

TOURISM, RECREATION AND SUSTAINABILITY

2nd Edition

Linking Culture and the Environment

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2nd Edition

Linking Culture and the Environment

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and

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Preface to the 2nd Edition

When we were asked by CAB International to prepare a second edition to this book, we were pleasantly surprised. There are many books about sustainable tourism in the market, most of which do not have such second editions. While the academic reviews of the first edition were favourable, we had not expected such a request. When we agreed to do a second edition, we decided that some substantial revision in content was needed. Since the first edition was published, a number of issues have emerged or have grown into a substantial discourse, and we felt the second edition should attempt to address these.

In addition, there have been some major contributions to the literature, including new books, major conferences, even publications of tourism management guidelines by such organizations as the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICIMOS), the UN World Tourism Organization and the UNESCO World Heritage Centre. In the 8 years since the first edition was published, there has been substantial growth in discussion about tourism, the environment, culture, and how tourism can be constructively used to enhance protection of important cultural and natural heritage sites and values, and provide opportunity for economic advancement.

In constructing this edition, we asked the existing authors to revise their earlier manuscripts in light of new information and knowledge, any shifts in social values and priorities and new insights gained from a more extended experience. In addition, we asked some authors to prepare new manuscripts on important and emerging issues. We hope that readers will find the resulting book useful in stimulating discourse and research in this critical area of human endeavour.

Stephen McCool
Neil Moisey

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1

Introduction: Pathways and Pitfalls in the Search for Sustainable Tourism

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Introduction

The growing, even accelerating, concerns about the status of the world environment initially triggered by such publications as Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* and the Club of Rome Report (Meadows *et al.*, 1972) were coalesced by the Brundtland Commission's *Our Common Future* which argued that survival of the human species depended on adoption of a new paradigm of economic development termed 'sustainable development' (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). This paradigm was significantly different from previous calls for environmental protection and economic progress in the sense that it represented a combination of both while attending to quality-of-life needs. The Commission argued that the only effective method of protecting the environment, addressing economic progress, alleviating poverty and preserving human rights was through a developmental paradigm that 'provided for the needs of the present while ensuring that options for the future were preserved'.

The Brundtland Commission Report served as a catalyst for discussing the future of human society and ways of ensuring that development is sustainable over the long term. The report was favourably received in many academic and policy circles around the world, and as a result stimulated a great amount of discussion. Yet, many questions have been left unanswered: how does one conserve the environment, provide a more equitable distribution of income among those living at the present and ensure that there is equality in access to quality of life? Can we optimize all three goals, or are there trade-offs involved? If so, what are they? How does one provide for the needs of the present while preserving options for future generations? Who represents future generations and their needs in these decisions? What is supposed to be sustained? What roles do different economic sectors, non-governmental organizations and government institutions play in seeking

sustainability? What are the roles of ethics and science in sustainability policies? How can development be sustained? Can sustainability be achieved within existing institutional and political economy frameworks and processes? How does one develop and apply a science of sustainability while promoting more public participation in government decision making? How do we make human societies and the environments upon which they depend more resilient in the face of unanticipated social, political and climate change?

Academic fields such as agriculture, ecology, economics, management, political science, psychology and community development have made progress in developing research and policy on the meaning of sustainability and sustainable development. In this widely scattered search for purpose, a variety of themes have developed, including sustainability as ecosystem maintenance, preservation of natural capital, provision for intergenerational and intragenerational equity, sustainable development, redistribution of political power and maintenance or restoration of human-environment systems' resiliency. These different themes have made communicating about sustainability difficult and challenging but also have the advantage of raising important and useful questions about the pathways, interrelationships and pitfalls to a more sustainable world.

Tourism has not escaped the discussions concerning sustainability. Indeed many texts, including this one, have been challenged to frame the question of sustainable tourism (e.g. Innskeep, 1991; McCool and Watson, 1995; Stabler, 1997; Wahab and Pigram, 1997; Hall and Lew, 1998; Swarbrooke, 1999; Font and Tribe, 2000). More recent texts, such as Weaver (2005) and Bushell and Eagles (2007), have advanced the academic discourse to include issues such as scale, management of visitors, ethical questions and the relationships between tourism and protected areas. The growth of interest in World Heritage Sites as engines of economic growth has stimulated additional work to clarify the roles of the tourism industry and to suggest mechanisms for managing congestion and visitor experiences (e.g. Eagles *et al.*, 2002; Pedersen, 2002; World Tourism Organization, 2005).

This discourse is even more significant in light of the dramatic growth, both actual and predicted, in the international travel. The UN World Tourism Organization suggests that international arrivals will double in the period 2007–2020, from about 800 million to 1.6 billion, an amount of travel *four* times higher than that which existed at the time of publication of the Brundtland Commission Report (see Fig. 1.1). This dramatic growth carries with it important implications for economies, cultures and the environment.

Clearly, tourism has become a global financial power, achieving a planetary presence unequalled by many other economic sectors. As it has grown, so have the criticisms of its environmental, economic, cultural and political consequences (e.g. Cater and Goodall, 1992; McLaren, 1997; Rothman, 1998; Honey, 1999). Tourism is no longer the benign economic development tool that the boosterism of the past purported it to be. In fact, many of the negative consequences of tourism, particularly in the social domain, are challenging and pernicious. Yet, many of the social and environmental issues associated with tourism development are not necessarily significantly different from

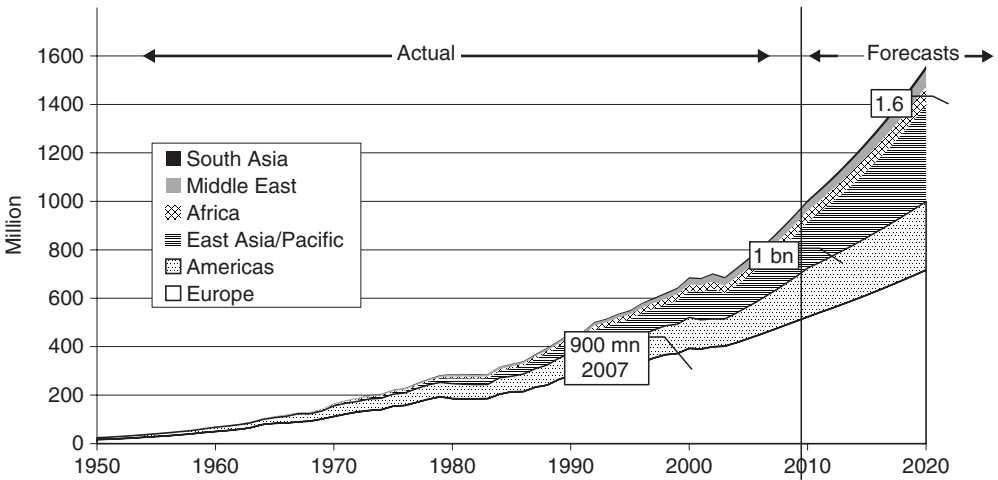


Fig. 1.1. Actual and projected international arrivals, 1950–2020. (From UNWTO.)

those of other methods of development such as forestry, mining, manufacturing and agriculture.

This book is designed to illustrate many of the issues and approaches associated with sustainable tourism development, policy and research. Included are case studies of tourism development using both quantitative and qualitative methods, analytical frameworks for managing tourism and chapters addressing critical questions about the relationship between tourism and sustainability goals. As a whole, the book demonstrates the many dimensions and topics associated with attempts to address the complex issues associated with sustainability and tourism. In this edition, we have added several new chapters that address emerging issues in management of tourism.

In this chapter, we outline several of the pathways and pitfalls confronting tourism as it seeks an appropriate role in this world. These include:

1. *The meaning of sustainable tourism* – there are several such meanings; which ones are used suggest not only world views, but have implications for other issues as well.
2. *Integration with the larger economy and linkage with scale of consideration* – planners, academics and advocates are increasingly concerned with how tourism development fits in with broader social and economic development goals.
3. *The search for indicators* – how do we know if sustainable tourism is indeed sustainable without a set of measurable variables that indicate progress?
4. *Planning and implementation* – sustainable tourism does not just happen, it occurs only with explicit decision-making processes that consider what futures are plausible and desirable and the pathways leading to them.
5. *Forms of knowledge and public participation* – achieving sustainable tourism will require a variety of individuals, agencies and programmes, each using different forms of knowledge and each involving those affected by decisions.

We briefly discuss each of these pathways and pitfalls, and then provide an overview of the book.

Sustainable Tourism, Sustaining Tourism or What Should Tourism Sustain? Different Meanings, Alternative Pathways

As with its larger context, the meanings attached to sustainable tourism have varied significantly, with little apparent consensus among authors and government institutions. This leads to two problems. First, sustainable tourism constitutes what is termed a 'guiding fiction': guiding fictions serve socially valuable functions as long as definitions remain vague; they stimulate and organize social discourse around problematic issues, but when individuals seek the more specific definitions needed to guide action, this function breaks down as groups argue over the meaning of terms (Shumway, 1991). The challenge here is to maintain the pathway to sustainable tourism while providing secure venues for public deliberation about meanings and actions.

Second, agreement on meanings is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for making progress on socially problematic challenges. Action in society requires a variety of actors performing cooperatively and in collaboration (Friedmann, 1973). In tourism development, this includes promotional agencies, governmental planning and zoning institutions, community development groups, local residents, transportation planners, private entrepreneurs and others. Use of different meanings of terminology central to discourse can lead ultimately to conflict and development of mistrust. This lack of consensus on meanings is a significant pitfall in the search for sustainability, for the different meanings result from significantly different perceptions of tourism and its role in society. These meanings also lead to different implications for appropriate social action.

There are at least three different meanings that relate directly to the notion of sustainable tourism that are used in the literature. These meanings reflect a continuum of world views from those that are industry-centred to those that are more broadly social-centred:

1. *Sustaining tourism: how to maintain tourism industry businesses over a long time frame.* This view suggests that the primary task is to build and manage a set of tourism businesses that can maintain themselves over a long period. This view is narrow in the sense that the objective of sustainable tourism is the tourism (and recreation) industry and included business firms. This view of sustainable tourism would place great emphasis on maintaining promotional programmes that ensure that the number of tourists visiting an area continues to rise. In this sense of sustainable tourism, the more tourists, the better. While maintaining the health of individual businesses may be viewed as a worthy social goal, this perspective does not necessarily recognize tourism as a tool to enhance economic opportunity, protecting a community's cultural and natural heritage and maintaining a desired quality of life.

2. *Sustainable tourism: a kinder, gentler form of tourism that is generally small in scale, sensitive to cultural and environmental impact and respects the involvement of local people in policy decisions.* This view comes from an argument that there are finite biophysical and social limits to tourism development. It recognizes that tourism, as any other economic activity, can overwhelm a community with negative social and environmental impacts. Thus, sustainable tourism, closely allied with the notion of ecotourism, is small in scale, designed to benefit local peoples and communities and protect heritage resources upon which the tourism and recreation industry is built. Within this view, there remains considerable divergence of opinion, with some authors suggesting that sustainable tourism represents the conduct of individual tourists, others maintaining that it is ethical behaviour on the part of tourism and recreation-based businesses, and still others suggesting that it focuses on the amount of social and environmental impact. In a sense, it is probably all three. A larger question, however, concerns unnecessary, normative and counterproductive distinctions between sustainable tourism and mass tourism that often accompany this meaning. Much of the globe's tourism may qualify as mass tourism, but the central question of sustainability concerns how the negative social and economic impacts of human activity can be reduced. Given that most tourism would probably be defined as mass tourism, it follows that the greatest progress in reducing impacts would be to address mass tourism, not ignore it.

3. *What should tourism sustain? Tourism as a tool for development.* This view sees tourism as a tool of social and economic development, as a method to enhance economic opportunity, not as an end in itself. This question is similar to Gale and Cordray's (1994) question of 'what should be sustained?' in a natural resource management context, for which they provided nine different answers, primarily focusing on various ecosystem characteristics. In this sense, tourism is integrated in broader economic and social development programmes (Hunter, 1995; McCool *et al.*, 2001) and can be viewed as a method – similar to many definitions of ecotourism – to protect the natural and social capital upon which the industry is built. By asking this question, we view tourism as a tool, which at times may be important to a community and at other times not so important. In this sense, we are not speaking of protecting cultures for their value to the tourism industry, but because of their value to their people (Robinson, 1999). It may be possible under this view that tourism is not sustained over a long period, but is used as a method to accumulate income and government revenue that can be later used for other development tools. Tourism would be viewed as part of a larger policy framework designed to achieve a sustainable society. In addition, the type of tourism in this view may not necessarily be small in scale.

These alternative views of sustainable tourism carry significantly different implications for social and economic policy, selection of indicators, public participation and the planning processes needed to encourage tourism development in the private sector. They reflect differing perspectives on the concept of sustainability.

We prefer to use the third approach to study sustainability and tourism. It seems that it places tourism more properly as a means and not an end to economic development. It allows tourism to be considered as one of several alternatives that can help a community overcome its weaknesses and preserve its strengths. It views tourism as a tool and not as an end.

Integrating Tourism into Broader Social and Economic Development Processes

To think of tourism in terms of any of these meanings, except for the first, means that tourism is integrated into development decisions in the larger social and economic context. Sustainable tourism viewed as a kinder, gentler form embraces not only growing societal concerns over social and environmental impacts but also a moral commitment to future generations. It promotes softer forms of tourism, but fails to address where the largest gains in impact reduction – particularly environmental consequences – can occur. In many cases identifying all the consequences and the trade-offs involved, such as reducing the carbon footprint of tourism, can be problematic. For example, if no one travelled to visit natural and cultural heritage (as some have suggested), the carbon footprint of tourism would indeed be small. But millions of people would be unemployed, which would lead to another set of negative consequences. In this context, how does the concept of sustainability help us select an appropriate strategy?

Tourism is a method that society in many places has decided collectively can be used to enhance economic opportunity. Far too often, however, its ultimate goal of enhancing economic opportunity has been neglected in favour of unbridled boosterism with few acknowledgements of tourism's negative social and environmental consequences. In the USA, state-level tourism agencies are generally involved solely in promotion activities – through advertising, 'fam tours' and the like – without significant responsibility in other areas of marketing, such as pricing and product development. This focus on promotion only fails to capture the important positive and negative consequences of tourism in identification of goals and policy implementation. Such a narrow emphasis and definition of tourism marketing limits social discourse of tourism as a serious tool for economic development.

The fragmented and disjointed nature of tourism development remains an important pitfall in seeking a more sustainable world. State and local (e.g. destination marketing organizations, visitor and convention bureaus) promotion agencies, for example, often have little planning relationship with local government agencies, usually are focused on promotion rather than marketing (which includes 'product protection and development') and generally have little influence over private investment in tourism infrastructure, services and opportunities. The variety of agencies and organizations with competing, if not conflicting, goals makes the coordinated action needed for achieving sustainability difficult. One agency may promote protected areas as a tourism destination while another is responsible for managing the tourists

and their impacts when they arrive. Such compartmentalized decision making remains a large obstacle to integrated planning and development.

Since tourism development and promotion are collective decisions (in the sense that government agencies provide the funding), knowledge and attitudes of the public are important considerations in policy articulation and implementation. Attitude data have been collected for many years in a variety of situations. The data show general support for tourism (see Chapter 13, this volume), but also demonstrate concerns for equity in funding the cost of services needed by tourists, excessive use leading to congestion in favourite recreation areas and the ability of tourism to provide jobs that pay good wages. This type of information can assist tourism marketing agencies in reviewing the impacts of their advertising efforts and suggest new ways to enhance opportunities for tourism development.

The Search for Sustainable Tourism Indicators

Given a goal of sustainability, and a real and legitimate desire to measure progress towards achieving that goal, there is a need for indicators that will suggest the extent to which the goal is being attained. In a sense, we need to know if indeed sustainable tourism has become sustainable! We need to know if what tourism is supposed to sustain is becoming sustainable. The search for indicators is an important path to sustainability, but the meaning of the term is a critical influence on what path is measured.

There is a growing literature on the concept of sustainability indicators, both in a larger context and with respect to tourism (see Moldan *et al.*, 1997, and Bossel, 1999, for excellent discussions of sustainability indicators). A number of efforts by the World Tourism Organization, Manning and other individuals have identified an almost unlimited set of indicator variables. The extent to which these variables (concerning sustainable tourism) relate to broader efforts concerning sustainability (such as those proposed by the International Institute for Sustainable Development, the Montreal Process, etc.) is unknown. Again, there is the very real possibility of compartmentalization of attention, when sustainability is more of a holistic concept. Selection of indicators in the past has been conducted primarily on an ad hoc basis, without a specific theoretical or conceptual framework of the system in place. A number of authors have argued that ad hoc approaches run a number of dangers in indicator selection (e.g. Bossel, 1999). Others have suggested that indicators based solely on the opinions of experts further divide policy and practice (McCool and Stankey, 2004). This suggests a need for further research and description of the tourism-recreation system that would be useful for sustainability questions. These concerns also suggest the need for more inclusive indicator identification processes.

Selecting indicators is constrained by our lack of knowledge about the effects of tourism development at larger scales – such as communities and nations – and over long time frames. Often such effects significantly lag in time from the initial causes. The system may exhibit non-linear dynamics

(consequences are not additive) because of interaction of many variables over time. Effects may be spatially displaced. A resort development near a tropical marine park may eventually lead to reef decline because of excessive nutrients from inappropriately treated sewage, but these effects may not be measurable for a long time. Declines in the quality of the coral may then lead to changes in the resort's clientele, which in turn may result in other developments leading to further insidious and difficult-to-trace impacts.

What indicators might there be that are available at the community level and at the national level, and are data for those indicators available over periods of, say, decades? We need to understand and specify the function of indicators, of which there are at least three: (i) indicating the state or condition of some entity (such as a community or industry); (ii) measuring the effectiveness of a particular management practice (such as a specific advertising programme or development plan); and (iii) providing leading information on changes that may occur in a later time period (McCool and Stankey, 1999).

Indicators must meet certain criteria to be useful. These criteria include such things as containing an output orientation, holding construct validity, being quantitatively measurable, having inter-observer reliability, being easy to collect or measure and sensitive to change across space and time (Livermann *et al.*, 1988). Most importantly, indicators must be carefully chosen to reflect the interests of policy makers who must make decisions based on indicator information.

Planning and Implementation of Tourism Development

Tourism, particularly those forms based on the local cultural and natural heritage, contains great potential to negatively impact the very resources upon which the industry is founded. The literature contains a great outcry about 'tourism destroying tourism'. And, given that the 'friendliness' of community or destination residents may be an important influence on the satisfaction of tourists, understanding the capacity of local residents for tourism and their involvement in development decisions is important for successful tourism implementation. Therefore, planning of tourism development at both larger and smaller scales must take great care to reduce negative impacts.

Planning and implementation can only be considered as linked activities, for if planning is to change the future, it needs to be linked directly to means of implementing actions. Proceeding with planning but without providing for implementation represents an unnecessary compartmentalization of functions without any redeeming value. To paraphrase Wildavsky (1973), the promise of planning must be dignified by its performance. This can only occur if implementation is considered a component of planning processes.

While the basic function of planning is to select a future and find the best path to it, traditional planning processes for tourism development may no longer be appropriate for 21st-century contexts. These contexts are likely typified by seemingly competing goals (e.g. protecting environmental quality and providing economic opportunity) and lack of scientific agreement on

cause–effect relationships, particularly at the larger spatial and temporal scales of interest in sustainability issues. While attaining these types of goals is an apparent purpose of pursuing a sustainable tourism policy, they are not necessarily compatible in all situations. Analyses are needed that suggest what trade-offs between them will occur. We need to ask what costs occur, what benefits result and who benefits and pays.

These contexts may be termed ‘messy situations’ (Ackoff, 1974; McCool and Patterson, 2000). In messy situations, traditional approaches to planning, based on formalized rational-comprehensive planning involving only minimal public participation, quite often lead to hostile and polarized relationships without resolving the problem. In messy situations, where goals conflict or compete and science contains a lot of uncertainty, planning is based on the notion of social learning (Lee, 1993; Stankey *et al.*, 1999) to better understand how things fit together, and consensus building (Krumpe and McCool, 1997; McCool *et al.*, 2000) to organize the societal action needed to implement a plan. Importantly, in these processes, implementation is viewed as an extension of planning rather than as compartmentalized from it.

There is a myth in the sustainable tourism literature that suggests that resources responsibly developed in this paradigm will not be negatively impacted. For example, Innskeep (1991, p. 144) observes that carrying capacity is the level of ‘use that will not result in environmental or sociocultural deterioration’. This, of course, is impossible: any kind of development will result in some change in the social and natural environment; thus, tourism development deals with trade-offs. However, the validity of the carrying capacity concept is increasingly contested in the tourism and recreation literature (see especially Getz, 1982; Butler, 1996; Lindberg *et al.*, 1997; McCool and Lime, 2001). Carrying capacities, as Stankey and McCool (1984) have long argued, lead planners to ask the question ‘How many is too many?’ when the real issue concerns how we should best protect the values, biophysical conditions and social meanings that are important to people.

While much progress has been made in developing frameworks for managing visitors and tourism (McCool *et al.*, 2007), the tourism literature is still all too often dogged by a desire to find the one number carrying capacity solution (e.g. Edgell, 2006). Such continuing arguments for carrying capacities tend to excessively reduce a complex dynamic phenomenon to a question that is, simply, too simple. A substantial tourism literature exists critiquing the concept of a tourism carrying capacity (e.g. McCool and Lime, 2001), and yet few authors, in arguing for establishing carrying capacities, have substantively responded to these critiques. We need to advance the state of practice of tourism planning by recognizing and addressing its intrinsic complexity through policies and approaches that address problems and not symptoms.

The question is then how much change from a defined and agreed-upon condition is acceptable, given the benefits provided. For example, a new tourism development may lead to some biophysical impacts in a nearby protected area, but also provide employment for local residents. In a sense, this could be looked at as a conflict, for example, between providing economic opportunity

and protection of the natural heritage. If protection is viewed as an ultimately constraining goal, then the question is how much impact will we permit in order to gain a certain economic or quality-of-life benefit? While this question can be informed by science, it is not a science question but a political and economic one. One of the problems of carrying capacity approaches is that they give the illusion that the question is primarily scientific.

Planning for sustainable tourism represents a redistribution of power, particularly to those living in the future. Given this definition, a number of questions arise: who represents the future? How well are institutions prepared to consider the needs of future generations or those in the current generations that are not as well off? More inclusive approaches to planning empower local people with experiential knowledge. This shift of power away from technocrats and science is not always viewed favourably.

We cannot predict the future with any level of accuracy, and thus we are continually faced with uncertainty. In this context, how can we adapt tourism development strategies to maintain community resiliency in the face of ecological and economic surprises? Can we develop strategies that are robust in the face of alternative futures? What role can scenario planning play in identifying sustainable tourism approaches?

Integrating Different Forms of Knowledge into Sustainable Tourism Planning

Given the complexity of tourism sustainability and the current lack of scientific knowledge about cause–effect relationships, it is clear that various forms of knowledge (scientific, emotional and experiential) are all legitimate in making tourism development decisions. While sustainability is often posed as a technical-scientific issue, it actually represents a moral commitment to future generations, because it represents a decision to provide future generations with the same array of options current generations now enjoy (Pearce *et al.*, 1989). Science can inform sustainability decisions, but cannot determine those decisions. In addition to scientific knowledge, experiential and emotional forms of knowledge can contribute to more informed decisions. These forms of knowledge may not only substitute for the lack of scientific knowledge, but they frequently inform policy makers of the importance of various values and places. They suggest where conflicts between tourists and local residents may appear. They indicate how much tolerance for tourism the local community may hold. They can help identify goals of economic and tourism development and how particular policies may or may not contribute to attaining those goals. They indicate what values are important to a community.

This suggests that policy makers pay particular attention to the design of public participation programmes and their objectives. The literature of tourism development provides powerful arguments that the affected public has rights to engage in decision-making processes. Such rights, however, are not limited to simply being informed about what an agency or private firm may wish to do but also involve helping to identify desirable futures and the

acceptable pathways to them. However, such processes are often so designed as to make participation such a formality that conflict is often aggravated. In the messy situations that were identified earlier, public participation provides important learning and consensus building functions that serve to address uncertainty and conflict over goals.

Some suggestions about participation include identifying objectives of participation efforts (Arnstein, 1969), determining if a consensus is desired, developing the situational conditions to enhance the usefulness of public participation (Shindler and Neburka, 1997), experimenting with new forms of participation and collaboration (Hall, 1999; Ritchie, 1999) and identifying methods for evaluating the success of participation techniques (Marien and Pizam, 1997). Increasingly, authors are calling for planning processes to involve collaboration and recognize that planning should be adaptive and viewed in a sense as experimental (cf. Reed, 1999).

Organization of This Book

Understanding these pathways and pitfalls is fundamental to developing and implementing sustainable tourism policies, but is only illustrative of the challenges confronting the industry as it seeks a more sustainable world. That they are complex and demand equally sophisticated responses is an imperative not to be ignored. Tourism and recreation are two aspects of the same phenomenon: society's search for meaningful uses of leisure. What those uses and their consequences are can be understood only within the context of the linkages between culture and the environment. To examine one without considering the other leads to incomplete analyses for they are both inextricably joined. In many situations, this linkage is neither neat nor pretty, but rather complex and difficult to describe and understand.

This book further illustrates in the chapters that follow the complexity and messiness of sustainable tourism. This book is designed in part to address, through a variety of case studies and analytical frameworks, these pathways while acknowledging and addressing the pitfalls. The chapters report on sustainable tourism as it is occurring in different areas at diverse scales throughout the world. We have divided the book into three parts, each of which addresses a different sustainable tourism theme.

In Part I (Frameworks and Approaches), several authors discuss the need for integration of social and environmental issues in tourism development, though what has been written about integration far exceeds its practice. The frameworks and case studies included in this part provide readers with several perspectives, indicating there is no 'one size fits all' answer, that understanding how the issue of tourism development is framed is fundamental to creating useful and productive policy, and that various forms of knowledge all have something to offer in developing policy. The fundamental proposition here is that successful tourism development occurs only within a framework that explicitly considers impacts on these two domains. Part II of the book (Tourism and Place) explicitly recognizes the importance of

understanding the values and attributes of areas that become tourist destinations. The notion of 'place' has become a major arena in the tourism and recreation literature. Places are attractive because of the values, cultures and other attributes that make them different from where tourists permanently reside. Tourism development holds many consequences for how residents and tourists assign and derive meanings from specific communities and tourism destinations. These studies examine these issues and significance of 'place attachment' in tourism development decisions. The call for wider public participation in tourism planning has many subscribers; such calls are based on ideologies that strive for a restructuring of political power. Part III (Emerging Issues in Culture and Tourism) illustrates that we live in a dynamic world, that what was once acceptable is no longer, that our mental models of tourism development are in constant change and that researchers and policy makers must be alert to shifting public values and beliefs. This part includes important material on local attitudes, poverty alleviation, indigenous people and tourism, and a discussion about culture and tourism.

The last chapter summarizes the lessons learned and the challenges to be met in this bid to discuss sustainable tourism. We have included this chapter in an attempt to synthesize the underlying learning that has occurred from these studies of sustainable tourism in vastly different circumstances. Archiving this learning, then, becomes an important footstep along the pathway to sustainability and helps avoid the pitfalls that must have occurred in each of the studies.

Conclusion

If anything, tourism is a complex form of economic development that has many forward and backward linkages not only to the economy, but to the culture and environment as well. Sustainable tourism – in the sense of what tourism should sustain – links cultures and their environment, for cultures have developed out of their interaction with their embedding environment. Ignoring one while dealing with the other leads to potentially negative and irreversible consequences, which may not be identifiable for a long time. The experience of others, as archived here, is helpful in understanding how we can better link both in our trek to a more sustainable world.

Making tourism sustainable and cultures resilient requires that we properly frame the question of sustainable tourism. Clearly, as we have shown here, there are several possible ways of framing the question; this indicates the importance of asking the right question. The 'answers' depend on how the question is framed. Too often, we have seen questions framed narrowly or miscast (such as how many visitors are too many), with the result of creating inadvertent barriers to dialogue and consensus on appropriate futures and the pathways to them.

All too often, solutions are aimed at symptoms and not the problems, previous solutions, or problems that have nothing to do with the problem

at hand (Bardwell, 1991). The pitfall in discussing sustainable tourism is that we maintain an illusion of knowing what the question is when we really do not. The promise is that we will be better off in the future by examining the concept of sustainability than by not examining it.

