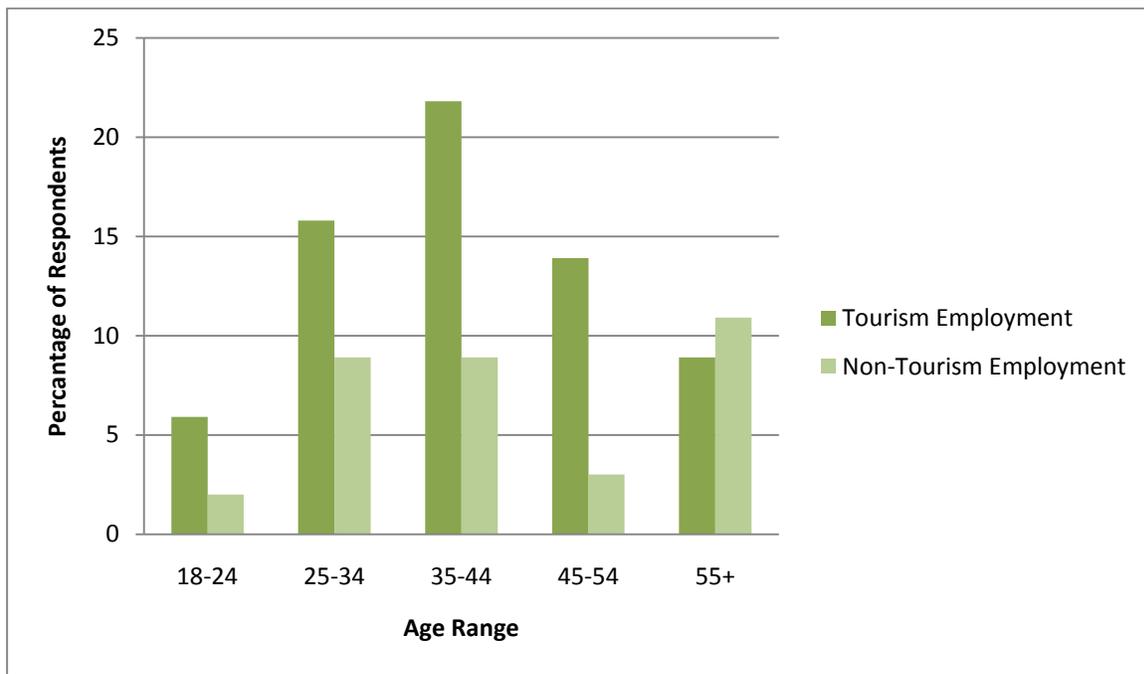
As “tourism employee” is broad category and difficult to define, in order to decide whether the jobs were or were not tourism work, the categories of jobs in which respondents answered were tourism work with no discrepancies were compared to each other, and each job possesses one or more of the following characteristics: employee works on a front line service level with tourists, earns their wage directly from tourists (*cuentapropistas* working in tourism), produces products/services geared toward tourist consumption, or works in a tourism facility including but not limited to a hotel, resort, or *cantina*. These characteristics were used to determine whether the job categories with discrepancies were tourism jobs.

The response of one teacher was changed from tourism employee to non-tourism employee as this job does not conform to the outlined characteristics. Essentially identical employment type as *teacher*, two professors responded affirming tourism employment and were subsequently changed to non-tourism employment. *Casa particular* owners work directly with tourists by providing hospitality services, and earn their income directly from tourists as *cuentapropistas* so have been considered tourism employees. The responses of four *casa particular* owners have been changed to be tourism employees. Dance performances at resorts and *cantinas* are a product aimed at tourist consumption and has been considered tourism work. The response of one dancer was changed to be a tourism employee. Cuban “pizzas” are sold by street vendors in every Cuban city. They are sold in CUP which while legal for tourists to have, is generally reserved for use by Cubans. This is a product occasionally consumed by tourists, however is geared toward the Cuban population. For these reasons, pizza vendors have not been considered tourism workers. The response of one pizza vendor was changed to be a non-tourism worker. Finally, regardless of whether an artisan physically sits in the *candonga* (artisan market) to sell their craft, they produce products aimed at tourist consumption and

have been considered tourism workers. The responses of two artisans were changed to be tourism employees.

Thirty-nine independent job categories were identified by respondents. One participant did not identify his/her job. Of the job categories, 18 (46%) were within tourism work, and 21 (54%) of the categories were not within tourism work. See Appendix C for detailed employment category listing. Figure 5.1 indicates age by tourism/non-tourism employment of the respondent sample.

Figure 5.1 Respondent Sample by Age and Tourism/Non-Tourism Sector Employment



5.2.2 Employment Sector Characteristics of Respondents’ Immediate Family

Fifty-seven (56.4%) respondents had family members working in tourism. Interpretation of *immediate* family was left open to the respondents. As a result, relationships of immediate family working in tourism included: husband, wife, brother, sister, mother-in-law, cousin, auntie, uncle, step-son, niece, mother, son, grandmother, brother-in-law, father, daughter, and

unspecified. Thirteen or 12.9% of respondents had 2 or more family members working in tourism. Forty-four (43.6%) respondents did not have immediate family working in tourism.

Originally 59 (58.4%) respondents claimed to have immediate family working in tourism. The answers of two respondents were amended based on the occupations of the family members. Amendments were made to change a pizza vendor and a construction worker to non-tourism employment. Respondents identified 30 independent categories within tourism work in which their family members were employed. See Appendix D for detailed employment category listing of respondents' immediate family.

5.3 Occurrence of Gift-giving

Seventy-eight respondents had received gifts from tourists, 77.2% of the sample. Twenty-three respondents had never received a gift from a tourist, 22.8% of the sample. Of the 67 respondents that are employed in tourism jobs, 56 had received gifts from tourists. This is an 83.6% rate of gift receipt among tourism workers. Eleven tourism workers had not received gifts. This is a 16.4% rate of non-receipt of gifts among tourism workers. Twenty-two of 34 non-tourism workers had received gifts, a 64.7% recipient rate among non-tourism workers. The remaining 12 non-tourism workers had not received a gift from a tourist, a 35.3% non-receipt rate among non-tourism workers.

Among the 11 tourism workers that had never received gifts from tourists, the occupation categories in which they were employed are: airport ground handler; artisan; artisan/*candong*a vendor (2); *candong*a vendor (2); commercial tourist store clerk; accountant (hotel); singer; tobacco/liquor store sales; and waiter. Half of these occupations require direct contact and interactions with tourists. They are: artisan/*candong*a vendor; *candong*a vendor; commercial tourist store clerk; and waiter. This accounts for 6 (54.5%) tourism worker

respondents that did not receive gifts from tourists. The remaining 5 (45.4%) tourism worker respondents that did not receive gifts from tourists did not have direct contact with tourists.

Table 5.2 Chi-square and Individual Relationships between Tourism/Non-Tourism Employment and Gift Recipients

	Tourism Employment	Non-Tourism Employment	N	χ^2	df	Sig.
Gift Recipient	56 (55.4%)	22 (21.8%)	101	4.570	1	0.033*
Non-Recipient	11 (10.9%)	12 (11.9%)	101			

Note: An * indicates a significant relationship between variables at a 95% confidence level or higher level.

The results of the Chi-square test in table 5.2 indicate a significant relationship between tourism employment and gift recipients. Tourism employees are more likely to receive gifts than non-tourism employees. However, the majority of people in both employment categories were gift recipients.

Table 5.3 Chi-square and Individual Relationships between Gift Recipients and Family Members with Tourism Employment

	Family Working in Tourism	No Family Working in Tourism	N	χ^2	df	Sig.
Gift Recipient	45 (45.6%)	33 (32.7%)	101	0.220	1	0.639
Non-Recipient	12 (11.9%)	11 (10.9%)	101			

Note: An * indicates a significant relationship between variables at a 95% confidence level or higher level.

Table 5.3 investigates the relationship between having family working in tourism and receiving gifts from tourists. The Chi-square test proved an insignificant difference. This means that having close family who work in tourism did not affect whether a respondent received a gift from a tourist. However, respondents were questioned only whether they had received a gift directly from a tourist, not whether they had received a tourist's gift indirectly

from family or friends. As discussed later in the chapter respondents commonly give the gifts they receive from tourists to others.

5.3.1 Demographic Characteristics of Gift Recipients

In the respondent sample of 58 females, 43 (74.1%) females received gifts, and 15 (25.9%) did not. Of the 43 females that did receive gifts 34 (33.7% of all respondents, 58.6% of all females, 79.1% of female gift recipients) were tourism employees. In the respondent sample of 43 males, 35 (81.4%) males received gifts, and 8 (18.6%) did not. Of the 35 males that did receive gifts 22 (21.8% of all respondents, 51.2% of all males, 62.9% of male gift recipients) were tourism employees. The results of the Chi square in table 5.4 prove that gender does not have a statistically significant relationship with the rate of receivership. This means that gender did not affect whether a community member received a gift.

Table 5.4 Chi-square and Individual Relationships between Gift Recipients and Gender

	Gift Recipient	Non-Recipient	N	χ^2	df	Sig.
Male	35 (34.7%)	8 (7.9%)	101	0.740	1	0.390
Female	43 (42.6%)	15 (14.9%)	101			

Note: An * indicates a significant relationship between variables at a 95% confidence level or higher level.

A total of 8 respondents were aged 18-24; Four (50%) people in this age group received gifts. Twenty-five respondents were aged 25-34; Eighteen (72%) people in this age group received gifts. Thirty-one respondents were aged 35-44; Twenty-five (80.6%) received gifts. Seventeen respondents were aged 45-54; Fourteen (82.3%) received gifts. Twenty respondents were aged 55+; Seventeen (85%) received gifts. Age categories were combined in order to obtain valid Chi-square results. The reclassifications for the Chi-square test in table 5.5 are: 18-

34; 35-44; and 45+. The results of this test prove that there is not a significant relationship between age and gift recipients.

Table 5.5 Chi-square and Individual Relationships between Gift Recipients and Age

Age	Gift Recipient	Non-Recipient	N	χ^2	df	Sig.
18-34	22	11	101	3.203	1	0.202
35-44	25	6				
45+	31	6				

Note: An * indicates a significant relationship between variables at a 95% confidence level or higher level.

5.3.2 The Gifts

The following sections explain in detail the gifts that had been received from tourists by respondents. Gifts received by respondents have been arranged into 42 independent item categories and further organized by theme. Ten themes have been identified: basic necessities of life; children’s use; home basics; luxury items; monetary and in-kind; intangible; personal toiletries; stationary supplies; various unspecified; and work/business tools. See Appendix E for number of respondents to receive each gift by item, organized by theme.

5.3.2.1 Basic Necessities of Life

The gifts received within this theme were: clothes, food, a house, and shoes/sandals. These items are required for daily human life. Clothing was the item that was received by the most number of respondents in any theme. Forty-two respondents had received clothing, which is 54% of all gift receiving respondents, and 42% of all respondents. One respondent said,

I once received a bag full of clothing for my children, and shoes too. I was very content and satisfied. Very very content. Because clothes are expensive you know (Respondent 31).

Twelve respondents received shoes/sandals, one respondent received food, and one respondent received a house. The respondent explained receiving the house as follows:

A Canadian gave me a house. Also clothes and shoes. Especially Canadians give. Germans are very difficult to work with. See I work for a tour company, (...). About ten years ago we had a conference and there were people from different countries that also worked with tour companies, designing tours and packages. I became good friends with a Canadian from the conference. He liked Cuba so much he decided to buy a house at the beach, at La Boca. He stayed a few months and then gave me the keys and went back home. So I have my house here (in Trinidad), and the one in La Boca (Respondent 92).

Necessities of life were well received and appreciated. Clothing and shoes are often shared with family members and when given are not turned away if not of suitable size for the recipient. Clothing, shoes, and supplemental food are expensive in Cuba compared to the wages the population earn, so being given these necessities of life gives availability to money that otherwise would have been budgeted for these items.

5.3.2.2 Gifts for Children's Use

Gifts were commonly received on behalf of the recipients' children. Children are also given gifts directly, but this is not specifically addressed in this thesis. The items given as gifts to respondents for use by children were: candy, a crib, diapers, dolls, and various unspecified children's things/toys. When talking about a good friend she had made with a tourist visiting from France, one respondent explained,

When I first met her about five years ago, my family was going through a difficult time. My daughter was two months pregnant, and the father had just left her. She had nothing for the baby, and also my mother was sick. My friend went to the store and bought everything, everything for the baby. A bed, diapers, everything she needed for the baby (Respondent 14).

When explaining what she has received from tourists another respondent explained that she gets,

Pens, things for kids, pencil crayons, games, candy, things for school...generally things for kids (Respondent 46).

Receiving gifts is raising the standards of living in younger generations. Tourists often visit schools to distribute gifts, and receiving things like clothes and school supplies has led to positive social changes in younger generations (Respondent 93). Items such as toys or backpacks that were often inaccessible to previous generations are available to children through tourists' gift-giving whether directly to children, or through parents and grandparents.

5.3.2.3 Home Basics

Items received by respondents within this theme were: bags/suitcases; a lamp, a refrigerator; tools; and towels. On receiving a paint brush one respondent said,

I really appreciate it. My house needs to be painted, and my husband has been searching in the shops but there are no brushes. He can't find anyone that has one. It is valuable they are very hard to find (Respondent 100).

Receiving tools gives people the ability to make their own repairs to their homes. The Government does have programs for painting and home restorations, but they are not done on an individual basis. Tools are often unavailable to be purchased, and are always needed so they are appreciated (Respondent 99). Other items for use in the home are pricey in state-run stores, and it was explained to the author in casual conversation these things are sometimes stolen from hotels by the staff if they cannot be afforded.

5.3.2.4 Luxury Items

Luxury items received by respondents were: cell phones; a cowboy hat; jewellery; lighters; rum; souvenirs; and watches. Luxury items such as these although not necessary for daily life were commonly seen on the streets of Trinidad. The researcher observed many people wearing gold jewellery and watches, carrying MP3 music players, and using cell phones. When the researcher asked the owners about having these things, the responses were always that the

electronics had been gifts from tourists, or sent to them by a friend or family member that had moved away from Cuba. It was explained to the researcher that the gold jewellery was not gold, but a cheap fashion metal. Although the researcher did not see the jewellery for sale in Trinidad, these items were observed for sale in artisan markets in Varadero and Havana.

5.3.2.5 Monetary and In-Kind

Within this theme the items that respondents have received are money, and bus tickets. Money is received sometimes as a tip and sometimes as a gift. Often it is a combination of the two, for example an artisan/*candonga* vendor explained,

People take pictures of me working, and they pay me for it. Sometimes I get up to \$20 CUC (Respondent 101).

She went on to say,

Tourism is good because tourists have money, and sometimes they give us way more than we ask (for the things we are selling). For example, I sell my bags for \$1 CUC. Sometimes people will give me 15 or even \$20 CUC (Respondent 101).

The bus tickets were received by a respondent that had made friends with a tourist. Her elderly mother needed medical treatment from a facility in Cienfuegos as it was not available in Trinidad. The respondent's family could not afford the bus trip, she explained,

Before my friend left, she brought me two bags of clothes for me and my mother, and paid for my mom's whole trip and paid all the costs for the operation (Respondent 14).

5.3.2.6 Intangible

Not all gifts received by respondents were material things, or even things that could be purchased. Respondents reported receiving: a child; friendships; help; letter mail; and social gathering invitations. The people that received this type of gift often valued it higher than material things. Although she had received many material gifts, one respondent claimed, "For

me friendship is most important” (Respondent 14). Another respondent affirmed this sentiment stating, “Friendships are the most important. Things, gifts aren’t really important for me”

(Respondent 89). When asked what she had received as a gift one respondent said,

I got a daughter. I married a Canadian. This is the truth, I’m serious, my daughter is the most important thing I could ever receive, and she was from a tourist (Respondent 44).

Many Cuban people are more than happy to give you their mailing address. In the experience of the author, it was observed that many people carried with them a sheet of paper with their mailing addresses written out already. One respondent to receive a letter from a tourist has attached it to the mirror in his bedroom as a happy memory (Respondent 80). Thus, money not necessarily be spent by tourists to give a gift that has deep value for the recipient.

5.3.2.7 Personal Toiletries

Personal toiletries were commonly received by the sample. The items included in this theme are: deodorant; lotions/skin creams; make-up; perfume/cologne; shampoo; soap; and various medicines. Participants often noted these as “insignificant things”, and furthermore that it was “normal” to receive these types of things from tourists. One respondent explained she has received,

Things that are not very significant. Shampoo, lotions, and things like that. They (tourists) think they should give me things because they appreciate my work, but they are not really important or significant gifts (Respondent 29).

Another respondent that received soap explained,

They (tourists) always gift with good intentions and they are received well. They are not expensive things, but they are received well (Respondent 47).

Personal toiletries are not always available in state-run stores or *bodegas*. Often the appreciation for these items stems from lack of availability, rather than their monetary value (Respondent 83).

5.3.2.8 Stationary Supplies

Items included in this theme that have been received by respondents are: calculators; crayons/pencil crayons; erasers; and pens. A single pen can cost an entire day's wages or more for the average Cuban (Appendix A). In her personal experience over the two month research period in Cuba, the author notes than pens were the item most frequently requested of her by locals. Similarly to personal toiletries, stationary supplies were often referred to as "insignificant", and receiving them was "normal". These items are often used by the recipients in their workplace, or are given to children or grandchildren for school work. A pen recipient stated, "I think it's good because it satisfies tourists to bring them, and they are received well" (Respondent 57).

5.3.2.9 Various Unspecified

Nearly a quarter (24%) of the total sample indicated they had received something from a tourist, but did not elaborate on the exact nature of the item. Respondents often claimed they had received "small things", or "various things". When asked if she had ever received a gift from a tourist one respondent stated,

Yes. Lots, because I'm very nice. I like to know people, and I'm appreciative of every little thing. I will never forget the things I get. It's a difficult time and I appreciate every single thing. I thank god tourists exist in Cuba, and to receive the gifts they give us (Respondent 48).