The sustainable tourism literature, including the chapters in this book, informs us as to the alternative pathways to the future. They suggest the types of pitfalls one may confront along those pathways, as well as ways of bridging them. They indicate how culture and the environment are inextricably linked in tourism development. The chapters suggest the enormous complexity of tourism development, particularly that type of development that is designed to be softer and oriented towards achieving socially important goals. Which pathways are selected and how the pitfalls are avoided are of course political and ethical decisions, not necessarily scientific ones.

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I Frameworks and Approaches

STEPHEN F. MCCOOL AND R. NEIL MOISEY

The rapid increase in travel we are now experiencing leads to many manifestations on both environmental and social systems. Development of tourism opportunities to take advantage of the increase in travel has been the centre of much debate in academia, by activists and by managers of the protected areas that often serve as the product base. This discourse has been informed by a variety of disciplines and has concluded that integrated frameworks are needed to successfully deal with the consequences of touristic activity.

The authors in this part discuss the need for systematic frameworks and approaches to integrate cultural and environmental issues in tourism development decision making. In so doing, they suggest some useful approaches and illustrate through several case studies the intricate relationships between these two domains. The fundamental proposition of this part is that successful tourism development occurs only through the use of frameworks that explicitly impact these two dimensions and their interactions.

The environmental impacts of tourism are fairly well understood and documented, but the rise of ecotourism and nature-based touristic activity has often shifted the locus of impacts to more undeveloped and fragile locations. With this shift, impacts are more related to tourist behaviour than either numbers or large-scale infrastructure. Leung, Marion and Farrell (Chapter 2, this volume) propose that the field of recreation ecology can help protected area managers and tourism developers better understand environmental impacts of tourism. This understanding informs processes to predict and manage impacts. They argue that the level of impacts is influenced by environmental and use-related factors that are unique to each location.

Successful management of tourism, both positive and negative, also requires understanding of the diversity of demand for a variety of social-psychological outcomes and recreational settings. We know that people, over time and space, expect and desire diversity in settings. Putting these expectations into a framework that helps managers work through the complex

challenge of matching supply and demand is the subject of Dawson's chapter (Chapter 3, this volume). Dawson, building on the concept of a recreation opportunity spectrum, proposes a 'Tourism Opportunity Spectrum'. This spectrum could be used to zone different areas in a region for different recreation opportunities thereby clustering similar facilities and programmes together and minimizing conflict.

While tourism leads to a number of positive social and economic consequences, it is the negative impacts that have captured the attention of anthropologists, sociologists and geographers. Understanding these impacts and the trade-offs with positive impacts they imply can help community developers identify strategies and approaches to mitigate the undesirable results. In Chapter 4 (this volume), Ioannides suggests that longitudinal frameworks may help these decision makers better understand the sequence of both primary and secondary effects. Sustainability occurs over large temporal scales; understanding longitudinal developments and effects is important to ensure that decisions are indeed sustainable.

Thinking regionally about sustainability and securing decision-making processes that are inclusive and transparent are important dimensions of sustainable tourism, as argued by Payne, Johnston and Twynam in Chapter 5 (this volume). They begin their discussion with a review of the road towards sustainability, one that was triggered by the Brundtland Commission Report in 1987. Thinking regionally about sustainable policies and practices helps reduce the 'problem displacement' phenomenon that often occurs when implementing sustainability at too small a spatial or social organizational scale. The authors also provide arguments and evidence that populations and their perceptions and beliefs must be included in the development of sustainability – thus providing the foundation for further articulation in latter parts of this book.

In the final chapter of this part, Johnston and Twynam (Chapter 6) provide a case study of application of sustainable tourism principles. The locale for the case is the Arctic, an area that has become increasingly tenuous since the first edition with evidence of global climate change being experienced. This sensitive region is also growing in popularity with tourists, and the combination may make for accelerating impacts. Johnston and Twynam thus describe the generation and application of principles and practices to make Arctic tourism more sustainable.

2

Recreation Ecology in Sustainable Tourism and Ecotourism: a Strengthening Role

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Introduction

Sustainable tourism and ecotourism are two buzzwords that have generated considerable debate in the tourism literature regarding their definitions, attainability, implementation and consequences. Much of this debate since the late 1980s has revolved around the issue of sustainability (Cater and Lowman, 1994; Hunter and Green, 1995; Wall, 1997; Butler, 1999; UNEP and WTO, 2005). Economic sustainability requires maximizing value along the tourism supply/demand chain, as well as addressing important socio-political issues like land tenure and governance, to increase tourism revenue for local as well as international and national operators. Understanding the resistance and resilience of ecosystem function in response to tourism development and growth is also essential. A 2005 global assessment found that 15 of 24 ecosystem services were significantly degraded, including decreased fresh water quality, loss of soil nutrients, decreases in fish stocks and loss of forest cover (MEA, 2005).

Sustainable tourism has been defined, based on the principles of sustainable development, as tourism development that 'meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future' (WTTC *et al.*, 1995, p. 30). Ecotourism, a fast-growing segment within the nature-based tourism industry, is defined by the International Ecotourism Society as 'responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people' (TIES, 2008). This chapter restricts its focus to ecological sustainability in tourism and recreation contexts,

although it is recognized that the concept of sustainability also encompasses economic, political and sociocultural dimensions.

One important criterion for evaluating ecological sustainability of tourism is the extent to which undesirable environmental effects of tourism development and tourist activities are prevented or minimized. Previous research has realized that tourism, if unchecked, can be as destructive as other industries (Cohen, 1978). Corporate social responsibility and concerns about the future potential loss of tourism due to overburdened water and sewage systems, coral bleaching and other tourism development impacts have resulted in a number of operational, sourcing and other practice changes across the travel and leisure sectors (e.g. CELB, 2008). Ecotourism, thought to be environmentally benign, can also induce substantial ecological changes at primitive destination areas (Wall, 1997; Marion and Leung, 1998; Blangy and Mehtac, 2006). Many of these areas may be further at risk due to insufficient resources and management attention. Bruner *et al.* (2004), for instance, revealed an annual total funding shortfall of more than US\$1 billion in their study of protected areas in developing countries.

Recreation ecology is the scientific study of ecological changes associated with visitor activities and effective ways to manage such changes (Liddle, 1997; Hammitt and Cole, 1998). Visitors include outdoor recreationists, mass tourists and ecotourists. Knowledge of recreation ecology is most relevant in addressing the issue of ecological sustainability of tourism within protected area boundaries. While most components of tourism can result in environmental impacts, the scope of this chapter is limited to visitor activity impacts within protected areas, which play a critical role in sustainable tourism by maintaining biodiversity and related ecosystem services (e.g. pollination, aesthetic benefits), protecting land from more exploitative resource uses, and generating revenues for local communities and for conservation.

The objectives of this chapter are to demonstrate the relevancy of recreation ecology to tourism and ecotourism research and management, and to examine how recreation ecology can contribute to an improved understanding and evaluation of ecological sustainability of tourism and ecotourism in protected areas. This chapter begins by providing an overview of recreation and tourism's environmental impacts, followed by a brief synthesis of recreation ecology knowledge. The connections between recreation ecology and tourism research are highlighted and followed by a discussion of some potential contributions recreation ecology can make to sustainable tourism and ecotourism. The chapter concludes with recommendations for further integration between recreation ecology and tourism. Studies published since the last edition are added throughout the chapter to reflect the recent progress in this topic.

Environmental Impacts of Recreation and Tourism

The linkage between tourism and the environment is well established in the literature (Farrell and Runyan, 1991; Mieczkowski, 1995; Buckley *et al.*, 2003). Environments provide the resource base essential for many forms of tourism,

particularly nature-based tourism, adventure tourism and ecotourism. On the other hand, the environment can be positively or negatively impacted by tourism. Tourism development and tourist activities can positively impact environments by facilitating nature conservation and ecological restoration efforts (Buckley, 2004; Blangy and Mehtac, 2006). For example, Costa Rica has set aside more than 20% of its total land area as protected areas in response to ecotourism-related earnings (Sweeting *et al.*, 1999). Li *et al.* (2006) also reported positive impacts of tourism on environmental conditions of Jiuzhaigou Biosphere Reserve in China.

Conversely, undesirable effects on ecological components, diminished ecological integrity or degraded natural processes may also result from tourism development and operations. Tourism impacts may take a variety of forms, including habitat fragmentation and loss due to infrastructure development, travel-related air pollution, facility-related water and land pollution, and activity-related soil and vegetation damage and wildlife harassment. The proliferation of tourism facilities in the Galapagos Islands, wildlife disturbance in East African safaris, coral reef damage in the Great Barrier Reef of Australia, and mountain degradation in the Himalayas are some of the better known examples of tourism impacts. General reviews of this topic are provided by HaySmith and Hunt (1995), Buckley (2004) and Wall and Mathieson (2006).

The scope of tourism's environmental impacts may be understood using an opportunity spectrum (OS) framework. The Recreation Opportunity Spectrum, developed as a recreation planning tool (Clark and Stankey, 1979), has been adapted to adventure tourism (Butler and Waldbrook, 1991) and ecotourism contexts (Boyd and Butler, 1996; Dawson, Chapter 3, this volume). The common thread of these frameworks is a continuum of recreation or tourism opportunities ranging from primitive settings and experiences to developed settings and experiences. Management interventions differ according to location along the spectrum. Figure 2.1 represents this continuum in the form of concentric circles, extending from a primitive core zone through an intermediate frontcountry buffer zone to an outer developed zone (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996, p. 184).

Environmental impacts of mass tourism are predominantly caused by infrastructure and facility development within the outer developed zone, where activities are often based on human-made attractions such as resorts and theme parks (Fig. 2.1). Much of the earlier tourism–environment research has focused on impacts within this outer zone. Management interventions (MI) to such impacts in this zone primarily involve facility development and operation and direct regulation of visitor activities.

Since nature-based tourism and particularly ecotourism have grown in popularity, tourism impacts have shifted in type, location and extent. Specifically, impacts have been spreading into frontcountry buffer zones and primitive core zones (Fig. 2.1). Wall (1997) contends that ecotourism can be a damaging force due to its penetration into fragile protected area environments. In these primitive zones, tourist activities, rather than facility development, often become the main stressor to ecological communities.

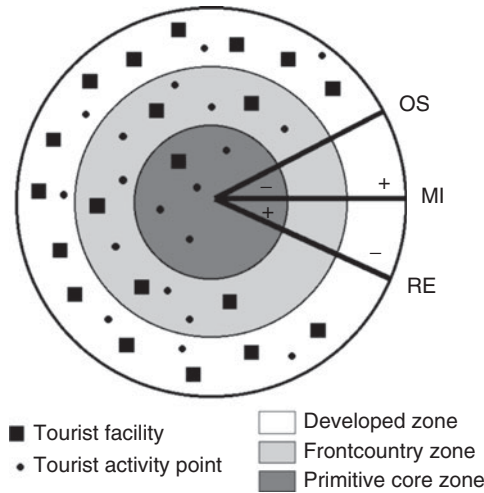


Fig. 2.1. Schematic representation of tourism development zoning and amount of acceptable impacts (OS = opportunity spectrum; MI = degree of management intervention; RE = relevance of recreation ecology).

Visitor impacts within protected areas are important management concerns because protected area mandates typically require managers to protect natural resources or promote visitor experiences that include close contact with wildlife and undeveloped natural environments. Impacts are also socially significant since they compromise the quality of visitor experiences and adversely affect local populations (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996). An increasing number of developed and developing countries have sought to address these concerns by mandating national tourism or ecotourism strategies (Edwards *et al.*, 1998). Unfortunately, protected area managers, particularly in developing countries, often have limited funding and expertise to perform ecological planning or implement timely management and maintenance programmes.

Recreation Ecology: the Scientific Study of Visitor Impacts

Although the scientific study of visitor impacts can be traced back to the 1930s, considerable literature has appeared since the 1960s. In the USA, this body of literature was developed in response to rapid growth of outdoor recreation activities and associated resource degradation in protected areas such as national parks and wilderness areas. Studies pertaining to soil and vegetative changes on trails and campsites comprise the majority of the literature (Cole, 1987; Kuss *et al.*, 1990; Liddle, 1997; Leung and Marion, 2000).

Visitor impact studies have focused on understanding environmental changes resulting from visitor activities and the influence of use-related, environmental and managerial factors. This knowledge has been applied in

the selection of visitor and site management strategies and actions that prevent or minimize resource impacts. Such knowledge is especially critical in managing backcountry and wilderness areas because facility development and site-hardening practices commonly used in frontcountry or developed settings are usually considered inappropriate and are too costly in these primitive settings (Fig. 2.1).

Despite the long history of visitor impact studies, only recently has the term *recreation ecology* been applied consistently to reference this literature. Most definitions refer recreation ecology to a field of study that seeks to identify, assess, understand and manage resource impacts caused by park and protected area visitors (Cole, 1989; Marion and Rogers, 1994; Leung and Marion, 1996; Liddle, 1997; Hammitt and Cole, 1998). The field of recreation ecology is multidisciplinary, with studies conducted by researchers from diverse disciplines such as biology, ecology, forestry, geography, soil science and wildlife science. Only a small group of researchers have devoted their careers to this field of study (Cole, 1987; Leung and Marion, 2000).

Types and causes of visitor impacts

Visitor activities result in a variety of impacts affecting vegetation, soil, water and wildlife resources. For example, trampling by foot traffic, recreational animals or wheeled vehicles can easily damage ground vegetation or cause a change in composition or loss of cover (Hammitt and Cole, 1998). Such traffic quickly pulverizes organic materials such as leaf litter, exposing soil to compaction and erosion by water or wind. Compacted soils inhibit seed germination, root penetration and water infiltration, increasing water runoff and erosion and decreasing soil moisture (Liddle, 1997). Surface runoff may carry soil, faecal material, soaps and other chemicals from recreation sites to streams, lakes and rivers, increasing sedimentation, nutrients and pathogens that may threaten water quality and human health (Kuss *et al.*, 1990).

The mere presence of visitors may cause animals to flee, temporarily or permanently displacing them from preferred habitats to other areas, where they must compete with existing animal populations, or to lower-quality habitats (Muthee, 1992). Displaced animals are greatly disadvantaged in competing with resident animals, are more susceptible to predation and may have insufficient food or cover in less-preferred habitats. Other animals may be attracted to visitors' food, obtaining food scraps, improperly stored food or food offered directly by visitors or guides. The development of unnatural food dependencies can alter natural wildlife activities and may cause increased predation, nutritional deficiencies and intestinal problems (Knight and Gutzwiller, 1995).

The types of visitor activity influence the severity of environmental impacts. For instance, trampling from foot-traffic of humans or some recreational livestock such as pack llamas is less impacting than trampling from horses whose impact force per unit area is far greater (Liddle, 1997). Wheeled vehicles create linear depressions that may collect and accelerate water runoff

and soil erosion (Wilson and Seney, 1994). The noise associated with motorized activities may displace animals from larger areas than human-powered types of recreation (Knight and Gutzwiller, 1995).

Impacts may occur wherever visitor activities are concentrated: on trails or campsites, along riverbanks and lakeshores, and at attraction features such as waterfalls, coral reefs or wildlife viewing areas. Visitor use is typically distributed unevenly within protected areas, with limited areas of concentrated activity, larger areas of dispersed activity and the majority of areas with limited or no activity (Cole, 1987; Henry, 1992). Impact may be distributed as linear disturbance along trail corridors, which in turn connect nodes of disturbance at recreation and attraction sites (Manning, 1979). At the local scale, impacts are also unevenly distributed within recreation sites or along trail corridors, reflecting differential amounts of use or environmental durability, respectively.

The influence of environmental and use-related factors

Differences in environmental attributes may modify the type and extent of visitor impacts. For example, the flexible stems and other morphological characteristics of grasses make them far more resistant to trampling than the rigid stems of many broad-leafed herbs (Liddle, 1997). Differences in plant morphology and environmental conditions also create substantial variation in the ability of plants to recover following disturbance. Soil moisture and nutrients, growth rates and length of growing season are other important factors that influence recovery rates. Similarly, soil types and associated properties vary in their susceptibility to compaction, erosion and muddiness (Leung and Marion, 1996; Hammitt and Cole, 1998).

Substantial attention has been focused on the relationship between amount of use and amount of resource impact (Cole, 1987; Kuss *et al.*, 1990). Previous research consistently documented a curvilinear response pattern for many types of impact, with substantial change occurring at low levels of use followed by diminished increases in impact as use rises to moderate and high levels (Marion and Merriam, 1985; Cole, 1987). For example, most vegetation ground cover is lost on trails and campsites shortly after they are opened for use. Figure 2.2 illustrates this generalized curvilinear use–impact relationship. Different environments or ecological communities may exhibit varying responses to impact force, as portrayed by two curves with different degrees of curvilinearity in Fig. 2.2 – curve (a) indicates a highly sensitive environment, whereas curve (b) represents a less-sensitive environment with a more gradual response to changes in amount of use. An important management implication of this relationship is that most types of impact can be substantially reduced only if visitor use is limited to extremely low levels. Accordingly, an effective management strategy is to concentrate tourist activities on a small number of established trails and sites where impacts tend to stabilize (Hammitt and Cole, 1998; Leung and Marion, 1999). This containment strategy is often accompanied by judicious selection of resistant sites to limit the severity and spatial extent of impact.

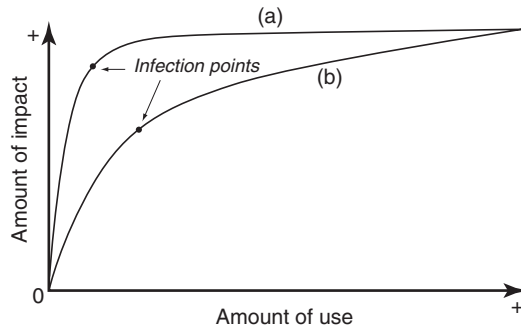


Fig. 2.2. Generalized relationships between visitor use and resultant resource impacts.

Visitor behaviour can also influence the type and extent of environmental impacts. Vegetation and soil disturbance may be avoided or minimized by selecting resistant surfaces or vegetation for travel and camping. Area of disturbance is minimized when visitors constrain their activities to existing disturbed surfaces – by staying on established trails, travelling single file in the centre of the tread, or camping within core areas of established sites. Such low-impact travel and camping skills are the focus of the *Leave No Trace* outdoor skills and ethics programme, which will be described shortly.

Effectiveness of management interventions

Protected area managers can avoid or minimize visitor impacts by influencing factors related to both visitation and the environment within which use occurs. Visitation can be shifted from fragile (e.g. critical wildlife habitats) to more resistant or resilient locations. Visitor activities can be concentrated on hardened sites or facilities maintained to sustain high levels of use. Higher impact activities can be prohibited or restricted to areas best able to accommodate such use. Low-impact visitor behaviour can be encouraged through education or required through regulations. Finally, rehabilitation efforts can facilitate recovery on recreation sites unacceptably degraded by visitor use.

Recent years have seen increasing attention paid to empirically examining the effectiveness of such management and restoration actions as mentioned above. For example, Reid and Marion (2005) monitored campsite impacts in Shenandoah National Park in Virginia, USA, before and after a change of camping policy in 2000. They found that newly implemented visitor containment measures using designated and established sites resulted in a 51% reduction of land disturbance and a 44% reduction of vegetation loss. Several other studies also supported the effectiveness of designated site policy in controlling resource impacts by visitors (Marion and Farrell, 2002) or pack-stock (Spildie *et al.*, 2000). Similarly, Marion (1995) found a 50% reduction in

trampling disturbance following the designation of campsites and installation of anchored fire rings.

Educational messaging has also been evaluated, as reviewed by Marion and Reid (2007). Such messaging is commonly used to discourage off-trail hiking in areas with sensitive vegetation or rare species. Kernan and Drogin (1995) employed visitor observation to demonstrate a significant reduction in off-trail hiking (from 64% to 42%) by interpretive verbal messages asking hikers to stay on designated trails. The minimum-impact hiking messages included multiple reasons for complying with the request. Winter (2006) evaluated the wording of interpretive messages, finding that an injunctive-proscriptive sign ('Please don't go off the established paths and trails, in order to protect the Sequoias and natural vegetation in this park') was more effective than the descriptive-proscriptive, injunctive-prescriptive and descriptive-prescriptive messages in reducing off-trail hiking at Kings Canyon National Park.

For sites already damaged by visitor uses, site restoration work can be applied to restore natural conditions. However, an empirical evaluation of site restoration options completed by Cole (2007) demonstrated that such work can be expensive, time-consuming, and requires decades of sustained effort. This study compared four different techniques, including scarification, soil amendments, mulch and seeding, for restoring subalpine forest campsites in Oregon. Closure alone yielded little recovery. Vegetation recovery was greatest on plots that were planted and amended with organics and compost soil amendments. However, vegetation cover remained diminished after 10 years, with little recovery by shrubs.

Recreation Ecology in Sustainable Tourism and Ecotourism

Recreation and tourism are similar with respect to their potentially undesirable effects on the environment, especially those associated with visitor activities and behaviour (Wall and Mathieson, 2006); recreation ecology knowledge may therefore inform tourism and ecotourism resource management about ecological sustainability within protected areas. The dramatic worldwide growth of ecotourism within protected areas has prompted an expansion of environmental impact research, including recreation ecology. There is evidence of strengthening connections between ecotourism and recreation ecology research.

First, there are an increasing number of empirical studies on ecological impacts of ecotourist activities in destination areas, which are situated within the primitive core zone in Fig. 2.1. Table 2.1 illustrates the diversity of recent studies, many of which focused on site deterioration occurring along trails and campsites, but there are an increasing number of impact studies on birds and wildlife.

Second, ecotourism impact studies are increasingly applying techniques and procedures developed in the recreation ecology literature. For instance, Obua and Harding (1997) adapted procedures developed by Cole (1987) in their survey of campsite and trail conditions in Kibale National Park in Uganda. Assessment procedures developed for US national parks (Marion,

Table 2.1. Some recent examples of investigations on natural resource impacts of ecotourist activities.

Study area	Stressor activities	Impacted components	Methods	Impact indicators	Source
Costa Rica and Ecuador	Hiking	Trail conditions	Rainfall simulation experiments	Compaction; infiltration; soil detachment rate	Wallin and Harden, 1996
Kibale National Park, Uganda	Camping and hiking	Campsite and trail conditions	Condition assessment surveys	Campsite and trail condition indicators	Obua and Harding, 1997
Kibale National Park, Uganda	Campsite development and activities	Vegetation	Plot sampling	Population and diversity indices; species composition	Obua, 1997
Loxahatchee National Wildlife Refuge, Florida, USA	Walking; birdwatching	Birds (herons and ibis)	Behaviour observations	Foraging and avoidance behaviour	Burger and Gochfeld, 1998
Chile, Costa Rica and Belize	Hiking and camping	Trail and recreation site conditions	Point sampling and condition assessments	Trail and site condition indicators	Farrell and Marion, 2001, 2002b
Cuyabeno Wildlife Reserve, Amazonian Ecuador	Boating and birdwatching	Birds (hoatzins)	Monitoring of nesting activities; flight behaviour observations; hormonal analysis	Breeding success; flight behaviour; hormonal stress	Müllner <i>et al.</i> , 2004
Jiuzhaigou National Park, China	Hiking	Trail conditions and distribution patterns	Census of trail problem events	Trail widening, multiple treads, root exposure, etc.	Li <i>et al.</i> , 2005

1991; Marion and Leung, 2001) have been adapted for assessing visitor impacts in Chile's Torre del Paine National Park (Farrell and Marion, 2002b), eight protected areas in Belize and Costa Rica (Farrell and Marion, 2001) and China's Jiuzhaigou National Park (Li *et al.*, 2005). Similar procedures are also being incorporated into monitoring manuals developed by the National Outdoor Leadership School and the Nature Conservancy for application in Central and South American protected areas.

Third, there is increasing cross-fertilization between recreation ecology and tourism literature as well as researchers. This is in part reflected by an increasing number of citations of recreation ecology studies in the tourism literature (e.g. Wall, 1997; Marion and Farrell, 1998; Buckley, 1999a,b; Buckley *et al.*, 2003; Hadwen *et al.*, 2008). In addition, there are recent books that focus specifically on environmental impacts of natural area tourism and ecotourism. Recreation ecology studies contributed significantly to the contents of these monographs (Liddle, 1997; Newsome *et al.*, 2002; Buckley, 2004). Current membership of a recently established Recreation Ecology Research Network (RERN) includes a well mix of recreation ecologists and tourism researchers. They have co-organized visitor impact research sessions at recent professional conferences.

Fourth, recreation ecologists are increasingly involved in training park staff at ecotourism destinations. For example, recreation ecologists are involved in park manager training in South America, Australia and East Asia. They are increasingly consulted by scientists and professionals in the tourism and ecotourism fields.

Fifth, non-governmental organizations involved in ecotourism and protected area management (e.g. Conservation International, The Nature Conservancy, RARE Center for Tropical Education and The Ecotourism Society) are becoming increasingly interested in research projects and workshops related to visitor impact planning, assessment and management (Rome, 1999).

Despite these growing connections and recent progress, much can be done to enhance further integration. The following is a discussion of potential contributions recreation ecology can make to sustainable tourism and ecotourism research. Three major contributions identified are: (i) visitor-use planning and management; (ii) impact assessment and monitoring; and (iii) visitor education and communication.

Potential Contributions

Visitor-use planning and management

Carrying capacity was once a guiding concept in the recreation and tourism management literature. Due to its conceptual elusiveness, lack of management utility and inconsistent effectiveness in minimizing visitor impacts (Lindberg *et al.*, 1997; Lindberg and McCool, 1998; Buckley, 1999b), it has largely been re-conceptualized into management-by-objectives visitor management frameworks (Manning, 2007). The Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) framework developed by the US Forest Service (Stankey *et al.*, 1985) and the Visitor

Experience and Resource Protection (VERP) framework adapted from the LAC concept by the US National Park Service (NPS, 1997) are two common planning and management decision-making frameworks based on this new understanding of carrying capacity. Since their first application in the mid-1980s, these frameworks have been applied to numerous protected areas in the USA, and have recently been adapted and modified for use in sustainable tourism and ecotourism contexts (e.g. Harroun and Boo, 1995; Borrie *et al.*, 1998; Farrell and Marion, 2002a; Newsome *et al.*, 2002; Haider, 2006).

The LAC and VERP frameworks emphasize setting management goals, for which resource and social condition indicators and standards (or acceptable limits) are developed in consultation with professionals and the public representatives. The primary assumptions and desired states help clarify where parks and sites should be going, and further define success through indicators – this process is impressive and helpful for managing agencies and decision makers who often need both a means for making management decisions and a way of defending them – including budget allocation decisions. Recreation ecology studies contribute information about the types and magnitude of environmental impacts that occur as a result of tourism visitation (Buckley, 2004), and in selecting appropriate indicators of such impacts. This research has also produced impact assessment and monitoring (IA&M) procedures that are an integral part of these frameworks, providing baseline and monitoring data for evaluating standards and the effectiveness of management strategies and actions.

Managers can make informed decisions when selecting effective visitor impact management strategies and actions with recreation ecology knowledge. For example, the merits of visitor containment versus visitor dispersal as an impact management strategy constitute a perpetual debate in the recreation and tourism management literature (Hammit and Cole, 1998; Newsome *et al.*, 2002; Leung and Marion, 2004). As previously noted, the curvilinear use–impact relationship (Fig. 2.2) identified in previous studies suggests that visitor containment strategy is often more effective in minimizing impacts in high-use settings (Cole, 1989; Leung and Marion, 1999). Recreation ecology knowledge can also provide information about the relative importance of use-related, environmental and managerial factors that improve understanding of impact processes and how managers can limit impacts by selecting resistant locations for facilities, trails and recreation sites (Hammit and Cole, 1998; Newsome *et al.*, 2002; Buckley, 2004). Price (1983) provided an excellent example from Canada's Banff National Park where trail route planning decisions were enhanced by research that documented substantial variations in the susceptibility of vegetation types to hiker's trampling impacts. Investing in planning and making decisions now that can prevent problems later also yields cost savings.

Impact assessment and monitoring

Impact assessment and monitoring programmes can address the potential and observed impacts related to tourism and ecotourism development and operations. The concepts and procedures of environmental impact assessment (EIA) are incorporated into tourism contexts for their predictive, assessment and monitoring capabilities (Williams, 1994; Hunter and Green, 1995). Methods

and procedures for tourism-specific EIAs are still rudimentary in development and application (Warnken and Buckley, 1998, 2000). There is also increasing interest in adopting the concept of post-impact environmental auditing (EA) to tourism management (Ding and Pigram, 1995; Diamantis, 1998). Tourism's EIAs are primarily oriented towards the potential physical and environmental effects of tourism-related infrastructure and facility development projects. Tourism's EAs, on the other hand, focus on monitoring broad-scale environmental performance of tourism operations.

Recreation ecologists have developed IA&M programmes that focus directly on tourist activities within protected areas, and these are increasingly recognized as a complementary part of traditional EIAs and EAs (Hadwen *et al.*, 2007, 2008). IA&M programmes are particularly valuable for ecotourism destinations, as the ecological effects of tourist activities are of particular concern in these areas. A variety of standardized IA&M protocols for monitoring visitor impacts to trails and recreation sites have been developed to evaluate impacts and the efficacy of management actions (Marion, 1991, 1995; Marion and Leung, 2001; Newsome *et al.*, 2002). These protocols generally focus on quantifying indicators such as area of trampling disturbance, vegetation loss, soil exposure and soil loss. Unfortunately, in many ecotourism destinations, particularly in developing countries, insufficient staffing and experience have prevented such programmes from becoming firmly established components of decision-making processes. The integration and continuation of IA&M programmes requires that they be low-cost, efficient and require minimal specialized knowledge or equipment (Buckley, 1999a). Based on a review of monitoring methodologies, Rome (1999) offered specific guidelines for establishing effective programmes to monitor ecotourism impacts.

Another related issue in sustainable tourism is the development of sustainability indicators (McCool and Moisey, Chapter 1, this volume). The World Tourism Organization has proposed a set of indicators for sustainable tourism management (IWGIST, 1993; Manning, 1999). Most of these are *macro-scale* indicators associated with tourism infrastructure, with none currently included to evaluate tourist activity impacts at the micro-scale or site level. Due to its scale of focus, recreation ecology may complement these efforts by identifying and selecting site-level sustainability indicators that address tourist activity impacts (Buckley, 2003). However, while impacts such as trampling disturbance or soil loss may be assessed for a sample of recreation sites or trails, such data can be extrapolated to characterize macro-scale changes for an entire protected area. Nevertheless, the processes and procedures of indicator selection and measurements in recreation ecology research may inform similar processes in selecting macro-scale sustainability indicators.

Visitor education and communication

Education can play a pivotal role in reducing environmental impacts from tourism. Educational efforts apply to three target groups: tourism developers,

tour operators and tourists. Environmental codes of conduct for tourism developers focus on selecting environmentally resistant locations for facilities, energy-saving green designs and waste minimization practices (Sweeting *et al.*, 1999). Codes of conduct for tour operators and tourists often relate to sociocultural and wildlife protection issues (e.g. Mason and Mowforth, 1996; Mason, 1997). Perhaps most widely known are the Ecotourism Society's 'Ecotourism Guidelines for Nature Tour Operators', which instruct operators and guides to encourage less-impacting behaviours and practices (Wood, 1993).

In the USA, several land management agencies and the National Outdoor Leadership School developed the Leave No Trace (LNT) programme that communicates outdoor skills and ethics targeted to park and natural area visitors. This programme is based on a set of LNT principles used to communicate more detailed low-impact outdoor practices. The LNT programme has expanded to Mexico, Chile, Canada, Australia and other countries where ecotourism is booming. A review of US studies found that most low-impact educational efforts did effectively improve visitor knowledge, behaviour and/or resource and social conditions (Marion and Reid, 2007).

Recreation ecology knowledge has and will continue to provide a scientific basis for low-impact educational guidelines and practices (Hampton and Cole, 2003). Such knowledge can be applied to inform visitors about low-impact travel, camping and wildlife observation practices. Other important applications include the development of low-impact practices for motorized travel, travelling with recreational stock and minimizing visitor crowding and conflict.

Concluding Remarks

The growth in nature-based tourism and ecotourism is likely to continue with increased global environmental awareness, increased scarcity and therefore attributed value to undisturbed areas, improved access to remote portions of the world and an ageing and better-educated population. While the Agenda 21 for Travel and Tourism advocates a global effort devoted to conservation, protection and restoration of the Earth's ecosystem through the power of tourism (WTTC *et al.*, 1995), such effort would be challenged if tourism impacts continue to intensify and proliferate. Impacts need to be addressed from the point of origin to destination, including services and attractions, and across country, state/provincial boundaries. As tourism professionals and researchers address the issues of ecological sustainability, tourism and ecotourism research from an ecological perspective will become increasingly important (Marion and Leung, 1998; Buckley, 1999b; Tyler and Dangerfield, 1999).

This chapter has introduced the field of recreation ecology to sustainable tourism and ecotourism researchers and practitioners. It demonstrates the strengthening links between recreation ecology and tourism research and discusses three potential contributions recreation ecology knowledge can make to enhance the symbiotic tourism–environment relationship

(Budowski, 1976). Previous recreation ecology studies have identified the diversity of visitor impacts, influential factors and their interactions, indicating the complexity of the carrying capacity concept and fostering its reconceptualization into management-by-objectives frameworks. The curvilinear use–impact model (Fig. 2.2) established in the recreation ecology literature provides important insights for protected area managers in formulating impact management strategies and actions. The selection of sustainability indicators for tourism, a critical component of sustainable tourism (McCool and Moisey, Chapter 1, this volume), also benefit from recreation ecology research with respect to site-level and activity-related indicators. Finally, the LNT and other low-impact visitor education programmes grounded in recreation ecology knowledge provide an excellent model and specific examples for developing low-impact tourism/ecotourism guidelines and activity codes.

Several recommendations are provided below to foster further integration between recreation ecology and tourism and ecotourism research with respect to ecological sustainability:

1. Recreation ecology should be recognized as an integral component in the recreation–tourism–environment research theme. Farrell and Runyan (1991) settled on ‘ecological tourism’, when they failed to find a term for the tourism–environment research theme. Neither did Potts and Harrill (1998) nor Tyler and Dangerfield (1999) identify the field of recreation ecology in their searches of ecological perspectives for sustainable tourism and ecotourism. In order to facilitate the integration and communication of its knowledge base, tourism students, professionals and researchers should be introduced to recreation ecology as a related and supporting field of study.
2. Recreation ecology should be incorporated into sustainable tourism and particularly into ecotourism research agendas. Greater numbers of recreation impact studies with rigorous research designs should be conducted in existing and proposed ecotourism destinations to increase our awareness about visitor impact problems, assessment and monitoring techniques, and appropriate management and restoration strategies.
3. As the knowledge base of recreation ecology continues to grow, its findings and techniques should be applied and adapted to tourism and ecotourism contexts whenever appropriate. Areas in which the applications would be fruitful include visitor-use planning and management, carrying capacity determinations, visitor education, and the establishment of impact monitoring, management and restoration programmes that engage local people and volunteers as an essential part of future community-based ecotourism initiatives.
4. Communication among recreation ecologists, tourism researchers and professionals and protected area managers should be enhanced through publications, conferences, training and online forums such as the Recreation Ecology Research Network Listserv. Such communication could help build a research partnership to further our understanding of recreation and tourism impacts, and to develop conceptual frameworks needed to guide future research efforts.

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3

Ecotourism and Nature-based Tourism: One End of the Tourism Opportunity Spectrum?

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Introduction

Ecotourism and nature-based tourism can be defined as forms of sustainable development when they are limited in scale and minimize environmental and social impacts. While there is a lack of consensus on the exact meaning of the terms ecotourism and nature-based tourism, they will be used here to outline a more systematic approach to regional planning in and around undeveloped environments. For example, consideration of the positive and negative impacts of tourism development can be expressed in ecotourism goals: (i) to benefit local communities without overwhelming their social and economic systems; (ii) to protect the environmental, natural and cultural resource base on which the tourism depends; and (iii) to require the ethical behaviour of recreational users and tourists, as well as the supporting commercial recreation and tourism operators.

Since the late 1990s, ecotourism and nature-based tourism has been the subject of many conferences, professional journals, books and project reports (e.g. Boo, 1990; Kusler, 1991; Whelan, 1991; Tabata *et al.*, 1992; Crofts, 1994; Hall and Johnston, 1995; McCool and Watson, 1995; Eagles and Nilsen, 1997; Weaver, 2001). There are numerous definitions and varied frames of reference as to what constitutes either ecotourism or nature-based tourism. Generally, the concept of ecotourism or nature-based tourism has focused on environmental considerations for tourism development and management (Lindberg and Hawkins, 1993; Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, 1995; Ceballos-Lascurian, 1996) and codes of conduct for environmental responsibility among tourists, host communities and the tourism industry (United Nations Environmental Programme, 1995). The tourism literature suggests that ecotourism and nature-based tourism, like other types of tourism, need to consider a wide array of social, environmental and economic conditions along with the capacity to sustain those conditions and

the tourism experiences or opportunities over time (Murphy, 1985; Mathieson and Wall, 1987; Ziffer, 1989; Boo, 1990; Kusler, 1991; Whelan, 1991; Lindberg and Hawkins, 1993; Muller, 1994; Gunn, 1994; McCool and Watson, 1995; Ceballos-Lascurian, 1996; Eagles and Nilsen, 1997; Weaver, 2001).

Ecotourism and nature-based tourism have great marketing appeal to travelling publics with environmental interests and concerns. Some operators and tourism areas have used this appeal to attract more tourists and exploit the concept, but without supporting the sustainability of the social, economic and environmental conditions (McLaren, 1998; Honey, 1999). Such exploitation of the mass market appeal of ecotravel and ecotourism, especially to exotic environments, has been termed 'green washing'. McLaren uses the term 'ecotravel' to include both ecotourism and nature-based tourism and notes that:

They offer a participatory experience in the natural environment. At its best ecotravel promotes environmental conservation, international understanding and cooperation, political and economic empowerment of local populations, and cultural preservation. When ecotravel fulfills its mission, it not only has a minimal impact, but the local environment and community actually benefit from the experience and even own or control it. At its worst ecotravel is environmentally destructive, economically exploitive, culturally insensitive, 'greenwashed' travel.

(McLaren, 1998, pp. 97–98)

Wight (1993) warns that the view of ecotourism as a marketing opportunity, or 'eco-sell', misses the key principles of ecotourism to manage conservation and have minimal development in a manner that is compatible, complementary and sustainable. Orams (1995) argues for the formulation of tourism management objectives and indicator measures to monitor the evolution of ecotourism into a more desirable form of tourism. Wight offers eight ecotourism principles for the development and management of ecotourism that may be the basis for such indicators:

- 'it should not degrade the resource and should be developed in an environmentally sound manner;
- it should provide first-hand, participatory, and enlightened experiences;
- it should involve education among all parties – local communities, government, nongovernmental organizations, industry, and tourists (before, during, and after the trip);
- it should encourage all-party recognition of the intrinsic values of the resource;
- it should involve acceptance of the resource on its own terms, and in recognition of its limits, which involves supply-oriented management;
- it should promote understanding and involve partnerships between many players, which could include government, nongovernment organizations, industry, scientists, and locals (both before and during operations);
- it should promote moral and ethical responsibilities and behaviors towards the natural and cultural environment, by all players;

- it should provide long-term benefits – to the resource, to the local community, and to industry (benefits may be conservation, scientific, social, cultural, or economic)' (Wight, 1993, p. 3).

Given these types of principles and the reaction against the impacts of mass tourism on natural and cultural environments, ecotourism has been defined as one end of a continuum of tourism development. However, as Wall (1997) points out, ecotourism is not by itself sustainable, rather it should be considered one component of sustainable development since it must compete with other uses of the social, economic and environmental resources of a region.

Regional planning for tourism, especially sustainable development of tourism, requires a systematic approach that considers what opportunities are provided and their management. Several authors have offered a planning framework that adapts the recreation opportunity spectrum (ROS) to tourism in the form of a tourism opportunity spectrum (TOS; Butler and Waldbrook, 1991) and to ecotourism in the form of an ecotourism opportunity spectrum (ECOS; Boyd and Butler, 1996). These frameworks outline tourism opportunities and conceptual management approaches.

This study attempts to further the evolution of the ROS into a TOS using the definitions of ecotourism and nature-based tourism, opportunities to be provided and setting characteristics. The formulation of a TOS creates a system of reference points so that regional planners can compare the type of opportunities to be provided at a site or in an area with the opportunities in another area. Given such a framework, regional planners then have some commonly understood reference points for discussion and comparisons between various levels of development. Currently, the definitions in the literature are very disparate as to what ecotourism, nature-based tourism or rural and urban tourism are. This chapter outlines this concept for discussion and follows other authors who have started a formulation of a TOS as a means of defining some commonly used terminology and the conceptual relationships between the terms (Butler and Waldbrook, 1991; Robertson *et al.*, 1995; Boyd and Butler, 1996).

The emphasis in this chapter is to illustrate the concept of the TOS using ecotourism and nature-based tourism as examples of reference points within the larger tourism opportunity framework. The objectives of this chapter are to: (i) briefly define ecotourism and nature-based tourism; (ii) outline the ROS and explain the value of an adaptation of this planning concept to tourism; (iii) propose a TOS and suggest the indicators to be measured and monitored if the opportunities are to be sustained over time; and (iv) explain the strengths and weaknesses of such a TOS.

Ecotourism and Nature-based Tourism Definitions

The published literature often uses the terms ecotourism and nature-based tourism interchangeably; however, this chapter indicates through the proposed TOS why these are different terms. Popular tourism literature and marketing materials offer many other terms that are used interchangeably with ecotourism and nature-based tourism (Wall, 1994), such as green tour-

ism, sustainable tourism, alternative tourism, ethical tourism, responsible tourism, conservation tourism and others. While the use of these different terms may have appeal to advertising agencies and various market segments, it creates confusion about what is being described (Wight, 1993). Do each of these terms mean the same thing or do they refer to somewhat different tourism products and opportunities?

Several researchers and planners have attempted to write a definition of ecotourism and nature-based tourism while others have argued against any single overall definition since it would be too restrictive (Buckley, 1994). Ceballos-Lascurian (1991) has been often quoted as the first author to use the term and to define ecotourism:

Traveling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas.

Other authors, such as Kusler (1991), have tried to improve on that definition by adding concepts such as protection and sustainability:

Tourism based principally upon natural and archaeological resources such as birds and other wildlife, scenic areas, reefs, caves, fossil sites, archaeological sites, wetlands, and areas of rare or endangered species. . . . Protection of these natural and archaeological resources is essential for sustained ecotourism.

However, Caneday and Duston (1992) in a study of tourism in the Ozark Mountains used a definition that emphasized conservation but not the concept of protection:

Ecotourism is a form of tourism that primarily involves observing and exploring the natural history of an area . . . to experience, learn about and help conserve the cultural and natural history of the local ecosystem. Ecotourism trips emphasize minimal impacts on the ecosystem and strongly promote education and conservation themes.

Some standardization of the terms ecotourism and nature-based tourism would be beneficial to the discussion among researchers, planners and managers because nomenclature is necessary for accurate and effective communication. Although it is recognized that not everyone will agree on one exact definition, some standardization is helpful to the dialogue. One of the most complete definitions of ecotourism found in the published literature was outlined by Ziffer (1989) and is adapted here (Table 3.1) to include both ecotourism and nature-based tourism. Since these are two closely related reference points on a continuum, the application of these definitions is not exact and requires considerable knowledge of the situation and the setting characteristics. The reason to outline the definitions of these reference points is that it provides a baseline against which professionals can discuss a planning or management situation.

Any definition is a starting or reference point that can be debated and challenged. The purpose of using these two definitions here is to illustrate the potential for development of a more complete TOS. Such a future

Table 3.1. Definitions of ecotourism and nature-based tourism. (Adapted from Ziffer, 1989.)

Definition components	Ecotourism	Nature-based tourism
Management goals	Preservation and protection of the resource	Conservation and resource management
Primary resource use	Natural resources and natural history of the area, including its indigenous cultures	Natural resources, natural history, and the present and historic cultures of the area
Primary tourist motivation	Visit an ecosystem or undeveloped natural area for appreciation and to experience the environmental conditions	Visit an undeveloped natural area for appreciation and to directly experience the environmental conditions or indirectly as a background for a consumptive or non-consumptive recreational experience
Recreational activities	Non-consumptive appreciation and study of wildlife and natural resources	Non-consumptive appreciation and study of, and consumptive use of, wildlife and natural resources.
Economic contribution of tourism to area	Directly and indirectly contributes to the visited area which supports the protection or preservation of the site and the economic well-being of the local residents	Directly and indirectly contributes to the visited area which supports the conservation of the site and the health of the local economy
Visitor appreciation	The visit should strengthen the tourist's appreciation and dedication to preservation and protection issues at the visited area and in general	The visit should strengthen the tourist's appreciation and dedication to conservation issues at the visited area and in general
Management of the public/private area	Implies a managed approach by the host country or region which commits to establishing and maintaining the area with the participation of local residents, marketing it appropriately, enforcing regulations, and using the economic benefits to fund the area's land management as well as community development	Implies a managed approach by the public and private sectors which commits to establishing and maintaining the area, marketing it appropriately, enforcing regulations and using the economic benefits to fund the area's land management

development will require making operational definitions that help a planner to understand what changes in characteristics shift the area to another type on the TOS. The key advantage is to understand the relative type of tourism opportunity provided and ensure that comparisons between two different areas are made with knowledge of their comparability or differences. The components of the ecotourism and nature-based tourism definitions listed here are not exhaustive and suggest some direction for further development of operational definitions among tourism planners.

With these proposed definitions of ecotourism and nature-based tourism (Table 3.1), the tourism opportunity types can be labelled and a continuum of tourism development levels that extend up to a highly developed urban setting can be outlined. The ROS offers an approach to formulating a parallel TOS as proposed by Butler and Waldbrook (1991) and Robertson *et al.* (1995) and now reported in textbooks on recreation and tourism planning and management (e.g. Pigram and Jenkins, 2006). The concept uses characteristics of the setting and the opportunities provided to users to classify the tourism planning area into a position on the continuum.

Recreation Opportunity Spectrum

The ROS has been used by the US Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management since the 1970s (Clark and Stankey, 1979; Driver *et al.*, 1987; Nilsen and Tayler, 1997). The guiding ROS concept was to develop a rational and comprehensive planning approach for regional planning and management that provided for a broad array of recreational opportunities for users. The ROS has been widely recognized as an important recreation planning framework (McCool *et al.*, 2007) and has been adapted into other parallel frameworks such as the Water Recreation Opportunity Spectrum (Haas *et al.*, 2004).

The ROS defined four to six setting categories of land-use management from primitive to urban to help managers better understand physical, biological, social and managerial relationships. The ROS planning product defined the user opportunities for several classes of recreational experience within each setting category. The ROS used several indicators of the recreation setting (e.g. the number of social encounters on trails, ease of access) to monitor the outcomes of the management implementation. The planning products from the ROS process specified the guidelines for managers and the indicators and standards for monitoring results.

The planning premises in the ROS process require that the four to six setting categories of land-use management (i.e. opportunities for experiences) from primitive to urban be defined and agreed upon prior to starting the planning process. Subsequently, a further subdivision is outlined of several opportunity classes within each setting category. Then setting and experience indicators are conceptually identified, qualitatively and quantitatively defined, and specific standards developed for monitoring and management decision making over time.

The ROS is a regional planning process that is adapted here to tourism because of concern about growing tourism demand and limited resource supply, especially related to ecotourism and nature-based tourism. The planned and incremental growth of tourism generally continues through various developmental stages from undeveloped rural areas to human-built urban environments (Murphy, 1985; Mathieson and Wall, 1987; Gunn, 1994). The TOS can help to describe this continuum, and by so doing help identify consequences of development and preserve ever-scarcer opportunities for

ecotourism. The lack of comprehensive planning for a wide array of tourism opportunities over time is of concern since the distribution of tourism opportunities shifts towards higher development levels (i.e. shifts to the right on the ROS or TOS) but not towards less-developed tourism opportunities (i.e. development is rarely removed).

Tourism Opportunity Spectrum

The following discussion and adaptation of the ROS to a proposed TOS is meant to further discussion about the need for a comprehensive planning approach that considers a wide array of tourism opportunities over time. The proposed TOS shown in Table 3.2 lists only five categories and should be thought of as a continuum from ecotourism (e.g. primitive and undeveloped conditions) to an urban environment (e.g. intensive, developed and human-built environment). These five reference points are not equally distributed along the TOS continuum since they were chosen as illustrations of this concept, as adapted from the ROS literature. Furthermore, the goals and setting characteristics in the TOS are general conceptual guidelines and not hard and inflexible rules since there is a wide variety of tourism situations and many exceptions and differences between tourism areas. Some of the characteristics of the five reference points on the TOS are listed here for illustration and could be expanded to include other characteristics such as local economic conditions, available infrastructure or acceptable social behaviours.

The management goals and six setting characteristics are used in the TOS to classify the tourism category settings (Table 3.2) and are adapted from the ROS, TOS and ECOS literature (Clark and Stankey, 1979; Driver *et al.*, 1987; Butler and Waldbrook, 1991; Robertson *et al.*, 1995; Boyd and Butler, 1996). The six setting characteristics provide the basis for the formulation of specific indicator variables (e.g. user density per zone or number of user-user encounters per day) and standards. The standards are the quantifiable aspects of the indicator variable that are the baseline against which the existing conditions at a site are judged as acceptable or unacceptable (Stankey and McCool, 1990).

The current or proposed position of a site or area on the TOS can be determined after defining the tourism setting type (e.g. ecotourism), different levels of opportunities (e.g. remote wildlife viewing in a wilderness setting) provided for visitors and the characteristics and indicators to monitor the provision of those tourism opportunities. Then alternative TOS positions can be evaluated along with the consequences of developing the site to another TOS position. Through the identification of the positive and negative regional social, environmental and economic conditions, the alternatives and consequences of each position on the TOS can be evaluated for a given site. Planners and managers then can decide to: (i) continue to provide the tourism opportunities planned for visitors at a particular ecotourism site or area (i.e. sustain the current opportunity position on the TOS); or (ii) increase the

Table 3.2. A proposed tourism opportunity spectrum and examples of setting characteristics. (Adapted from Clark and Stankey, 1979.)

Setting characteristics	Ecotourism	Nature-based tourism	Rural tourism	Rural–urban tourism	Urban tourism
Management goals	Preservation and protection of the resource	Conservation and resource management	Resource management and some development	Resource management and economic development	Economic development and enterprise
Accessibility factors (difficulty, access type, means of conveyance)	Very difficult or controlled access mostly by trails or water routes; may be very remote from human habitation	Difficult or controlled access by trails, water routes and secondary roads	Moderately accessible on secondary and primary roads	Accessible on secondary and primary roads: some public transportation	Easy access on highways and roads by vehicles and public transportation
Visual characteristics factors (acceptability of visitor impacts)	No readily apparent changes to the natural environment or very minimal localized user impacts	Primarily a natural-appearing environment and landscape but some human impacts are evident	Mix of natural and managed environment and landscape with evidence of human habitation	Moderately managed environment and landscape with evidence of human habitation	Extensively modified and man-altered landscape and environment for human habitation and enterprise
Visitor environmental impact factors	Very minimal user impacts and some concentrated user impacts (e.g. hiking trails and scenic vistas) but with few users	Minimal user impacts and localized to recreation activity areas and facilities (e.g. boat launch sites, campgrounds) but with low numbers of users	User impacts that are prevalent in small areas due to site development and management plus some concentrations of users (e.g. marinas, motels)	Moderate user impacts due to site development and management plus moderate volume of users (e.g. full service resorts, developed attractions)	High degree of user impacts due to extensive site development and management plus high volume of users (e.g. theme parks, retail store complexes)

Continued

Table 3.2. Continued

Setting characteristics	Ecotourism	Nature-based tourism	Rural tourism	Rural–urban tourism	Urban tourism
On-site management factors (existing infrastructure)	Very limited infrastructure (e.g. hiking trails); most supporting infrastructure is off-site but within the region	Minimal infrastructure to support visitor activities on-site	Some infrastructure and commercial development	Moderate infrastructure and commercial development	Extensive infrastructure and commercial development
Social interaction factors	Infrequent user–user or group–group interactions; managers expect highly ethical behaviour to other users and environment	Some user–user or group–group interactions; managers expect ethical behaviour to other users and environment	Moderate user–user or group–group interactions; managers expect ethical behaviour to other users and environment	Frequent user–user or group–group interactions; managers expect ethical behaviour to other users	Extensive user–user or group–group interactions; managers expect moderately to minimal ethical behaviour to other users
Visitor management factors (acceptable regimentation)	Managed for non-motorized uses and non-consumptive recreational activities	Managed for non-motorized and some motorized uses and non-consumptive and consumptive recreational activities	Managed for motorized and non-motorized uses and non-consumptive and consumptive recreational activities	Managed for motorized and non-motorized uses and more consumptive recreational activities	Managed for motorized and non-motorized uses and more conspicuously consumptive recreational activities

level of development and change the tourism opportunities planned (i.e. move the site to another position on the TOS at a higher level of development). Additionally, measures to mitigate or minimize changes to the characteristics can be considered.

An analysis of the tourism opportunities in an area, using a continuum like the TOS, will help outline an overview of the distribution of what tourism opportunities are being provided and suggest where there is market competition, where market niches could be developed or what types of new tourism development will be compatible with existing opportunities. Like the ROS, the guiding concept of the TOS is to develop a rational and comprehensive planning approach for regional planning and management that provides for a broad array of tourism opportunities for users, as appropriate to the regional social, environmental and economic conditions.

Some of the advantages of using a TOS approach are that: (i) it is a planning and management matrix approach that is rational and comprehensive; (ii) it makes explicit what tourism opportunities are being provided or sustained; (iii) it links supply with demand in a practical planning process; and (iv) it provides a framework to evaluate the regional tourism alternatives and consequences of changing development levels.

One of the potential drawbacks to the TOS analysis approach is that it requires all of the tourism setting types and characteristics on the TOS to be defined and accepted by planners and managers. Lack of general consensus or agreement can affect the entire regional planning process. On site, the TOS approach requires that indicators and standards be specified and accepted by planners and managers for monitoring over time.

Discussion

The TOS, as proposed here and by Butler and Walbrook (1991), is a conceptual approach to a tourism planning tool that enables a rational and comprehensive overview for assessing the tourism opportunities provided within an area. The issue of sustaining the tourism opportunities can be addressed along with the indicators that need to be monitored to measure the experience and resource conditions.

Use of the TOS can help planners and others to understand how ecotourism, nature-based tourism or other types relate to each other. For example, the evolution of ecotourism and nature-based tourism cannot continue to be as Wall (1994) describes 'old wine in new bottles'. Rather, it can be a major contribution to preservation and conservation movements that seek to increase the appreciation for the natural environment and educate users even as demand for natural resources increases to keep pace with world population growth. The concern here is that we understand where and how ecotourism and nature-based tourism fit within a continuum of tourism development opportunities (i.e. what it is and what the opportunities that we need to sustain are).

Downs (1994) notes:

Despite its claims to save the world – or at least small chunks of it – ecotourism is not a panacea. However, with careful management and long-term planning, ecotourism may prove to be one of the most potent tools in the arsenal of the contemporary conservationists.

This warning about the value and importance of ecotourism and nature-based tourism implies that we know where we are on the TOS and how to sustain those opportunities. Boyd and Butler (1996) note that we need to go beyond the general TOS and delineate the subclasses of tourism opportunities within each class, such as their work on ecotourism (ECOS). The ECOS has become more widely referenced in ecotourism literature (Weaver, 2001) and attempts to apply the ECOS have been reported (Bi, 2005).

Theophile (1995) suggests that ecotourism and nature-based tourism 'is not a panacea for economic or environmental woes in the United States or overseas, but if integrated with larger strategies it can be a valuable tool for sustainable development'. We have greater potential to achieve such important goals if we begin to converse in a nomenclature or typology that we can generally agree upon, like the TOS, rather than tourism definitions that are subject to widespread interpretation and confusion.