When asked to elaborate what she had received she simply said, "packages" and did not wish to comment further. When other respondents were asked to elaborate some did not wish to, others did not remember, and others explained they had received various items for the home or for personal use but did not want to list them.

Respondents commonly listed "various" unspecified items in addition to specific items. For example, when asked what she had received from tourists one respondent said she had

received, “A towel, a necklace, and other various things” (Respondent 81). It is possible that due to the “normality” of receiving gifts respondents did not feel the items they received were significant enough to list.

5.3.2.10 Work/Business Tools

Some respondents received gifts related to their professions, gifts that were used as tools to earn a living. Items within this theme that were received by respondents were bicycles, and musical instruments. The respondent to receive the bicycles explained,

I had a friend from France once. He was a tourist and was walking in the street, and he took a picture of my grandpa sitting on the step in front of our house. He had a problem with his foot, he was limping so my grandpa offered to help him. My grandpa told him that he can make a mixture to fix it, but he must stay with us for four days. So he stayed with us. When it was time for him to leave he offered \$800 CUC for us to be able to buy four horses. It was a very nice offer, but I declined. We don't own a farm so I couldn't use them for work and it costs a lot to register them to rent to tourists. Instead he bought four bicycles and had them registered to rent for tourists (Respondent 20).

Musical instruments had been received by other respondents (Respondents 90 and 91), and were used in their daily work. Although all of these gifts were appreciated by their recipients, there were complications with receiving bicycles that did not occur with the instruments.

Musical instruments required no further investment from their recipients. On the other hand, owning a business renting bicycles to tourists meant paying heavy taxes. Because business tax must be paid whether or not the bikes had been rented and taxes are not reduced in low tourism seasons, ultimately the business was not feasible for the recipient (Respondent 20). This example demonstrates that large monetary investments in work tools by tourists are not always the most beneficial for their recipients. Thus it could be concluded that work tools that do not require further investment by the recipient have a higher earning potential, and recipients are less likely to fail to earn money through use of the gift.

5.4 Gift-giving Culture

While it has become commonplace for tourists to bring gifts with them on their vacations to give to local Cuban people, little is known about the sentiment in which they are received. The country's complicated trade history has likely contributed to this unique form of material gain for its people. Significant numbers of people have received gifts from tourists and the Cuban reactions are intriguing. The following sections explore the culture of gift-giving that has developed within the tourist to Cuban context.

5.4.1 Locals' Perceptions on Receiving Gifts from Tourists

“Imagine. The whole world loves to receive gifts” (Respondent 92).

Now take a moment to imagine your day today; Getting ready in the morning, walking to your workplace, and heading home at day's end... but at some point in the day before you get home a stranger, someone that is not able to speak your language hands you something you have needed, underwear perhaps, but the stores have been out for as long as you can remember. What would you think about this? If you are from a modern capitalistic society it is likely you are not able to imagine a day (never mind as long as your oldest memory) that every store in town was out of underwear. It is common for stores in Cuba to be out of things like underwear, bath soap, sun screen lotion, feminine hygiene products, and so on. Even for those with the money to buy these things they are often unavailable. While gifts of soap and underwear may at first seem like odd choices to give randomly to strangers, in Cuba they are needed and graciously accepted. Upon receiving a gift of lotion and soap one respondent explained it made her feel that she was, “worthy of the gift” (Respondent 69).

Receiving a gift is not generally something that happens daily or even necessarily for the same people time and again however as one respondent explained,

It's a collective benefit. There are two possibilities. The first is for a tourist to go to a place –like this travel agency- it is a motive of the person to come to this place to give to an individual. I think positively of them. The other is for a tourist to go to a school, or organization where it is all controlled. This is not as significant because it's not personal, but it is still good. Tourists bringing gifts is either a benefit for people in my country, or a personal benefit (Respondent 25).

There is a shared sense of satisfaction among local people when any Cuban person receives a gift from a tourist. Happiness, being content, and being pleased were commonly expressed emotions respondents described feeling when they received a gift.

There was a clear recognition of need, and that receiving gifts from tourists is a “form of help”. Tourists who give gifts were recognized as philanthropists, and no negative or resenting sentiments were expressed about these individuals, regardless of the type of gifts people received. On the subject of tourists' gift-giving one respondent explained,

It's a good thing when they do. When you gift something for example you feel good, and it feels good to receive gifts (Respondent 69).

Although the gifts have helped some people with marginal material gains, they do not solve the total problem of need for material things however basic. Gifts are being received on a significant scale already, and still the need remains. One respondent stated,

It is a great display of graciousness. But, you know they are trying to solve a huge problem. They bring everything, like money, medical supplies, it is not possible for them to fix everything because the problems are so big, but it is admirable they are doing something, and it is appreciated (Respondent 38).

It became apparent that there was favouritism for tourists of particular national origins, which was directly related to their perceptions of which tourists (by nationality) bring gifts. Canadian, French, English, and American tourists were most favoured. They were perceived as tourists that were most likely to give gifts. Tourists from these countries were perceived to have more money and thus more available income enabling them to give gifts to Cuban people.

Tourists from Germany, Spain, and Latin America were less favoured as they were perceived to give significantly less, or nothing. One respondent explained of his experience,

My girlfriend's sister is married to a tourist that came from Spain. They live there now. They will give us gifts. But this is not typical. Mexico, Argentina, Spain, Germany, these are people that don't gift. It's mostly Canadians that do that. My sister-in-law yes, but generally foreigners from Spain don't (Respondent 23).

He went on to say,

All tourists have different intentions. I think the ones that give do so to give to the poor, because we're in development. Canada, the United States, they give, but people from very few countries do. Because they are developed, Canadians give. Other places don't. So if there are no Canadians, there are no gifts (Respondent 23).

Another respondent explained,

Tourism is very good. Well tourism from Canada and England is very good. They have more money. Other places are different. Latin America is a little poorer, so they spend less money, and help us less than the Canadians and the English (Respondent 32).

Respondents had positive perceptions of receiving gifts from tourists, as well as positive perceptions of the tourists who give gifts. Gift-giving in Cuba is an admirable form of philanthropy. As one respondent answered, "They are gifts from the heart" (Respondent 63).

They are appreciated, and the gifts do help in alleviating some need for material things.

Unfortunately the problems of gaining material things are so big and on such a large scale that even though a significant number of people have received gifts they have not been enough to solve the problems accessing material goods in Cuba.

5.4.2 Tips vs Gifts

In all-inclusive resort destinations tipping staff is generally not necessary as prices take into consideration wages of service employees. Many tourists continue to tip however, perhaps due to the customary nature of tipping in their home country, or perhaps in an effort to help those

with less than themselves. Although there is a small development of all-inclusive resorts on Playa Ancon, about 8 km south of Trinidad, there are no all-inclusives within the city. Trinidad is lively with tourism in its own right and *cuentalpropistas* in the tourism business are plentiful. Due to the personal interactions of *cuentalpropistas* and other locals with tourists there are many opportunities where a tip or gift may be given for services or any other reason. It has not yet been researched in other Cuban destinations, however in Trinidad it is not the case where only tourism employees are given tips or gifts, as is evident in the percentage (65%) of non-tourism employees in the sample that have received gifts. As this research was being conducted, it became clear that the sample favoured one of these two types of philanthropic gifts over the other.

Non-monetary gifts were far more favourable to receive than tips, or gifts of money. Although tips are accepted for providing services and most people appreciate them, there seems to be some degree of contempt among others who dislike the social inequalities created by unproportionate wealth and earnings from tips. One tourism employee attributes tips to unequal social status of the families of tourism employees and those of non-tourism employees and stated,

I hate this (difference of social status) a lot. People who work in tourism get tips. I look badly upon the point of view that people who work in tourism should receive tips. For example, if a parent works at a job where she will get tips, it is possible for that parent to buy a box of apple juice for their child. If the child brings it to school, there will be children there who don't have parents that are able to buy apple juice, and it's a sad thing for those children. I don't like it (Respondent 29).

In instances where tourism employees received gifts from tourists, they believed they were given gifts out of appreciation for the work they had done or the service they provided and appreciated the recognition in return. This is arguably similar reasoning why tips are given to

any service employee; nevertheless receiving a gift is more preferable in the research location.

The same respondent explains,

Really I think all tourism workers will think the same as me. The tourists give things to us because they are appreciative. I think a gift is better to receive, more than a tip (Respondent 29).

She was right, others did share the sentiment. Another tourism worker explains,

I feel appreciative first because I feel they are giving me something because I am providing a good service, you know doing my job well. I feel good. We are a country in development, it's not a secret. But I feel like if I get a gift it's because I have helped that person... Gifts are personal, and I value them (Respondent 25).

This research indicates that tips and gifts are widely accepted confirming Taylor and McGlynn's (2009) doubts that the 2005 MINTUR policy restricting their acceptance would be abided by. In the experience of the researcher Cuban people were totally and utterly unaware of this policy. This indicates the failure of the policy to prevent the Cuban people from accepting tips and gifts.

5.4.3 Reciprocal Gift-giving and Trading

It would be a mistake to assume that Cuban people are always on the receiving end when it comes to gift-giving in Cuba. Throughout the research period the researcher herself received nearly 50 gifts from Trinitarians, declaring approximately \$300 CDN in value of gifts received upon her return to Canada. The generosity of the community was incomparable to anything the researcher had previously experienced. Among respondents, particularly those who worked in the *candonga* with access to souvenirs, reciprocal gift-giving was a normal cultural activity.

One artisan explained,

It's a relationship that if I sell something and the tourist likes it, they may give me something like a shirt. And then I will give something back to them (Respondent 96).

It was quite common for *candonga* vendors to engage in this type of exchange activity. The occurrence was observed by the researcher on a daily basis. Among other *candonga* vendors trade is deliberate. As many types of items are seldom available in state-run stores, it is common for tourists to be asked by vendors if they are willing to trade a personal item such as the shoes, clothing, cell phones, sunglasses, watches, *etc.* they have on their person for items in the vendor's stand. One respondent explained,

I have exchanged things with several people through my work. For a calculator, things like this (Respondent 39).

In this instance the trade is beneficial for the Cuban, granting access to otherwise unavailable items. In other instances trade is initiated by the tourist who wants a particular souvenir free or at a reduced rate. This type of trade is not always welcome, as one *candonga* vendor explains,

For me it's not good. Because well, they give things to us, but they want to use them to trade for souvenirs. They are not really gifts (Respondent 58).

Occasionally it is the case that language and understanding difficulties deter Cubans from engaging in trade transactions.

Figure 5.2 The Researcher Wearing a Dress Given as a Birthday Gift, Trinidad.



(Laura Wiebe 2010).

Like many countries, it is customary in Cuba to give gifts on a birthday. The researcher herself celebrated a birthday during her time in Trinidad. Some of the gifts the researcher received were as birthday gifts, others were given to her in reciprocal exchanges for items asked of her, and others were given to her as parting gifts upon her departure.

5.4.4 The Role of Friendships

Friendships are closely related to the occurrence of gift-giving. It is important to note first that most often the tourists do not know the people they are giving beforehand. This considered there are two ways friendships relate to gift-giving. The first is that gifts are given and accepted as an implied friendship and solidarity between tourists and local people. One respondent explains,

For tourists to bring gifts with them on their vacations is a good thing. It's a voluntary thing, a brotherhood between us. It's a right of man to give (Respondent 20).

Gift-giving has been described by other respondents as a "form of friendship" in itself.

The second way that friendships relate to gift-giving is that friendships are formed through the act of giving. One respondent said that,

The majority of tourists gift something small, like soap or something for a child. It's a normal thing, and it is a thing that stimulates friendships (Respondent 19).

Of the tourists that bring gifts another respondent explains,

I think they are a different type of person. These people want communication and friendships. These are positive people (Respondent 21).

Those who have received gifts from tourists nearly always refer to their gift givers as friends in retrospect. In instances for some tourism workers, the same tourists will return every year for their service and friendships, and give gifts to them every year. It is certain that

friendships are an important aspect of gift-giving in Cuba, but it is not possible to say which always happens first, the friendship or the gift.

5.5 Impacts of Tourists' Philanthropic Gift-giving

Both social and economic impacts result from tourist philanthropic gift-giving in Cuba. Several types of social impacts were evident. Some were positive from the perspective of the respondents, and some were negative. Economic impacts were always positive. The following sections explore the impacts that have occurred.

5.5.1 Social Impacts of Tourist Philanthropic Gift-giving

5.5.1.1 Begging Culture

One of the less desirable impacts of tourist gift-giving is the creation of a culture of begging. Although respondents felt there was a positive relationship in the community between tourists and local people, begging is common in Trinidad and can put undesirable strain on the relationships between tourists and locals. Explaining her opinions on tourists that bring gifts for the local population one respondent stated,

I think they get bothered on the street corners. I don't think it's good for us or you. It's not correct (Respondent 43).

The respondent's answer indicates awareness that tourists probably dislike being asked for things repeatedly. The community views tourism positively and favourably, and does not want to be viewed negatively by tourists. When answering whether they have received something from a tourist and how it made them feel it was common for respondents to mention that they had not asked for whatever they received and commented on their distaste for asking.

Begging was explained by respondents as a type of job, chosen by some people who are perceived to have no desire to do other work involving skill, labour, or education. This "job"

was frowned upon by respondents and beggars are often viewed as irresponsible. One respondent stated,

Tourists giving gifts creates a new kind of problem, and misunderstandings. There are people in the streets asking for things for babies – or whoever – and they ask and ask and ask. Because of this the tourists think there is more need than there is. In reality it's a business. These people don't want to work. I see them asking in the street every day and then at Carnival they are wearing better clothes and things than I am. Like Ofelia for example. Five days after she gave birth to Claudia she was walking in the street with her hand out with the heat and the sun, and the baby in nothing but a diaper. She was taking advantage of her baby. It was terrible to see. She is still out in the street every day (Respondent 18).

This excerpt also demonstrates that some respondents felt that tourists often leave Cuba with a skewed perception of need because of begging. The respondents felt there is less need in Trinidad than tourists think there is on account of constantly being asked for money or things. In addition there was a general perception among respondents that beggars are not the people with the most need for money, food, clothing, or other things. One respondent commented,

In some cases people have need, but are not the ones who ask. People who are always asking get more things and have almost as much as tourists. There are other people with more need (Respondent 78).

During her months in Trinidad the researcher observed several people begging daily, including Ofelia, who was mentioned here by a respondent. Ofelia was the first person the researcher met in Trinidad. Ofelia approached, holding the hand of her now five-year-old daughter Claudia. Claudia was wearing only a pair of shorts and scuffed and well worn black leather boots. Ofelia showed how the soles were separated from the boot as Claudia wiggled her toes, and asked for some money to be able to buy new ones. The researcher had brought children's shoes with her, so told Ofelia she would be able to give Claudia a new pair of shoes the following day in the same place at the same time as she did not have them with her and would not be returning to her room for several hours although she planned a lengthy stay in

Trinidad. Ofelia agreed. Six hours later the researcher returned to her room at her *casa particular* and the door had been shut barely ten minutes before Ofelia was knocking. She had followed home the researcher. Ofelia explained that she had forgotten that tomorrow she and Claudia would be leaving for Cienfuegos and she would need the shoes now. They fit perfectly and Claudia was all smiles. The next day the researcher observed them eating ice cream in the plaza as she did not go to Cienfuegos, and the following week Claudia was wearing the boots again as she accompanied her mom through the city.

The researcher agrees the respondents are accurate in stating that beggars are not generally the people with the most need in the community. It was observed that beggars attend specific corners or take specific routes through town daily, and usually wear clothing that is ripped or worn out when begging. The researcher was frequently told the same stories about what money was needed for. Common reasons for needing money were: needing to buy milk for babies, being desperate to be able to buy a birthday gift for a family member, and needing money for clothes. The same people were observed on other occasions in social situations, well dressed and spending money, often on rum. Begging has become a way of earning a living for some people. Frustration was evident among other residents and many respondents about the occurrence of begging.

5.5.1.2 Cuban Philanthropy

A positive social impact of tourists' gift-giving is enabling Cuban philanthropy. There is a desire among Cubans to give to those less fortunate, and receiving gifts from tourists enables individuals to do this. For example, one respondent stated,

Usually I use the things I am given, and if I see someone more poor than I am I will give it to them. I am conscious of this (Respondent 20).

It was very common among respondents to indicate they have a desire to help others. Another respondent said,

I think gifts are good because we are a county in development, and all help is a benefit. To receive anything helps the schools, medical centers, our sports. We also help other places like towns, and we appreciate when others help us (Respondent 90).

Respondent commonly shared gifts with family, friends, or gave them to others in need. The researcher asked one respondent if there was anything she could leave behind for her family.

The respondent answered,

Thank-you. Anything you can leave will be appreciated. If I can't use it, and my family can't use it there is always someone who will need it, and I will make sure they get it (Respondent 100).

Being given gifts by tourists allows the individuals who receive them to help others in need.

Being able to help others was satisfying for respondents. Tourists can rest assured that the items they give will not go unused, or unappreciated even if they are not totally suitable for the person they are given to.

5.5.1.3 Inequality

It was clear to the researcher receiving gifts from tourists is favourable to Cubans. However these gifts have the ability to create inequality in the community. There was particular concern among respondents about the inequality of children's access created by gift-giving. One respondent explains,

If you give to only one child in a group it's not a good thing. But if you can give them all a candy, that's great (Respondent 27).

Another respondent commented,

Help is always help, for any person, but fairness is important. You can't give something to one child in a group and not the others (Respondent 29).