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4

Hypothesizing the Shifting Mosaic of Attitudes Through Time: a Dynamic Framework for Sustainable Tourism Development on a 'Mediterranean Isle'

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Introduction

For over two decades planning practitioners, policy makers and academics have been preoccupied with the topic of sustainable development (Redclift, 1987; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987; Gunn, 1994; van den Bergh and van der Straaten, 1994; Berke and Conroy, 2000; Dresner, 2002; Wheeler and Beatly, 2004; Sacquet, 2005). Considering the concept of sustainability strives to reconcile existing conflicts among goals of economic growth, environmental protection and social justice, it is unsurprising that this concept has also emerged as a leitmotif or tourism research (McCool, 1995; Wall, 1997; Hall and Lew, 1998; Bosselman *et al.*, 1999; Butler, 1999; Williams and Montanari, 1999; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Butler, 2006a,b; Weaver, 2006; Holden, 2007). The *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* which is entirely dedicated to the study of sustainable tourism has now entered its 13th year. Other mainstream journals including *Tourism Management*, the *Annals of Tourism Research*, *Tourism Geographies*, and *Current Issues in Tourism* have published numerous articles over the years dealing directly or indirectly with sustainable development.

Despite ample rhetoric concerning the merits of adopting the sustainability paradigm in tourist destinations, most authors continue to criticize the concept for its ambiguity (Butler, 1993; Wahab and Pigram, 1997; Ioannides and Holcomb, 2003; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Weaver, 2006). Especially problematic is the issue of reconciling future-oriented goals in terms of preserving a destination's natural or cultural resources with more immediate economic growth priorities. Problems such as this impede the

transformation of sustainable development from words into actions (Campbell, 1996; McCool and Stankey, 1999).

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. It briefly reminds the reader of the major obstacles to implementing sustainable solutions in touristic environments. A principal impediment is that sustainability is a term fraught with 'imprecision' (Wall, 1997, p.33), since it holds varying meanings for different stakeholders (see also McCool and Stankey, 1999; Sauter and Leisen, 1999; Kousis, 2001). While researchers are well aware of this obstacle, the majority of existing studies examine these differences in attitudes from a cross-sectional standpoint. That is, investigations of the differing attitudes of players involved directly or indirectly in tourism's development (e.g. developers, local government bureaucrats and politicians, national policy makers, tour operators, environmental protection groups and local residents) tend to focus on a particular place at a single point in time. Johnson and Snepenger (2006, p. 222) argue that the reason for this fixation on cross-sectional studies is predictable since 'it is pragmatically easier to acquire information at one point in time' but also because most researchers are under pressure to turn out publications within a short time frame and do not have the luxury to commit themselves to lengthy studies.

Unfortunately, however, the prevalence of such research inhibits our ability to understand the manner in which attitudes towards tourism of each set of stakeholders in a single locality are likely to change over time. In other words, while one group of players may be extremely accepting towards tourism compared to another at an early stage of the sector's development, the respective perceptions of these two groups based on their experiences will probably shift through time. In some cases perhaps the varying perceptions will become increasingly convergent, while in others differences in opinion may be enhanced. Given that it is crucial in any destination to include as many stakeholders as possible in the plan-making process to generate effective policy, it is apparent that adopting a longitudinal approach, examining changes over time, could prove extremely helpful for prescribing a general agenda for sustainable tourism development.

Thus, the chapter reiterates the need for a conceptual framework that recognizes the effect that spatial/geographic and temporal/historic contingencies may have in influencing the attitudes of various stakeholders towards sustainability. A primary aim is to demonstrate the value of adopting a longitudinal model such as Butler's (1980) widely used tourist-area life cycle to investigate the perspectives of different actors towards balanced-oriented growth at each stage of destination's development. In order to illustrate the use of such a conceptual framework for examining the shifting perceptions of stakeholders over time, the chapter draws on the experiences of island destinations in the Mediterranean.

Barriers to Sustainability in the Context of Tourism

The idea of sustainable development has gained broad acceptance globally. Campbell (1996, p. 301) argues that this widespread acceptance is inevitable

because 'to reject sustainability is to embrace non-sustainability – and who dares to sketch that future?' Thus, it is unsurprising that various groups and individuals, regardless of ideology or political affiliation, have adopted the term 'sustainability' in their everyday vocabulary. Nevertheless, despite the increasing popularity of the term, its transformation into action continues to prove elusive. The major stumbling block to implementing truly sustainable development options in a variety of contexts, including tourism environments, arises from the notion's malleability, since it means different things to different groups (Butler, 1993, 1999; Burr, 1995; McCool, 1995; McCool and Stankey, 1999; Kousis, 2001; Weaver, 2006).

To achieve sustainable development, communities seek a delicate balance between conflicting economic, environmental and social equity objectives. Thus, sustainability implies a situation where the economy is growing; the resulting economic growth is distributed equitably, and the environmental impacts of these actions are minimized (Campbell, 1996). In theory, the concept of balancing the 'three Es' of sustainability (environment, economy and equity) is straightforward. As Berke and Conroy (2000, p. 22) argue, it implies that 'current and future generations must strive to achieve a decent standard of living for all people and live within the limits of natural systems'. However, this ideal condition cannot be attained easily because there is no consensus on how the concept of sustainability can be implemented and because the different stakeholders making up any society have varying agendas regarding development.

Players who prioritize concrete economic growth objectives generally focus on short-term goals compared to those who give preference to less-tangible social justice and environmental protection goals. In the context of tourism, for instance, profit-oriented developers are usually concerned about reaping a fast reward from their investment and will not be too worried about the environmental or societal ramifications of their actions. Unless forced by statutes and other regulatory instruments, these players rarely, if ever, wish to admit responsibility for the externalities generated by their projects (Ioannides, 1994; Ioannides and Holcomb, 2003). Similarly, it may be impossible to convince the poor inhabitants of a remote area in the developing world that it is to their long-term advantage to protect their natural environment, if these individuals perceive such an objective as an infringement upon their limited opportunities for rapid economic growth. In such settings, it becomes a challenge to implement slow-growth solutions because 'the poor, whom the transistor radio and the bicycle have wrenched out of their isolation, do not want to be told to discard their aspirations as consumers' (de Kadt, 1990, p. 15). Moreover, in developing countries, the sustainable development concept is commonly regarded as yet another attempt on the part of Western industrialized societies to impose their own agendas on poorer nations (Hitchcock *et al.*, 1993).

The implementation of sustainable development within the context of tourism has proved largely unsuccessful because in most destinations the sector is fragmented and dominated by small businesses. In tourist areas, there is a 'constantly shifting mosaic of stakeholders and value systems [and]

each of these groups has a different view of the role and future of tourism at the destination, and therefore the adoption of strategies becomes a political process of conflict resolution and consensus' (Cooper, 1997, pp. 82–83). Small-scale entrepreneurs, many of whom depend on the seasonal nature of their business, are usually far more concerned about their next pay cheque than the overall impact their business may have on the environment and the local culture. These players invariably have a short-term perspective and are unlikely to embrace future-oriented issues, especially if they perceive these as a threat to their own priorities. Additionally, when planners and other policy makers draft slow-growth guidelines for the future development of a resort, these are often hard, if not impossible, to implement. Politicians are often wary of enacting strict environmental regulations, since they are more interested about remaining in office and unlikely, therefore, to have an outlook extending beyond the next election. Seeking to stall his waning popularity during the 1993 elections in Cyprus, President Vassiliou made zoning restrictions in the island's sensitive coastal areas less restrictive in order to appease local landowners (Ioannides, 1995a). The following argument highlights such unpredictability in governmental policy:

Ministers who speak radically, and convincingly, and frequently about protection of the nation's environmental and cultural treasures are the same people who sign agreements which allow transnational companies to build a hotel or tourist complex whose development pays no heed to the environmental, social and cultural impacts caused.

(Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p. 104)

The myopic and fragmented government machinery also makes it hard to implement sustainable policy options in tourist destinations (de Kadt, 1990; Timothy, 1999; Ioannides and Holcomb, 2003). In most non-industrialized nations (but also certain developed nations, including the USA), strategies dealing with land-use planning or the environment commonly remain isolated from national economic policies. Top-down policies addressing economic, environmental, urban, tourist and transportation-related concerns (among others) have limited influence because they deal with their respective issues in a vertical, sector-specific manner (Richardson, 1987). Within such a vertical system, few intersectoral linkages exist, an obstacle accentuated by the tendency of a single professional group to dominate each ministry and governmental organization (Ioannides, 1995b). Isolated strategies are likely to complicate efforts for balanced development which, by its nature, is inherently integrative.

Inconsistency between the policies of various governmental and quasi-governmental organizations has been documented in many countries, including Cyprus, Greece, Malta and Mauritius (Ioannides and Holcomb, 2001). The Cyprus Tourism Organization (CyTO) adopted its *New Tourism Policy* (1990), which was later replaced by the *Strategic Plan for Tourism 2010* (CyTO, 2000). Both of these documents called for measures to control the future growth of organized inclusive tours that have fuelled the island's cheap, mass-tourist image. Prescribed steps include moratoria on new tourism-

related developments, strict policing of informal-sector facilities and efforts to enhance the destination's appeal to higher-spending individuals and special-interest groups. Nevertheless, other groups, including the national aviation authority and the Cypriot hotel owner's association, have continued to respond to pressure exerted by major northern European tour operators and taken actions contradicting this move towards quality (rather than quantity) tourism. Both these bodies have continuously advocated the relaxation of the government's restrictions on charter carriers. The hotel owners, for instance, are concerned about the alarming decline in occupancy rates resulting from the ever-increasing oversupply of tourist accommodation establishments and stagnating numbers of tourist arrivals. The efforts of these entrepreneurs and other groups have led the government to grant an increased number of licences to charter airlines, in turn resulting in a higher number of low-paying tourists visiting the island. This situation has evolved into a constant vicious cycle that stands in the way of implementing the prescribed policy for sustainable tourism development.

Additionally, it is important to note that national or regional policies geared towards up-market tourism as a means of promoting sustainability usually prove counterproductive (Ioannides, 2006). Ioannides and Holcomb (2001) indicate that Malta's prescribed attempts to replace mass tourists with up-market visitors are problematic because the necessary luxury-oriented projects consume far more energy, water and land than traditional budget-oriented establishments. Similarly, the support the CyTO has shown for the development of a number of golf courses in an effort to diversify the Cypriot tourism product has been particularly misplaced on an island facing severe chronic water shortages (CyTO, 1990; Ioannides and Holcomb, 2003; Ioannides, 2006).

Sustainable Tourism or Tourism in the Context of Sustainable Development?

Certain authors believe the concept of sustainable tourism rests on uncertain foundations since it focuses on a single sector, unlike the broader notion of sustainable development that implies a multisectoral approach (Campbell, 1996; Butler, 1997). The single-sector focus (Coccosis, 1996; Butler, 1999) is problematic in 'the case of tourism, which is a diffuse activity with far-reaching implications for many other sectors and activities' (Wall, 1997, p. 34). As Buhalis and Diamantis (2001) maintain, an emphasis on sustainable tourism alone 'creates "tourism-centric" situation, where most of the approaches become partially divorced from the main principles of the sustainability concept'. According to Buhalis and Diamantis, 'decision-makers concentrate on tourism development as a short-term strategy, tending to neglect...the long-term prosperity of regions'. A major stumbling block is that many groups, including tour operators, hotel owners and governmental agencies, adopt a narrow view of sustainability for a destination without regard to tourism's interconnections with other sectors, such as

transportation, housing, employment and the environment. In other words, while these groups indicate support for sustainable strategies, they are, in fact, more interested in maintaining tourism's viability (Butler, 1993).

The fundamental difference between sustainable tourism and tourism within the context of sustainable development is one few researchers acknowledge (Wall, 1997). Sustainable tourism can simply mean the development of the sector in a manner that ensures its long-term survival within a destination (Butler, 1993). However, such an interpretation is confusing (Butler, 1999). One could easily argue that tourism is sustainable in a destination that has managed a steady growth pattern in visitation and spending over an extended period of time. According to this definition there are numerous examples of sites where tourism can be considered sustainable, precisely because they are able to attract many visitors (e.g. Niagara Falls, Disney World, Las Vegas, London, Paris; Butler, 1997). These destinations are not only able to consistently lure large numbers of visitors because of their unique attractions, but also because they maintain their appeal by constantly diversifying their tourism product. The Disney Corporation periodically expands its empire in central Florida by adding new theme parks while Las Vegas sees a continuous flurry of activity in terms, for instance, of the construction of ever-larger and increasingly luxurious hotels and the development of additional convention space (Velotta, 2008). Nevertheless, while these destinations are considered sustainable in terms of their ability to maintain their tourist industry, they are not always sustainable in an environmental or socio-cultural sense. After all, in these destinations 'tourism is competing for resources and may not [represent] the 'best' or wisest use of resources... in the long term' (Butler, 1999, p. 11).

Tourism within the context of sustainable development is, by contrast, a far more complex idea. According to Butler (1993, p. 29) it can be defined as the type of tourism that is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the (host) environment to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well-being of other activities and processes.

Such a comprehensive interpretation of sustainable development acknowledges that tourism does not occur in a vacuum. Whereas sustainable tourism espouses the long-term survival of the sector regardless of its impact on a destination's other resources, tourism within a context of sustainability recognizes the need for a comprehensive approach that balances tourism development with that of other activities to safeguard the requirements of future generations. Without clearly appreciating what these requirements are, however, it is hard to identify that nature of sustainable development in a tourism context.

The conceptual gap between a sector-specific interpretation and one representing a holistic vision of integrated development indicates that the embrace of 'sustainability' in the language of a growing number of groups (e.g. industry representatives) should be regarded cautiously (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). When talking about sustainable tourism, various stakeholders,

including hotel chains, airlines and cruise lines, remain firmly focused on the survival of the sector. Indeed, for these businesses or organizations, terms such as 'sustainable development' or 'green tourism' may be little more than marketing gimmicks to ensure business survival (Butler, 1999, p. 13).

A group that has long embraced that banner of 'sustainable tourism' is the British-based International Federation of Tour Operators (IFTO), members of which include a number of major mass-oriented tour companies. The IFTO calls for the adoption of 'realistic carrying capacity per destination [and] a sound set of laws to ensure sustainable development' (Brackenbury, 1997, p. 1). As noble as this cause sounds, this lobby group's overriding concern is the continued generation of profits for its members. The tour operators that the IFTO represents are mostly interested in sustaining the appeal of their products among increasingly discerning and sophisticated international travellers, and are not truly worried about the needs for future generations in destination areas (Carey *et al.*, 1997). Thus, these players may talk about sustainable development but their true focus remains on the short-term growth-oriented goals of their business (Ioannides, 1998; Mowforth and Munt, 2003). Environmental and socio-cultural concerns are significant to IFTO members only if they have an adverse impact on profits.

Private companies and groups such as the IFTO, which regard the preservation of ecosystems in economic terms, retain a 'treadmill' view of sustainability (Kousis, 2001; Ioannides and Holcomb, 2003). Similarly, the approach of national and supranational organizations towards sustainable development tends to be 'weak', since, more often than not these bodies emphasize economic rather than social or environmental sustainability. In most cases, these organizations are unwilling to implement drastic institutional changes and are anxious to pacify tourism-related producers by responding to their needs. The widespread policy of attracting 'quality' tourists in the Mediterranean, described in the previous section, highlights a 'weak' approach to sustainable development. The only groups that are likely to adopt a 'strong' or 'ideal' perspective of sustainable development, signifying the need for major 'changes in patterns of production and consumption [or even] drastic restructuring of political, legal, social, and economic institutions', are grassroots organizations such as pro-environment, non-governmental organizations (NGOs; Kousis, 2001).

In the following section, attention focuses on the manner in which the numerous stakeholders who influence a destination's development have contradictory priorities concerning the role of tourism and, more importantly, varying perspectives of the meaning of sustainable development. To complicate matters further, it is shown that the perspectives of the respective groups of stakeholders are unlikely to remain static over time.

Sustainable Development: a Longitudinal Model

For sustainability to be achieved in any environment, it is imperative for policy makers to give an opportunity to all stakeholders to become actively

involved in collaborative decision-making processes (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999; Burns, 1999, 2003; McCool and Stankey, 1999; Sauter and Leisen, 1999; Timothy, 1999; Johnston, 2006; Johnson and Snepenger, 2006). For instance, sustainability cannot be imposed at a tourist destination through top-down physical planning mechanisms alone without accounting for the needs of local communities, tourists, environmental groups, entrepreneurs and other public or private organization. As McCool and Stankey argue, 'public participation in developmental decisions is a hallmark of many discussions of sustainable development. [It is] viewed as necessary to identifying the distributional consequences of decision-making [and is] also seen as essential to successful implementation of sustainable development projects' (McCool and Stankey, 1999, p. 41).

Ironically, however, the very effort to include all players in the planning process means their conflicting priorities and expectations can be a major barrier to achieving balanced forms of development, especially since the 'power of stakeholders is often uneven' (Bramwell and Sharman, 1999). Previous studies have recognized this problematic situation, yet the vast majority examine the contrasting agendas of different stakeholders at a single point in time and downplay geographical contingencies (e.g. Sauter and Leisen, 1999; Johnson and Snepenger, 2006). A fundamental question that needs to be answered is whether the same sustainable development-oriented policies can work in different geographical locations. This, as many authors acknowledge, is unlikely (Wall, 1997).

It is easy to claim that sustainable development has a higher chance of success in newly emerging tourist destinations (presumably because the damage has not yet occurred) than in well-established resorts (Butler, 1999). In reality, however, the lack of hindsight that accompanies an early stage of tourism development means it will be hard to convince local stakeholders of the merits of sustainable development; these players might not have yet witnessed first-hand tourism's long-term negative impacts on the environment and society. By contrast, policy makers and other players in a mature destination, precisely because they will have experienced the adverse impacts associated with uncontrolled tourism development, are likelier to institute balanced-growth strategies and regulatory instruments, only to discover that these are largely ineffective overall since they often apply to future developments and not existing, unsustainable operations (Butler and Stiakaki, 2001). The moratoria on new tourist accommodation establishments instituted in Cyprus during the late 1980s and early 1990s had negligible impact, to a large extent because they did not affect a large number of establishments for which building permits had already been secured (Ioannides, 1994; Ioannides and Holcomb, 2003).

Studies relating to tourism should account for the overall development of the destination area (Pearce, 1989). A locality's degree of tourism growth and its overall level of development certainly affect the attitudes and behaviour of different players towards the role of tourism and sustainability practices overall. Cooper argues appropriately that 'the stage of the destination in the life cycle also influences the acceptability of planning and marketing. In

the early stages of the life cycle for example, success often obscures the long-term view, whilst at the later stages, particularly when a destination is in decline, opposition to long-term planning exercises may be rationalization on the basis of cost' (Cooper, 1997, p. 83). Cooper's statement demonstrates that when devising strategies to promote balanced growth, planners and policy makers must be sensitive to the temporal context in which tourism development is taking place (see also Cooper, 2006; Berry, 2006).

The shifting attitudes of each group of stakeholders towards sustainable development of every stage of a tourist destination's development can be examined through a longitudinal framework. Since the late 1960s, academics have proposed various evolutionary models of tourism development to explain growth and change (Christaller, 1963; Plog, 1973; Miossec, 1976; Stansfield, 1978; Gormsen, 1981). The one framework that has received considerable attention in recent years is the resort-cycle model (Butler, 1980; Butler, 2006a,b). Butler hypothesizes that any tourist destination goes through seven consecutive stages of development (exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, decline and rejuvenation).

This simple evolutionary model's attraction rests in its ability to describe each stage of a destination's development, tourism's impacts, the mechanisms that have caused these impacts and the identity of key indigenous and foreign actors (Pearce, 1989). Moreover, the resort cycle helps illustrate the market's evolution in terms of changes in the segments and the numbers of visitors (Ioannides, 1994). To be sure, the model has received its fair share of criticism because, among others, it ignores seasonality, lacks clarity regarding levels of spatial aggregation and evades the fact that the carrying capacity thresholds for environmental, social, physical or perceptual variables are hard to estimate as they all differ from each other (Haywood, 1986). Butler (1997) himself admits that the prescriptive value of the resort cycle is limited because it is a hypothetical development path, dependent upon marketing and managerial actions, rather than an independent mechanical process (Ioannides, 1994).

Papatheodorou (2006, p. 67) aptly critiques the resort-cycle model. He maintains that on the plus side the tourism area life cycle (TALC) constitutes the 'first serious analytical framework that combines features of demand such as consumer tastes, with elements of tourism supply like facilities and infrastructure. Moreover, by considering the economic, social and environmental dimensions of tourism within an explicitly dynamic context, the TALC may be regarded as a solid research vehicle for sustainable tourism development.' However, he argues that on the downside the TALC is ineffective for dealing with matters relating to 'competition and competitiveness'. Overall, Papatheodorou praises the model for being a 'child of its era' (p. 68) that brought tourism research to the forefront of scientific research especially with regards to better understanding and dealing with the sector's impacts over time.

Despite the ongoing debate concerning the resort cycle's strengths and weaknesses, the model has generated an astounding amount of interest since its inception in 1980. What has attracted and continues to draw researchers to

its use is that it is a model that is ingenious in its simplicity but also its adaptability. Numerous authors have utilized Butler's model for a variety of contexts, and some have offered useful extensions (Cooper and Jackson, 1989; Debbage, 1990; Cooper, 1997; Johnston, 2006). Cooper (1997) indicates that the resort cycle can be used in conjunction with strategic planning to develop a framework for implementing 'sustainable principles' (Cooper, 1997, p. 78). He argues that for every stage of a resort's life cycle it is possible to outline the available strategic possibilities that allow the destination to remain competitive. Cooper concludes that only by adopting such an evolutionary perspective will sustainable tourism be approached.

Similarly, the resort cycle can be adapted as a conceptual framework for examining the agendas of various stakeholder groups at each stage of a resort's development. This includes players such as national, regional or local governments, communities (entrepreneurs/developers and inhabitants), tour operators and other industry representatives, NGOs (e.g. environmental groups) and tourists. Examinations of the shifting attitudes of stakeholders towards tourism over time, though rare, are certainly not unheard of (Ap and Crompton, 1993). Most such studies, however, involve examinations of a single group's (normally residents) perceptions towards tourism over time (Vogt and Jun, 2004; Bestard and Nadal, 2007; Chang and Vogt, 2008). By contrast, a thorough investigation of the literature reveals the glaring rarity of studies seeking to compare the respective attitudes of multiple sets of players as they shift through time.

That the attitudes of residents are likely to shift as a destination matures has been pointed out by Butler himself (1980). He notes that while inhabitants of an emerging tourist area are initially excited about tourism, especially its economic growth potential and its ability to generate useful infrastructure for the community, eventually their exposure to adverse impacts will make them increasingly resentful towards their visitors. This parallels Doxey's (1975) thesis who argued that when tourism initially appears in any destination residents are in a state of euphoria. Over time, as these residents become used to tourists in their midst they turn increasingly apathetic regarding the sector's impacts. Eventually, however, they are likely to become increasingly annoyed due to the perceived disruption they witness in their everyday life. This annoyance will likely escalate into antagonism (see also Page, 2003). Researchers have postulated variations of this model. Ap and Crompton (1993), for instance, argue that Doxey's model is simplistic, and pointed out that not everyone in a community will have the same perception towards tourism at a fixed point in time. For instance, residents' attitudes will vary according to their age, or based on whether they are long-term inhabitants versus recent arrivals. Also, during busy times of the year business owners are likely to be more tolerant towards visitors than are residents who do not have a direct economic interest in tourism. Ap and Crompton also believe that seasonality plays a role in defining residents' attitudes towards visitors. That is, during the peak tourist season local inhabitants will be more resentful towards tourism compared to the off-peak period because they see visitors as disruptive to their daily life.

Acknowledging the need for more longitudinal studies, Chang and Vogt (2008) recently used cohort analysis to investigate changes in residents' perceptions towards tourism in an Alaskan island community. They focused on the period 1995–2001, a time when the community was witnessing restructuring from a fishing-based economy to tourism. The authors noted that the residents' attitudes concerning tourism's economic impacts do indeed change through time. Older people appear less accepting towards tourism than youths, perhaps because the former group had been used to fishing as the mainstay of the community and could not see how a visitor-based economy, which pays far less, would take its place. Young people by contrast, see tourism as the only realistic opportunity for the community's future. The investigation also notes differences in attitudes based on income, gender and length of residency.

Martin's (2006) study in Hilton Head, South Carolina, provides a rare glimpse of the use of TALC for investigations of changing attitudes. In this case, Martin demonstrates the role of politics in a destination's evolution. She argues that local governments are often in an awkward contradictory position since on one hand they must protect the public who may oppose a controversial tourism development while, on the other hand, they need to support economic growth through tourism, given the sector's job-creation potential. She provides evidence of opposing viewpoints towards land-use regulations, with some long-term residents expressing worries that restrictions will diminish their ability to develop their land as they see fit. Arguing that 'resident attitudes are an important determinant in assessing whether social carrying capacity is being exceeded in a manner that will affect the social carrying capacity of the community', Martin (2006, p. 240) investigated whether or not perspectives concerning the future of tourism development differ from group to group and whether certain groups' opinions are powerful enough to shape an anti-tourism governmental policy. Among the most powerful pro-tourism growth advocates, she argues, would be landowners, financial institutions and other players who benefit economically from tourism, while she hypothesizes that local inhabitants with no direct economic interest in tourism plus recent immigrants who moved into the community because of the quality of life it offers, may increasingly resent the sector as the destination evolves.

Surprisingly, her findings demonstrate that at least in Hilton Head, although business leaders are more welcoming overall towards tourism compared to government officials and retirees, differences of opinion between the various groups are far from drastic; rather, they reflect variations in the degree of acceptance. Thus, although local residents including retirees who do not derive a clear economic advantage from tourism are concerned about the future growth of the sector, they certainly are not anti-growth. Instead, these groups just like the business leaders desire future development, although they emphasize this development has to be well planned and quality-oriented. Martin explains the lack of full-blown opposition towards tourism in this particular destination by the fact that Hilton Head was a planned resort from the outset and its residents have always enjoyed a high quality of life. These people are well off and for the most part highly educated

and comprehend the role that tourism plays in their community's growth, especially when it is well planned. Additionally, many of these people, including the retirees, are likely to have owned a business earlier in their life meaning they sympathize with the business owners.

While the aforementioned study provides valuable lessons regarding the viewpoints of various stakeholders towards tourism, it should be argued that Hilton Head is not a typical tourist destination given that it was pre-planned by one major developer and experienced controlled growth through time. This community has not had the experiences of many other places, including numerous coastal destinations throughout the Mediterranean and the Caribbean that have witnessed poorly planned and unregulated growth. In other words, Hilton Head's TALC does not match that of many other coastal developments throughout the world. Given the importance that tourism holds for these environments, it is evident that gaining a superior understanding of how the perceptions of different players vary through time is imperative in order to develop more effective policies.

The following section illustrates the observed agendas of different stakeholders at various stages of a destination's evolution. The analysis is influenced by the experiences of various Mediterranean islands since I (the author) have had considerable experience studying these environments over the course of almost two decades (Oglethorpe, 1984; Ioannides, 1992; Loukissas and Triantafyllopoulos, 1997; Ioannides and Holcomb, 2003). For the sake of simplicity, therefore, the ensuing framework is labelled 'The Mediterranean isle context'. Nevertheless, it is assumed that this longitudinal conceptual construct, especially the notion that stakeholder attitudes towards tourism and sustainable development are likely to shift according to a destination's development stage, can be tailored for other areas and other types of resorts throughout the world.

'The Mediterranean Isle Context'

It is impossible to investigate every group of stakeholders involved in a destination's development. Nevertheless, the present analysis accounts for a range of possible players representing local, regional, national and international concerns. Tables 4.1–4.3 are a series of matrices reflecting the conflicting economic, socio-cultural and environmental agendas, plus the contrasting time perspectives of various actors, according to resort-cycle stage. The columns indicate the following stakeholders: national and/or regional governments, local authorities, developers/hoteliers, NGOs, mass-tour operators and local inhabitants; for the sake of simplicity, local inhabitants are dealt with as one homogeneous group although it is realized that in any destination the residents are likely to have divided opinions depending on factors such as their age, their length of stay in the community and whether or not they have an economic interest in tourism. Based on this last comment it is obvious that the model can be adapted according to the context of the study to take into account a larger or a smaller number of players.

Table 4.1. Conflicting development agendas during the exploration/involvement stage (describes a single locality). (After Butler, 1980.)