The general sentiment among respondents was that people in the community should be treated equally, and gifts should be given without favouritism especially among children. Although receiving large or expensive items as gifts from tourists was desirable for some individuals, others felt that tourists should only give small things, to be able to give to more people which maintains equality. For example, one respondent stated,

It's a good thing to give little presents to be able to give to as many people as possible, and this way everyone will be happy. Then everyone can have something (Respondent 37).

Distributing gifts equally is the responsibility of both the tourist as well as any organization that the tourist may give to. Organizations like schools and churches were blamed for distributing tourists' gifts unequally. There was a belief among respondents that corruption in school administration is common and it is often the case that gifts given to schools never reach the children. Respondents felt that tourists had the ability to maintain equality if they were to distribute gifts personally. A respondent provided the following perspective,

It's best when the tourists give things directly to individual people. When they bring gifts and things to schools for the children the teachers don't always distribute them. Not fairly anyway. Some kids never come home with gifts. Mine don't. Sometimes the teachers will keep everything for themselves (Respondent 15).

In a socialist country it seems fitting that there is concern for inequalities created by tourists' gift-giving.

5.5.1.4 Facilitating Access

One of the most obvious and positive impacts of tourists' gift-giving to the respondents was the facilitation of access to material gains. Respondents believed that the reason tourists bring gifts for Cuban people is that they are aware of difficulties accessing all types of material things.

This was viewed positively, and respondents appreciated the intentions to help. One respondent stated,

Many tourists know or think that there is need here. They want to help children or elderly people. It's a good thing (Respondent 72).

Tourist gift-giving is an important manner of importing material goods. Although Cubans do not have control over what is being imported, there is need for everything material in Cuba so things of any material nature are favourable. This sentiment is evident in this statement made by a respondent,

It's very good when tourists bring gifts. Principally because the people can't get these things, so it's good that it's done (Respondent 87).

When tourists bring material things into Cuba they are making otherwise unavailable products accessible. Access to material items was closely associated by respondents to having a higher level of life. Additionally, there was a general perception among respondents that tourists have more money to spend on non-essentials relative to their home country's economy than the average Cuban. Respondents believed that because the economies of the countries from which tourists visit are generally better than that of Cuba, that tourists are able to and generally do buy more things and things of higher quality than are accessible to Cubans through state-run CUC stores. Because often they received second hand items from tourists which were originally purchased for the tourist himself respondents associated getting items from tourists with raising their level of life. As one respondent commented,

It's a form of help. Most tourists have a higher level of life than us, so if we get something from them it helps to raise our level of life as well (Respondent 88).

If the tourists' intentions in gift-giving were to facilitate access of material items as was believed by respondents, the efforts have been successful. New and slightly used items are

being introduced to Cuba's population daily. Through tourist gift-giving the Cuban population has gained a manner of accessing material goods.

5.5.2 Economic Impacts of Tourists' Philanthropic Gift-giving

From the perspective of the respondents, all economic impacts from tourists' gift-giving were positive. Gifts were always viewed as economic gains by respondents. Respondents indicated that there have been recent economic improvements in Cuba, and that tourists' gifts have been an important part of the improvements. One respondent explained,

Things are getting better here little by little. When there's no tourism it's not a good thing for us. Things are very expensive and tourism allows us to get them or buy them (Respondent 75).

Receiving gifts from tourists directly causes an increase in available money for the recipient. As government rations are grossly inefficient in providing sufficient food (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007), and furthermore that some other necessities of life such as clothing are not rationed in conjunction with poor wages, people have been struggling to survive (Ritter 2005; Magnusen & Rodríguez 1998) but there is a positive outlook for Cubans if tourists' gift-giving continues. An answer shared among many respondents one said,

Tourists gifting is a good form of help to the economy, and the population. If they gift me something then I don't have to buy it (Respondent 81).

This simple statement explains the economic gains quite well. Gifts do not have to be monetary to be impactful on the amount of money the recipient has to spend. Receiving gifts, particularly when they are necessities, frees up money that would necessarily have been spent on food, clothing, or other basic things needs.

To conclude the economic impacts, tourists' gifts have been explained by respondents as economic "help", benefiting recipients and their families. Receiving gifts aids in improving

the situation of economic need. Gifts were viewed by respondents as the vehicle of change for the recent economic improvements of some Cubans.

5.6 Access to Material Goods

Respondents have confirmed that tourists' gifts facilitate access to material gains. It may have been expected that because tourists often distribute their gifts personally and that most of the people they will come in contact with will be tourism employees that only tourism employees would receive gifts. This is not the case, as is evident in the fact that 65% of non-tourism employees in the respondent sample have received gifts from tourists. The broad base of initial recipients has potential for even more broad dispersion. Gifts may not be suitable for the recipient and so get further distributed into the community, benefiting more than only initial recipients. The following sections explain ways in which tourists' gifts are distributed within the community, and how gifts are purposely and inadvertently received.

5.6.1 Distribution of Tourists' Gifts

Respondents were asked what they did with the gifts they had received from tourists. Their answers provided insight to how gifts get distributed further into the community. Not all gifts were of suitable use for the recipients, but gifts were never turned away. Respondents did the following things with gifts that had been received from tourists:

- Money
 - Used personally
 - Given to family members
 - Used to buy gifts for family and friends
 - Invested in the home
- Non-Monetary Items

- Used personally
 - Gave them to family members that were able to use them
 - Gave them to people in need/poorer people
 - Used and shared use with others
 - Sold the items to stores or other people
- Family members of maids stated that all gifts must be pooled for distribution, and are often given to philanthropic organizations within Cuba.

Use value of the item was the most common determinate of what was done with the item. Items were distributed by the respondents based on who they knew that was able use them. When a respondent who received children's clothes was asked what she did with them she responded,

My child uses them, we use everything we can. If my child can't use them anymore, I pass them to someone else (Respondent 31).

Even the respondents who sold items, did so for lack of use potential rather than preference for money. For example, another respondent answered,

I use what I can. Sometimes I sell them to other people (at a lesser cost), because like I said these things are expensive in stores (Respondent 32).

It is not always the case that the recipient of a tourist's gift is the person who will benefit from its use. Furthermore respondents felt positive anticipation of providing the gifts to others who would be able to benefit. The respondents distributed the gifts into the community based on their perceptions of other's needs.

5.6.2 Relationships with Foreigners

In most cases marriages with foreigners were beneficial for both the Cuban spouse and their families. In most cases the Cuban spouse moved away to the country of origin of the foreign

spouse. The Cuban spouses would then send remittances and gifts to family remaining in Cuba. One could accurately assume that regardless of where the Cuban spouse moved to, there would be a dramatic difference in lifestyle, and likely experience improved quality of life due to the fact that most tourists that visit (and marry Cubans) are from developed countries. Through the remittances and gifts, quality of life for family remaining in Cuba improved. One respondent explained,

In my girlfriend's case her quality of life was raised when her sister married a foreigner. This is a form of positive social change that we wouldn't have without tourists (Respondent 23).

In the case of another respondent, she had married a foreigner from Canada but remained in Cuba. They have been married several years, and she has not yet visited Canada. Her husband visits at least once a year, but did not move to Cuba either. Their marriage followed the birth of their child. When I asked her why she had never gone to visit Canada she responded,

I would love to, but I can't yet. My husband is saving up. His family is from (...) originally, so he would like to take us to visit his mom and dad there first. I would love to go to Canada, but for now it's just a dream (Respondent 44).

The respondent was a tourism worker at the time of the research, and maintained similar a similar lifestyle to her co-workers. In her case, marriage with a foreigner did not seem to greatly alter her access to material things.

Respondents with foreign *novios* (boyfriends or girlfriends) often suffered heartbreak and loneliness due to long periods lacking communication, but they were showered with love and gifts when their lover came to visit. It is an embarrassing reality that many foreign *novios* have other spouses in their home countries. The Cuban counterparts are usually aware, but continue with the relationships when they are paid a visit. The researcher was asked by several

Cubans to send e-mails or letters to their foreign lovers once she arrived back in Canada and the postmark was not re-traceable to Cuba, usually trying to entice the partner to return to Cuba. When describing the visits they are paid, it was mentioned they often receive gifts. The researcher was asked by several Cubans if she had suitable family members at home in Canada to be *novios*, as it could improve their lives.

Friendships with other Cubans who have emigrated through marriage is also a benefit for accessing material things. Cubans with ex-patriot friends will often exchange Cuban souvenirs for other material things meeting their needs. One respondent stated,

I have a Swiss friend. She married to a friend of mine. We have an equal relationship of gifting. I am very satisfied with the relationship (Respondent 33).

5.6.3 Tourism vs Non-Tourism Employees

“It’s not a secret that tourism workers are favoured” (Respondent 27).

Respondents were asked if there was a difference in social status between tourism and non-tourism employees. Many of their answers related to differences in access. Respondents felt that there were different degrees of access between tourism and non-tourism employees in the following areas:

- Amount of money earned
- Opportunities to earn more money
- Access to *divisa* (CUC)
- Quality of life
- Access to tourists’ gifts, material things, and luxury items
- Foreign friendships and world knowledge

Tourism workers undeniably earn more than non-tourism employees. For example, a social work teacher explained that although she is a professional, a waiter earns more than her.

A resort entertainer explained the following of his wages,

We don't have good wages like a teacher would, but we make tips. A teacher makes around \$20 CUC a month, but the tips we make from shows and things like this are very important. And because of this our lifestyle is very different from a teacher. It's much better (Respondent 23).

As is evident in the above statement it is not the case where tourism workers always have higher wages, but respondents agreed that there is more opportunity to earn additional money working in tourism, often by earning tips. Working in tourism was seen by respondents as a way to earn "easy money". A respondent noted,

Other people doing different jobs have to work harder to make money (Respondent 15).

Another respondent confirmed this and added,

Other people, people who don't work in tourism have to find a different way to fight. People who work in tourism have it a little bit easier (Respondent 14).

Associated with earning higher wages, tourism workers have greater access to money through the manner of wage payments. The Ministry of Labour pays wages once a month at month end to all wage earners (Respondent 31). In addition to a monthly wage payment, tourism workers who earn tips or have *cuenta propias* have the opportunity to obtain money daily. For those who earn wages only, money must be spent with consideration that they will not have the opportunity to get any more money until the end of the month. However, tourism workers earning tips and *cuentapropistas* endure high stress to earn wages throughout the month. Although tourism workers generally earn more than non-tourism workers over the year, low tourism seasons must be taken into consideration. There are months throughout the year

that many *cuentapropistas* struggle to pay their business tax. A *candongá* vendor explained her earning difficulties as follows,

I make money when I sell things, but the disadvantage of working in tourism is that the next day I won't sell anything, and don't make any money (Respondent 4).

Working in tourism with a tip dependent job or as a *cuentapropista* wages are not guaranteed, however these workers still tend to earn more than workers of other professions.

As explained in Chapter 3, some state-run stores sell items only in CUC and furthermore some sections of the workforce do not have the opportunity to earn CUC. The result is that not all people have access to items sold in state-run CUC stores. A respondent explained,

The advantage is that tourism is the first and best way to earn money. The disadvantage is that if you don't work in tourism you don't have the opportunity to earn *divisa* (Respondent 93).

Although CUC can be earned as a bonus for some non-tourism workers, they do not have direct access as tourism workers do. Having access to *divisa* was explained to the researcher as being very important to living a comfortable life.

In the excerpt about Respondent 23's wages earlier in the section, he commented on his quality of life. Respondents made a direct connection between the amount of money earned and quality of life in Cuba. The obvious fact is that those who earn more money have a higher quality of life. This means that tourism workers often have a higher quality of life than non-tourism workers as was described by the respondents. One respondent said,

Whether you are a construction worker or a doctor, you don't have the same level of life as someone who works in tourism (Respondent 52).

A tourism worker explains,

Money, even our health is better. We have different food, clothes, we have a different life (Respondent 65).

Although it was not the case that only tourism workers had access to gifts given by tourists, many respondents believed that only tourism workers had access to tourists' gifts.

While tourism workers received a higher percentage (84%) of gifts than non-tourism workers (65%), notable percentages were received by both groups. In terms of accessing other material things respondents felt that tourism workers had more facility in obtaining them. One tourism worker said,

It's not a secret to anyone that if you are working in tourism you have more access to things. (Respondent 25).

Another respondent explaining the difference between tourism workers and non-tourism workers said,

Yes there is a difference. Because people who work in tourism have direct access to things. If you don't work in tourism you are nobody in this country (Respondent 48).

Respondents also felt that tourism employees had access to luxury items inaccessible to non-tourism workers. One tourism worker said,

I have to pay the government for my business, but with tips I am able to buy things. I make about \$12 CUC to \$13 CUC a month for my work. Tips are important to be able to buy luxury things like better food and higher quality rum. We are not allowed to buy Havana Club, it's reserved for tourists, but three year old Havana Club is the best. Working in tourism sometimes, like today I am able to have a taste. Cubans have a much lower level of life than tourists, but if you work in tourism you can raise your level of life a little (Respondent 93).

Most respondents expressed desire to get to know people from other countries and other cultures. However, most citizens indicated they avoid tourists because associating with foreigners is regulated by the government. Non-tourism workers expressed envy of the

communications with foreigners tourism workers were able to have, although they were happy that communications between Cubans and foreigners is possible through tourism.

5.6.4 Family

Family are important asset to accessing material goods in Cuba. Family members share material things, and accept gifts on behalf of other members. As explained in section 5.6.1, people commonly give material things they receive (as gifts from tourists) to family members that are able to use them. Because tourism workers often have better access to material things and access to the money to buy material things (section 5.6.3), it is advantageous in terms of accessing goods to have family members working in tourism. Fifty-six percent of respondents had close family working in tourism. Among the tourism workers, 63% had close family working in tourism. Among the non-tourism workers, 44% had close family working in tourism while 56% did not. Nineteen percent of the total sample were not employed in tourism and did not have close family working in tourism. The non-tourism workers, who do not have close family working in tourism have the least access to material items. Non-tourism employees with family members working in tourism still do not have direct access to material goods and although there is some possibility of obtaining material goods, access is poor. This means 33% of the sample had poor to possibly zero access to material goods. Tourism employees with close family who are also working in tourism have the most opportunities to access material goods. It is likely that access improves with the number of family members employed in tourism.

5.6.5 Deals and Trickery

Some Cubans take the initiative to obtain goods or money from foreigners without begging. Two extremely common ways of doing this are through *negocio* (business) with tourists, and

alternately by scamming or tricking them. Deals are knowingly entered into by the tourists, and the people who make them are generally honest business people. The tricks and scams tourists will inevitably encounter are most frequently carried out by *jineteros* (hustlers with an arsenal of scams), although there are others who trick tourists as well.

It is common in the research area for *candonga* vendors to ask a person to trade personal items for souvenirs they are selling, as was discussed in section 5.4.3. The deals are often in favour of the Cuban, as an initial high price (to the tourist) is usually requested. Many of the souvenirs cost very little to produce and although terms are negotiable many tourists agree to the initial offer as it both allows the Cuban to obtain the item(s) they have requested and the tourist to receive something desirable in return. The researcher witnessed these transactions nearly daily. In one such transaction, a vendor made a deal with a tourist in which he promised a customized wooden carving of a hand holding an ashtray by the time the tourist left in exchange for three t-shirts, and a promise that the tourist would mail a used cell phone to him when he returned home. In another transaction a vendor requested a tourist's bottle of perfume, which was exchanged the following day for a licence plate made of paper mache.

The other common way for Cubans to obtain goods or money is by tricking tourists. The tricks result in purchasing an item for the scammer, or over paying for an item a tourist intends to purchase. Please note that *candonga* vendors are not scammers intending to obtain overpayment. Prices are always negotiable in the *candonga* and tourists have the opportunity to refuse a price. In Cuba this is considered to be a legitimate form of conducting business and is not intended to be a scam. The scams described in the remainder of this section were witnessed by the researcher. This list is not exhaustive and there are additional scams used by *jineteros* and others in the research location.

A harmless scam was conducted by children. If a tourist handed candy or some other small thing to a child, children often asked for another one for their siblings whether or not they actually had a sibling. Claudia, the little girl the researcher gave a pair of shoes always asked the researcher for candy for her brother although she is an only child. The tourists have these things to give away anyway, and were not in any way put out or harmed by this small lie. As tourists did not know the children and their families, they were not aware children intended to obtain more for themselves.

A common scam obtaining overpayment is by street vendors selling pizzas. These pizzas are targeted towards locals not tourists, and vendors always post their prices in CUP. The common price at the time of research for one personal size pizza was \$5 CUP. The equivalency was \$0.25 CUC. The researcher witnessed several occasions where tourists who purchased street pizza were charged in CUC. This meant the vendor was able to obtain an extra \$4.75 CUC per pizza. Tourists were generally unaware they were being overcharged. These types of vendors obtaining overpayment for goods are not *jineteros* per se, as they generally do not engage in other types of scams.

Being asked to make change is another way tourists often get scammed out of money. *Jineteros* are aware that tourists will generally only have access to CUC, and would give them a CUP bank note to be exchanged. Few tourists can immediately tell the difference between a CUP note and a CUC note, and by the time the tourist realizes what happened (if it is realized at all) the *jinetero* has made away with the money.

As a final example, the researcher commonly witnessed tourists unknowingly buying large quantities of alcohol. The strategy was employed at street *cantinas*. The *jinetero* passerby or *cantina* patron would deliberately attempt to engage an unknown tourist or group of tourists

into conversation with an ulterior motive in mind. Once pleasantries were exchanged, they would sit down with the tourist(s) and order drinks in rapid succession. Occasionally a bottle was ordered by the Cuban. When the conversation was over the Cuban would leave without paying for their drinks leaving the tourist(s) responsible. Tourists had often offered a drink to their guest, but were surprised by the number of drinks ordered. Tourists generally appreciated the conversation and cultural contact and often did not mind paying the alcohol bill, although it was unexpected.