Agenda	Government					
	<i>National/regional^a (relates to parent destination's resort cycle)</i>	Local	Developer/hoteliers	NGOs	Mass-tour operators	Inhabitants
Visibility	<i>Low</i>	High	Emerging	Low	Low	High
Economic	<i>Increase foreign exchange/diversify economy</i>	Fast growth/ create jobs	Maximize profits	N/A	Maximize profits	Improve standard of living
Environmental priority	<i>High</i>	Low	Low	High	Low	Low
Social priority	<i>Medium</i>	Low	Low	High	Low	Low-medium
Timeline	<i>Medium-long</i>	Short-medium	Short	Long	Short	Short
Support for regulations	<i>High</i>	Low	Low	High	Low	Low
Tourism strategy	<i>Balance tourism development and environmental protection/diversify tourism product/ target 'quality' rather than 'quantity' tourists</i>	Provide incentives/ laissez-faire	Support fast growth development/ speculative building	Low-impact development	Little involvement at this stage	Support fast growth development
Sustainability approach	<i>Weak</i>	N/A	N/A	Weak/strong	N/A	N/A

^aIn this case it is assumed that national policies are dictated by the overall resort cycle of the hypothetical island and thus remain constant.

Table 4.2. Conflicting development agendas during the development stage (describes a single locality).

Agenda	Government					
	<i>National/regional^a (relates to parent destination's resort cycle)</i>	Local	Developer/hoteliers	NGOs	Mass-tour operators	Inhabitants
Visibility Economic	<i>Low Increase foreign exchange/ diversify economy</i>	High Fast growth/ create jobs	High Maximize profits	Low N/A	High Maximize profits	High Improve standard of living
Environmental priority	<i>High concern</i>	Emerging	Low	High	Low	Mixed
Social-cultural priority	<i>Medium</i>	Emerging concern	Low	High	Low	Mixed
Timeline Support for regulations	<i>Medium-long High</i>	Short-medium Emerging	Short Low	Long High	Short Low	Short Mixed
Tourism strategy	<i>Balance tourism development and environmental protection/ diversify tourism product/target 'quality' rather than 'quantity' tourists</i>	Provide incentives/ laissez-faire	Support fast growth development/ speculative building	No more tourism development	Support rapid growth of mass- tourist-oriented infrastructure	Waning support for fast growth development
Sustainability approach	<i>Weak</i>	N/A	N/A	Strong	N/A	Weak

^aIn this case it is assumed that national policies are dictated by the overall resort cycle of the hypothetical island and thus remain constant.

Table 4.3. Conflicting development agendas during the consolidation/stagnation stage (describes a single locality).

Agenda	Government					
	<i>National/regional^a (relates to parent destination's resort cycle)</i>	Local	Developer/hoteliers	NGOs	Mass-tour operators	Inhabitants
Visibility Economic	<i>Low Increase foreign exchange/ diversify economy</i>	High Maintain growth/ diversification	High Business survival	Moderate N/A	High Maximize profits	High Improve standard of living
Environmental priority	<i>High</i>	High	Emerging	High	Emerging	High
Social-cultural priority	<i>Medium</i>	Medium	Low	High	Low	High
Timeline	<i>Medium-long</i>	Short-medium	Short	Long	Short	Short-medium
Support for regulations	<i>High</i>	High	Emerging	High	Moderate	Growing
Tourism strategy	<i>Balance tourism development and environmental protection/ diversify tourism product/target 'quality' rather than 'quantity' tourists</i>	Limit incentives/ regulate mass-tourism development/ impose moratoria	Support moratoria but oppose limits on mass-tourist development	No more tourism development	Support regulations to protect product	Limit further tourism development
Sustainability approach	<i>Weak</i>	Weak	Treadmill	Strong/ideal	Treadmill	Weak/strong

^aIn this case it is assumed that national policies are dictated by the overall resort cycle of the hypothetical island and thus remain constant.

In the proposed model the first row represents the visibility of each set of stakeholders in the tourist destination. Subsequent rows reflect the economic, environmental and sociocultural priorities of these players, their time perspectives, their level of support for regulatory instruments, their respective attitudes towards tourism development and (where appropriate) their overall views regarding sustainable development. Further, the conceptual model can either apply longitudinally to a single destination as it progresses through its own life cycle, or describe cross-sectionally, for a single point in time, three separate localities (in different parts of the island), each of which has reached a distinct stage of tourism development. It is assumed that, regardless of the level of tourism development at an individual locality, the overriding national and/or regional (island-wide) policies are dictated by the present state of the parent destination's resort cycle. For instance, while many Mediterranean islands (e.g. Corfu, Crete, Cyprus, Malta, Mallorca and Rhodes) display overall characteristics placing them in the consolidation, stagnation or early rejuvenation stage (Ioannides, 1994; Bruce and Cantalops, 1996; Loukissas and Triantafyllopoulos, 1997), they each contain localities that have not yet taken off as tourist areas. This implies that the national or regional policies often do not dovetail with objectives in individual communities, especially if the latter are still at an early stage of their individual resort cycle.

The Exploration/Involvement Stage

At this stage, tourism is still underdeveloped (Table 4.1). The Akamas peninsula in north-western Cyprus was in this stage at the beginning of the decade, though it has since witnessed significant growth in the communities located on its fringes. Places which are a better 'fit' for this stage include remote communities on some of the more peripheral islands of the northern Aegean (e.g. parts of Lesbos, Limnos and Samos). Certain isolated villages in southern Crete also fit this description (Dagonaki and Kotios, 1998). Various players, among them the local authority and a small number of private investors, gradually realize (partly based on their experiences from other destinations) that tourism can fuel rapid economic growth. Thus, there is pressure by some stakeholders to create an atmosphere conducive to investment for tourism-related activities. The local government is likely to finance or subsidize infrastructural projects (e.g. road, irrigation schemes and airports) and develop incentive packages for attracting private-sector ventures (Andriotis, 2006). Moreover, authorities set up a promotional agency to market the locality. Local land-use and building codes (if they exist) are weak and environmental regulations absent, whereas little attention is paid to national or regional policies. Local concern about the socio-cultural impacts of tourism is also minimal.

Likewise, the local inhabitants are excited about the prospects of tourism development and demonstrate little opposition to the sector since they commonly associate it to job generation, wealth creation and 'progress' or 'modernization'. These local players are not too concerned about environmental issues at this stage. They may, in fact, be outright hostile towards any attempts

by national or regional institutions to implement a top-down regulatory framework or environmental policies, especially if they perceive these measures to directly contradict their own economic growth priorities (Ioannides, 1995a; Martin, 2006). Andriotis (2006, p. 1085) mentions that 'most Greeks view land as a way to create wealth, to increase social status, and to pass on wealth to their children'. In his study of tourism development in Crete, he noted that property owners, especially those with land in coastal areas, were encouraged by the rise in tourist arrivals during the 1960s and 1970s to abandon agricultural practices and develop on a speculative basis tourism-related structures, including a significant number of second homes.

Exogenous groups (e.g. international organizations such as Friends of the Earth or Greenpeace, or national environmental bodies) show genuine concern about the possible environmental problems generated by the nascent tourist industry. This has occurred in the Akamas peninsula and parts of Zakynthos because of the threat of coastal development on the breeding grounds of rare species of turtles (Ryan, 1991; Ioannides, 1995a). However, based on what happened in these areas, there appear to be few supporters of environmental groups in the community. Indeed, local leaders and business concerns are likely to adopt a campaign depicting environmental groups as radical 'tree-huggers' (Ioannides, 1995a). It is, of course, possible that some local entrepreneurs (though certainly not the majority) given the growing awareness concerning ecotourism (regardless of stage of development) may actually support efforts to protect certain sensitive areas, if they can see a direct financial benefit in doing so. On the island of Lesbos, for example, and especially in Kaloni Bay, which is an important breeding ground for migratory birds, some local entrepreneurs have recognized the financial opportunity to be derived from catering to birdwatchers and other ecotourists and have supported efforts to limit developments that directly affect this area. Overall, however, these players are very much in the minority at the moment; it would be interesting to study over time whether more local entrepreneurs in a newly discovered destination will actually become outspoken proponents of environmental protection as they see this as the only way to safeguard the very assets that draw visitors.

Development Stage

At this stage mass tourism has set in (Table 4.2). This is witnessed on certain islands of the Aegean and Ionian archipelago (e.g. Cephalonia, Skiathos) or the area around Polis in north-western Cyprus. Foreign actors (especially tour operators) have discovered the destination and are taking the initiative in its promotion. To these players such a destination presents the opportunity for profit. Meanwhile, local authorities are excited about the sector's rapid growth, especially in terms of its financial returns, and wish to maintain a *laissez-faire* business atmosphere despite the appearance of some serious environmental or societal problems. At this stage, the priorities of local authorities, businesses and developers may conflict with those of regional or

national planning agencies and other bodies which seek to institute a series of controls (e.g. building moratoria, comprehensive planning and tools such as zoning) for steering tourism's future development.

Meanwhile, local reaction to tourism development is mixed. Although the local residents begin to recognize certain social and environmental problems, they remain willing to put up with tourism in its current mass-market form because of the real and perceived benefits it provides. Only certain NGOs, including 'fringe' environmental activists, oppose future development to ensure that the physical environment of the destination is not further compromised. The latter are the only group at this stage to adopt a 'strong' perspective of sustainable development.

Consolidation/Stagnation/Decline Stage

This is the phase when a destination will normally begin to demonstrate structural difficulties (Table 4.3). Many Mediterranean destinations, among them Ayia Napa and Limassol in Cyprus, the north-eastern coast of Rhodes, Mykonos and mass-tourist destinations in Crete (Andriotis, 2006), have reached this stage. The growth rate of tourist arrival and receipts begins to wane. International tourists show increasing dissatisfaction with the quality of the tourism product and eventually find alternative, less-developed destinations (either in other parts of the region or completely new destinations). This situation causes alarm among local policy makers, leading to a search for strategies to enhance the destination's quality. Like their national or regional counterparts, local authorities adopt a 'weak' approach to sustainability. Economic growth remains the local policy makers' overriding objective, but they also realize the need to introduce strict environmental and land-use regulations. The atmosphere may turn increasingly regulatory and incentives to the private sector are reduced. Ideally, local policies will begin to converge with national priorities and increasingly aim at supporting 'quality' (high-spending) as opposed to 'quantity' (mass-oriented) tourism. This has happened in a variety of localities on islands such as Malta (Holcomb and Balm, 1996) and Mallorca (Bruce and Cantalops, 1996). Authorities introduce measures to rejuvenate the destination by diversifying the product (e.g. promoting alternative tourism forms such as ecotourism or constructing recreational facilities such as golf courses) and undertaking an aggressive marketing campaign which targets a broad range of market segments (Cooper, 1997). There is a growing realization that failure to intervene in such a manner will lead to decline. In the case of Crete, Andriotis (2006) notes that many of the municipalities have sought to tackle the problem of haphazard growth and aim to diversify the tourist product by backing the development of integrated, planned resorts. However, he also warns that because the local authorities are politically weak, they lack the mechanism to fully impose their new regulatory framework on exogenously driven development and, thus problems are likely to continue in the foreseeable future.

Interestingly, at this stage, certain local entrepreneurs (e.g. hotel owners) worry about business survival and, thus, may support a moratorium on

further development to protect their existing investments. Nevertheless, they remain reluctant to endorse measures for limiting mass tourism outright because of their concern for declining occupancy rates. Concurrently, the community at large is likely to begin displaying increasing hostility towards tourists and their activities, because of overcrowding, rising crime and the perceived dismantling of traditions. However, based on their study of the Balearic Islands, Bestard and Nadal (2006) argue that not all perceptions regarding tourism are necessarily negative. For instance, despite the negative impacts of tourism, most residents continue to acknowledge the job-creation and investment potential that tourism offers to a destination. They also appreciate the cultural attractions associated with the sector. They are, of course, less likely to be positive regarding problems like congestion and they are extremely worried about the sector's environmental impacts. Interestingly, in the Balearics, the majority of the population now supports a 'polluter pays principle' (p. 692) forcing developers to be accountable for the side effects of their actions. One somewhat unexpected finding of Bestard's and Nadal's study is that residents of highly developed resort communities (those with a high density of bed spaces per inhabitant) are less likely to blame environmental impacts on the tourist sector. This can possibly be explained by the fact that these areas have become highly urbanized and their residents are less likely to object to various problems associated with city life compared to those in a more remote setting.

Finally, during this stage of tourist development, as has been the case in certain Mediterranean islands, environmental groups adopt a more active stance within the community ('strong' or 'ideal' approach to sustainability) and their deeds are likely to garner increasing local support (Holcomb and Balm, 1996). Foreign tour operators start to exert pressure on local authorities to adopt measures that will protect the quality of the destination but, more importantly, the operators' profits (a 'treadmill' approach to sustainable development). These people know that if the situation does not improve, they will have to search for alternative destinations.

Discussion

The conceptual framework presented in the preceding section demonstrates (based on observations from Mediterranean island destinations) just one possible scenario of stakeholders' varying attitudes according to their respective level of tourism development. The model highlights an extremely important caveat. Even on a small island (e.g. Crete, Majorca, Minorca, Rhodes or Sardinia), there are a number of communities, each of which currently exhibits a different stage of the resort life cycle which 'may not conform to that of the parent destination' (Cooper, 1997, p. 91; Papatheodorou, 2006). Thus, the interior part of Mallorca has only recently witnessed the emergence of low-intensity tourism, whereas the parent destination (i.e. the whole island), including many coastal areas, has already progressed through all the stages of its respective tourist life cycles (Bruce and Cantalops, 1996).

This situation reinforces the argument that a single set of top-down comprehensive national or regional policies alone (e.g. national/regional tourism directives, land-use planning and zoning, or environmental restrictions) are likely unworkable throughout an entire country or region without accounting for the characteristics of individual localities. In the Cypriot context, for example, national-level recommendations (based on the advice of World Bank consultants) for improving the island's overall environment through the promotion of quality-oriented tourism ('weak' approach) to sustainable development have generated much hostility among poor inhabitants in certain remote rural areas. The latter are concerned that these national measures are too regulatory and will restrict their bid to improve their quality of life and emulate the economic success witnessed by their counterparts in neighbouring localities. Such a situation does not bode well for attaining the overriding goal of balancing economic, environmental and societal objectives throughout the island.

The longitudinal model presented in this chapter suggests that the only meaningful way of approaching an overarching goal of sustainability is to ensure a successful marriage of top-down national or regional agendas with bottom-up/community-inspired objectives. In other words, although national or regional policy makers and other agencies may be guided by a fairly long-term perspective (albeit one gained retrospectively), they should recognize that the best means of attaining this vision is by incrementally and painstakingly working with the constantly changing composite of stakeholders at every locality. In the case of the Mediterranean islands, just as in numerous developing regions, this means that officials, representing all levels of government must steer clear of the prevailing perception that the inhabitants of communities lack the expertise to make informed decisions (Timothy, 1999).

An incremental and iterative approach towards the achievement of overall sustainability signifies the need to instigate conflict negotiations in localities representing each stage of the resort cycle. Due to their longer-term vision, national or regional planners and others should take a lead as mediators by seeking to establish a common ground between all stakeholders who have more immediate concerns, instead of creating adversity through the imposition or rigid top-down solution. This approach necessitates skilful dialogue between all groups in an attempt to draw a distinction between broader ideological clashes from more rudimentary needs (Campbell, 1996). Nevertheless, mediation is unlikely to succeed if all concerned parties are unwilling to participate and compromise. There is, however, a higher probability that an agreement will eventually be achieved if the mediators can present all groups with a number of workable alternatives.

Conclusions

Despite considerable ideological debate concerning definitions, it appears the overall notion of sustainability within a variety of contexts, including tourism, has gained broad acceptance from various quarters. Sustainability

can be thought of as a 'policy myth' or 'guiding fiction' which 'serves useful functions in encouraging awareness, debate, and a sense of social purpose at an abstract, conceptual level' (McCool and Stankey, 1999, p. 22). In other words, the concept of sustainable development is valuable since it allows groups and individuals with divergent ideologies and perspectives to band together around a common theme. Unfortunately, as McCool and Stankey argue, the term's 'intrinsic ambiguity might ultimately constitute an insurmountable barrier to developing consensus on specific actions' (McCool and Stankey, 1999, p. 22). The outstanding problem is how to translate such a fuzzy notion into implemented actions.

In this chapter, the principal aim has been to highlight the value of a longitudinal perspective of stakeholder behaviour to the sustainable development concept. In this manner, the chapter addresses to an extent the concern of Page (2003) and others who lament the shortage of historical studies of shifting perceptions towards tourism. Butler's (1980) resort life cycle has been used as the framework for illustrating a hypothetical scenario of various players' changing attitudes according to stages of tourism development. The model is based on observations from one type of destination (i.e. a typical Mediterranean island) and may not necessarily fit other contexts. In fact, a study on the Danish island of Bornholm (Ioannides and Petersen, 2002) demonstrates that environmental problems related to tourism do not constitute a major issue at this moment; this is despite the fact that Bornholm has had a long history as a tourist destination. This situation has to do with a strong tradition of planning in Denmark (at both national and local level) that places extreme emphasis on the protection of out-of-town areas including coastal districts. In the case of Bornholm a threat to sustainability does not derive from tourism's environmental impacts, but rather, the feeling on the part of many players (including developers but also local inhabitants) that the current land-use plan is exceptionally restrictive and actually constitute a threat to the economic growth opportunities of local communities.

Regardless, however, of the point that many destinations do not fit the profile of a 'Mediterranean Isle', the longitudinal viewpoint such as the one presented in this chapter is extremely useful, especially since it can either be applied to examine changes in a single locality over time or to concurrently compare communities (each of which has reached a distinct level of tourism development) within the same parent area (e.g. region or nation).

The chapter's major thrust has been a descriptive rather than prescriptive analysis. Nevertheless, this investigation indicates that policy makers, managers and other professionals must always acknowledge the contingencies dictated by a locality's individual life cycle stage when attempting to implement overriding sustainable development objectives. This implies that the only *realistic* manner of approaching a future state of balanced development is not through a single holistic giant step but by incrementally adopting distinct measures that are sensitive to a destination's stage in the life cycle. The value of such a framework is that it can be adopted for a variety of strategies, including those directed at maintaining the competitiveness of the

tourist product (see Cooper, 1997), but also broader objectives for overall sustainable development. Readers of this piece are strongly urged to study the framework that has been presented, tailor it where necessary to best fit the realities of their own study area, and test its validity.

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5

Tourism, Sustainability and the Social Milieux in Lake Superior's North Shore and Islands

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Introduction

Tourism is a traditional economic activity in the northern parts of the province of Ontario where fish, wildlife and wilderness have afforded opportunities for economic gain and personal recreation for over 100 years (Benidickson, 1982). This chapter addresses issues of tourism and sustainability from the perspective of the residents on Lake Superior's north shore and islands. The relationship between natural resource-based tourism and sustainability in this context should be easy to document. However, sustainable development, and the more recent term 'sustainability', has proven to be difficult to understand as it appears to mean all things to all people. Moreover, tourism, even that supported by the northern Ontario environment, is not immune to changes in economic, social and political conditions. These kinds of changes can alter the numbers and expectations of the clientele of tourism establishments or can modify the rules governing other land-use activities that ultimately affect tourism. Such changes influence the sustainability of tourism as much as depleted fish or game stocks or the deterioration of the forest recreation environment. We seek to determine how residents of the north shore of Lake Superior view the possibility that tourism will become a more significant activity in their region. Furthermore, we are interested in examining how their views on tourism compare with accepted criteria for social sustainability in the use of natural resources.

Background

The region

In areas such as northern Ontario, where people's lives and regional economies are built upon the exploitation of natural resources, tourism has been viewed by many as an important addition to a limited range of economic opportunities (Smithers and Geissenger, 1991; Johnston, 1995; Koster and Lemelin, in press). Tourism, it is hoped, will help to diversify a community's economic base, thereby providing some insulation from the peaks and troughs that are typical of resource-based economies. Tourism is also embraced for its promises of somewhat more stable employment opportunities, an important consideration when traditional hinterland industries such as forestry and mining are becoming capital-intensive, rather than labour-intensive. Tourism has been heralded since the early 1980s as the last hope for community stability or the best hope for continuing prosperity in northern Ontario. However, as shown in the Temagami area of north-eastern Ontario, enthusiasm for tourism, and especially for its non-consumptive varieties, is not universally shared across the north (Hodgins and Benidickson, 1989).

Tourism in northern Ontario remains problematic. Fishing and hunting continue to attract both tourists and residents; however, remote tourism operations are often resented by local people who feel that tourists get special access. Snowmobiling has increased with the establishment of long-distance trails. Ecotourism activities (e.g. canoeing, kayaking) are increasing as northern Ontario becomes more recognized as an ecotourism region (Twynam and Robinson, 1997; Johnston and Payne, 2005). Wilderness areas, especially those in parks, continue to attract tourists who have interests in non-consumptive activities. The coastal hiking trail in Pukaskwa National Park, for example, provides wilderness tourism opportunities not available in more developed parts of northern Ontario.

Lake Superior itself is the key defining feature of this region. It is recognized as the world's largest lake. Management of the lake, shared between the USA and Canada, has been facilitated by the creation in 1991 of the Lake Superior Bi-National Program. Under the Bi-National Program, Lake Superior's unique position in the Great Lakes watershed and its water quality are considered in combination under the intention to demonstrate good management practices on the lake. The Bi-National Program's brochure explains:

Lake Superior is unique, a vast resource of fresh water that has not experienced the same levels of development, urbanization and pollution as the other Great Lakes. Because of this uniqueness, the International Joint Commission recommended that Lake Superior be designated as a demonstration area where discharges and emissions of toxic substances that are long-lived in the environment and build up in the bodies of humans and wildlife, would not be permitted.

(Lake Superior Bi-National Program, 1998)

Since the Program's beginnings, considerable progress has been recorded in documenting pollution sources and in developing controls. Implementation

of actions designed to reduce pollution is proceeding, albeit slowly. As the initial 'raison d'être' of the programme is met, attention is turning towards expanding the demonstration status of lake-wide management by focusing more on the goal of sustainability. Issues of sustainability – in forestry, fisheries and tourism – are somewhat easier to define, given the low populations and environmental impacts of human activity on the Canadian side of the Lake Superior basin.

As the public profile of the lake has risen, Lake Superior has come to be viewed as a unique resource for tourism. Outfitters focus kayaking and other water-based activities on its shore zone, especially in protected parts of the north shore such as the Rossport Islands. Marketing associations have been luring power and sail boaters to the north shore with promises of 'wilderness cruising'.

Lake Superior's north shore and islands (Fig. 5.1) comprise an area of land and water from Terrace Bay/Slate Islands in the east to Thunder Cape at the foot of the Sibley Peninsula in the west. Determining the terrestrial boundary for the region is problematic. On one hand, the edge of the Lake Superior watershed might be selected (e.g. Sibicki, 1995); it, however, is roughly 100 km

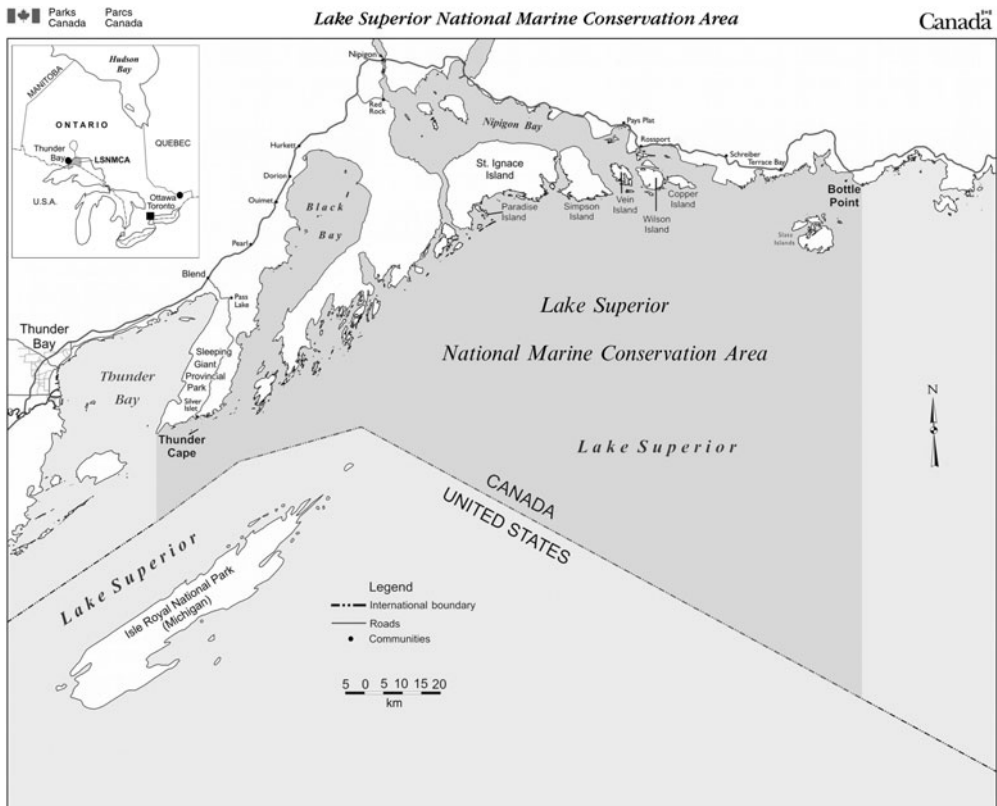


Fig. 5.1. Lake Superior National Marine Conservation Area. (Adapted from Parks Canada/Ian Joyce, 2002.)

inland and includes areas actively exploited for timber and minerals. On the other, the edge of settlement – not more than 10 km from the shore – offers an alternative; such an edge would represent a ‘bio-regional’ (World Resources Institute, 1992) boundary. The latter best describes local people’s views.

The imprint of settlement in the region is most visible along the coast, where the Trans-Canada Highway (Highway 17 in Ontario) and the main line of the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway join the communities of Terrace Bay, Schreiber, Rosspoint, Pays Plat, Nipigon and Red Rock. Apart from these communities and isolated pockets of shoreline development, most land in the region is in public hands as Crown land that, in Ontario, the provincial Ministry of Natural Resources is charged with managing in a sustainable manner. Several of these communities were home to large pulp mills, testifying to the importance of the forest industry as employer and as influence in the region. However, several mills have recently closed and another was destroyed by fire, but not rebuilt. As the forest industry struggles with ageing mills, the high Canadian dollar (relative to the US dollar) and higher energy prices, other economic activities such as tourism are increasingly seen in a positive light, although it should be noted that the high dollar and higher energy costs also have negative implications for tourism. The region has an identity (‘the north shore’) that is recognized by those living there as well as by other northern Ontario residents.

The region has been recognized as possessing both outstanding natural beauty and ecological integrity by several organizations. Attention from outside the region has come from Parks Canada which selected a candidate National Marine Conservation Area (Parks Canada, 1995, p. 85) centred on the region. Environment Canada and the US Environmental Protection Agency have identified the region, and especially the islands, as a ‘Shoreline Biodiversity Investment Area’ (Reid and Holland, 1997, p. 58). Both recognitions will contribute to the growing tourism promotion of the natural heritage aspects of the region.

Purpose and objectives

This chapter has two general goals:

- to investigate residents’ views of tourism along the north shore of Lake Superior; and
- to compare those views with accepted criteria for social sustainability.

The first section of this chapter introduces the study area – the north shore and islands of Lake Superior – within the context of northern Ontario. Then, the concept of sustainability, focusing on its social dimensions, is discussed and a position developed. A discussion on methodology explains the nature of the data as well as the quantitative and qualitative methods employed in collecting and understanding them. The presentation and discussion of the results follows. Finally, in a concluding section, the lessons learnt about sustainable tourism in the region are presented.

Sustainability and its social dimensions

Sustainability in a social sense is deserving of special attention because, unlike its ecological and economic siblings, social sustainability more obviously involves people. For this reason, approaches to defining sustainability in operational terms that ignore people and their use of natural environments might be considered suspect. A sector-specific approach, for example, such as sustainable forestry, focuses on forest industry activities to the exclusion of all others. Even ecological sustainability, driven by the stress-response ecological model, places science and scientific knowledge far in front of the interests and understanding of local people. In the following section, we examine various approaches to social sustainability in order to prepare for our inquiry into how people in the region view it.

No term since the ubiquitous 'lifestyle' has captured the imaginations of social and natural scientists as well as the public in the way that the terms 'sustainable development' or the more recent 'sustainability' have. Some see in the term a new paradigm for conservation (e.g. Salwasser, 1990); others see a retreat from protection and preservation (e.g. Noss, 1991). Indeed, the term has been bent into a variety of shapes and meanings: for example, sustained development and sustainable growth, in relation to resources; or, sustainable budget or government, in relation to public administration. Some enthusiasts (e.g. Ontario Hydro, 1990; Skidmore, 1990) seem to believe the term means 'business as usual'. As used in the Brundtland Commission Report (1987), sustainability loses its potentially analytical edge. That economic growth is necessary and that care ought to be taken not to diminish the biosphere's capability for future generations is a mere platitude. This definition is so weak that the idea of sustainable utilization, as set out in the 1980 World Conservation Strategy, seems powerful by comparison.