In general, both making deals and tricking tourists are successful ways to obtain goods and money, and are often gone unaware by tourists. Making deals with tourists, although not technically legal is viewed as an honest way to obtain goods. *Jineterismo* was generally viewed by respondents as an undesirable social problem among Cubans although a strong prevalence remains. The others who engage in tricking tourists are often seen from a sympathetic viewpoint, as people who are doing what they have to so they are able to obtain the things they need to survive.

5.7 General Impacts of Tourism in the Research Location

Trinidad is a very unique destination and cannot be directly compared to other popular and larger destinations in Cuba such as Varadero, Havana, or Holguin (Guardalavaca) in terms of the general impacts of tourism. Respondents discussed several economic and social impacts they felt tourism was responsible for in their community. Environmental impacts were very briefly mentioned by a small number of participants and data was not sufficient to warrant discussion. The following sections discuss the economic and social impacts of tourism in Trinidad.

5.7.1 Economic Impacts

Respondents identified several types of economic impacts of tourism in their community. The economic impacts as explained by respondents were: economic benefits, improved living conditions, improved infrastructure and restorations, and the shifting away from a socialist economy. These will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

5.7.1.1 Economic Benefits

While the introduction of tourism in Cuba has been undeniably successful in terms of elevating the economy, this economic success is particularly notable in the research location. Although Trinidad is well known for its ties to the colonial period sugar industry, little information is available about the economy between the Wars of Independence and the Special Period. There was some production of sugar, and tobacco processing during this time but the researcher was not able to locate official economic statistics. Tourism has been present in the Trinidad municipality at Playa Ancon for several decades, but the most notable boom for the city of Trinidad was in the early 1990's, after the nearby *Valle de los Ingenios* (Valley of the Sugar Mills) was declared a World Heritage Site, and the government began the large scale tourism promotions of Cuba. One Trinitarian explained,

Work with tourism is a front line for revenue for this town. Because for example the *candonga* where I am working is precisely the front line where revenue was earned in the 1990's when there was a Special Period in Cuba, when there were many difficulties for the country. I don't believe there are disadvantages to tourism. All are advantages. Trinidad, it's an important tourist center (Respondent 38).

However, the lines of economic benefits and economic dependence on tourism in the research location are bound together and often indistinguishable.

One respondent claimed,

Trinidad is a flower and the tourist is water. Without tourism this town would die (Respondent 23).

Although it was acknowledged that it is the main section of the yearly Trinidad economy, respondents felt that tourism is its own economy. It was explained to the researcher that the tourism economy has a life of its own independent of tourism workers' labours as it is dependent upon external factors. For example, it fluctuates according to season, and by weather conditions like hurricanes. It was explained by respondents that the tourism economy has the ability to increase its revenues over time whereas other economic earning sectors (like tobacco) generally earn constant revenues, therefore making tourism the most favourable economic sector. Furthermore respondents felt that tourism has been responsible for essentially all economic development in Trinidad. For example, one respondent said,

Tourism is a major thing here. It is responsible for practically all development. There are no disadvantages with respect to tourism (Respondent 21).

Because it is believed that tourism has been responsible for all economic development, Trinitarians believe they would not have means for life without tourism. Another respondent commented,

Tourism is beneficial economically for families. It raises our level of life. With tourism we have the money we need to buy things. We are totally dependent on tourism. Totally dependent on tourism (Respondent 16).

The economic benefits of tourism within the community described by respondents were mostly related to elevated levels of life. There were no disputes among respondents; tourism is economically beneficial to the community.

5.7.1.2 Living Conditions

It was observed by the researcher that *casa particular* owners often enjoyed the highest standards of living within the research area. The homes in the center of Trinidad are mainly

large colonial style homes, and often feature several bedrooms, a sitting room, kitchen, and courtyard. The homes are spacious and they are often decorated with beautiful antique wood furnishings, and decent linens. They generally feature refrigerators, television, hot and cold water, and often air conditioning in the bedrooms. Because food is also offered and guests often arrive unannounced, owners keep plenty on hand at any given time. High earnings allow *casa particular* owners to have the things like extra food, televisions, and air conditioning that many Cubans are not able to afford. Also, the *casa particular* owners the researcher had the opportunity to speak with mentioned that tourists almost always leave gifts and other things behind. This elevated standard of living and access to goods is significant because the researcher was told there were 500 *casa particulares* in Trinidad. It is very unusual that a single person would occupy a home, the *casa particular* the researcher stayed in had four occupants, and although it is impossible to know the exact number of residents living in *casa particulares* it is certainly significant. Without tourists the people who occupy these homes would have much lower standard of living.

Because tourism is such a large part of the Trinidad economy, the city in general has also experienced elevated standards of living. One respondent commented,

I see the money earned from tourism help development, the community, the city, and it makes the conditions of life better. I don't see disadvantages. All tourism is helpful (Respondent 34).

Living and housing improvements, most notably the introduction of plumbing and improved health were attributed to tourism by respondents. Another respondent mentioned,

Tourism favours this community. Before the tourism development there weren't places for us to go out at night, or programs for children (Respondent 43).

In summary, *casa particular* owners enjoy the highest standards of living in Trinidad. Because there is a significant number of *casa particulares* in Trinidad, tourism has been

undeniably and directly responsible for improved living conditions for many people. Not only have conditions improved for *casa particular* owners, they have improved for the general population. These improvements include renovated housing, introduction of plumbing, increased health of the population, evening adult entertainment such as dancing, and social care programs for children.

5.7.1.3 Infrastructure and Restorations

While it is undeniable that many of the houses and other buildings in the city of Trinidad are in a poor state of repair, there have been many recent improvements since the tourism boom in the early 1990's. During the researcher's time in Trinidad she observed construction of new buildings, structural restorations of old buildings, and houses being painting. After speaking with residents about their thoughts on tourism in the community, it became apparent there have been major changes with respect to infrastructure and restorations. One respondent stated,

My point of view is that tourism has had a strong economic impact. They decided to implement tourism to increase development. We divert the money to things like building hospitals, and transportation. Tourism is implementing development in these ways (Respondent 25).

Another respondent stated,

Tourism has led to many changes in the community. For example there are restaurants now, and old houses are being restored. Also parks and our streets are being maintained. The Office of Conservation is painting all of our houses (Respondent 46).

In yet another conversation with a female respondent discussing the changes in the community since the introduction of tourism she explained, "They have installed lights in the street, and they clean the streets now" (Respondent 35). In addition, a hotel, a small local airport, and a new hospital have recently been built in the city and all have been received with appreciation from the community. Respondents believed that tourism has made the many recent positive

infrastructure changes possible in their city. A respondent working in tourism explained the reasoning as,

There is more development here than is possible without tourism, and there are many centers built for tourism. If there is development of buildings and infrastructure for tourism here in Trinidad, there is also development for the people (Respondent 33).

In speaking with respondents about changes in their community since the introduction of tourism, it became apparent that many positive changes have occurred in regards to infrastructure and restorations. Both tourism and non-tourism workers appreciate tourism because of the improvements that have been made to the city funded by tourism dollars.

5.7.1.4 Shifting Away from a Socialist Economy

Trinidad is somewhat atypical in terms of tourism employment structures in comparison to other centers in Cuba. A high proportion of tourism workers are *cuentalpropistas* in Trinidad whereas in other destinations, Varadero or Holguin (Guardalavaca), where there are many large resorts it is likely that only a small percentage of tourism workers are *cuentalpropistas*. There is a higher earning potential as a *cuentalpropista* than as a state wage earner. One respondent explained,

The existence of *casa particulares* has been a great benefit. With *casa particulares* people are able to earn their own money (Respondent 1).

In a discussion with another respondent working in the *candongas*, he explained,

We own our own business, and have much more than people that work in government. Salaries for state workers are very little, and things are expensive. But working here I can make a lot of money in a short time. In five minutes I can make \$20 CUC. That is a month's salary for a government worker. It's a reality that many days I don't make anything, but it is still possible for me to earn more per month (Respondent 32).

Monetary motivations for choosing work is not favourable in an ideal model of a socialist economy, however this type of change in thought towards work has resulted from the introduction of tourism in the community. For example, one respondent stated,

The change that tourism has led to in the community is a form of thinking. It is now an economic way of thought for people (Respondent 52).

In a discussion with an ex-patriot who has lived in Trinidad for more than a decade it was revealed to the researcher that choosing an employment path for money was becoming increasingly common. Alizee had purchased a home and was in the process of repairing and restoring it in hopes of one day having a *casa particular* licence. There had been a several year freeze on allowing new *casa particulares* to open in Trinidad, although Alizee said it was rumoured they would lift the freeze soon. When she first started renovations she hired a man with a young family who lived nearby to help her with heavy lifting, and removal of scrap materials. She paid him a wage of \$5 CUC for each morning's work. This wage averaged \$105-\$115 CUC a month, four to five times a state wage. He worked shirtless, and Alizee noticed he began to look for attention from female tourists passing by. He began to show up for work late. He worked fewer days, until none at all. He had replaced his work for Alizee with escort services to female tourists, and left his wife and children.

It is likely that the community will continue to move further away from socialist economic ideals in the future in hopes of higher earnings. People are waiting for the freeze on new *casa particulares* to end, and to introduce new *cuenta propias* to increase their earnings.

5.7.2 Social Impacts

The community has also experienced several social impacts. The following sections will discuss: social class changes, locals' perceptions on tourism's social impacts, affirmation of

world solidarity, and generational employment shifts. These issues comprise the major social impacts of tourism in Trinidad.

5.7.2.1 Social Class Changes

Cubans take pride in the equal rights they were granted through the success of the revolution. Although Cuba has enjoyed fifty-one years of social equality according to the Constitution, a slight majority (52%) of respondents confirm that there are social classes in Cuba. Many respondents who said that there are social classes remarked that social classes are a human universal, and Cuba is no exception. The creation of social classes was often cited as a social problem and as a main disadvantage of tourism. For example, a respondent stated,

There are many advantages of tourism in the community. There are opportunities. For example there is *moneda nacional* and there is CUC. The CUC is a way to convert money on an international market, and tourism had allowed this. This way we can compete on an international level and we don't have to bow our heads. A disadvantage is that tourism creates different social classes. It's not supposed to be like this. This is the only disadvantage (Respondent 39).

The most notable difference between social classes is between tourism and non-tourism employees. One respondent commented,

We live in a tourist city, so tourism benefits here are mainly economic. A disadvantage of this is that only a portion of the city works in tourism. Other people don't and because of that there is a separation of the population (Respondent 27).

This excerpt is an example of an opinion explaining how unbalanced earnings between tourism and non-tourism employees has inadvertently created social classes in Trinidad. This change of social classes between tourism and non-tourism workers is partially due to access to CUC.

Tourism workers had the best access according to respondents, allowing these people to obtain more and higher quality things which in turn elevated the social status of tourism workers.

Although there are benefits to accessing money and goods when family is employed in tourism

(section 5.6.4), there have been social status changes among family. Having family members of unequal social status was unfavourable to respondents.

Respondents also recognized social status changes among the children of tourism workers. From birth the children of tourism workers have better access to money and things. This had led to social status differences among children that respondents indicated were not present in revolutionary Cuba prior to the early 1990's. Parents working in tourism were happy to be able to provide an elevated level of life to their children, although inequalities among children were not viewed favourably.

5.7.2.2 Locals' Perceptions on Tourism's Social Impacts

Through administering the questionnaires, respondents were asked about benefits and drawbacks of tourism in the community, social changes, and about the relationships between tourists and locals. Many of their answers to these questions commented on the social impacts of tourism. Generally respondents spoke highly of tourism, and welcomed its presence in the community. However tourism has also had many negative social impacts in Trinidad including prostitution, drugs, begging, and the many people taking the opportunities to do illegal things for money. For example, one respondent stated,

Cuba is free because of tourism. It's a great help for the people. Tourism has only advantages, but there is a large problem with prostitution, both males and females. And drug addiction is part of it. This problem includes how people are dressing, and things like this. On the other hand, here in Trinidad there are 500 official *casa particulares*. We have development of our economy because of them (Respondent 53).

This response indicates that there has been somewhat of a sacrifice in social ideals for the money tourism brings into the economy. Even though the respondent indicated that social problems like prostitution and drugs have appeared in the community through tourism, tourism is still viewed positively. Another respondent, a tourism worker made the following comment,

Sickness, prostitution, corruption, drugs. We don't have these things, they are not ours. They are brought here by tourists. Tourism is great, but we also need other horizons (Respondent 23).

This comment indicates the desire several respondents shared for the community to explore other economic opportunities, ones that do not have such severe social impacts.

While the social problems like prostitution and drug abuse in the community have been blamed on tourism, another type of social problem has been blamed on the government. A female tourism worker said the following,

Because of tourism there is development of the community. It's an important economy. On the other hand we are deprived. There are many things that we are not permitted that the tourists are. Some foods, to know foreigners and other places. We are not allowed to leave. And there is only Cuban news on T.V. They never show news from other countries so we know nothing about what is going on in the world. And there are many things we can't buy here. It's my life's dream to own an electric sewing machine. But they don't sell them here. There is no where I can buy one (Respondent 18).

Being deprived for the sake of tourism is a sentiment that many respondents shared. For example, the researcher was informed in informal interviews that Cuban people are not permitted to eat lobster, shrimp, and are permitted only a small amount of beef. These food items are restricted to Cubans for tourist consumption and export. The researcher was invited for lobster dinners by several community members, and thus it was obvious to the researcher that it is fairly commonly consumed by Cubans. When she asked about it, the researcher was informed that people who wanted lobster got it from local commercial fishermen before it was weighed, or from illegal fishermen. Furthermore she was told that although it is illegal, generally authorities turn a blind eye as long as quantities obtained are reasonable for personal consumption. On the contrary, the researcher also spoke with several community members that had never tasted shrimp or lobster on account of their restrictions. Both people who consumed shrimp and lobster and people who had not expressed dislike for the fact there was a restriction

on food in favour of tourists. People are being denied things they obviously desire, so much they are willing to commit crimes to obtain them. Many other respondents expressed feelings of deprivation accompanied by the desire to travel, to know more about the world and other cultures, and to have the ability to buy “anything they want”.

Government restrictions in favour of tourists have contributed to a sometimes “difficult” relationship between tourists and local people. A respondent commented,

The community thinks that the tourists have more than us, that they could have the whole world (Respondent 98).

Another respondent said,

Sometimes tourists are favoured more than our own people (Respondent 97).

Yet another respondent talking about the relationship between tourists and locals said,

There is a problem. When *casa particulares* don't receive people they have economic problems, but they don't like to be at the authority of tourists. You are not objects, but brothers. The difference is in our economies (Respondent 89).

Although these comments indicated some of the difficulties of the relationships between tourists and local people, the difficulties are because of the situations and conditions imposed by government rules rather than attitudes of individual community members and individual tourists. In fact the many respondents described the relationships as “good”, “great”, and “excellent”. One respondent said, “Tourism is magnificent. There is a great relationship between the people” (Respondent 1).

In summary, although tourism has positive economic impacts, there have been some severe negative social impacts such as the occurrence of drug abuse, prostitution, begging, and engaging in various illegal activities. The population feels deprived in comparison to tourists, and this has led to complications about how tourists are viewed by the community. Personal relationships however between tourists and community members are positive.

5.7.2.3 World Solidarity

One of the most positive social impacts of tourism on the community was building and improving human solidarity between Cubans and international tourists. Media in Cuba is currently state controlled (Segrera 2011), and the Cuban public does not have access to world news; likewise Cuban news is not broadcast outside of Cuba. Upon speaking with many community members over the research period, the researcher observed a recurrent trend of human solidarity in conversations about tourists. While the Cuban public is disconnected from the world in terms of media, many community members spoke of conversations with tourists as a manner of lessening the disconnection between Cuba and the rest of the world. Community members described conversations with tourists as a platform for exchange, where they learned about the languages, and cultures of tourists, and had the opportunity to teach tourists about Cuba. Some respondents described the relationships between tourists and locals as a ‘brotherhood’ of man. Respondents felt that tourism has been beneficial in the sense that it has provided a means for learning. One respondent, a tourism worker said,

Tourism moves this country forward. In this community we have four types of tourism: sun and beach, city, nature, and health. We have Playa Ancon, colonial architecture in the city, and nature and health tourism in the Escambray and Topes de Collantes. It is a country in development and tourism is the platform that allows exchange. It’s a thing of communication. The whole country is like a museum available for tourists to learn. I would like to know more things about other countries, and tourism allows us to have these exchange relationships. Tourism is marvellous as an exchange (Respondent 23).

Knowing other about other countries, other cultures, and international politics were all things listed by respondents as desirable to obtain through communications with tourists. Although some communications with tourists were described by respondents as exchanges, other communications resulted in the one-way transfer of information. This transfer of information seems to be an effective way for Cubans to learn about the world. This form of learning is

valued by Cubans, and for this reason friendships with tourists are valued. For example, a respondent said,

In the whole world there are people with mental diseases, people that need things, and so on. We're not that different but we learn lots from tourists. We're not perfect, but we've learned a lot. Our friendships with tourists are sincere. This is most important (Respondent 29).

Another respondent said,

We have cultural diversity through tourism exchanges. Our language and dialect diversify because of tourism (Respondent 43).

While these excerpts hint toward cultural change due to one-way transfer of information, respondents spoke of these changes positively and valued these communications as they viewed them as a connection to the rest of the world, and a way to strengthen their solidarity with tourists. However, language is commonly a major barrier to these communications.