The first World Conservation Strategy (IUCN *et al.*, 1980) made 'sustainable utilization' one of three main principles for the conservation of living resources. Sustainable utilization comprised not only the obvious economic dimension but also social and ecological components. If sustainable utilization and sustainable development can be equated, then it becomes possible to differentiate three interrelated dimensions of the term. Development which is ecologically sustainable does not disrupt the ecological integrity of a site or region; development which is socially sustainable does not alter the ways of life of people in a region; and, development which is economically sustainable does not disrupt existing economic structures.

This view is open to a number of criticisms, not the least of which being that it is hopelessly naive in its understanding of how social and economic change occurs in a capitalist economy. However, this approach is significant for two reasons: it differentiates three dimensions upon which development of any kind will have effects; and it brings people and their forms of social and economic organization into conservation decision making at a fundamental level.

In 1990, the IUCN and its partners discarded the term 'sustainable development', opting instead for the more analytical 'sustainability'. In the reshaping of the World Conservation Strategy (IUCN *et al.*, 1990), sustainability comprises

economic, social and ecological dimensions. It is this term, with all of its meaning and breadth, which is adopted for the remainder of this chapter.

The Rio conference on Environment and Development in 1992 focused attention on implementing sustainability. One of the important outcomes of the Rio conference, Agenda 21, speaks of the necessity to integrate sustainability considerations into natural resource decision making:

Its successful implementation is first and foremost the responsibility of Governments. National strategies, plans, policies and processes are crucial in achieving this.... Other international, regional and subregional organizations are also called upon to contribute to this effort. The broadest public participation and the active involvement of the non-governmental organizations and other groups should also be encouraged.

(United Nations Development Programme, 1992, chapter 1.3)

Although Agenda 21 recognizes that all sectors must play a role in achieving sustainability, the role of government is understood to be the backdrop against which contributions will be made.

This more practical interpretation of sustainability is related to a number of initiatives to define and to monitor sustainability, some of which are applicable to tourism:

- codes of conduct;
- best practices management;
- ISO 14000 environmental management standards;
- sustainability indicators; and
- bioregional governance.

Codes of conduct are found in a variety of tourism settings and are the specific behaviour guidelines that are based on principles to which individuals and/or companies are expected to adhere (see Fennell and Malloy, 2007). The UN Environment Programme (UNEP) published one of the first international reports to review voluntary environmental codes of conduct for tourism being used in a number of countries (UNEP, 1995; see also Mason and Mowforth, 1995). For example, codes of conduct for both tourism operators and tourists have been advocated by the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) through its initiative to develop principles to link Arctic tourism and conservation (Johnston and Mason, 1997; WWF, 1998). These codes include guidelines for behaviour related to the wildlife and landscape, as well as to local people. The importance of minimizing negative social and cultural impacts and of involving local people in tourism development to some extent is emphasized in most codes of conduct for tourism operators.

Another initiative with implications for tourism and sustainability focuses on best practices management. Sustainability is not necessarily a goal in best practice management: goals are as diverse as the activities to which the best practices initiative is applied. The reasoning for the best practices approach is straightforward: find examples of excellence in management and use them as exemplars to improve management elsewhere in that sector.

Harris and Leiper (1995) present a best practices approach to sustainable tourism in Australia. The authors surveyed large and small tourism operations

to determine which ones were managing their diverse environmental impacts in the most effective ways. For example, the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority was selected as an exemplar for its management of stakeholder involvement, educational activities and spatial/temporal zoning within its jurisdiction, the Great Barrier Reef. Another operation, Australis, received commendations for its efforts ensuring that supplies were purchased from local people in regions where it operates.

The utility of the best practices approach is well illustrated by The International Ecotourism Society (TIES; 1993), which not only has documented best practices in that segment of the tourism industry, but also has made the results available to operators throughout the world. A subsequent evaluation in Ecuador of the effectiveness of the best practices approach used by TIES revealed that several areas needed to be addressed further (Norman *et al.*, 1997). These included the need for information about the importation of plants, animals and disposable products, appropriate interactions with local residents and respect for local culture, customs and values. The evaluation indicated that nature tour operators needed to pursue local development programmes and to encourage their clients to become involved in, and contribute to, local community development programmes, and further, to put pressure on local accommodation establishments to meet the guidelines (Norman *et al.*, 1997). Best practices management can play an important role in helping individual (tourism) organizations find effective means to implement generic codes of conduct.

The ISO 14000 series of environmental management standards have been developed by the International Standards Organization to identify and monitor the environmental 'footprint' of any activity (Standards Council of Canada, 1998). The standards are not directed at minimizing environmental impact; rather, they are meant to provide guidance to organizations that wish to, or need to, show that they have taken steps to set goals for their environmental impact. Gale (1996) explains that submitting to the standards is voluntary, a fact which strongly distinguishes the ISO 14000 series from governmental regulations. Gale goes on to point out two other significant issues: (the environmental management statement)

is the document a company will follow for certification/registration with a third party and/or for self assessment and declaration of conformance to the standard. This means that the document is written in prescriptive language as an auditable standard: it contains 'musts' and 'shalls'. The objective is to develop a sound environmental management system. It is the system that is auditable, not the company's environmental performance (i.e. the outcome of the system).

(1996; emphasis in original)

Notable here is the requirement for third party intervention. However, this third party is not the government: rather, in Canada at least, certification is facilitated by the Canadian Standards Association (CSA) which offers training for employees of companies interested in being certified under the standards. The employees, once certified by the CSA, are authorized to draw up the environmental management statement. Also important is Gale's final point: any

auditing focuses on the system rather than the organization's impact on the environment. The stated intention of the standards is to enable organizations to develop a system comprising steps for managing their environmental impacts. The advantage of such an approach is that with a certificate of compliance in hand, organizations are able to assert to customers and to critics alike that they are exercising environmental care. Business organizations especially recognize that such certification promises access to important market areas. In tourism, it is likely that large organizations will be the first to be certified under the guidelines, although small firms exhibit the flexibility in operations to make such changes more easily. However, as Font (2002) argues, the ISO 14000 standards have been taken up only by large firms, especially hotels. These standards have not had the impact of others discussed here.

Behind many of the practical developments in implementing sustainability are sets of principles that connect theory and action. One such principle-based initiative, the *Charter on Sustainable Tourism*, originated at a world conference on sustainable tourism in 1995. The Charter is composed of 18 principles directed at governments and the tourism industry. Principle 1 states the relationship between sustainability and tourism concisely:

Tourism development shall be based on criteria of sustainability, which means that it must be ecologically bearable in the long term, as well as economically viable, and ethically and socially equitable for local communities.

(World Conference on Sustainable Tourism, 1995, p. 12)

Other principles stress that, for tourism to be sustainable, it must recognize and support local people and their culture (principle 3), it must be a cooperative venture (principle 4) and it must be part of an integrated planning and management system (principle 5). In these principles, all of the actors, including governments, are charged with responsibility for assuring the sustainability of tourism. The Charter emphasizes that sustainability in tourism can be achieved only if tourism operators and governments cooperate with local people in areas where tourism is well developed or has great potential.

Another principle-based approach, the Bellagio Principles (International Institute for Sustainable Development, 1997a), does not focus solely on tourism; rather the principles are aimed more generally at development. However, they share with the Charter a concern that local people and their concerns be integrated into decision making. Two principles make this position quite clear:

- Openness: assessment of progress towards sustainability should:
 - make the methods and data that are used accessible to all;
 - make explicit all judgements, assumptions, and uncertainties in data and interpretations.
- Broad Participation: assessment of progress towards sustainability should:
 - obtain broad representation of key grass roots, social, professional and technical groups to ensure recognition of diverse and changing values;
 - ensure decision makers' participation thus securing a firm link to decision making and resulting action (International Institute for Sustainable Development, 1997a).

Principles such as these form the basis for scientific perspectives on sustainability. Furthermore, since sustainability is generally a policy or legislative goal, implementing it will require not only defining but also understanding cause-and-effect relationships in ecosystems. In these terms, achieving sustainability requires that the tools of science, scientific knowledge and scientific method are applied by agencies having environmental management mandates. Furthermore, since sustainability is first a public goal, achieving it presupposes that government agencies possess both the mandate and the scientific capabilities necessary to take an effective leadership role.

Scientific studies of sustainability, even those focusing upon tourism (e.g. McCool *et al.*, 1998), have generally been based upon the 'stress-state-response-indicators model' (e.g. Indicators Task Force, 1991; Lake Superior Bi-National Program, 1995; Lonergan *et al.*, 1996), which requires data about a variety of variables as well as the scientific knowledge to understand (ecological) relationships among them. Crucial requirements in the model are the establishment of baseline data to represent 'normal' ecological conditions and the identification of indicators through monitoring may occur. Consequently, this approach, and its dependence upon experts, is often described as 'data-driven'. Environmental non-government organizations such as the World Resources Institute (WRI) continue to do intensive research using this framework into indicators for biodiversity (Reid *et al.*, 1993) as well as for other significant issues.

The limitations of an apparently scientific approach to sustainability are illustrated well by Wilson (1997). He has described the controversy over the reintroduction of wolves into the Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem as a clash between environmentalists and local people who resent such outside interference in their way of life. Wilson emphasizes that this clash goes well beyond wolves and ecology to involve differing levels of access to social power, differing views of the relationship between humans and nature and differing ideas about private property (1997, p. 454). In the Yellowstone case, the point of view of local residents was ignored while the scientific perspective, focused on restoring ecological integrity, carried the day.

A mixed approach to sustainability, favoured by Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and the World Conservation Union (IUCN), seeks to engage 'stakeholders in defining the key sustainability issues affecting their lives, and [to define] practical ways of measuring change in human and ecosystem condition related to these issues' (International Institute for Sustainable Development, 1997b). This approach contrasts with the expert or data-driven one common in the stress-state-response-indicators framework in three significant ways:

- It recognizes the importance of people's customary and traditional knowledge.
- It views sustainability issues in a bioregional context.
- It seeks practical solutions.

The importance of these first two features cannot be overstated. The 'discovery' of customary knowledge (i.e. knowledge accumulated by people such as fishers who use their understanding of nature in economic activities) and

traditional knowledge (i.e. knowledge of nature that is deeply embedded in people's ways of life) by the scientific community represents an opportunity to bridge the gap between science and experience. Connecting science and customary or traditional knowledge, by no means an easy task, holds benefits for both scientists and local people. Furthermore, the gradual legitimization of customary and traditional knowledge provides support for management regimes in which local people have not only a voice but also a measure of control.

The second feature of this approach – sustainability issues in a bioregional context – supports the important role of customary and traditional knowledge. However, it also repudiates various sector-specific attempts (e.g. forestry or tourism) to come to grips with sustainability by acknowledging that both ecological relationships and people's relationships with nature operate over relatively large areas. Indeed, attempts by forest scientists (e.g. Baskerville, 1996; Duinker, 1996) to develop sustainability indices for forestry seem more concerned with accommodating environmental issues in forestry practice rather than integrating sustainability as a goal. The case for bioregionalism is put concisely by the World Resources Institute:

Within a bioregion lies a mosaic of land or aquatic uses. Each patch provides habitats in which different species survive and flourish, and each has its own particular relationship to the region's human population. All the elements of the mosaic are interactive; the management of a watershed affects riverine habitats, farms, estuaries, fisheries and coral reefs. The components are also dynamic; each changes over time as rivers change course, fallow fields regenerate, storms batter coasts and fires ravage forests.

(1992; emphasis in original)

People, in their social and economic diversity, clearly play a pivotal role in a bioregion. Involving them in developing and monitoring sustainability indicators would seem to be a rational course of action, with benefits to all.

Bioregional governance is another approach to sustainability that has a long history in natural resource management. Ostrom (1990) describes the foundation for collective action that brings individuals and organizations together voluntarily to try to solve common pool resource problems, explaining that this self-organization and self-governance of resource users relies on operational guidelines, commitment and monitoring. A good example of this approach in tourism is the regulation of tourism in the Antarctic region that occurs through the International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO), as part of the broad framework of tourism regulation that includes the Antarctic Treaty System (Johnston and Hall, 1995). This organization of tour operators began in 1991 with seven members 'to advocate, promote, and practice safe and environmentally responsible travel to Antarctica' and now includes 84 companies (Landau and Spletstoesser, 2007, p. 186). Its framework for self-regulation includes a variety of operational guidelines, specific procedures, accreditation and auditing, and reporting. The solution of self-regulation arose at a particular time period in response to the needs of a particular physical, economic and geopolitical environment, but this approach continues to be relevant and useful, even as other elements are added to the regulatory regime through the Antarctic Treaty System and national

governments (see Haase *et al.*, 2007; Landau and Spletstoeser, 2007). It appears from this example that commitment to regulation is linked with attachment to a region that goes beyond the business requirement of profit.

Another example of bioregional governance is the Georgian Bay Biosphere Reserve, part of the UNESCO system of biosphere reserves throughout the world that contributes to conservation, sustainable development and environmental education, research and monitoring. Recognized in 2004 by UNESCO, this site is one of more than 500 in the world. The Georgian Bay Biosphere Reserve is managed by Georgian Bay Biosphere Reserve Inc.:

a non-profit organization that works through partnerships to balance conservation with sustainable economic development ... [and] work[s] by networking with conservation organizations, community groups, as well as the educational and scientific communities located in the region.

(Georgian Bay Biosphere Reserve, 2008a)

As the region moves towards developing its tourism offerings, the Georgian Bay Biosphere Reserve Inc. emphasizes sustainable tourism as benefiting the social, economic, natural and cultural environments of the region, following the definition of sustainable tourism adopted by the Tourism Industry Association of Canada and the Parks Canada (Georgian Bay Biosphere Reserve, 2008c). The Georgian Bay Biosphere Reserve Inc. also intends to foster cooperation, collaboration and information-sharing among the organizations currently involved in research and monitoring in order to improve planning and decision making (Georgian Bay Biosphere Reserve, 2008b). The spatial focus inherent in these reserves makes them a good example of the potential for bioregional governance; given the significance and potential of tourism development in this region, it bodes well that sustainable tourism is an explicit part of the philosophical foundation of this management group.

If sustainability is to be an attainable societal goal that is relevant to tourism as well as to other endeavours, the following critical features are required according to the literature discussed above:

- active involvement of actors, from local residents and business owners to (senior) governments;
- judicious application of science tempered by the practical concerns of local people; and
- a spatial (rather than sectoral) focus, possibly concentrated at the regional level.

It is this community-based approach to sustainability (Woodley, 1993) that seems to offer the best understanding of local people's feelings, knowledge and thoughts, and that respects their attachment to the place and region.

Methodology

The research reported here was completed during September–October, 1997, among the communities of the north shore of Lake Superior for the Superior

North Community Economic Development Corporation (Twynam *et al.*, 1997). The results from the forums concerning people's views of tourism on the north shore and in the north shore islands were also directed to the Boreal West Round Table (as part of the Lands for Life land-use planning process) and to Parks Canada (as part of the public consultations on the then proposed Western Lake Superior National Marine Conservation Area).

Six forums were held across the region, one each in Terrace Bay, Pays Plat, Rossport, Nipigon, Red Rock and Silver Islet. The forums were advertised on local radio and in the local press in advance. In addition, known opinion leaders in the communities were invited to attend. Attendance varied widely: 44 people turned out in the cottage community of Silver Islet; only two attended the forum at Pays Plat, a First Nation reserve.

Participants at each forum completed a questionnaire that sought information on their involvement with, and attitudes towards, tourism in the region. In addition, participants discussed questions and issues about tourism in the region put to them by facilitators in each forum. These qualitative data were recorded in writing and on audio tape by the researchers.

Data

The data collected were of two types. Quantitative data were collected about participants in the forums in order to develop a participant profile and to determine attitudes towards tourism in the region. This approach produced 92 completed questionnaires. The surveys completed by participants at the beginning of each forum provided quantitative data, including social and demographic variables such as gender, age and length of residence in the region. In addition, participants responded to a Likert-style, 28 statement section of the survey, based upon the TIAS Scale outlined by Lankford and Howard (1994), on their attitudes towards tourism in the region.

Qualitative data were gathered in order to delve more deeply into tourism issues.

Capturing the qualitative data was a three-step process:

- first, participants at each forum were divided into two groups, each with a facilitator who focused discussion through a series of predetermined questions and who wrote participant responses on a flip chart;
- second, *rapporteurs* (Payne, Johnston and Twynam) took notes during the discussions; and
- third, each session was recorded on audio tape.

Analysis

The analysis of the quantitative data utilized frequencies in communicating a profile of the forum participants. More complex analyses, using principal components analysis, K-means cluster analysis and discriminant analysis in SPSS for Windows, were employed to determine whether there were meaningful

groups among the participants with respect to their attitudes towards tourism in the region.

Results and Discussion

Background

This section focuses on the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of participants' views, feelings and attitudes towards tourism and tourism development on Lake Superior's north shore and islands, collected during the forums. Three forms of reporting follow:

- a description of the demographic and social characteristics of participants;
- a discussion based upon the responses to the attitudinal questions; and
- a discussion of the themes and issues voiced by participants during the forums.

Demographic and social characteristics of the participants

There were 95 participants at the meetings, 92 of whom completed the survey. As Table 5.1 shows, the majority were male (72%). Furthermore, most of the respondents were 35 years or older with more than half between the ages

Table 5.1. Socio-demographic characteristics of forum participants ($N = 92$).

Socio-demographic variables	<i>n</i> (%)
<i>Gender</i>	
Male	66 (72)
Female	26 (28)
<i>Age</i>	
19–24	1 (1)
25–34	4 (4)
35–44	26 (28)
45–54	24 (26)
55–64	18 (20)
65–74	12 (13)
75+	7 (8)
<i>Years lived in region</i>	
0–10	10 (11)
11–20	8 (9)
21–30	13 (14)
31–40	8 (9)
41–50	18 (20)
51+	32 (35)

Table 5.2. Forum participants' involvements in tourism industry ($N = 92$).

Involvement	n (%)
Owens a tourism business	19 (21)
Has a job related to tourism	21 (23)
No involvement	52 (56)

of 35 and 54 (53.9%). Nearly 60% of the participants had lived in the region for more than 40 years.

Twenty-one per cent of the participants owned a tourism business and 23% had a job related to tourism (Table 5.2).

Table 5.3 contains means and standard deviations of responses from forum participants to the 28 attitude statements concerning tourism in the region. Discussion of these findings focuses on three patterns of response:

- statements with which there is general agreement;
- statements with which there is general disagreement; and
- statements with which there is a diversity of views.

There is agreement among residents who responded to the survey that not only does tourism have a place in the region's future, but also that it does now, and will continue to, yield positive economic benefits for local people and the regional economy. Statements *a*, *b*, *j*, *k*, *m*, *t*, *v*, *w* and *y* in Table 5.3 address these two issues directly. All of these statements feature levels of agreement in excess of 69%.

There is disagreement with a series of statements which suggest that tourism development ought to be restricted or that tourism has had negative social effects in the region. Statements *d*, *e*, *h*, *i*, *p*, *u* and *bb* address these issues. Disagreement with these statements ranges from a low of 65% concerning no more outdoor recreation development (statement *d*) to a high of 79% in response to a statement (*e*) suggesting that new tourism developments ought not to occur.

The remaining 12 statements reflect a diversity of views. In one group (i.e. statements *c*, *g*, *n*, *r* and *aa*), the majority of residents have chosen the neutral category, declining to commit themselves to agreeing or disagreeing with statements that focus attention on tourism's impact on local community life. In another (i.e. statements *f*, *l*, *o*, *q*, *s*, *x* and *z*), people in the region have agreed or disagreed cautiously, but certainly not as strongly as they did with other statements. These statements ask the residents to reflect upon the benefits and costs of existing tourism developments and activities in the region. The general attitude that tourism is potentially beneficial, especially if those benefits are put in economic terms, is consistent with a major theme concerning infrastructure, attractions and services discussed below.

Using principal components analysis, an approach suggested in McCool and Reilly (1993), the 28 attitudinal items were reduced to seven dimensions that account for 69.8% of the variance in the data (Table 5.4). Interpreting these

Table 5.3. Forum participants' outlook on tourism in the region ($N = 92$; 1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = neutral; 4 = disagree; 5 = strongly disagree).

Statement	1	2	3	4	5	Mean	SD
a. Tourism provides desirable jobs	29	51	6	6	0	1.88	0.80
b. My community should become more of a tourist destination	29	38	13	4	5	2.08	1.08
c. Tourism in my region has improved my standard of living	3	22	36	20	10	3.13	1.01
d. More outdoor recreation development is not desirable	7	10	15	35	25	3.66	1.21
e. I am against new tourism development which will attract new tourists to this region	3	7	9	37	36	4.04	1.05
f. Because of tourism, I have more recreational opportunities available to me	16	28	27	11	10	2.68	1.21
g. It is important to provide recreation facilities for local people rather than tourists	5	28	31	22	4	2.91	0.98
h. Noise levels from the existing tourism facilities are not appropriate for this region	2	5	22	37	24	3.84	0.96
i. Tourism has negatively impacted the natural environment in the region	3	6	14	47	22	3.86	0.97
j. I believe tourism should be actively encouraged in the region	33	38	11	6	4	2.02	1.07
k. Tourism has a vital role in the region	28	45	7	9	2	2.03	0.99
l. The benefits of tourism outweigh any negative consequences	14	29	18	18	11	2.81	1.27
m. Tourists are valuable	32	52	7	1	0	1.75	0.64
n. The quality of public services has improved due to increased tourism in the region	7	28	35	15	5	2.81	0.99
o. The region has better roads due to tourism	4	23	20	24	20	3.36	1.21
p. Tourism has increased crime in the region	1	5	19	43	24	3.91	0.89
q. There is more litter in the region due to tourism	3	18	24	33	14	3.40	1.07
r. Local political turmoil has resulted from tourism development	2	12	35	34	7	3.36	0.89
s. I feel I can access the decision-making process to influence tourism development in the region	8	41	27	12	2	2.54	0.91
t. Developing tourism will provide more jobs in the region	25	53	11	2	1	1.92	0.76
u. Tourists interfere with residents' enjoyment of the region	4	10	17	50	11	3.59	0.99
v. Local authorities are right in promoting tourism in the region	20	51	12	7	1	2.10	0.87
w. Long-term planning by regional authorities can control negative impacts of tourism on the environment	23	47	8	9	3	2.13	1.02
x. I have more money to spend as a result of tourism	4	14	31	31	12	3.36	1.03
y. Tourism will play a major economic role in the region	18	47	15	10	2	2.25	0.97
z. I would like to see tourism become the main industry in the region	9	19	28	19	13	3.09	1.20
aa. Shopping opportunities are better in my community due to tourism	5	23	36	20	7	3.01	1.01
bb. We should not try to attract more visitors to the region	4	8	13	35	34	3.90	1.11

Table 5.4. Underlying attitudinal dimensions.

Statement	Factor 1 (E-values)	Factor 2 (E-values)	Factor 3 (E-values)	Factor 4 (E-values)	Factor 5 (E-values)	Factor 6 (E-values)	Factor 7 (E-values)
a. Tourism provides desirable jobs	0.07842	0.81528	0.09339	-0.09951	0.02081	-0.01904	0.07904
b. My community should become more of a tourist destination	0.33957	0.39197	-0.32327	-0.36344	0.18589	0.40817	-0.27890
c. Tourism in my region has improved my standard of living	0.64540	0.22945	-0.01875	-0.30026	0.02997	-0.08011	0.07068
d. More outdoor recreation development is not desirable	-0.16557	-0.38428	0.24038	0.71252	-0.01790	-0.00938	-0.03076
e. I am against new tourism development which will attract new tourists to this region	-0.16173	-0.26210	0.45497	0.61974	-0.04036	-0.23057	-0.07075
f. Because of tourism, I have more recreational opportunities available to me	0.60755	0.15293	-0.18096	-0.34317	0.24917	0.09255	0.05130
g. It is important to provide recreation facilities for local people rather than tourists	-0.04201	-0.03467	-0.01482	0.73803	-0.21541	0.01692	-0.01260
h. Noise levels from the existing tourism facilities are not appropriate for this region	-0.06971	-0.17891	0.46047	0.20772	-0.11448	-0.52798	-0.27710
i. Tourism has negatively impacted the natural environment in the region	-0.24217	-0.13332	0.43821	0.48234	-0.13579	-0.35030	-0.22331
j. I believe tourism should be actively encouraged in the region	0.31656	0.16615	-0.30188	-0.45331	0.44215	0.38419	-0.18318
k. Tourism has a vital role in the region	0.36455	0.46958	-0.23092	-0.35796	0.33810	0.18553	-0.05873
l. The benefits of tourism outweigh any negative consequences	0.32096	0.38246	-0.22588	-0.38842	0.35286	0.06554	-0.00780
m. Tourists are valuable	0.20861	0.52608	-0.47200	-0.20981	-0.03776	0.33829	0.04327
n. The quality of public services has improved due to increased tourism in the region	0.63546	0.27367	-0.04815	0.18155	0.21258	-0.13505	0.40965
o. The region has better roads due to tourism	0.39264	0.04823	0.00569	-0.00444	-0.13592	-0.71955	0.01157
p. Tourism has increased crime in the region	-0.10697	-0.09716	0.75108	0.01749	0.02618	-0.15725	-0.02811
q. There is more litter in the region due to tourism	-0.10304	0.10867	0.81716	0.11854	-0.11611	0.12001	-0.05647

Continued

Table 5.4. Continued.

Statement	Factor 1 (E-values)	Factor 2 (E-values)	Factor 3 (E-values)	Factor 4 (E-values)	Factor 5 (E-values)	Factor 6 (E-values)	Factor 7 (E-values)
r. Local political turmoil has resulted from tourism development	0.19808	-0.02990	0.48916	0.17954	-0.52620	0.41393	0.08255
s. I feel I can access the decision-making process to influence tourism development in the region	0.12037	0.10226	-0.12446	-0.08631	0.06065	0.07545	0.85292
t. Developing tourism will provide more jobs in the region	0.24831	0.62209	-0.10617	-0.24644	0.40942	0.03037	0.23589
u. Tourists interfere with residents' enjoyment of the region	-0.16996	-0.19937	0.46169	0.30347	-0.47721	-0.19284	-0.01830
v. Local authorities are right in promoting tourism in the region	0.35235	0.34018	0.25530	-0.20097	0.46121	0.37625	0.18860
w. Long-term planning by regional authorities can control negative impacts of tourism on the environment	0.22634	0.20582	0.06552	-0.12146	0.77913	0.14773	0.10853
x. I have more money to spend as a result of tourism	0.68897	0.06302	-0.01705	-0.44518	0.09359	0.05857	0.14048
y. Tourism will play a major economic role in the region	0.36541	0.70194	-0.17851	-0.04122	0.32297	0.04532	0.22340
z. I would like to see tourism become the main industry in the region	0.34365	0.53158	-0.07133	-0.27133	0.17883	0.04326	-0.24549
aa. Shopping opportunities are better in my community due to tourism	0.73916	0.24625	-0.28709	0.12453	0.11113	0.04326	-0.08152
bb. We should not try to attract more visitors to the region	-0.11604	-0.40588	0.47967	0.35090	-0.17850	-0.18507	-0.15787

dimensions and their relative importance reveals that factor 1, the personal benefits of tourism development, contributes 38.6% of the explained variance. The second factor, tourism in the local economy, adds another 8.6%.

The remaining five factors, accounting for 22.6% of the explained variance, can be identified in the following ways:

- factor 3 – the negative effects of tourism (5.6%);
- factor 4 – the negative views of tourism (5.2%);
- factor 5 – the need for planning in tourism development (4.2%);
- factor 6 – tourism and infrastructure (4.0%); and
- factor 7 – tourism and decision making (3.6%).

These dimensions illustrate that local people are ambivalent about how tourism development might affect their lives. Although they appreciate the economic benefits, both for themselves and for the local economy, they worry about negative environmental effects. They are also concerned that tourism development may supplant their own way of life in favour of those of tourists. They suggest that sound planning, better infrastructure and assured access to decision-making processes of senior governments will ameliorate negative effects.

When these dimensions are analysed further, their relative importance is clarified. Using K-means cluster analysis and discriminant analysis, the participants were subdivided into three groups, the larger numbering 71 and the others, 11 and ten respectively (see Table 5.5). The three groups differ substantially in their attitudes towards tourism.