There are very few people that are able to speak languages other than Spanish in Trinidad. Over two months in the research location, the researcher met only four people that were able to communicate at a basic level in English. Many of the *candonga* vendors, people who work with tourists daily, were able to stumble through negotiating prices of their items in English, but could not communicate further. A comparably small percentage of tourists who visit are from Spanish speaking countries (O.N.E. 2009), and thus it is unlikely that many of them speak Spanish fluently. Inability to communicate hinders the welcome exchanges and communications with tourists. One respondent stated,

The disadvantage is that there is little communication between Cubans and tourists because few can speak the other's language (Respondent 42).

Regardless of community desire to have exchanges with tourists and that the exchanges are beneficial to both the tourist and the Cuban, interactions are regulated. The result is apprehension of some Cubans to speak with tourists. A respondent explained,

It's not permitted to have relationships with tourists in Cuba. All tourists like to speak with tourists but we can't (Respondent 37).

Another respondent said,

We have lots of help with our lives because of tourism. A difficulty though is that the police don't like the mixing of tourists and local people (Respondent 48).

Yet another respondent said,

The community is very cautious to have relationships with tourists because the police regulate this (Respondent 93).

The community's fear of police was obvious to the researcher throughout her time in the research location. However there was a clear desire to speak with tourists among respondents and other community members. The exchanges between tourists and the community are an important form of learning for both the community and tourists, and have been responsible for positive social impacts on the community.

5.7.2.4 Generational Employment Shifts

The researcher was told, "Everyone (in Trinidad) kind of works in tourism" (Respondent 9). This is related to the city's economic dependence on tourism. Although not every job is a tourism job per se, the city functions in a way to support and encourage tourism. In the literal sense, more and more people are looking for work in tourism. Furthermore, since the major tourism boom in the early 1990's, there has been a major change in the types of employment younger people are seeking. One young tourism worker said,

It is easy to earn money quickly working in tourism (Respondent 22).

Another said,

An advantage is that working in tourism is easy money, fast (Respondent 23).

The idea that one need not work hard, or for very long to make money has been an attractive motivator for young people looking for work, as it was explained to the researcher by ex-patriot living in Trinidad, Alizee.

Alizee explained that in the last 10 years it seems there has been a major loss in work ethic in younger generations. As more young people obtain employment in tourism, or jobs related to tourism like prostitution, fewer young people are working in skilled trades, and labour jobs. People are looking for ways to earn money with the least amount of work (Respondent 23). Alizee explained that a loss of work ethic, and skilled labour is problematic because cultural loss of way of life is at risk. Furthermore, a city cannot function without any workers to run the businesses, farms and food supplies, infrastructure, services, *etc.* that support tourism.

In summary, there seems to have been a loss in work ethic of younger generations who are looking for “fast money”. As more and more young people are looking for work in tourism and prostitution fewer are obtaining jobs in skilled labour and trades. Although tourism and tourism workers are necessary for the economic success of the community a more balanced equilibrium is necessary.

5.8 Summary: Main Findings

5.8.1 Occurrence of Gift-giving

- The majority of respondents (77.2%) had received gifts from tourists.
- Tourism employees received more gifts at a rate of 83.6% than non-tourism workers at 64.7%.
- Age, gender, and tourism employment of family members did not influence whether a respondent had received a gift.

- Respondents received items from 42 independent item categories. The items were arranged into 10 themes: basic necessities of life; children's use; home basics; luxury items; monetary and in-kind; intangible; personal toiletries; stationary supplies; various unspecified; and work/business tools. Appendix E provides number of respondents to receive each gift by item, organized by theme.

5.8.2 The Culture of Gift-giving in Cuba

- Receiving gifts from tourists was viewed as helpful and is appreciated by Cubans. A need for material goods remains regardless of the fact that many locals had received gifts. Tourists from Canada, France, England, and the United States are favoured more than tourists from Germany, Spain and Latin America because they are perceived to give gifts more commonly.
- Receiving non-monetary gifts was preferable to receiving tips or gifts of money.
- Cubans commonly give gifts in reciprocation when given gifts by tourists. This is particularly common among those who work with souvenirs. Sometimes trade of souvenirs for goods is arranged deliberately by *candongas* workers.
- It is customary for Cubans to give gifts on birthdays and other occasions.
- Friendships and gift-giving are closely related. It was perceived by some respondent that gifts are given of an implied friendship between locals and tourists. Other respondents perceived the act of giving to create friendships.

5.8.3 Impacts of Tourists' Gift-giving

Social Impacts

- Tourists' giving has been responsible for the creation of a begging culture. Begging was viewed negatively by respondents, and as a prominent social problem in Trinidad.

- Cubans, like many tourists, have the desire to help others in need. Tourists' gifts allow Cubans to be philanthropists. Gifts unsuitable for recipients are generally given to less fortunate people or others who may be able to make use of them.
- Receiving gifts from tourists has the potential to cause social inequalities, and this is particularly undesirable with regards to children.
- Tourists' gift-giving has become an important and successful method of facilitating access-to-material-goods for Cuban people.

Economic Impacts

- Tourists' gifts have contributed to economic gains of Cuban people. Receiving gifts, particularly basic items like clothing, allows money that would necessarily have been spent on these items to be spent on other things.

5.8.4 Cuban Access to Material Goods

- Gifts received by respondents were used and distributed in various ways dependent on whether these items were monetary or non-monetary, and if they were received by hotel/resort maids. Use value of the items generally determined how they were distributed, except in the case of the maids who were generally required to pool and donate items.
- Having family who married a foreigner and subsequently left Cuba generally increased access to material goods. In the example of a woman who married a foreigner and did not leave Cuba, her access did not seem to greatly increase. Having boyfriends, girlfriends or otherwise friendly close relationships with foreigners somewhat improved access, however often at the expense of heartbreak and longing.

- Tourism workers were perceived by respondents to have better access to money and goods than non-tourism workers. Direct contact with tourists who have these things was a commonly cited reason for having better access.
- Family is an important asset to accessing material goods.
- Difficulties obtaining material goods has led Cubans to use innovative manners of purposely accessing them. Negotiable deals are often made between locals and tourists, and alternately tourists are commonly scammed of goods and/or money. Although not always admirable these attempts of obtaining goods and money are most often successful.

5.8.5 General Impacts of Tourism

Economic Impacts

- There have been major economic benefits as a result of tourism in Trinidad.
- Respondents felt that living conditions have greatly improved since the tourism boom in the early 1990's. Casa particular owners enjoy the highest standards of living in the community.
- Much work is currently underway in Trinidad in regards to infrastructure and restorations. Respondents attributed the improvements to tourism.
- Because of a tourism economy based on *cuenta propias* Trinidad seems to be in the midst of change, shifting away from an ideal socialist economy.

Social Impacts

- Respondents viewed unequal social classes as a negative social impact of tourism.
- Respondents generally had positive feelings about tourism regardless of several negative social impacts they had observed.

- Respondents had a desire to engage in friendly communications with tourists which help to connect Cuba with the rest of the world, however avoiding these interactions is common as they are regulated by police.
- Younger generations tend to be engaging in employment opportunities requiring minimal effort for the money they intend to earn.

Chapter 6: Discussion, Implications, Recommendations, and Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This study has examined the impacts of international tourists' philanthropic gift-giving through a case study of Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus, Cuba. The major goal of this study was to determine whether philanthropic gift-giving by international tourists contributes to population disparity within a local community as well as its affects on human and economic development. As discussed earlier, academic researchers warn that although there are positive benefits of tourism such as contributions to economic development, few studies have focused on the impacts of tourism. Better understanding the impacts of tourism may assist planners, policy makers, and governments in creating policies that maximize the positive benefits. While pro-poor tourism research often results in policy recommendations that intend to maximize positive benefits with specific attention to the poor, pro-poor tourism studies are still in emerging stages and poverty alleviation remains a low priority to tourism planners.

Tourists' philanthropic gift-giving is occurring on a massive scale in some developing countries where tourism is a major contributor to national GDP such as Cuba and the Dominican Republic. However little is known why it is occurring in these specific destinations, and how it impacts regional economic development, human development, and population disparity. Although Cuba has instated a policy restricting their citizens from receiving gifts, tourists' gift-giving is an extremely common occurrence; Tourists' gifts provide a unique manner of accessing money and material goods fostering interest in the benefits and other impacts of receiving tourists' gifts. This research has sought to bridge some of these gaps in academic knowledge by investigating the impacts of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving.

In this final chapter the findings of this research will be discussed through reference to the background literature in chapters 2 and 3. Research questions and objectives will be revisited to provide this discussion. Criticisms of tourists' gift-giving are identified and implications of research are then addressed. Recommendations are made for future research directions and concluding remarks complete the chapter.

6.2 Interpretation of Results and Relation to Issues Arising in the Literature:

Revisiting the Research Questions

6.2.1 Question 1: How Does Philanthropic Gift-giving of International Tourists Impact the Local Community?

The research revealed that tourists philanthropic gift-giving had both social and economic impacts. These categories are discussed individually in the following subsections: 6.2.1.1, and 6.2.1.2 respectively. While not all impacts are positive, this research makes interesting contributions to existing knowledge on social implications of gift-giving, philanthropy's role in development, and economic contributions of tourism.

6.2.1.1 Social Impacts

This research revealed several social impacts of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving. These impacts include enabling philanthropy, facilitation of access, the creation of a culture of begging, and the creation of inequality. Despite the negative impacts, respondents viewed receiving gifts from tourists as favourable.

There are no previous academic studies to compare with the impacts of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving found in this research. The impacts revealed in this study are significant, and this suggests the need for further studies. Cravatte and Chabloz (2008) are the only previous scholars that have offered any comments on the impacts of tourists' gift-giving;

however their comments were not based on the findings of empirical research. As discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.4.3., Cravatte and Chabloz rationalized their support for the French tourism NGO, *Tourisme & Développement Solidaires* (TDS) to ban tourists' gift-giving in Burkina Faso. Their rationalization implies they expected three major impacts of tourists' gift-giving: tourists will not receive an authentic experience; tourist-local relationships will be based on material, commercial, or financial exchanges; and TDS will earn a credible reputation for supporting community development as any monetary donations are used for community projects as deemed necessary by the community.

Tourists were not involved in the collection of this research so it would be inappropriate to comment on the authenticity of their experiences. Respondents were questioned about their relationships with tourists and it was found that exchanges and communications were an important aspect. Relationships were described as very good, friendly, and viewed tourists as "brothers" rather than the proverbial other; it was often exchange of material goods that fostered these relationships. Simon (1997) asserted that a local population should have substantial control over determining problems and means of development because outsiders' views on important aspects may vary considerably. In this sense, the action by TDS to ban tourists' gift-giving is justified because they are forcing the population to use donated money on projects decided by the community. However, empirical research has shown that one of the impacts of tourists' gift-giving is philanthropy amongst the local population suggesting the population is empowered through tourists' gift-giving.

Local philanthropy is an intangible impact of tourists' gift-giving. Community members had the desire to help each other, and were conscious of helping people in need and

otherwise less fortunate. Gift recipients were able to determine which community members needed help

through the gifts. In this way tourists' philanthropy contributes to development in which the problems are defined by the local population, and are being addressed by the local population making tourists' gift-giving justifiable by Simon's (1997) standards.

Tourists' gift-giving facilitates access to material goods. Community members confirmed that there is much need for items that without tourists they may not be able to access. Although access-to-material-goods is a tangible benefit of tourists' gift-giving, the philanthropic act of tourists' gift-giving socially enables the population as facilitation of access provides help and relief from deprivation as described by respondents.

In addition to these positive social impacts, tourists' gift-giving also had negative social impacts. Social tensions and propagation of pre-existing disparities are commonly observed impacts of tourism by tourism scholars (Yang & Wall 2009; Cabezas 2008). While this research found that inequalities are an impact of tourists' gift-giving, the researcher did not observe general animosity among community members that did receive tourists' gifts from those that did not. There was a notable dislike for beggars among community members. Social tensions observed by the researcher in the research location mainly concerned the public dislike of beggars and public suspicions of corruption by organizations such as schools and churches for inequitably or unfairly distributing tourists' gifts. It is possible that the inequitable distribution of gifts was viewed as problematic because of political views of the population. Population disparity was observed as an impact of tourists' gift-giving and is discussed in detail in section 6.2.2.

Similar to the findings by van den Berghe (1992) of ethnic tourism, this research found that community members did not like being photographed or filmed without permission, and residents felt that begging was fostered by tourism. While personal violations through film cannot be directly linked to gift-giving, begging was viewed by residents as a direct impact of tourists' gift-giving. The community valued the presence of tourism in the community and expressed concern that begging could potentially discourage tourists from visiting. Varying from van den Berghe's findings, the relationships between tourists and locals were described by residents as amicable and accepting. Furthermore, respondents did not express concern that children were "spoiled" by tourists. The adult population expressed appreciation for gifts given to children as they would otherwise have access to an extremely limited variation of toys, clothes, and treats. There was concern for inequality of children based on gift distributions. However, residents did not express a desire for the arrest of gifts given to children.

Deforges (2001) found that gifts of money weakens the authenticity of social relationships in the tourism context. The relationships between tourists and locals in Trinidad were described by respondents as sincere and the friendships formed were valued. Somewhat complimentary to Deforges' findings, respondents expressed the preference to receive non-monetary items as gifts in opposition to money as either tips or gifts. The researcher did not observe a noticeable difference in sincerity of relationships between tourists and residents who received tips or gifts of money, relationships were generally amicable, sincere, and valued. This is contrary to Zelizer's findings that, "[m]oney as a gift implies subordination and arbitrariness" (1996: 482). However, Zelizer also mentioned there is more flexibility in social relationships formed through giving of money as a gift than if money was provided as

compensation. In this example, gifts of money did form sincere and friendly social relationships between the tourists and the locals.

Tourists' philanthropic gift-giving has a variety of social impacts on local communities. Although residents were aware of the negative impacts, there was a desire for gift-giving to continue. While the social benefits of tourists' gift-giving are important to consider, the economic impacts of tourism in Cuba are profound, perhaps contributing to the tolerance of negative social impacts.

6.2.1.2 Economic Impacts

The economic impacts of tourists' gift-giving are synonymous with economic benefits of tourists' gift-giving; With the exception of receiving work/business tools that require further investment, tourists' material gifts and gifts of money provide economic gains at no monetary cost to the recipient. These economic gains do have social risk in Cuba as accepting gifts from tourists has been banned by government (Mesa-Lago 2005). There usually is a monetary cost to the tourist who gives the gift, however as described in this thesis gifts do not have to be expensive to the tourist to be impactful, and it is likely that the tourist will experience satisfaction by giving. As explained later in the chapter in section 6.3.1, tourists' gift-giving is well integrated in the informal Cuban economy; and as explained in section 6.2.4 tourists' gift-giving contributes to economic development. However there is some difficulty in accurately determining economic gains from tourists' gifts separately from economic gains of tourism in general.

This research found that economic growth, improved living conditions, improved infrastructure and restorations and shifting away from a socialist economy were general economic impacts of tourism in the research location. Research by Croes and Vanegas (2008),

suggests that economic growth and associated improvements in living conditions and infrastructure are common economic impacts of tourism in developing countries. The economic impacts of tourists' gift-giving found in this thesis are closely associated and contribute to the impacts of tourism in general.

The most obvious economic gain that can be contributed directly to tourists' gift-giving is the ability for gift recipients to save money that otherwise would have been spent on gift items that were received. However, gift recipients would only experience this type of economic gain when the item given was necessary to be purchased if it were not given. Many gifts received were not basic necessities. In receiving more expensive items of necessity such as clothes or basic household items the recipient would save the most money, however receiving smaller items such as soap and shampoos would also yield savings. Work tools as gifts were revealed to have the possibility of contributing to earnings however items requiring further investments by the recipient lead to the failure to profit.

The desire to receive gifts from tourists was observed by the researcher to often be associated with the desire to benefit economically. While many respondents expressed the desire to receive intangible gifts such as friendships or help, the desire to also obtain material goods was expressed by many of the same people. This was not true of all respondents; some preferred friendships and did not express the desire for material goods, or economic gains. However, friendships with foreigners often resulted in regularly receiving gifts. Others who received gifts from foreigners regularly included those with ex-patriot family and friends, and those with foreign lovers.

Residents acknowledged that tourists' gifts contributed to economic gains in the community, as well as relieved some of the need for material goods. The economic impacts of

tourists' gift-giving are far reaching, they affect more than the initial recipient. The examination of the affects of tourists' gift-giving on economic development in section 6.2.4 further explains the broad economic impacts of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving.

6.2.2 Question 2: Does Tourists' Gift-giving Affect Population Disparity of Community Members?

This thesis has addressed impacts of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving on a local community. In the example of Trinidad, Cuba, the community experienced a variety of impacts both positive and negative as described in Chapter 5, section 5.5.1, and discussed in section 6.2.1. Tourism workers benefited most from tourists' gift-giving both socially and economically while non-tourism workers more commonly experienced negative social impacts, and received fewer benefits. However, there are overall benefits for the community generated through tourists' gift-giving. These include the empowerment to distribute material goods to fellow community members perceived to be in need, and due to gift recipients commonly distributing gifts further into the community access-to-material-goods has been improved for the entire community.

High earning disparities among the population were viewed as problematic among Cubans prior to the revolution. Reduction of disparity has been encouraged through socialism in Cuba (Gobierno de la Republica de Cuba 2010), and tourists' gift-giving threatens this ideal. Tourism workers tend to earn more money in general and with the added benefit of the possibility of receiving gifts, tourism workers unarguably receive disproportionately high benefits. Among the sample population there was particular concern for children in Trinidad as having parents who work in tourism enabled luxuries other children did not have. Of social concern, children also received gifts directly and indirectly and there was concern for the hurt

feelings and inequality of those who did not receive gifts. Many have attempted to improve their access-to-material-goods and one of the results was begging, perceived as a social problem by the community. Statistics showed that although begging and other forms of improving chances of receiving gifts are common, access to tourists' gifts and likewise access-to-material-goods is not equal. Furthermore, there is resentment of beggars, and others who "ask". Although all Cubans have the same social access to hospital care and education, it was clearly observed by the researcher there are social classes and earning disparities in Cuba.

Tourists' gift-giving contributes to population disparity in several ways. First, although generalized access-to-material-goods is facilitated through tourists' gift-giving, access to tourists' gifts is not equal. Second, the receipt of gifts by beggars or "askers" perpetuates negative relationships and resentment between these people and other community members. Third, those with better access-to-material-goods and tourists' gifts enjoy a higher social status and they are viewed as virtuous by community members when they further distribute tourists' gifts. Fourth, inequality of the population is enforced visibly as community members observe some people receiving gifts and not others; this is particularly true when the same people consistently receive gifts. Finally, the economic benefits of tourists' gift-giving are primarily experienced by gift recipients.

Assessment of the distribution of material assets seems particularly pertinent within the context of a socialist society. The findings of this thesis point to the predictability of disparity in destinations where tourists' gifts are received. Similar to the results of corporate distribution of wealth (Kohls and Christensen 2002), by further distributing tourists' gifts community members have situated themselves as politically and socially favourable. By further distributing some of the gifts they receive, recipients are able to enjoy a heightened social

status as well as the economic benefits of the gifts they keep. These findings are in agreement with suggestions made by Kohls and Christensen (2002), and Linnekin (1991) that there are essentially always underlying political or economic motivations for gift-giving and wealth distribution. For these reasons it is likely that in destinations where locals receive gifts from tourists, the recipients will further distribute them into the community, and population disparity will likely increase.

6.2.3 Question 3: How Does Tourists' Philanthropic Gift-giving Affect Human Development?

While other socialist countries such as China, Laos, and Vietnam were characterized as having medium human development according to the UNDP's HDI in 2009 (UNDP 2009), Cuba was ranked with high human development the same year (UNDP 2009), their most recent year for assessment. Many of the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe were classified with high human development prior to "political-economic" shifts about two decades ago however the human development indicators of these countries fell after abandoning socialism (Meurs & Ranasinghe 2003). High human development does not imply that poverty, which refers to individual basic needs and income, is minimal or even that it has been reduced through development, which is measured based on regional economic gains, social and human capital, and occasionally their distributions (Meurs & Ranasinghe 2003). While few scholars have addressed the applicability of the HDI to socialist nations on the basis that the nature of socialism implies general equality on each of these levels, poverty is rife in Cuba regardless of a high development status. The UNDP does acknowledge the challenges of addressing poverty as an aspect of human development and have stated, "[t]he many dimensions of poverty are too complex to be captured in a single universal indicator" (Slay 2009: 2).

There are problems with applying the HDI to the Cuban example. While Cuba's socialist system allows for free education and access to healthcare, problems with these institutions like lowered education standards and poor hospital conditions and access to medications for example are not accounted for in the HDI. Furthermore, using a measurement like the HDI implies there are achievable levels of human development that are acceptable, for which countries should strive. While according to the UNDP (2009) Cuba has high development, the many current problems of daily life in Cuba as described in Chapter 3 suggest otherwise. Alternatively, Simon's (1997) definition of human development as outlined in Chapter 2, section 2.2.2, takes poverty conditions into consideration and implies that human development is not an end, but rather a means where the continual process is the achievement. To claim that tourists' philanthropic gift-giving positively affects human development because it contributes to regional economic gains as an income improvement indicator of the HDI would therefore be misleading.

Simon (1997: 185) identified three main characteristics of the process of human development which improves quality of life collectively as well as for the individual: satisfies basic human needs; is sustainable (environmentally, socially and economically); and the population concerned has substantial control over access to means of social gains. While tourists' philanthropic gift-giving contributes to some aspects of human development in Cuba, it cannot be considered without hazard to contribute to human development. Tourists' gift-giving was found in this study to contribute to satisfying basic human needs in Cuba both directly and indirectly. Tourists' gifts have alleviated some of the need for material goods by directly providing Cubans with clothing, food, basic toiletries, basic household items, medications, and in one example a house among money and other gifts. Secondly, money that

otherwise would have been spent on these items could therefore be saved and spent on satisfying other basic needs indirectly. These benefits were observed on both an individual and collective level in this research.

Alternatively, tourists' gift-giving is not sustainable. While tourists' gift-giving has little impact on the physical environment and does not use resources that may compromise needs of future generations, it is not sustainable in the sense that the resource is indefinite or able to replenish itself. The resource of tourists' gift-giving is external and highly unstable. Some dependent factors are seasonality of tourism; reduced tourism due to environmental conditions or high fuel costs; importation restrictions; and policy restrictions on gift-giving. Furthermore it is possible that tourist gift-giving could stop at any time. Reasons as to why tourist gift-giving began are unknown, which makes the phenomenon difficult to predict.

Essentially opposite of eco-tourism (Butcher 2006), tourists' gift-giving does not function under the guise of empowerment, yet empowerment is a resulting condition. The findings in terms of the empowerment aspect of human development through tourists' gift-giving are somewhat contradictory. In one sense local community members are not empowered by tourists' gift-giving. While tourism workers have the best chance of receiving gifts and some community members have taken to increasing their chances of receiving gifts, ultimately the power over who specifically will receive a gift remains external to the community. This means the community does not have substantial control over who will gain social power by receiving gifts. However, respondents did report sentiments of empowerment through tourists' gift-giving. Receiving gifts enabled those recipients to further distribute items into the community based on their own perceptions of need. Perceptions of need included use value of

the item, and relative poverty. Personal satisfaction was experienced by those who were able to further distribute tourists' gifts into the community.

6.2.4 Question 4: How Does Tourists' Philanthropic Gift-giving Affect Economic Development?

Although many scholars from various academic backgrounds have offered definitions of economic development, Ezeala-Harrison's (1996) was adopted for this study because of the observable components of her definition. Based on this definition as stated in Chapter 2 section 2.2.2, the findings of this thesis indicate that tourists' gift-giving contributes to economic development. The following paragraphs examine this finding in detail.

Tourists' gift-giving contributes to regional economic gains. As described in Chapter 5, section 5.5.2 economic gains were found to be an impact of tourists' gift-giving. While it is true that individual recipients of gifts receive amplified economic gains, economic benefits of tourists' gift-giving are regional and communal. Tourists' gift-giving was observed by the researcher to be a significant source of income both primary and supplementary in the research location. This was visible partially due to the fact that begging was considered a "job" by residents, and although this was not respectable work their spoils were coveted by non-beggars. Respondents identified tourists' gift-giving as an important economic contribution to the region, as receiving gifts from tourists occurs on a massive scale in Cuba. Although tourists' gift-giving occurs on a massive scale, (more than 75% of the sample received gifts directly), the nature of the phenomenon remains small scale where individuals and individual families receive direct benefits.

There have been structural changes in Cuba's informal economy to include tourists' gift-giving. Determining precisely how many gifts per year are received, and their retail values

if purchased new in Cuba is well beyond the scope of this research, however retail values of gifts are an important issue to consider. While not all gifts received in Cuba are material or price applicable items the ones that are make significant impacts on economic gains.

The receipt of clothing is particularly impactful due to a high price-to-wage ratio. It was not uncommon for respondents to report receiving not only a single item of clothing, but an entire suitcase full of clothing. These clothes were often of different styles, sizes, and sexes which were subsequently distributed by the initial recipient. As outlined in Chapter 3, table 3.4, the average monthly wage in Cuba is \$16.60 CUC (O.N.E. 2009). Prices of clothing and other items available at non-ration stores can be reviewed in Appendix A. One pair of jeans costs a half month's average wage or more in Trinidad. If one suitcase given to a Cuban contained 10 pairs of jeans and nothing else it could potentially free the equivalent of five month's wages for a single person. However, since it is unlikely that a single person would purchase 10 pairs of jeans over a five-month period the economic gain must be taken into context. This research revealed that items received would be distributed based on use value and need. This means that potentially up to 10 people could experience an economic gain of half a month's wage. Thus, subsequent distribution of tourists' gifts is an important aspect of regional economic gains.

Receiving gifts from tourists improves living conditions. Respondents often reported investing in their homes when money was received as a gift. In addition, gifts intended for the home which improve basic living conditions were received such as lighting fixtures and towels. This resulted in improvements of individual homes and living conditions. Furthermore, economic gains, improvements of infrastructure, restorations and living conditions were found to be general impacts of tourism in the research location.

Nutrition is also affected by tourists' gift-giving. One respondent reported receiving a refrigerator, which could be argued to improve quality of food and health. For others, freed wages allow for the purchase of fresh foods from farmers' markets, and other supplemental food. The ability to access supplemental food beyond that of the ration system is essential to survival due to the shortcomings of the current system (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007; Hamilton 1989).

Healthcare is another factor that is improved through tourists' gift-giving. Basic medications are difficult to access at the minimum, and many others are restricted from being produced in Cuba (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007). This research confirmed that Cuban people are receiving medications from tourists. While these medications are not likely specialized medicines for specific health problems, anti-bacterial ointments, general pain medication, basic cold and flu medicine, and supplies such wound dressings and bandages certainly have the potential to improve health, and prevent further health complications such as infections. Receiving these items on a large scale could mean the reduction of patients visiting *consultorios* and *policlínicos*, and likewise the reduction of state dollars spent on medical care.

Education and knowledge are impacted through tourists' gift-giving. Exchange and communications with tourists were found to be an important aspect of the phenomenon. Learning about other cultures and the world is a by-product of interactions between tourists and locals, and the platform for these communications is sometimes gift-giving. Cultural and knowledge exchanges and information transfer were viewed as quite valuable by respondents of this research. In addition to broadening knowledge through interactions of gift-giving, stationary supplies are commonly received gifts. Access to stationary supplies can improve

learning conditions in schools. In addition, the receipt of books contributes to a larger knowledge base.

While Cuba remains an underdeveloped nation, the findings that tourists' philanthropic gift-giving contributes to economic development cannot be discounted. If tourists' gift-giving were to suddenly cease there could be major impacts including regression of economic development. The scale on which tourists' gift-giving occurs is extremely important to its affects on economic development.

In the context of this research, one of the problems to arise in the literature in relation to tourism and development is although tourism can make significant contributions to national economic gains many governments, "do not take tourism seriously, fail to make the connection between tourism and poverty reduction, or both" (Croes & Vanegas 2008: 94). This was a problem observed first-hand by the researcher. There was a lack of interest in the results of this research by both the Cuban government and Cuban post-secondary education facilities. Tourists' gift-giving is an important aspect of tourism in Cuba which contributes to economic development, as well as aids poverty alleviation. Although aspects of economic development are not independent of other factors it is problematic to understanding regional economic development that tourists' gift-giving is ignored. Lack of government interest is not only a limitation to immediate applicability of this research, but indicates a possible misinterpretation of factors contributing to economic development in Cuba.

The problem remains that tourists' philanthropic gift-giving is external to Cubans themselves and they do not have significant control over the occurrence. Inherent are complications in the reliability of tourists' gift-giving as a tool of economic development.

6.3 Revisiting the Research Objectives

In the introductory chapter four research objectives were identified. Each will be discussed in the following sections. This research has been successful in the sense that each objective has been achieved.

6.3.1 Objective 1: Commonality of Tourists' Gift-giving

La búsqueda, the universal search for dollars, well-being, and survival (Toro-Morn *et al.* 2002), remains in full force in Cuba. *La búsqueda* a term first used by Toro-Morn *et al.* (2002) was originally associated with the US dollar, but since the USD was restricted for domestic use in 2004 (Eckstein 2010), its meaning has slightly evolved to refer to the Cuban Convertible Peso (CUC). Although remittances remain an important manner of obtaining CUC, recent declines in numbers of ex-patriot families sending returns (Díaz-Briquets 2008), have forced the Cuban people to expand the arsenal of survival which is *la búsqueda*.

As originally described by Toro-Morn *et al.* (2002), *la búsqueda* continues to include both the formal and informal economy, and remains mostly underground. Respondents of this research confirmed that tourism employees are the highest earning sector and have the best access to CUC, and as such it is not surprising that by 2005 there were heightened percentages of workers seeking employment in tourism jobs. The Government turned away the masses from this formal method of obtaining CUC by imposing policies restricting interactions between Cubans and international tourists and forbidding the acceptance of tips and gifts from tourists the same year (Taylor and McGlynn 2009). This indicates that the institution of tourists' gift-giving in Cuba was clearly established more than six years ago, and likely a decade at a minimum. It was prevalent enough to be called to attention by the Government through official policy in 2005. If tourists' gift-giving was happening on a small scale it could

have easily slipped the awareness of Government officials. Likewise, it would not have been an attractive benefit of tourism employment for the masses. Tourists' philanthropic gift-giving is an important part of the current informal economy, and is herewith asserted to be a weapon of *la búsqueda*.

Through this research tourists' philanthropic gift-giving was found to be extremely common in Cuba, particularly among the population of the research location. This was evident in the responses of the sample, many of who reported that receiving gifts from tourists was a "normal" occurrence. One hundred percent of respondents were aware that international tourists ordinarily gave gifts to local Cuban people. While respondents of this research confirmed many hardships of life in Cuba remain, tourists' philanthropic gift-giving has given Cuban people a new tool in the fight for survival. The institution is not employed without complications, such as lack of Cuban control and policy restrictions, however at the time of research was found to be well integrated in the informal Cuban economy.

6.3.2 Objective 2: Tourism Employment and the Receipt of Gifts

This research revealed that age and sex variables were not found to be statistically significant factors in determining which local community members are most likely to be given gifts by tourists. Alternatively, this research confirmed that tourism workers receive more gifts than non-tourism workers. It was also revealed that receiving gifts from tourists increases economic gains. While respondents viewed these economic gains positively, tourists' philanthropic gift-giving is contributing to the shift away from a socialist economy in Cuba.

Highly unbalanced earnings were one of the main motivating factors of the socialist revolution in late 1958 (Gobierno de la Republica de Cuba 2010), yet there is a definite gap in current-day earnings between tourism and non-tourism workers. As described in Chapter 5,

there is a very high proportion of *cuentalpropistas* in Trinidad in terms of national numbers. Although there are *cuentalpropistas* working outside tourism, many are engaged in tourism work and occupy the highest earning sector in Cuba at roughly three times the national average (Scarpaci 2009). Among the vast array of *cuentalpropistas* in Trinidad, there are approximately 500 *casa particulares*, and many other artisans, *paladares*, and tour guides. These *cuentalpropistas* make up the majority of tourism workers in the city of Trinidad, the remaining working in hotels and for national tour operators. Along with wages triple the national average and the best access to CUC (Scarpaci 2009), as tourism workers *cuentalpropistas* also are among the most likely to be given gifts by tourists thereby further improving access-to-material-goods, and economic gains. Although these benefits would be difficult to quantify monetarily, there is a definite implication of unbalanced earnings for this small national employment sector.

The researcher spoke with various *cuentalpropistas* during her time at the research location and learned that many are highly educated and had obtained professional degrees in law, engineering, medicine, and other faculties, prior to working in tourism. The potential for earning that tourism offers seems to be overwhelmingly attractive, even to those with prestigious education. The “brain drain” usually refers to out-migration of skilled workers often in search of higher wages (El-Khawas 2004), however has been found by Gilmore (2008) within the specific context of Cuba to refer to skilled and educated workers commonly abandoning their trade for higher paying jobs in tourism. While Cubans consider themselves to be equal on the social front in terms of having equal rights and access to medicine and education, this research confirmed that they are not equal in terms of money and access to money and goods. With more people seeking employment in tourism for personal economic

gains, including the possibilities of obtaining tips and other non-monetary gifts, the ideal socialist economy is at risk.

6.3.3 Objective 3: Gift Use and Distribution

Cuba's poor access to material goods, mainly due to the U.S. trade embargo and subsequent loss of Soviet trade, has forced the population to be innovative in using and re-using items they do have access to. For example, this innovation has led to the use of old shower curtains as room dividers and window shades, scaffolding built from old wooden framing, sculptures carved of old railway ties, and jewellery made of old silver tableware. Perhaps most notable of Cuban innovation is the proficiency for steadily maintaining American cars for over 50 years without new parts imported from the United States (see figure 6.2). Another prime example of Cuban innovation is the iconic coco-taxi, a three wheeled motor-vehicle-for-hire, built on the base of a motor bike and formed with yellow fibre-glass to resemble a coconut. Throughout her time in the research location, the researcher observed that although Cubans take pride in their innovations and their abilities to re-use things, there was a desire to be able to obtain *new* items.