The largest group expresses weak and rather ambivalent support for tourism development in the region. It hovers about neutrality on all the dimensions but one: planning for tourism development. Group members express scepticism that planning will be useful.

The other two, much smaller groups express more positive views. The second feels that planning can reduce tourism's negative effects. The third, apparently composed of people given to moderate support for tourism development in the region, feels that the positives outweigh the negatives.

Three of the seven dimensions, however, are largely responsible for the formation of the three groups (Table 5.6). The dimensions, in order of their importance in differentiating the groups, are on the following page:

Table 5.5. Attitudes to tourism – relationships among the dimensions.

Dimension	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3
Factor 1: personal benefits of tourism	-0.0675	0.0337	0.4424
Factor 2: tourism in the local economy	-0.0921	0.1938	0.4408
Factor 3: tourism's negative effects	0.1029	0.5136	-10.2952
Factor 4: negative views of tourism	0.1248	-0.4806	-0.3577
Factor 5: tourism development requires planning	-0.3819	10.8387	0.6890
Factor 6: tourism and infrastructure	-0.0387	-0.5612	0.8923
Factor 7: tourism and decision making	0.1533	-0.0384	-10.0464

Table 5.6. Dimensions responsible for grouping.

Dimensions	Wilks' Lambda	Sig.
Factor 5: tourism development requires planning	0.42535	>0.001
Factor 3: tourism's negative effects	0.32966	>0.001
Factor 7: tourism and decision making	0.25872	>0.001
Factor 6: tourism and infrastructure	0.21062	>0.001
Factor 4: negative views of tourism	0.18044	>0.001
Factor 2: tourism in the local economy	0.16372	>0.001
Factor 1: personal benefits of tourism	0.15265	>0.001

- factor 5: tourism development requires planning;
- factor 3: tourism's negative effects; and
- factor 7: tourism and decision making.

These dimensions address the issues of tourism's effects and of how to control the effects, rather than whether tourism is economically beneficial in the region. Clearly, there is concern among the participants about how well local people will be able to control tourism development. This concern is at the heart of social sustainability.

The commonalities and differences identified in this discussion of the quantitative results set the stage for a more detailed exploration using qualitative data.

Themes concerning tourism among the participants

People's discussions concerning the role of tourism in the shore zone and islands of the north shore of Lake Superior revealed a number of major themes, three of which are discussed below:

- host–tourist interactions;
- tourism's environmental impacts; and
- tourism management issues.

The themes are composed of dimensions which reveal the residents' far-ranging knowledge about the north shore and the islands as well as their uncertainties about the future role of tourism in their lives and in the region. Their uncertainties are reflected in the often contradictory sub-themes, especially under the main themes of host–tourist interactions and (tourism) management issues. Residents recognize that while increased tourism may bring themselves or their community benefits, there may also be costs, in terms of environmental degradation, changes in lifestyles and loss of local control.

Host–tourist interactions

This theme addresses a common issue in areas where tourism plays a major role in local ways of life – the interactions between local people (the hosts)

and tourists. Where tourists are seen by local people to be very different from themselves (i.e. in activity preference, in income or in attitudes towards nature) or to benefit from opportunities or rights unavailable to them, distrust and even animosity may develop towards tourists. People on the north shore recognized that it might be a considerable challenge to balance the demands of the tourism industry with their existing (local) lifestyles. More specifically, residents expressed concern that where facilities were developed in existing lakeshore communities, those facilities should be available to both tourists and local people alike. They also hoped that local people would garner the largest portion of economic benefits from tourism, expressing opposition to large-scale, transnational commercial tourism enterprises which would drain those benefits out of the region.

A significant component in this theme concerns the potential for conflict. While local people value hunting, fishing and camping, there is some recognition that tourists may prefer other, less consumptive forms of activity. Several people pointed to the potential for conflict between, for example, kayakers and power boaters. When one set of activities is identified with tourists and another different set with local people, the result may be negative host–tourist interactions.

Another dimension of this theme comprises the feeling among local people that tourists cause environmental degradation. Garbage and human waste near known campsites were attributed to existing tourists who possess neither the knowledge nor the sensitivity to act more appropriately.

A final element under this theme expresses a fear among local people that the Lake Superior shoreline and/or the islands will be rendered inaccessible to them because of private, tourist-orientated development. Local people feel strongly that they do not want to become second-class citizens in their own region and province.

Tourism's environmental impacts

A second major issue reflects the belief held by residents that increased tourism, of any sort, will cause unwanted environmental degradation. Local people have little doubt that large-scale tourism developments are sure to be accompanied by negative environmental effects. However, they recognize that even their preferred smaller-scale versions of tourism development could cause some environmental degradation. As examples, people in the forums pointed out the following environmental effects:

- conspicuous human waste associated with relatively low-impact camping on several of the islands;
- accumulations of garbage at similar sites;
- fouling of (drinking) water in-take areas with effluent from boats; and
- loss of fish habitat when tourism facilities are constructed in the shore zone.

Local people were adamant that tourism developments ought not to despoil the natural beauty and integrity of the region. Some felt that any tourism development ought to be required to undergo an environmental impact assessment;

others felt that tourism operators, especially those conducting business on the islands, ought to be environmentally sensitive and responsible.

Although the concern for environmental degradation was general across the region, a dimension can be identified in which some local people caution that concerns about environmental quality cannot stand in the way of all (tourism) development. These people argue that it will be necessary to find a workable balance between protection and development.

Tourism management issues

A third major issue is a large one, with several significant dimensions. People throughout the north shore stated that tourism must be managed in order to protect the natural environment, to maintain high standards in facilities and operations, to provide tourism benefits for the region, to discourage inappropriate activities and facilities and to achieve coordination of tourism development. Furthermore, they stated emphatically that local involvement in decision making was imperative and that local control was highly desirable.

Local people outlined a variety of mechanisms through which such involvement and, perhaps, control could be effected. Among them were:

- the status quo;
- the private sector;
- user-pay groups (such as snowmobile clubs);
- an existing marina marketing association;
- a regional tourism authority;
- a proposed National Marine Conservation Area; and
- a north shore regional government.

Residents declared that they expected senior governments (provincial and federal) to support their decisions concerning tourism development on the north shore and in the islands. They added that such support would be an improvement over the normal responses from senior governments: either ignoring them altogether when making decisions or confusing them with contradictory policies and actions.

The discussions in the region about tourism management incorporate a significant contradiction: regulation implies government; governments, especially senior levels of government in Toronto or Ottawa, cannot be trusted. Time and time again in discussions, people would argue for the regulation of tourism, only to realize with dismay that they were invoking government action and the accompanying bureaucracy. Many felt that entrepreneurs in the tourism business should be capable of regulating themselves. However, even these people seemed to doubt that tourism entrepreneurs, if left to themselves, would self-regulate in acceptable ways.

No issue better illustrated the uneasiness among local people with respect to managing tourism than the National Marine Conservation Area (NMCA) then being proposed for the region by Parks Canada, the federal agency in charge of protecting representative examples of Canada's terrestrial and marine heritage. As a federal government agency headquartered in

Ottawa, Parks Canada was seen to be far removed from the day-to-day concerns of life on the north shore of Lake Superior. Furthermore, the fact that national parks administered by Parks Canada were not available for the hunting or snowmobiling activities important to some of the residents suggested that a NMCA would institute the same set of regulations, barring them from using an area they traditionally used. Another group of local people saw in the proposed NMCA an ideal management structure which would ensure that tourism development would be regulated and managed, that environmental quality would be maintained and that local involvement in decision making would be assured.

Residents pointed out that, if senior governments were to be involved at all in managing tourism in the region, then those governments would have to be accountable for their promises and actions. Far too often in the past, local people claimed, governments promised jobs and other benefits that never materialized from various forms of development.

Local people showed themselves to be very knowledgeable about the north shore and islands of Lake Superior during the discussions. Their knowledge covered such matters as safe anchorages, sites of natural beauty, land ownership and wildlife. Many indicated that they had visited a large number of the islands during the previous 20–30 years. Such knowledge substantiates their wishes to remain involved, at the least, in decision making along the north shore and in the islands. Moreover, it adds credibility to their desire to establish local control over tourism development in the region.

These findings illustrate several common issues confronting sustainable tourism. Local people exhibit a high degree of customary knowledge about the shore zone and islands. Perhaps most important, however, is the adamant belief among local people that they should have a voice in whatever tourism development takes place on the north shore of Lake Superior. Moreover, if they could find a suitable management structure, they would strongly favour not only a voice but also control over such development. Local people also feel strongly that any future tourism development must be appropriate, in their terms; by this, they mean that tourism development ought to be small in scale, sensitive in its environmental effects and considerate of their established way of life.

Prospects for Sustainable Tourism in the Region

What then might we say about the prospects for sustainable tourism on Lake Superior's north shore and islands? There seems little doubt that, despite some disagreements over the role of tourism in the regional economy or the relative importance of consumptive versus non-consumptive forms of tourism, forum participants favoured the expansion of tourism. However, they took care to qualify their response by emphasizing that any new tourism development should be small in scale and should not occur on the islands. Furthermore, they maintained that a measure of local control

and management of tourism was a requirement of their support for any expansion. Although they were not able to agree on the appropriate means to effect management, they did prefer local forms over corporate and (senior) government varieties. When one compares their ideas and concerns with our adopted view of sustainability, local people in the region seem to be addressing tourism from a sustainable point of view. Their concerns centre on ecological, social and even economic dimensions of sustainability. Left to themselves, local people may well be able to implement a sustainable form of tourism in the region.

Neither the local people nor the region will be left to themselves, nor should they be. Recall that the Charter on Sustainable Tourism emphasized that not only local people, but also governments should cooperate to achieve sustainability. In Ontario at present, there are indications that the provincial government does not take sustainability seriously as a public policy goal. Consider the evidence:

- The Ministry of Natural Resources was taken to court by a coalition of environmental groups over its sustainable forestry plans for the Temagami region of north-eastern Ontario and was judged to be at fault because it had not included, as required, measurable indicators of sustainability (Algonquin Wildlands League *et al.*, 1996).
- The Ontario government, as part of its campaign to reduce red tape and to open Ontario to business development, has weakened or eliminated environmental laws and regulations since 1995 (Canadian Environmental Law Association, 1998a).
- The Ontario government has pared government employment drastically since 1995, including a reduction of 2500 jobs in the Ministry of Natural Resources (Canadian Environmental Law Association, 1998b).

Elsewhere, Payne *et al.*, (1999), argued that these policy directions will defeat sustainability even though the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources (OMNR) has recently undertaken a large-scale land-use planning exercise which aims to reconcile conflicting land uses such as forestry, mining (remote) tourism and protected areas in northern Ontario within a sustainability framework (Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources, 1997; National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, 2007). While the land-use planning exercise was completed (in 1999), the government's actions to weaken the regulatory regime and to reduce government employment have emasculated the OMNR's capability to implement such wide-ranging land-use plans. What is more, the conclusion of the Lands for Life process saw the Ontario government sit down with both the forest industry and environmentalists to hammer out a deal for allocating forest resources and new parks and conservation reserves. Local communities, both native and non-native, were cut out of these discussions. Without the provincial government's active and effective participation as an 'honest broker', achieving sustainability in any sector (e.g. forestry, tourism) or in any region in northern Ontario will continue to be extremely difficult.

Despite this pessimistic picture, recent developments in the region show that environmental protection efforts, at least, are moving forward. The

Western Lake Superior National Marine Conservation Area was established in the region in October, 2007, after extensive consultation with local communities, First Nations and treaty organizations. About 27% of the adjacent shoreline within the NMCA is privately owned (Parks Canada, 2006); one 25-ha (~0.24 km²) island was purchased in January by the Thunder Bay Field Naturalists. Paradise Island, recognized as an area of natural and scientific interest by the Ministry of Natural Resources, was purchased by the association to protect it from cottage development (Brown, 2008).

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6

Development and Evaluation of Sustainable Tourism Principles: the WWF Arctic Tourism Guidelines Initiative

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Introduction: Principles, Guidelines and Codes of Conduct in Sustainable Tourism

The last 20 years have seen tremendous efforts by individuals, organizations and governments to implement sustainable tourism ideals and some attempts to evaluate them in practice. Payne *et al.* (1999) identify three approaches to these attempts to define, implement and monitor sustainability in tourism. These are categorized as principle-based, managerial and scientific. The latter category involves developing indicators based on scientific understanding of ecosystems and responses to stress, assessing baseline conditions and monitoring impacts. This approach, state Payne *et al.* (1999), is strengthened when it includes customary or traditional knowledge of local people. Managerial approaches are those in which the individual organization manages its environmental impacts throughout its entire operations. These efforts include 'greening' of companies, best practices, standards and environmental management systems. The third type, the principle-based approach, is the one represented by the case study in this chapter.

The principle-based approach tackles the need for improved environmental and social outcomes of tourism by setting up a framework believed to be appropriate to those concerns and then developing various means for participants to follow its precepts. Principles, guidelines or ethics are often linked with specific codes of conduct. These codes provide a mechanism for the principles to be implemented by indicating expected behaviour in particular situations. Principles and ethics are based on the philosophy and values of an organization, while codes of conduct are their technical and specific

expressions (Fennell and Malloy, 2007). Codes exist at a variety of levels, commonly the level of the individual tourist, the operator and the destination community or region (United Nations Environmental Program, 1995; Mason and Mowforth, 1996). Although identified as distinct, the scientific, managerial and principle-based approaches may well overlap in application. This is likely desirable if a comprehensive approach to sustainability in tourism is pursued in any region. At the minimum, these three approaches clearly are complementary and provide among them a variety of tools and mechanism for moving towards tourism that offers the environmental and cultural advantages sought in sustainable tourism movements.

This chapter explores a principle-based project initiated to encourage a greater integration of conservation concerns in Arctic tourism. The chapter outlines the initiative through five stages of evolution: initiation, development, implementation, establishment and monitoring. It focuses upon the options in this initiative for evaluating operator achievement of the programme principles and uses a study of operator awareness and activities in Nunavut, Canada, in order to identify challenges related to monitoring sustainable tourism guidelines. The chapter outlines more recent developments in the region and then concludes by examining relevance of this case study for the wider context of sustainable tourism initiatives.

The Arctic tourism project: initiation and development

Since 1995 the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) Arctic Programme, based in Oslo, has facilitated the process of establishing appropriate guidelines and codes of conduct for Arctic tourism. These are the tools of a sustainable tourism programme through which WWF hopes to encourage responsible and sensitive tourism, an effort that is commendable and that appears to be necessary given continuing increases in Arctic tourism numbers and the potential for negative impacts (see Johnston and Viken, 1997; Viken and Jørgenson, 1998; Marquez and Eagles, 2007). The effects of increasing numbers of tourists are complicated by impacts on tourism behaviour, infrastructure and access being brought about by the very evident climate change in the Arctic (see Johnston, 2006; Dawson *et al.*, 2007), with implications for communities, tourists and conservation. This section describes the initiation and development of the WWF project and the particular approaches to sustainable tourism that it takes.

The project to develop and implement guidelines for Arctic tourism stems from a suggestion at the 1994 St Petersburg Arctic tourism conference that a mechanism for encouraging responsible tourism in the Arctic be pursued (Johnston and Mason, 1997). Discussion about the apparent effectiveness of the codes of conduct used in Antarctic tourism and the cooperation among Antarctic tour operators prompted a comparison with the situation in the Arctic, where no region-wide code of conduct or operators' association existed. The recommendation that something similar to the Antarctic be attempted in the Arctic was taken up by the WWF Arctic Programme, headed

by Dr P. Prokosch, who was in attendance at the St Petersburg meeting (Prokosch, 1998). While the focus of the project was on tourism, the goals of the WWF project clearly reflect a primary concern with enhancing support for conservation in the Arctic and with recognizing the needs and rights of local people (see Pedersen, 1998). Although not framed initially as a project in sustainable tourism, these philosophical emphases and the practical approaches used in the programme place this effort firmly within the sustainable tourism movement.

Following a networking and information-seeking stage, WWF held a conference in Longyearbyen, Norway, in January 1996 to identify ways in which guidelines for Arctic tourism could be established. Participants included tour operators, government representatives, tourism researchers, residents of Arctic communities, members of indigenous peoples' organizations and other interest groups (Johnston and Mason, 1997). At this initial meeting, participants drafted a memorandum of understanding that outlined key principles for Arctic tourism guidelines, and proposed a process for putting these into operation. This work was continued in August as a smaller group refined the principles and began developing codes of conduct. The project was described in a document entitled *Common Ground*. The document discussed the nature of conservation concerns regarding Arctic tourism, identified ten principles for environmentally and culturally appropriate tourism in the Arctic and outlined codes of conduct for operators, tourists and communities (Johnston and Mason, 1997).

The initiative to this point was focused on elaborating the principles for Arctic tourism that reflect a commitment to sustainable tourism ideals. For example, one emphasis is that tourism should recognize and respect local culture (Johnston and Mason, 1997). The codes of conduct were intended to provide rules of behaviour for operators and for tourists regarding their interaction with the environment, wildlife and the people of the Arctic. The codes identify specific actions that should or should not take place within the context of the ten principles. For example, the first principle stated that tourism and conservation should be compatible. The code of conduct for tour operators states in relation to this principle that operators should: support conservation; plan tourism activities so they do not conflict with conservation efforts; ensure that clients understand the laws and regulations as they apply to import and export products made from wildlife; develop an environmental management plan for daily operations; and, do post-trip evaluations to confirm that activities were conducted in an environmentally sound manner (WWF, 1997). The code for tourists advised that tourists should: support reputable, conservation-minded operators and suppliers; get the necessary permits before visiting protected areas; not disturb the wildlife and leave areas as they found them; follow the laws and regulations that protect wildlife; provide feedback to operators on their environmental practice; and, support and join in Arctic conservation projects and organizations (WWF, 1997). Each point in the codes of conduct is directly linked to a principle, providing a strong context and internal coherence.

Principles into practice: implementation and establishment

The implementation stage involves constructing the mechanisms and tools that will enable the sustainable tourism project to be put into operation. Establishment refers to the acceptance of the mechanisms and tools in the target user groups. This moves the effort from the concept, here identified in the principles and codes, into the realm of practice.

With a strong degree of commitment among participants to the principles and codes as developed through these consultations, WWF began to organize the implementation stage of the process. A workshop in Longyearbyen, Svalbard, in March 1997 examined questions of how best to implement the programme. Broad participation was achieved and included individuals from conservation interests, the research sector, the tourism industry, Arctic communities and governments. These participants came from Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Russia, Sweden, the UK, and the USA.

Implementation was to include a series of pilot projects to evaluate components of the project and an interim steering committee to oversee the development of the programme over a 12-month period. This committee, reflecting the constituents of the Arctic, comprised representatives of indigenous and other Arctic people; local tourism NGOs; destination tour operators; international operators; conservation NGOs; and, the research community.

A variety of tasks were identified for the interim committee to undertake in the next 12 months. The committee was to:

- support responsible tourism and promote the goals of the initiative;
- develop a consultation process for the involvement of communities and local people in the project;
- establish a membership organization with several categories of membership;
- establish criteria for membership in the organization;
- promote wide dissemination of the guidelines;
- maintain a web site/home page on the World Wide Web;
- coordinate the translation of the guidelines into appropriate languages;
- develop a name for the programme, a logo and a labelling system;
- promote communication among all parties concerned;
- provide information to communities, tour operators and tourists regarding the Arctic tourism guidelines;
- address and organize monitoring of the programme;
- establish an Arctic tourism database;
- promote national initiatives to implement the programme;
- undertake fund-raising on behalf of the organization (authors' notes).

In order to assist the interim committee achieve its objectives, staff resources were provided by the WWF Arctic Programme for an interim secretariat. It was intended that the permanent office of the secretariat would be located in the Arctic, but initially this function was housed in the Oslo office. These steps can be seen as an attempt by WWF to distance itself from the organizing function of the Arctic tourism project. An interim steering committee and

eventually an ongoing, self-perpetuating committee heading a membership organization would be able to undertake the role of facilitating the programme. The reason for WWF involvement in the project was to initiate a sustainable tourism commitment among tour operators and in communities; once the principles had been set and a plan for implementation developed, the need for WWF involvement was diminished. It was clear that WWF had never intended to be the sole implementing body.

These tasks were quite ambitious for a diverse committee; it was most successful in disseminating the principles and codes. Five thousand copies of the principles and codes were published by WWF in December 1997, making them widely available to communities, tourists, tour operators and the general public (Pedersen, 1998). The original document, titled *Linking Tourism and Conservation in the Arctic*, was published in English and later translated into German, Norwegian, Inuktitut and other languages used by residents and visitors of the Arctic (Mason *et al.*, 2000).

Pilot project development was examined again at a February 1998 meeting in Iceland which brought together the interim steering committee and other interested parties. Objectives of the meeting included developing ways of evaluating the implementation of the codes, examining potential funding sources and identifying pilot projects that would evaluate the implementation and usefulness of the principles and codes. The primary purpose of the pilot projects was to measure the relevance and applicability of the principles and codes. In addition, the projects would provide an opportunity to present the principles and codes to a broader audience of tourists, operators and communities. The principles and codes and their form of presentation were seen by WWF as subject to revision at this stage, with the expectation that ongoing consultation and recommendations from pilot projects would lead to improvements. Over the following months operators and researchers began to conduct pilot projects using a framework provided by the secretariat.

In March 1999, another meeting was convened, this one in Husum, Germany. The meeting was intended to provide an opportunity for participants to discuss the lessons learnt from pilot projects, to enable participants to learn about issues such as certification and sustainable tourism and to bring together interested parties in order to move the programme forward. Written reports for some pilot projects were prepared in advance, and oral reports occurred at the workshop. The presentations, for the most part, provided a more detailed explanation of the pilot projects and outlined further contextual information that had a bearing on the success and the findings of the projects. Most presentations gave details of the participants' ideas about the challenges and barriers in implementing the pilot projects; these presentations were helpful in determining how the overall programme might best be implemented in various circumstances and places.

Pilot projects varied widely in scope, method and results. The experiences of those who participated in Arctic tourism pilot projects raise points and themes that may well be common in other sustainable tourism initiatives. It was apparent at the Husum meeting that a major benefit of the projects was that companies reflected on their activities, assessed them and made changes. Related to this are the efforts the operators took to draw

others into the programme. This is likely to continue to be of importance in generating wide operator acceptance for any sustainable tourism effort in the Arctic. For any initiative to be successful in a diverse region, it is necessary to expand beyond the group of operators who already know about the programme and who are already committed to the principles.

Community interest and involvement were contentious in some projects and in others were the key to their success. Implementing bodies must continue to focus on making this relationship work, perhaps by emphasizing the great potential that exists with strong interaction of operators and particular communities. Points raised in an unpublished evaluation document (Johnston and Twynam, 1999) presented to WWF after the Husum meeting included the following, again which may have broader relevance:

- Tourist surveys (in pilot projects) show a high level of interest in conservation-oriented activities. This might reflect the particular nature of this segment of tourists, rather than being representative of all Arctic tourists. It cannot be assumed that since these tourists were supportive (of the initiative) that all tourists across the Arctic and in all activities will likewise be supportive. Decisions cannot be made on the results of these pilot projects alone. We need to know more about tourists and determine how they fit into the programme in order to establish what should happen with tourist codes.
- When asked, tourists provided recommendations for improvements to operations within the context of the codes. Clients are an important source of practical advice for operators and could act as an excellent evaluation source if needed by an implementing body.
- Some operators identified difficulties in developing a framework for actions and evaluating operational changes. It is likely that many of the small operators will require guidance and support in key areas in order to integrate the programme into their operations.

Johnston and Twynam (1999) also made specific recommendations about the principles and codes of conduct. They recommended that the implementing bodies:

- change the order of the principles and code items so that conservation issues and requests for money do not come first;
- prepare national codes that incorporate specific legislation and regulations to accompany the Arctic-wide code;
- prepare a sub-Arctic code that reflects differences in the scale of tourism, activities and the environmental and cultural situations in the sub-Arctic;
- prepare material which reflects and incorporates the views and needs of local and indigenous peoples;
- reduce the content of the tourist code so that it can be read and absorbed more easily by visitors.

Johnston and Twynam (1999) provided some general recommendations for WWF and other implementing bodies. They recommended that such bodies:

- support the development of planning, evaluation and monitoring protocols for use by operators in the programme, including operator self-assessment and client assessment;
- evaluate and disseminate information about new technologies and management systems applicable to Arctic tourism and identify those which reduce impacts;
- provide information to assist operators in identifying conservation and protection issues in their areas of operation;
- provide information to assist operators in identifying education and training needs of local populations;
- assist operators in the development of Arctic interpretation programmes, printed material and internationally recognized signage to support the programme;
- support the organization of conferences and seminars for member operators.

Although it is impossible to say how well established the programme is today, it is clear that the process used by WWF to develop and implement this sustainable tourism initiative was successful in introducing operators and other interested parties to the project. Each meeting, including a regional one in Arkhangelsk, Russia, and one in Juneau, Alaska, in 2001 brought new individuals, many of whom attempted to incorporate the principles and codes into their operations. Broad establishment of the programme will reflect operator, community and tourist acceptance of the principles and codes and the degree of this acceptance should be measured across the various parts of the Arctic.

Monitoring: evaluation of effectiveness

At this point participants in the project have not been successful in developing a membership organization which would be responsible for the programme. In part, this reflects a lack of agreement on what such a body should do, particularly in terms of evaluating operator achievement of the principles and codes of conduct. Should this be an accreditation body? Should this be a marketing body? Should the organization focus on providing information? The other component of implementation and establishment that remains unresolved is that of the evaluation process. One initiative – an annual award for operators – exists. The brochure for this award states: ‘The Arctic Award for Linking Tourism and Conservation has been established to reward best practices in Arctic tourism by highlighting those operations with an outstanding commitment to linking tourism with conservation of the Arctic environment’ (WWF, 1999). WWF continued to administer the award and it was given to the following companies: 2006, Adventure Canada; 2005, Ocean Sounds; 2004, Bathurst Road and Port Committee; 2002, Svalbard Villmarkssenter; 2001, Alaska Wildland Adventures; 2000, Lappland Safari; 1999, Arctic Treks. The award was suspended in 2007.

Other possible evaluation options for operator involvement discussed at various points included operator self-assessment, client assessment and a panel review (see Johnston and Twynam, 1998). For a variety of reasons, external evaluation of compliance with codes should accompany self-assessment (Enzenbacher, 1998; Mason and Mowforth, 1996). Drawing on research on the compliance of Antarctic tour operators with visitor guidelines, Enzenbacher (1998) recommends the creation of a new monitoring body for this initiative that would evaluate operator behaviour, coordinate the collection of data and provide information and advice. Operators would be able to become members of this organization, though it would monitor all operators in the Arctic. Enzenbacher (1998) recommends a number of specific mechanisms in this system including a voluntary reporting form, ship-borne observers for cruise tourism and public recognition or other rewards for good practice. Johnston and Twynam (1998) recommend a variety of complementary approaches to assessment, including operator checklists, site visits, client surveys and the use of community or broad-level indicators. They recommend awards be used to recognize good practice and implementation of the programme.

The proposal by Johnston and Twynam identifies the ten principles and subcategories as key expectations about the attributes of sustainable Arctic tourism operations, stating that these can be considered the indicators of achievement. These indicators can be measured on the basis of required actions. A discussion of the use of managerial indicators for planning and managing sustainable tourism is available in a report by Consulting and Audit Canada (1995), titled: *What Tourism Managers Need To Know: A Practical Guide to the Development and Use of Indicators of Sustainable Tourism*. The Johnston and Twynam (1998) proposal is directed at operational indicators, i.e. those attributes of the experience that can be controlled individually by operators. These indicators can be evaluated using specific measures outlined as actions to be taken during tourism operations or as components of an operator's environmental plan.

The form that monitoring will take in this initiative remains unclear. A comprehensive system that encourages operator participation is vital, as is one that is flexible and allows for the tremendous variety and distinction within the Arctic region and the Arctic tourism industry. The following section examines some of the issues related to implementing this sustainable tourism initiative, including introducing operators to the programme, establishing baseline information about operators and developing appropriate questionnaires.