Tourists are a medium of access-to-material-goods for the Cuban people. Knowingly or unknowingly they are carriers of material items (such as clothes) that are desirable to Cubans. The researcher observed that in some cases tourists were aware that tourists' gift-giving is common in Cuba prior to their arrival and deliberately brought gifts to give to the locals they expected to encounter. Other times tourists were unaware of this phenomenon, yet sometimes gave away items they brought for personal use. Because other countries do not have the same problems with accessing material goods, the potential for material items accessible through tourists is nearly unlimited (subject to Customs' importation laws). While it could be argued

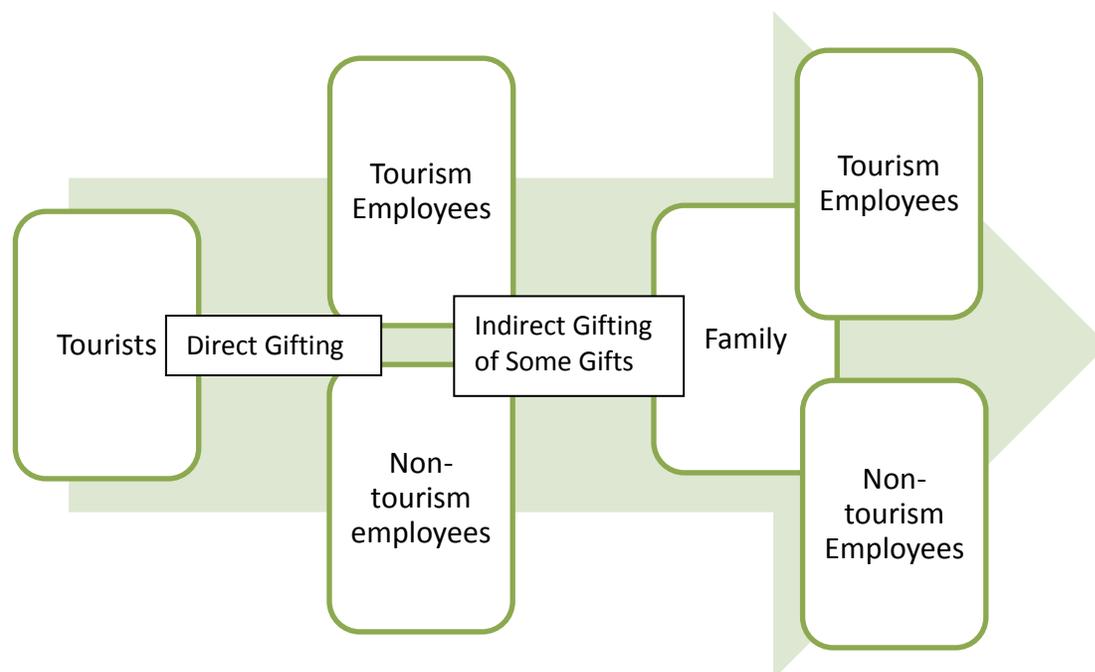
that many “inaccessible” items such as cell phones are available on the black market, these items come at a high cost and many Cubans are not willing or able to purchase them (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007). While acquiring gifts from tourists is restricted in Cuba, the cost to obtain these items is not dependent on money. This makes obtaining material goods from tourists attractive to many.

As previously discussed, this research revealed that tourism workers are more likely to receive gifts than non-tourism workers. Also revealed were the ways gift recipients reported to make use of gifts after receiving them as discussed in Chapter 5 section 5.6.1. Respondents provided an array of answers which varied based on whether the recipient was given money or non-monetary items, and whether or not the recipient was a hotel maid. Although respondents acknowledged there was a formal structure for hotel/resort maids to receive gifts that was expected to be adhered to, among others both money and non-monetary items were most commonly used personally and given to or spent on family and friends. Respondents rarely reported selling non-monetary items for cash. It was found that the determining factor of what would be done with a received item was most often related to whether or not the recipient was able to use the gift. The implications of these findings point to significant improvements in gift recipients’ access to material goods.

Figure 6.1 demonstrates the common distribution of tourists’ gifts leading to significant improvements in access to material goods in Cuba. The figure shows that both tourism and non-tourism employees receive gifts directly from tourists. Some of those gifts are then given to family members (indirect recipients), who may or may not be tourism employees themselves. Although not all gifts were kept personally or given to family members, these uses were most commonly reported by respondents and as such indicate notable improvements in

access. Tourism employees who have other family members also working in the tourism industry have the most opportunities and best chance of receiving gifts from tourists, hence the best access to material goods. Tourism employees are more likely to receive gifts than non-tourism workers. Non-tourism employees with family working in tourism have improved access over non-tourism workers with no family working in tourism.

Figure 6.1 Distribution of Tourists’ Gifts Leading to Significant Improvements in Access



While tourists’ gift-giving has contributed to economic gains and has improved access to material goods in Cuba, the need for material goods is prevalent. Although living conditions in Trinidad have improved significantly since their tourism boom in the early 1990’s (Respondent 38), the researcher observed that many locals occupied substandard dwellings and wore the same decaying clothing for many consecutive days. Many basic items such as laundry detergent, feminine napkins, candles, baby bottles, *etc.*, were simply not available in local stores. As a result, this research found that many residents have taken to improving their

chances of receiving material goods from tourists by making deals, trading, tricking tourists, and begging.

6.3.4 Objective 4: Views of Local Community Members on Tourists' Gift-giving

Through popular media, among international travel websites, and through published literature such as travel guides it is widespread knowledge that international travellers commonly bring various gifts with them when vacationing in developing countries. Cuba has been a primary interface for this type of philanthropic transfer of wealth. The exact length of time the phenomenon has been occurring in Cuba (and other destinations for that matter) remains unknown. It is widely known that tourists are giving gifts to local people in Cuba, however until this study the Cuban views about this occurrence had been disregarded.

Despite the fact that local residents have little control over what is given to them, and who gifts are given to, local residents in Trinidad viewed both the tourists who give gifts as well as the act of tourists' gift-giving positively. In fact, the research revealed that respondents had a preference for tourists of particular national origins they have associated with stereotypes as gift givers. The desire to receive gifts was expressed by most respondents. It is likely that residents of tourism communities in other developing nations would share similar positive sentiments towards tourists' gift-giving. Cravatte and Chabloz (2008) noted that French NGO, TDS requires tourists to be accompanied by a national yet non-tourist-community-member staff member to ensure tourists did not distribute gifts to individuals and that the locals would neither ask for nor accept gifts. Although there are regulations in Cuba meant to prevent locals from accepting gifts from tourists (Taylor & McGlynn 2009; Mesa-Lago 2005), as Taylor and McGlynn expected they have not been successful as it is a common, and "normal" occurrence to accept gifts from tourists.

The results of this study are in opposition to TDS' perspective of expected outcomes as outlined by Cravatte and Chabloz (2008) on the relationships that are formed between tourists and locals when tourists give directly to locals. Respondents felt that gift-giving had the ability to forge meaningful friendships, and to enforce the brotherhood of humanity. This is a stark conflict with TDS' policy that states tourists' gift-giving can, "kill the relationship" (2008: 238). TDS' further claim that tourists' gifts, "stir up rivalry and jealousy in the village" (2008: 238) is also in opposition to the findings of this study. Many respondents viewed tourists' gift-giving as a "collective benefit", and shared the satisfaction of obtaining material and economic gains as the gifts themselves were very commonly shared.

Furthermore, respondents felt that the tourists' gifts were "helpful" and important in regards to their contributions to economic gains, and that tourists giving gifts improved their access to material gains. Although it was revealed that tourists' gift-giving has the potential to enforce population disparity, respondents felt it was a "collective benefit" for other community members to receive gifts. Respondents also felt positively about tourism as a whole in their community and its contributions to economic development.

6.4 Criticisms and Mitigating the Affects of Tourists' Gift-giving

Upon analyzing the data, it became clear to the researcher there are several disadvantages regarding tourists' philanthropic gift-giving that should not be ignored. While some of the disadvantages have been discussed in this chapter in regards to negative impacts of tourists' gift-giving, other criticisms have also been identified. Criticisms of volunteer tourism discussed in Chapter 2 provided a background for addressing these issues.

Similar to Guttentag's (2009) criticism of voluntourism which found that volunteer tourism participation reinforces stereotypes, tourists' gift-giving reinforces a poverty stereotype

through begging that results in destinations where locals are given gifts from tourists. Begging leads tourists to believe poverty and the need for material goods is greater than it actually is (Respondent 18), and thus puts the pride of the population at stake. A second criticism of Guttentag's is also relevant in the instance of tourists' gift-giving; like communities that experience the demonstration effect and accelerated cultural change due to volunteer tourism, communities where gift-giving occurs may experience the demonstration effect, and change in material possessions and the manner in which daily life is lived due to these material possessions may accelerate cultural change. The following list outlines other criticisms identified by the researcher:

- Tourists' gifts are not sustainable, they are an external and unstable resource. They may stop at any time, and seasonality of tourism likewise means seasonality of gifts. Policies may also be instated to prevent tourists' gift-giving. This means tourists' gift-giving is not a reliable tool for economic development.
- Local community members have no control over what is being brought into their community as gifts. Hence, the gifts may or may not be useful.
- Tourists' gift-giving increases population disparities.
- Tourists' gift-giving helps satisfy needs and contributes to poverty reduction, but does not wholly contribute to human development.
- Positive effects on economic development may be different in destinations where a lower percentage of the population receives gifts.
- Local residents may become dependent on receiving material goods from tourists and having extra money that is saved when gifts are commonly received.

- It is difficult to determine the precise extent of the impacts of tourists' gift-giving as the occurrence cannot be completely separated from tourism and impacts of tourism in general.

There are positive aspects of tourists' gift-giving in addition to positive impacts previously discussed in this thesis. Through local philanthropy that results from tourists' gift-giving, local community members are addressing social issues they have identified themselves. The respondents of this research agree that there is a problem accessing material goods in their community, and confirm that tourists' gift-giving aids this problem. Local community members have a desire to receive gifts from tourists. Meaningful relationships are fostered between tourists and locals, cultural understandings improve and language is expanded through communications with tourists. These are valuable benefits.

Review of the criticisms listed here in spite of the benefits may lead some to believe that tourists' gift-giving should not occur, however there are dangers to abandoning the occurrence. This is particularly true in destinations like Cuba where the phenomenon occurs on a major scale and holds a stake in the regional economy. A sudden halt of gifts could mean a major economic blow. As a chain reaction begging and morale of the population could skyrocket as people become desperate for money and material goods, including necessary as well as surplus and non-necessity goods in order to continue to experience economic growth. Begging can strain the relationships between tourists and locals (Respondent 43; van den Berghe 1992), and if begging rapidly increases it could put success of tourism in general at risk.

Further research on tourists' gift-giving is necessary in order to better understand the phenomenon as well as its impacts. Extrapolating from Guttentag's (2009) conclusions about voluntourism, awareness of negative aspects of tourists' gift-giving could contribute to a

knowledge base for planners, managers, and governments which in turn could contribute to improving negative conditions of tourists' gift-giving. This knowledge base could assist governments, planners, tour operators and managers in deciding whether to ban tourists' gift-giving if it is not already present, how to mitigate negative effects of tourists' gifts if they are already present, how to wean a population off of tourists' gifts, or whether to allow or encourage tourists' gift-giving to continue.

6.5 Research Implications

Research on tourists' philanthropic gift-giving is brand new to the field of tourism research, and studies focusing on tourism's impacts on the poor are still in their infancy (Croes & Vanegas 2008). At least one government and one NGO tour company have policies that restrict locals from receiving gifts from tourists, yet this is a primary study of the impacts of tourists' gift-giving. These conditions make the implications of this research particularly important to address and relevant to a vast array of people including scholars and academic researchers, governments, NGO's, tourism planners, and international tourists. Research implications for these various groups will be addressed in the following sections.

6.5.1 Academic Implications

This research has contributed to three distinct themes present in academic literature: development and its relation to tourism, tourist philanthropy, and gift-giving research. This study contributes to these bodies of literature individually, as well as forged a path for new development studies involving international tourism and gift-giving.

Like much of the research on tourism's role in economic development this study was conducted in a developing nation. While the majority of tourism receipts are in the developing world, the recent rise in neoliberalism focusing on "outward-oriented economic development

strategies” has encouraged developing nations to turn to tourism (Torres & Momsen 2004). Few studies however have focused specifically on tourism’s impacts on economic development of the poorest sector of a nation (Blake et al. 2008). Cukier (1996) pointed out that it is important to study tourism’s role in regional development, while Blake et al. (2008) pointed out that research on tourism’s role in poverty reduction has seldom been researched regionally. These conditions make this research an important example that brings together tourism’s role in regional development, as well as the impacts of tourism on the poor. Regional poverty reduction through tourism has not been a main focus of this research however and there remains a need for its focused study. The implication arising is that Cuba may be an appropriate place for further studies of tourism’s role in regional economic development and its association to regional poverty reduction. As the specific case of tourists’ philanthropic gift-giving has been shown in this research to contribute to economic development, this may be an appropriate platform to approach new studies of tourism’s role in regional poverty reduction.

In terms of tourist philanthropy this study has made significant contributions to academic literature. First in terms of philanthropy’s role in development; the majority of previous studies on philanthropy and development have focused on the donor and their motivations and perceptions of need. This research has largely ignored the donor and their motivations for engaging in philanthropy, putting the major focus on the recipient. This has allowed tourists’ gift-giving to be viewed as an act of philanthropic transfer of wealth, and the focus has been steadily maintained on impacts of this act on local community members. Secondly, there is a major absence of academic literature discussing any aspects of international tourists’ gift-giving although it has been commonly occurring in various developing destinations such as Cuba for many years. The impacts of tourists’ gift-giving have

been shown in this thesis to be significant, and this implies there is a need for future studies of international tourists' gift-giving in a broad context of developing nations.

In terms of gift-giving research this thesis has taken a unique approach. Although gift-giving has been a popular subject of research among anthropologists and sociologists for nearly a century, tourism studies which are still relatively young have not yet put major focus on gift-giving research. Reciprocity while at the center of many studies on gift-giving, (Dolfsma et al. 2009; Joy 2001; Levi 1999; Komter & Vollebergh 1997; Aragon 1996; Carrier 1991; Parry 1986; Sherry 1983; Johnson 1974; Schwartz 1967), was not a main focus of this research although it was found through the case study of Cuba that reciprocity is an aspect of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving. Furthermore this research challenges current literature on implied social relationships between a donor and a recipient, where subservience of the recipient is implied (Deforges 2001; Zelizer 1996). This generates interest in further exploration of gift-giving from the tourism studies perspective.

Finally, this research has synthesized research on development, tourism, and gift-giving. This is a primary study of its kind and provides a valuable platform for future research in this area of study. Gift-giving research from the tourism studies perspective is encouraged through this research.

6.5.2 Policy Implications and Recommendations for Governments, NGOs, and Tourism Planners

Implications regarding policies regulating tourist/host community member conduct have been pushed to the forefront through this research. In general these policies must be clear in stating what is intended to be achieved through a regulation, the regulation must be conveyed effectively and furthermore the institution (government, NGO, planning firm, *etc.*) that institutes

the regulation should be aware of the impacts that will result, that if optimally successful, will be identical to the intentions of achievement. Furthermore it seems reasonable to expect that policies be adhered to.

The policies employed by both the Cuban Government through MINTUR, and French NGO, *Tourisme & Développement Solidaires* discussed in this thesis were instated somewhat arbitrarily as empirical data regarding impacts tourists' gift-giving could not have been consulted prior to enactment. Although this research has shown that tourists' gift-giving contributes to development, it is not appropriate for the author to recommend it continue in Cuba due to current policy restrictions. Tourists' philanthropic gift-giving was found to be an integrated method of obtaining and accessing material things, as well as facilitating economic gains. This research revealed that there are negative impacts of tourists' gift-giving, however overall the gifts were viewed positively in the research community and produced several positive impacts both social and economic. In summary, the impacts of tourists' gift-giving were revealed to be significant through this research and should not be ignored by policy makers when considering tourist/host community interactions.

Perhaps the most obvious implication of this research is that reasons policies are enacted should be aligned with the resulting conditions of the policy. For example, the purpose the anti-gift policy was enacted in Cuba was to deter unproportionate numbers of workers from seeking employment in tourism (Taylor and McGlynn 2009). There was a failure of this policy on several levels. The true impacts of tourists' gift-giving were unknown to government policy makers when it was instated. Although it is possible that one of the impacts of the policy was a reduction of workers seeking employment in the tourism industry this research did not present evidence that confirms it. Secondly, the policy was not conveyed effectively to the population.

Third, as expected by Taylor and McGlynn (2009), and is understandable considering community members in the research location were unaware of the policy, it was not adhered to. Finally, there was no evidence to suggest this policy was actually enforced. This policy failure suggests that it is important for policy makers to take interest in the impacts and conditions imposed through policies. The researcher did offer the information on these impacts and conditions in the form of a completed copy of this thesis to both government and educational institutions when trying to obtain a research visa in Cuba, however this offer was not accepted. For this reason, it is likely the policy restricting tourists' gift-giving will remain; however, since the population is not aware the policy exists they will likely continue accepting tourists' gifts. The lack of interest of the Cuban Government and by Cuban scholars has been a major limitation to the immediate practicality of this thesis, however it is hoped that other policy makers and scholars recognize the significance of this study in relation to tourism's impacts on development. The author encourages broad distribution of this thesis.

Another policy implication of this research regards national employment. In countries such as Cuba where there is a high potential for tourism growth (Jayawardena 2003), there is reason to argue that policies which intended to limit the number of people who seek tourism employment may be stunting GDP increases. In the case of Cuba policies with the intention to deter masses from seeking tourism employment were enacted in response to population disparity caused by higher earning and benefits of tourism employment (Taylor and McGlynn 2009). If the tourism market is not fully tapped and there is a high demand for tourism employment one logical way to mitigate the issue is to focus efforts on tourism expansion. Introducing policies which focus on improving tourism impacts for the poorest population sectors, the non-tourism workers in the case of Cuba for example (Taylor and McGlynn 2009),

such as those policies used for pro-poor tourism development may reduce the likelihood of population disparity caused by tourism development (Blake et al. 2008).

Finally, this research suggests that in spite of the criticisms there are significant benefits that result from international tourists' gift-giving in developing countries. Although not all impacts are positive the occurrence should not be outright banned by policy makers in destinations that it is known to occur. Further research is necessary to better understand the phenomenon. In the mean time, more beneficial would be to allow international tourists' gift-giving, while also employing strategies that mitigate negative impacts of tourism such as pro-poor tourism development (Blake et al. 2008).

6.5.3 International Tourist Implications

In recent years, and growing in popularity has been the occurrence of international tourists bringing gifts with them on their vacations to developing countries where the gifts are then distributed to local individuals. Little is known for certain regarding how and why this phenomenon came about, but is commonly recommended in travel blogs, guidebooks, and by globetrotter word of mouth. Although tourists may be given a souvenir of friendship or exchange letter mail upon their return home, they will know little of the impacts and final destiny of their gifts.

In the experience of the researcher, not a single community member in the research location was aware of the gift-giving regulations set forth by MINTUR. The regulations were not mentioned by any of the 101 respondents. Furthermore, when questioned informally community members were surprised, confused, and denied the possibility that this was an actual regulation. What is interesting is that community members were aware that they were restricted from openly associating with tourists, which was a part of the same MINTUR

regulation (Mesa-Lago 2005). The researcher did not suspect the community members were insincere in their ignorance, however the policy clearly has not been adequately conveyed, even after five years since its inauguration. Tourists are not at risk of law-breaking by giving gifts; they are not restricted from giving gifts to locals in Cuba and there are no potential penalties for doing so. However, these actions may tempt locals to break official regulations by accepting gifts without reporting them (Taylor and McGlynn 2009). It is possible there are similar gift-giving policies or possibly laws in other developing countries, although the researcher was unable to find any such information. The impacts of tourists' gift-giving revealed in this thesis are broad, including social and economic impacts.

Tourists should do their best to be aware of local laws when travelling abroad, and make informed decisions regarding gift-giving. This research has suggested that there are considerable positive impacts of tourists' gift-giving, particularly regarding improvement of access to money and material goods as well as economic gains. However, in the case of Cuba these impacts are achieved at the expense of official policy. It is not the intention of the researcher to encourage regulation-breaking. This information however may be broadly extrapolated when travelling to other developing nations with poor access and poverty which do not have laws or policies restricting tourists giving gifts nor locals from receiving them. Negative impacts such as creation of disparity, and occurrence of begging should not be ignored however when considering whether to gift. It is hoped that readers of this thesis distribute the information herein, and that it may assist international travellers in making informed decisions regarding gift-giving in developing nations.

6.6 Future Research Directions and Recommendations

It is hoped that this thesis has presented issues regarding tourists' philanthropic gift-giving in a way that adequately indicates the importance of the study of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving from the tourism perspective. It is crucial for a pioneer study to qualify its issues as important and relevant in its contributions to related existing literature in order to warrant future studies. This research has achieved this through the investigation of the impacts of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving on a local population and has strengthened and expanded the links between tourism and development. Validated as an important subject of research, much room is left for continued research.

It would be beneficial for subsequent studies to be conducted in Cuba. Trinidad was an ideal location for the primary study of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving due to the town's economic focus on tourism and the high rate of interactions between tourists and local community members. The majority of respondents had received gifts, both tourism and non-tourism employees. In a similar smaller Cuban town with an economy focused on tourism but lacking resorts, it is possible results would be similar. This research could be repeated in such a similar location, and gift receipts and impacts could be compared with this study. It is likely however that results, in terms of percentages of people to receive gifts as well as their impacts would vary by destination type in Cuba; the reason being that tourists' contact with local community members varies by destination type.

In resort destinations such as Varadero or Guardalavaca there are very few local residents. These resorts are secluded from larger Cuban cities and towns; many workers in these destinations commute. Many tourists do not leave the resorts, and if they do they leave they visit other tourist destinations. This means it is quite unlikely that a tourist in these

destinations would have the opportunity to give a gift to a local community member that does not work in tourism. It was found in this thesis that tourism employees are more likely to receive gifts; however in a resort destination it is unknown whether majority of non-tourism workers in the community would also receive gifts. Likewise the impacts of tourists' gifts could vary for these reasons. For example because nearly everyone works in tourism, and hypothetically everyone has similar access as a tourism worker, it is possible that neither begging nor social disparities would result. A study similar to this one determining the impacts of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving on a resort destination could reveal these answers.

In a major city destination like *la Habana* locals far out-number tourists and tourists potentially have access to a more representative ratio (of Cuba's total workforce) of tourism workers to non-tourism workers. However, tourists would likely still come in contact with more tourism workers than non-tourism workers. Furthermore, because there is a lower tourist to Cuban ratio in larger cities it is also likely that a lower overall percentage of local community members would receive gifts. This would mean a smaller percentage of the population would be receiving benefits from tourists' philanthropic gift-giving and in turn social disparities between tourism and non-tourism workers could be amplified in a city destination. For these reasons it would be beneficial to research the occurrence and impacts of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving in a large Cuban city.

As discussed in Chapter 4, there were several limitations to this research, one of the most prominent being that the researcher did not obtain a visa that distinguished her from the average tourist. Barriers to communication could be minimized by obtaining a research visa for subsequent studies in Cuba. Obtaining a research visa may alleviate apprehension of respondents to spend a long time talking with a foreigner and thus it would be possible to ask

more questions. Many aspects of tourists' gift-giving remain unknown such as; how gifts were given to local people/under which circumstances (had a service been provided, had tourists been asked, were they simply handed a gift by a passerby, did they have a meaningful conversation); what physical place (at a resort, on the street, in a restaurant, at the beach) were they given; and in what physical manner (left in a hotel room, handed out, asked to meet at a later time) were the gifts distributed. These answers may help to better understand the social relationships between tourists and local community members in locations where tourists' gift-giving occurs.

The U.S. trade embargo and Soviet trade losses have greatly inhibited Cuba's access to various material goods (Scheye 2009; Roberg & Kuttruff 2007; Suchlicki 1990; Sobel 1964), and the current socialist system falls short of providing Cubans with sufficient food, other basic necessities, and the money to buy them (Roberg & Kuttruff 2007; Sixto 2006; Leogrande & Thomas 2002; Martin de Holan 1997; Hamilton 1989). These conditions have led Cuba to major difficulties obtaining material goods that are not experienced to the same degree in other developing-world tourism destinations. This research suggests that tourists' philanthropic gift-giving contributes positively to economic development and improves access to non-monetary items, yet has the potential to create social disparities. A similar study on tourists' philanthropic gift-giving in relation to development and population disparity could be conducted in alternate developing countries and results could be compared to this study. The Dominican Republic, Jamaica, and Burkina Faso were all mentioned in passing earlier in this thesis and are other destinations that tourists' gift-giving may be occurring; these destinations may be suitable for future studies of tourists' gift-giving. The information obtained in this

research is highly dependent on Cuba's political situation and background; as such there is a need for research in other destinations, particularly non-socialist nations.

While this research has examined the impacts of tourists' philanthropic gift-giving on development and social disparities thus strengthening the associations between tourism and economic development, further research on tourists' philanthropic gift-giving could focus on expanding the associations between tourism and regional poverty reduction. This research has also discussed the improvements in access to both money and non-monetary items through tourists' philanthropic gift-giving, which in turn has contributed to economic development. This research may be a useful knowledge base for future studies regarding the role of tourism in accessing material goods necessary for development.

6.7 Concluding Remarks

This research has sought to investigate the impacts of international tourists' gift-giving on the local population of a tourism destination and to determine the affects on population disparity, and human and economic development. This research has challenged the boundaries of academic knowledge on tourism's ability to contribute to both human and economic development by investigating this unconventional manner of obtaining money and material goods. The main conclusion drawn from this research is that while tourists' philanthropic gift-giving makes important contributions to both human and economic development it cannot be considered a panacea for development. Tourists' gift-giving was also found to increase population disparities among local populations.

In spite of the negative impacts, residents of the research location were pleased that tourists were engaging in gift-giving in their community and found that the gifts relieved some of need for money and material goods they have been plagued by as a result of historical trade

losses in Cuba. It was revealed that the gifts had made contributions to poverty reduction in the research location. Meaningful relationships were formed through the gift exchanges and several predictions and assumptions of other scholars on the impacts of tourists' gift-giving have been proven inaccurate. While developing economies stand to benefit from tourists' gift-giving, the occurrence is highly unstable and as such cannot be used as a reliable tool for development. In fact this research has revealed several criticisms of tourists' gift-giving. However, it has been argued that abandonment of gift-giving could have detrimental affects on local economy, and furthermore that perhaps tourists' gift-giving should not be banned by government policies at the current time. It is suggested that more research is required and should be reviewed by policy makers prior to instating policy regarding gift-giving. Many aspects of the phenomenon remain shrouded in mystery and it is likely that millions of people living in tourism destinations in development stand to benefit from further investigation.

Figure 6.2 Restored American Car. Trinidad, Sancti Spiritus, Cuba.



(Laura Wiebe 2010).

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Appendix A: Prices of Non-Rationed Items in Trinidad Stores

FOOD SUPPLY ITEM	QUANTITY/SIZE	PRICE IN CUC
tuKola SD	1.5 liter	1.50
tuKola SD	1 can	0.85
Limon SD	1.5 liter	1.50
Limon SD	1 can	0.85
Naranja SD	1.5 liter	1.50
Naranja SD	1 can	0.85
Malta	1 can	0.85
Crystal Beer	1 can	1.00
Bucanero beer	1 can	1.00
Water	1.5 liter	0.95
Water	500ml	0.45
Fruit juice	1 can	0.95
Cooking oil	1 liter	2.15
Instant noodles	1 serving package	1.15
Canned milk	1 can	1.25
Condensed milk	1 can	1.25
Cinnamon	1 bottle	2.50
Chocolate bar	150 grams	1.00
Cookies	1 package	1.30
Bolitas de queso snack	Small bag	0.55
Tocino snack	Large bag	1.00
Hard candy	Individual	0.15
Spaghetti	1 box	1.00+
Havana Club	Range	2.50+
Tuna	1 can	1.00
Tomato sauce	1 can	1.50+
Olives	1 jar	1.50+
Yoghurt	Single serving	0.75
Vinegar	1 bottle	1.00+

SD = Soft Drink

STATIONARY/SCHOOL SUPPLIES	PRICE PER 1 UNIT IN CUC
Pencil	1.00
Pen	1.00+
Notebook	2.15+
Eraser	0.70+
Backpack	7.00+

TOILETRIES	UNIT TYPE	PRICE PER UNIT IN CUC
Toilet paper	4 rolls	0.90+
Tampons	Box of 8	12.00
Soap	1 bar	0.55+
Dish soap	Bottle	1.15+
Floor cleaner	Bottle	1.50+
Bleach	Bottle	1.50+
Shampoo	Bottle	1.75+
Conditioner	Bottle	1.50+
Sunscreen	Bottle	4.50+
Perfume/cologne	Bottle	4.50+

HOUSEHOLD ITEMS	PRICE RANGE IN CUC
Lamp	15.00-30.00
Fan	20.00-30.00
Shower curtain	8.00+
Salt shaker set	7.00+
Set of 4 drinking glasses	5.00+
Refrigerator	250.00+
Microwave	100.00+
Stereo	30.00-200.00+
Towel	5.00
Hand towel	2.50
Bed linens	15.00+

CLOTHING ITEM	PRICE RANGE IN CUC
Men's t-shirt	3.00+
Men's jeans/pants	10.00+
Woman's dress	7.00+
Woman's shirt	5.00+
Woman's jeans/pants	10.00+
Woman's skirt/shorts	5.00+
Flip/flop shoes	2.00-6.00+
Underwear	1.00+
Children's clothes	3.00+
Swim suits	7.00+
Woman's heels	15.00+
Running shoes	15.00+

Appendix B: Questionnaire Sample

Tourist Philanthropy Population Disparity and Development University of Waterloo

Sex: Male / Female

1. Please indicate your age by circling appropriate category:

18-24 25-34 35-44 45-54 55+

2. Do you work in the tourism industry?

No
Yes

Please explain:

3. Do you have any immediate family members that work in the tourism industry?

No
Yes

If yes please explain:

4. What are some of the benefits of tourism in your community? And Drawbacks?_____

5. Have you ever received a gift(s) from a tourist?

No
Yes

A. If yes what have you received as gifts from tourists?

B. How did receiving these gifts make you feel?

C. What did you do with the gift(s) that you received?

6. Has tourism led to any social changes in your community? Please explain.

7. How would you describe the relationship between tourists and local people in Trinidad?

8. Do you feel that there is a difference in the social status of tourism employees, compared to other occupations? Please explain.

9. Are there social classes in Trinidad? Please explain.

10. What is your opinion about when tourists bring gifts with them on their vacations with the intention of giving them to the local population?

Appendix C: Employment Category Listing of Respondents

	Job Category	Number of Respondents Employed in Category	Tourism Industry Job
1	Accountant (hotel)	1	Yes
2	Airport Ground Services	1	Yes
3	Artisan	8	Yes
4	Artisan and <i>Candonga</i> Vendor	18	Yes
5	Astronomer	1	No
6	Barber	1	No
7	<i>Bodega</i> Vendor	1	No
8	<i>Candonga</i> Vendor	19	Yes
9	<i>Casa Particular</i> Owner	5	Yes
10	Cigar Factory Worker	1	No
11	Coco Taxi Driver	1	Yes
12	Commercial Shopping Center Sales	1	No
13	Commercial Tourist Shop Sales	1	Yes
14	Construction Worker	1	No
15	Dancer (resort/hotel)	2	Yes
16	Economist	1	No
17	Entertainer (resort)	1	Yes
18	Farmer	1	No
19	Homemaker	5	No
20	Horse Cart Driver	1	No
21	Librarian	2	No
22	Milk Delivery	1	No
23	Musician (resort/ <i>cantina</i>)	1	Yes
24	Pizza Vendor	2	No
25	Professor	2	No
26	Public Service	1	No
27	Retired	5	No
28	Security	1	No
29	Singer (resort/ <i>cantina</i>)	1	Yes
30	Taxi Driver	1	Yes
31	Teacher	2	No
32	Tobacco/Liquor House Sales	2	Yes
33	Tour Consultant/Sales	1	Yes
34	Tour Guide	1	Yes
35	Tour Operator Administration	2	Yes
36	Train Conductor	1	No
37	Unemployed (Disability)	1	No
38	University Student	1	No
39	Waiter	1	Yes

Appendix D: Tourism Employment Category Listing of Respondents' Immediate Family Members

	Job Category	Number of Respondents with Family Working in this Category
1	Accountant (hotel)	1
2	Artisan	3
3	Artisan/ <i>Candonga</i> Vendor	1
4	Baker (resort)	1
5	Beach Cleaner (resort)	1
6	<i>Candonga</i> Vendor	12
7	<i>Casa Particular</i> Owner	1
8	Cashier (Currency Exchange)	1
9	Chambermaid	4
10	Commercial Tourist Shop Vendor	2
11	Cook (resort/restaurant)	3
12	Custodian (resort)	1
13	DJ (disco)	1
14	Entertainer (resort)	1
15	Fishing Guide	1
16	Hairdresser (hotel salon)	1
17	Hotel Reception	1
18	Hotel Staff (unspecified)	2
19	Maintenance (hotel)	1
20	Ministry of Culture	1
21	Musician (resort/ <i>cantina</i>)	1
22	Pool Cleaner	1
23	Purchaser (hotel)	1
24	Singer (resort/ <i>cantina</i>)	3
25	Taxi Driver	3
26	Tour Guide	1
27	Tour Planner	1
28	Tourism Management Student	1
29	Unspecified	7
30	Waiter (resort/ <i>cantina</i>)	8

Appendix E: Gifts Received by Respondents, Organized by Theme

Basic Necessities of Life	Number of Recipients
Clothes	42
Food	1
House	1
Shoes/Sandals	12

Items for Children's Use	Number of Recipients
Candy	5
Crib	1
Diapers	1
Dolls	1
Various Unspecified/ Toys	5

Home Basics	Number of Recipients
Bag/Suitcase	2
Lamp	1
Refrigerator	1
Tools	1
Towel	1

Luxury Items	Number of Recipients
Cell Phone	2
Cowboy Hat	1
Jewelry	3
Lighter	1
Rum	1
Souvenirs	4
Watch	2

Monetary and In-Kind	Number of Recipients
Bus Tickets	1
Money	17

Invaluable	Number of Recipients
A Child	1
Friendship	5
Help	1
Letter Mail	1
Social Gathering Invitation	1

Personal Toiletries	Number of Recipients
Deodorant	1
Lotions/Skin Creams	5
Make-Up	1
Perfume/Cologne	11
Shampoo	4
Soap	27
Various Medicines	6

Stationary Supplies	Number of Recipients
Calculator	2
Crayons/Pencil Crayons	3
Eraser	1
Pens	13

Various Unspecified	Number of Recipients
Various Unspecified	24

Work/Business Tools	Number of Recipients
Bicycles	1
Musical Instruments	2

Glossary

Bici-taxi – A bicycle modified to include a seat for up to two paying passengers. Figure 3.5.

Bodega – “Shop/warehouse”. Refers to state-run ration distribution center in Cuba.

Cadeca – The name of currency exchange houses in Cuba.

Camello – “Camel”. Refers to a large multi-level bus, used in large Cuban cities.

Candongas – Refers to a Cuban artisan market.

Cantina – “Canteen”. A small bar or pub.

Casa particular – Refers to a small bed-and-breakfast; A Cuban home that has been registered with the Government to accept paying foreign guests. *Casa particulares* are *cuenta propias*.

Coco taxi – A three wheeled motor-vehicle with two seats for paying passengers used in Cuba; it is characterized by a spherical, yellow body, which resembles a coconut.

Consultorio – Refers to a primary-care health assessment center in Cuba (Scheye 2009).

Cuenta propia – “Own business”. Refers to a small-business which is privately-owned by a Cuban national in Cuba.

Cuentapropista – A Cuban entrepreneur; one who owns a *cuenta propia*.

Divisa – “Foreign exchange/currency”. Cuban nationals refer to the Cuban Convertible Peso (CUC) as *divisa*.

Jineteros – Described by Colantonio (2004) as Cuban pimps/prostitutes. Also refers to general street criminals who scam tourists for money.

Mango – Colloquialism for attractive male in Cuba.

Negocio – “Business”.

Novios – “Boyfriend and girlfriend/lovers”.

Paladares – Are small restaurants operating from private Cuban homes; *Paladares* are *cuenta propias*.

Policlínicos – Primary-care health-care treatment centers in Cuba which offer “essential services” (Scheye 2009).