Nunavut Case Study: an Attempt To Gather Baseline Data

As sustainable tourism principles become more refined and more widely practised in various parts of the world, assessment of their use in different settings is vital. Evaluating the principles and practice is important in two ways: first, such evaluation can provide baseline behaviour data in advance of the implementation of a principle-based programme; and second, it can indicate the effectiveness of the programme after implementation. The pur-

pose of the Nunavut study was to gather baseline data prior to the intended introduction of the Arctic tourism principles and to determine whether the principles would have any resonance in this part of the Arctic.

In order to assess the need for the initiative and its potential effectiveness, it is necessary to understand current behaviour, awareness and motivation of operators who not only enable tourism, but also provide the opportunities and situations for tourist behaviour with its resulting impacts. This study examined tourism operators' awareness, views and behaviour related to the principles of sustainable tourism outlined in the WWF (1997) 'Linking Tourism and Conservation in the Arctic' initiative. In conjunction with Nunavut Tourism, a survey was administered in 1998 to tour operators in the eastern Canadian Arctic. The principles were adapted for the survey in order to gather operator opinions on their present use of the ideals, an important indicator of current practice and also an indicator of potential level of interest in the initiative. The survey was translated into Inuktitut for the non-English speakers. Potential respondents were identified using Nunavut Tourism operator lists: this resulted in 53 operators being contacted and included only those who had telephone or fax numbers. Fifty-two telephone interviews were conducted as one operator chose not to participate in the survey. The survey asked the operator to identify the category that the business fell into, number of years in the business and number of clients in the previous year. These questions were used to provide detail on the scale and nature of the business. The main focus of the questions was on the behaviour of the operators specifically related to the ten principles for Arctic tourism (WWF, 1997).

Operators were first asked whether they had ever heard of responsible tourism. Twenty-nine of the 52 operators had heard of responsible tourism. The number of years in operation ranged from 8 months to 38 years with an average of 11.7 years in business. The number of clients in the previous year ranged from 0 to 800 with a mean per year of 113 clients. Nunavut operators provided their clients with a variety and combination of tourism activities such as: hunting (19%), fishing (32%), adventure activities (79%), nature viewing (79%) and cultural appreciation (56%).

Operators' opinions of their present application of the principles are identified in Table 6.1. Of the 52 operators contacted, 50% knew of local and regional conservation plans. A majority of operators (77%) promote nature conservation through client education (73%) and 31% provide financial support for nature conservation. Operators said that they use resources in a sustainable way (96%) by not disturbing wildlife (83%), using existing trails and campsites (64%) and taking care in fragile areas (56%). All of the operators contacted stated that they follow local laws. Ninety per cent of operators contacted pay attention to Inuit rights by informing and coordinating with the local communities their activities with clients. Many (48%) coordinate these activities with local individuals.

Most (96%) minimize the consumption of fossil fuels, and minimize waste and pollution by limiting garbage (85%), cleaning up polluted areas (81%) and using recyclable products (62%). Client education assists operators in the protection of historic, cultural and scientific sites. The majority of operators (92%) felt that their operations provide benefits to the local communities

Table 6.1. Nunavut survey results.

Principle	Frequency	Percentage
1. Do you know of any local and regional conservation plans?	26	50
<i>Do you use these plans in your operation?</i>	18	34.6
2. Operation promotes nature conservation	40	76.9
<i>Financial support</i>	16	30.8
<i>Client education</i>	38	73.1
<i>Writing letters to government</i>	10	19.2
3. Does your operation use resources in a sustainable way?	50	96.2
<i>Follow hunting and fishing rules</i>	21	40.4
<i>Avoid disturbing wildlife</i>	43	82.7
<i>Use existing trails and campsites</i>	33	63.5
<i>Take care in fragile areas</i>	29	55.8
4a. Does your operation follow local laws?	52	100
4b. Does your operation pay attention to Inuit rights?	47	90.4
<i>Coordinate with community</i>	39	75
<i>Coordinate with individuals</i>	25	48.1
5. Does your operation minimize the consumption of fossil fuels, and minimize waste and pollution?	50	96.2
<i>Use recyclable products</i>	32	61.5
<i>Transportation</i>	28	53.8
<i>Accommodation</i>	10	19.2
<i>Limiting garbage</i>	44	84.6
<i>Clean-up of polluted areas</i>	42	80.8
6. Does your operation protect historic and cultural sites?	48	92.3
<i>Client education</i>	42	80.8
<i>Being careful at scientific sites</i>	38	73.1
7. Does your operation provide benefits to the local community?	50	96.2
<i>Employment</i>	39	75
<i>Business partnerships</i>	14	26.9
<i>Buying local supplies</i>	40	76.9
<i>Supporting local business</i>	32	61.5
8. Has your operation trained staff to follow local environmental, cultural, social and legal rules?	40	76.9
9. Does your operation give clients information about how to behave properly in Nunavut?	44	84.6
<i>The environment</i>	33	63.5
<i>The people</i>	22	42.3
<i>How to behave</i>	44	84.6
<i>How to respect local customs</i>	20	38.5
When do you provide this info to your clients?		
<i>First contact with clients</i>	9	17.3
<i>Information package</i>	25	48.1
<i>When they arrive</i>	25	48.1
<i>During the trip when needed</i>	14	26.9
10. Does your operation follow safety rules for the Arctic environment?	47	90.4

by hiring local guides, purchasing supplies locally and supporting local businesses. In addition, most operators (77%) train staff to follow local environmental, cultural, social and legal rules. Eighty-five per cent of the operators provide their clients with information on how to behave in Nunavut and the majority (90%) follow safety rules for the Arctic environment.

The findings of the telephone survey demonstrate a general understanding of, and commitment to, the kinds of ideals that are outlined in *Linking Tourism and Conservation in the Arctic*, though it is important to note that some questions are sensitive and so responses might reflect optimal behaviour rather than actual behaviour. It is helpful in such situations to have recourse to exploring specific actions that have been undertaken, in effect moving from the principle, with which all might agree and want to achieve, to the specific behaviour that is represented in the code of conduct. The degree of operator acceptance of the general principles and specific activities in Nunavut suggests that this international initiative may be well received and ultimately effective in providing Arctic tourism operators with a template to sustain their operations within this challenging environment.

In the future, with local and regional implementation, and the establishment of the programme as a vital component in sustainable tourism in the Arctic, a system of evaluation will be required to monitor not only effectiveness of, and compliance with, the principles, but also emerging needs in the industry and new issues that arise. This system should measure the level of implementation and identify the particular initiatives taken in response to participation in the programme. Also important is the inclusion of a mechanism to provide feedback to operators in order to help them improve practice and to recognize achievement. Experiences with the pilot projects across the Arctic suggest that operators are in need of support as they attempt to promote sustainable ideals and improve their operations; how well this need is met by the Arctic tourism programme will be a key in its success.

Related Developments

In 1999 at the Northern Business Conference held in Rovaniemi, WWF's initiative 'Linking Tourism and Conservation in the Arctic' was presented, clearly connecting with the conference theme: Sustainable Tourism Development in the North – Exploiting the Potential of the Information Society. This mix resulted in an international workshop of Arctic tourism stakeholders held in Finland in 2002, leading to another initiative called 'Sustainable Model for Arctic Region Tourism' (SMART, 2006). SMART was developed by the Sustainable Development Working Group of Arctic Council, and the Northern Forum General Assembly. Finland, Sweden and Canada were the initial participant countries for this 3-year project. Supporting partners of the programme include Alaska, Scotland, Faroe Islands and the Arkhangelsk Region of Russia.

The vision of SMART is 'to empower the tourism sector in the Arctic to continually innovate more sustainable practices' (SMART, 2006, 10). The first of five objectives of SMART was to define a set of common principles, seen

as goals, which could be supported by best practice. An examination of existing nature-based principles, best business practice, interviews of tourism experts and operators resulted in the development of six principles of sustainable tourism. These principles were agreed to by the project partners. The six principles of sustainable Arctic tourism are that it: (i) supports the local economy; (ii) operates in an environmentally friendly manner; (iii) supports the conservation of local nature; (iv) respects and involves the local community; (v) ensures quality and safety in all business operations and (vi) educates visitors about local nature and culture (SMART, 2006). Guidelines were then created based on the six principles to act as a framework for sustainable Arctic tourism.

The remaining outcomes of the SMART initiative were to raise awareness of sustainable Arctic tourism, to develop training modules for operators based on the six principles for sustainable Arctic tourism, to highlight 'good practice' in the SMART workshops, the development or adoption of a sustainable Arctic tourism label and the founding of the Sustainable Arctic Tourism Association in October 2005 (SATA). Training modules are available to interested operators at a web site (SMART, n.d). It is not clear how wide the adoption of the SMART programme is, though clearly it represents a comprehensive approach to helping operators understand and move towards more sustainable tourism through its programmes.

Another recent initiative involves the creation of guidelines for members of the Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Ship Operators, a European-based member organization. Given the level of interest in an Arctic-wide association similar to the International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators, it has been suggested that this organization has much to offer other parts of the Arctic, particularly the Canadian Arctic if existing government regulations were included in guidelines (Marquez and Eagles, 2007).

Conclusions

Sustainable tourism initiatives have taken a variety of forms in numerous settings. This chapter has focused primarily on a project to develop and implement tourism guidelines and codes for the Arctic region. While the details of the codes and of the implementation reflect very clearly the particular requirements of the Arctic, the general themes and issues point to the connections between this project and other sustainable tourism efforts.

This project provides a good example of the challenges involved in attempting to implement a comprehensive principle-based programme. Several key points can be identified through this review of the initiation, development, implementation, establishment and monitoring. One is that initiation and development of principles and codes must take place within a wide community of interested parties. Input from communities, operators, researchers and others is needed to ensure not only that the sustainable tourism initiative makes sense for the intended region of use, but also that there is real ownership from these groups in the final product. The success of implementation may well depend on a high level of ownership.

In addition to ensuring involvement of all appropriate parties, initiators of such projects must be prepared to address issues related to implementation at the time of principle and code development. The best-outlined and most well-intentioned codes will not succeed if operators, tourists and communities are unable to implement them or have no interest in implementing them. The need for support in implementation was raised throughout this project and was particularly evident in the pilot projects. Operators, especially the small businesses, require assistance to be able to put the principles into practice.

It is also advisable that methods of evaluation are considered early on in the process. This would provide some structure for the users which may assist in implementation, and it also gives direction for monitoring. Without adequate and appropriate monitoring mechanisms, it will not be clear how effective the WWF initiative has been. The case study provides a simple method of obtaining baseline data that will aid in assessing the effectiveness of the guidelines for Arctic tourism programme.

Given the development of other more recent initiatives, it would be helpful to see an exploration and, perhaps, evaluation of sustainable tourism in the Arctic generally. It remains unclear how healthy the WWF initiative remains and whether there is broad uptake of its approach and/or the SMART programmes. How operators, marketing associations, communities and visitors respond to, and use, these particular initiatives is an important component of the expression of sustainable tourism. Further, there have been numerous calls in meetings and in tourism settings for a broad member organization like IAATO; an understanding of the level of interest in, and the pursuit of, information about sustainable tourism might renew the impetus for its development, perhaps through an extension of the existing Association of Arctic Expedition Cruise Ship Operators.

It seems likely that the principle-based approach to sustainable tourism will continue to be popular in many parts of the world. This chapter has outlined the evolution of the WWF initiative and demonstrated some of the experiences and concerns in the process that may have relevance for other sustainable tourism efforts. It has noted two other developments and suggested that it is time for an evaluation of sustainable tourism in the Arctic. The issues raised here about development and evaluation of sustainability efforts extend beyond tourism into the wider context of sustainable development generally.

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II Tourism, Place and Community

R. NEIL MOISEY AND STEPHEN F. MCCOOL

This part builds upon the frameworks introduced in the previous part and provides the reader with a variety of situations in which tourism development is related to understanding the process of integrating sustainability into local tourism planning and marketing. In this part, public participation, in both tourism planning and marketing, and incorporation of sense of place are presented in terms of building more sustainable tourism systems. Tourism development holds many consequences for how residents and tourists assign and derive meanings from specific communities and tourism destinations. The call for wider public participation in tourism planning has many subscribers; such calls are based on a possible restructuring of political power to achieve more sustainable objectives.

To this end, Gill and Williams illustrate the important role that sustainability plays in initiating discussion around difficult resource issues relevant to tourism development in planning a large-scale alpine skiing destination area. Their chapter illustrates that while the goals of sustainability can be nothing more than a 'guiding fiction' that initiates stakeholder dialogue, it rapidly loses its relevance as each develops differing definitions of sustainability in reference to their particular perspective or stakeholder group. In the mountain resort community of Whistler, the adoption of a planning process based on the definition of sustainability defined by the organization, The Natural Step, provided a shared mental model, a common language and an understanding of sustainability that facilitated cooperation across stakeholder groups. Their chapter illustrates the resort's approach to planning that transcended the role of sustainability from a 'guiding fiction' to the development of a concrete action plan that was widely embraced by the community.

Up until this point, the discussion has focused more on achieving sustainability through the inclusion of community in the planning process. Once completed and plans implemented, the role of public participation to ensure

sustainability must continue. To ensure social equity, stakeholder involvement throughout the development needs to be incorporated in the tourism product, market identification and in destination promotion. Jamrozy and Walsh review the progress made towards more sustainable ways of marketing destinations. They argue that adopting a societal marketing approach that shifts from a consumer focus to one more in line with the sustainability concerns of the local residents would focus on understanding, protecting and marketing residents' 'sense of place'. Jamrozy and Walsh suggest a broader 'bioregional' perspective on place marketing that places a community into a globalized world without losing its identity, and therefore would develop more sustainable grounded bioregional brands. Communities identify a bioregional core identity, develop place-branding strategies that build upon the unique characteristics of the local culture, and ultimately strengthen local quality of life.

They note that the inclusion of sense of place in a societal marketing approach may lead to more authentic tourism experiences for tourists and the host community, and ultimately a more sustainable form of tourism development. Indeed, for many communities, it is their shared and individual 'sense of place' that defines residents' attachment to the community and the surrounding resources and determines how tourism developments may or may not meet sustainability goals.

Yellowstone National Park, the first designated national park in the USA, provides yet another example of the potentially conflicting goals of resource protection and the provision of visitor experience. Yellowstone has been described as the 'crown jewel' of the national park system in the USA and, as such, is one of the country's most visited natural areas. Meyer proposes that in light of increasingly complex management issues and questions, the Park, and particularly the 'park experience' might be better sustained by including the concepts of 'sense of place' and 'historical appropriateness' in developing management options. Meyer argues that managers concerned with protecting the 'sense of place' uniquely provided by Yellowstone National Park may be more sensitive to the environmental as well as experiential consequences of management decisions.

Mitchell explores the notion that to achieve sustainability, the existing patterns of power and unequal development must be breached through the involvement of local communities in tourism development. Mitchell argues that higher levels of integration within the planning process lead to enhanced socio-economic benefits for the community thus increasing the potential for tourism sustainability. The level of community solidarity in turn determines not only support for tourism development but also the degree of citizen participation. Mitchell notes that a 'collective indifference' towards tourism results from lack of participation in the planning process and the subsequent uneven sharing of tourism benefits and costs.

In the final chapter in this part, Horochowski and Moisey further propose that to even initiate community involvement, underlying social and political structures that engender public participation must exist. Societal values and political systems to a large degree dictate the role of the citizenry

to participate in governance. Obviously, for local participation to be possible, the political system must be based on participation. While national policies might embrace such participation, Horochowski and Moisey note that if such structures are either rudimentary or non-existent at the local level, then the likelihood of meaningful participation and ultimately achieving sustainability become less likely.

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7

From ‘Guiding Fiction’ to Action: Applying ‘The Natural Step’ to Sustainability Planning in the Resort of Whistler, British Columbia

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Introduction

In the introduction to this volume, McCool and Moisey (2008, p. 4) observe, with reference to Shumway’s (1991) concept, that ‘sustainable tourism constitutes what is termed “guiding fiction”’. Guiding fictions serve socially valuable functions as long as they stimulate and organize social discourse around problematic issues and definitions remain vague. However, their value tends to diminish as stakeholders begin interpreting the meaning of underlying principles into practice. In this chapter, we examine how the notion of sustainability has been articulated by The Natural Step (TNS) organization (Robèrt, 2002) and how, in the context of sustainable tourism development, the Resort Municipality of Whistler, as an early adopter of TNS, has built upon the foundational ideas of TNS to develop an innovative comprehensive sustainability plan for this mountain resort community. In the subsequent discussion, we critically examine the role of TNS in creating the ‘tipping point’ conditions (Gladwell, 2000), needed to move the resort’s approach to sustainability from a ‘guiding fiction’ to a concrete action plan widely embraced by the community.

The Natural Step

The TNS organization

TNS was founded by Swedish oncologist, Dr Karl Henrik Robèrt in 1989. It is an international non-profit research, education and advisory organization

that uses a science-based, systems framework to help organizations, individuals and communities move towards sustainability. The organization's stated mission is to make fundamental principles of sustainability easier to understand and effective sustainability initiatives easier to implement. It does this by providing a shared mental model, common language and understanding that facilitates cooperation across stakeholder groups and disciplines (Robèrt, 2002). Aimed initially at corporations, TNS has caught the attention not only of the business world, but other institutions and communities around the globe (James and Lahati, 2004). Although most extensively adopted in Sweden where it originated, there are Natural Step offices in at least 12 countries including North America, the UK, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Japan, Israel, Brazil and elsewhere. Large corporations such as Ikea, Electrolux, Nike and Alcan are among the many local and global organizations that have adopted the TNS framework. At a community level, many Swedish towns were 'early adopters' of this approach. Now over 600 Swedish communities are licensed to use the TNS brand, although implementation levels and degrees of success vary. The adoption of TNS by the mountain resort community of Whistler, British Columbia, has drawn attention to its applicability as a community-oriented planning tool in a North American context. Whistler's advances in planning towards sustainability have been internationally recognized (LIVCOM, 2006) and the resort is heralded by TNS as a 'best practice' model. Within North America other communities such as Madison, Wisconsin; North Vancouver, British Columbia; Halifax, Nova Scotia; and Canmore, Alberta have now adopted the TNS framework.

The TNS framework

The TNS framework, rather than being prescriptive, directs each organization/community to find its own solutions based on four guiding principles that define a sustainable society (<http://thenaturalstep.ca/>). These principles are derived from the work of Dr Robèrt and a team of scientists who reduced the notion of sustainability to a set of 'system conditions'. These science-based 'system conditions' identify 'sustainability filters' that focus attention on eliminating activities leading to: (i) progressive build-up in concentration of substances from the earth's crust (e.g. fossil fuels); (ii) progressive build-up in concentration of substances produced by society (e.g. aerosols); (iii) ongoing physical degradation of nature (e.g. over-harvesting); and (iv) barriers in the ability of other people to meet their needs worldwide (e.g. unfair wages).

A second component of TNS framework is its funnel metaphor (Fig. 7.1). A simple graphic distils and communicates in lay terms the science-based resource management principles and consumption behaviours needed to reach a more sustainable community condition.

The TNS also uses 'backcasting' as the fundamental planning process to identify the actions that must be taken to achieve desired sustainability outcomes. Robèrt (2002) identifies an A-B-C-D implementation methodology that guides organizations along a pathway to sustainability. The first step,

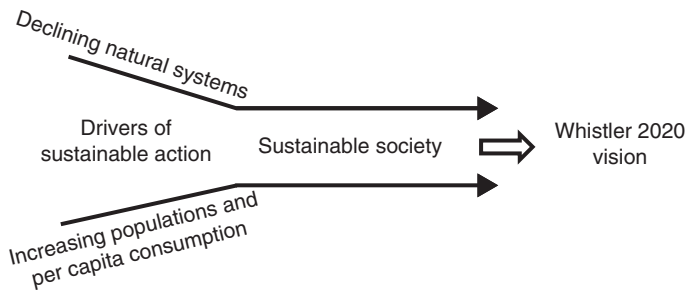


Fig. 7.1. Whistler's guiding sustainability framework: The Natural Step. (Adapted from Whistler 2020: Moving Toward a Sustainable Future. Available at: Whistler 2020 web portal, <http://www.whistler2020.ca>.)

awareness (A), seeks to achieve a common understanding of sustainability and conceiving of a whole-system approach. The second step (B) employs baseline mapping techniques involving sustainability gap analysis to understand how the organization performs with respect to the four system conditions previously described. The third step (C) is a visioning exercise in which stakeholders and decision makers create a long-term vision to guide strategic decision. The fourth step (D) is the action phase whereby decisions are made and implemented (www.thenaturalstep.ca).

Planning for Sustainability in Whistler, British Columbia

The Resort Municipality of Whistler (RMOW) is a year-round mountain destination located 120 km from Vancouver, British Columbia, that attracts nearly 2 million visitors annually for a range of winter and summer recreation activities. It is also a thriving community, with a permanent population of about 11,000 people. Whistler has been a comprehensively planned resort community since its inception in 1975 (Williams and Gill, 2004). The introduction in the early 1990s of a resort and community monitoring programme that tracked indicators of environmental, social and economic change provided a basis for annual town hall meetings with residents to discuss the resort community's growth (Waldron and Williams, 2002). Throughout the 1990s, there were numerous opportunities for residents to be involved in development issues. The RMOW used public consultations and hearings on issues ranging from affordable housing and transportation to environmental management to inform the development of its innovative growth management strategy (Williams and Gill, 2004). However, the growth management strategy that guided much of the resort's development was not appropriate as a guiding framework for future development once the planned limits to growth were approached (Gill, 2000, 2007).

Confronted with increasing levels of tourist flows, rising real estate development pressure, escalating infrastructure costs, diminishing levels of affordable resident and employee housing, mounting ecosystem stresses and emerging climate change impacts, Whistler reached a crossroads in 2001 (Vance and

Williams, 2005). It required a new framework for strategic planning and decision making. Local leaders needed an innovative and user-friendly way of communicating and engaging the broader community about sustainability issues.

The introduction of TNS to the resort came about unexpectedly as a result of a personal visit to the resort by the TNS founder, Karl Henrik Robèrt. He was invited to informally share his concepts and visioning processes with the community. Whistler's TNS journey began shortly after this visit in 2000 with the creation of a small but influential group of local organizations who were committed to developing a range of sustainability programmes that would focus on implementing the TNS principles within their own institutions. This handful of 'early adopters' was comprised of stakeholders from the RMOW, Whistler Blackcomb (the ski lift company and major real estate developer), the Fairmont Chateau Whistler, Tourism Whistler (the main marketing organization), One-hour Photo (a prominent retail operation) and AWARE (the leading environmental non-government organization). They launched an awareness campaign entitled *Whistler: It's Our Nature* that promoted understanding and adoption of the TNS framework, and engaged the community in the process. This was followed by a programme called *Whistler: It's Our Future* aimed at uncovering community members' hopes and priorities for Whistler's future. These initiatives and the previously developed *Whistler Environmental Strategy* (Waldron, 2000) provided the impetus for using TNS principles and processes to inform the creation of 'Whistler 2020' – which eventually became the foundation for the RMOW's Comprehensive Sustainability Plan (CSP). While Whistler was already in the process of establishing a sustainability plan, the TNS framework brought coherence to the process. Whistler became the first resort community, and the first municipality in Canada, to adopt and successfully begin implementing the TNS approach in a destination community planning domain.

In keeping with TNS principles and guidelines, the RMOW embarked on an aggressive public engagement process between 2002 and 2004 and subsequently developed a community vision, which stated 'Whistler will be the premier mountain resort community – as we move toward sustainability' (http://www.whistler.ca/Sustainability/Whistler_2020.php).

The RMOW's CSP provides a consensus-based vision, strategic direction and a set of ambitious steps to navigate Whistler towards a more sustainable future. Replacing previous Comprehensive Development Plans, the CSP is Whistler's highest-level policy document. It provides the destination with a long-term, community-wide framework that is guided by local values and core sustainability principles. It frames all future plans and programmes developed and implemented by the destination's municipal government and its partners (Vance and Williams, 2005).

Whistler's CSP is built on the collective efforts of many public, private and non-government stakeholders. The sustainability rubric – so frequently incomprehensible to the general public – is demystified in the plan through the use of TNS terms and concepts.

Recognizing that extensive interdependencies exist in tourism destinations, Whistler 2020 addresses its economic, social and environmental sustainability challenges in an integrated fashion. It emphasizes that the traditional 'pillars of

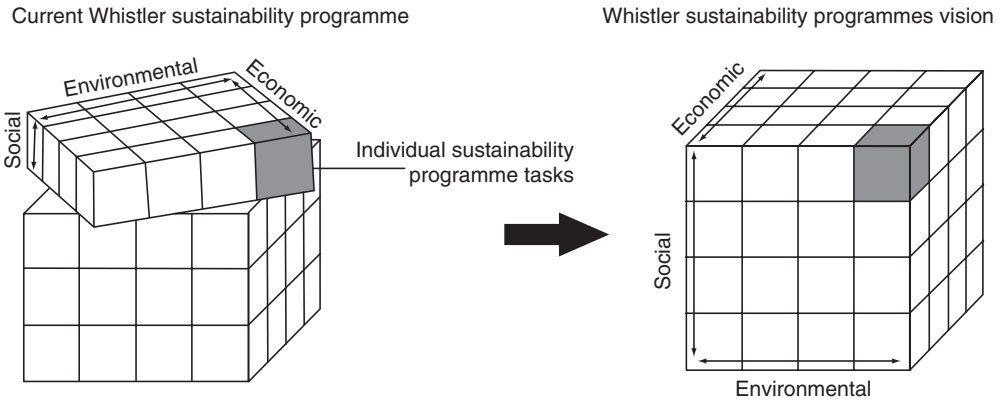


Fig. 7.2. Whistler's sustainability task filter. (From Williams and Ponsford, forthcoming 2008.)

sustainability' are not distinct silos for individual consideration, but are interconnected components of the destination system. Framed in this manner, any action undertaken for a specific purpose – referred to in 'Whistler 2020' as 'Sustainability Program Tasks' – must consider its wider upstream and downstream implications. For example, while creating affordable housing is an important sustainability task for economic reasons, these facilities must be accommodated in places readily accessible to the workplace for social purposes, and in environmentally appropriate locations for ecological reasons. This more holistic approach not only forces individual action plans through a structured sustainability filter, but it also requires all Sustainability Program Tasks to seek alignment and fit with others in a Rubik cube-like fashion that contributes more holistically to Whistler's 2020 vision (Vance and Williams, 2005; Fig. 7.2).

Most importantly, the inclusive and collective process of developing this plan has helped create a social capital in the community that is now being used to implement the CSP's goals. While only in the early stages of implementation, Whistler's CSP provides a guidance system and tools for making the tourism destination's stakeholders (customers, businesses and governments) aware of, and accountable for, their environmental and broader sustainability actions. The community's interactive and informative web site provides ongoing support and a continuous feedback mechanism for stakeholders engaged in various sustainability initiatives (<http://www.whistler2020.ca/whistler/site/explorer.acds>).

As currently configured the CSP is:

- Grounded in TNS concepts, guiding principles and terms which are used to make the concept of sustainability clearer and more understandable for the community's stakeholders.
- Driven by a consensus-based vision that 'Whistler will be the premier mountain resort community – as we move toward sustainability'.
- Organized around a series of community-based action priorities that align with the vision; these priorities include enriching community life, enhancing the resort experience, protecting the environment, ensuring economic viability and partnering for success. Sixteen multi-stakeholder

- community taskforces use these priorities to develop and implement specific action programmes.
- Accompanied by an informative community-based interactive web site that provides ongoing support and a continuous feedback mechanism for stakeholders engaged in various sustainability-related initiatives (<http://www.whistler2020.ca/whistler/site/explorer.acds>) and supports the extensive efforts at engaging locals in 'owning the plan'.
 - Supported with an annual monitoring programme that systematically measures the progress of each proposed action towards the CSP's priorities.

Discussion

Several factors shape Whistler's adoption and commitment to TNS and its Whistler 2020 and CSP outcomes. They relate to two broad themes: (i) TNS's role in creating the 'tipping point' conditions needed to encourage Whistler stakeholders to pursue the development of its sustainability initiatives; and (ii) the value of TNS as a guiding fiction needed to frame the public discourse that is necessary to catalyse community action.

Contextual factors

Social movements or epidemics are 'sensitive to the conditions and circumstances of the times and places where they occur' (Gladwell, 2000, p. 139). McCool and Moisey (2001, p. 347) reinforce this position and suggest that '[u]nderstanding where in the development stage of a destination we are might provide insight into why participants may or may not embrace sustainability, engage in appropriate actions or meaningful discourse with other segments'.

This was certainly the case in Whistler, where quite by chance the TNS approach was introduced to decision makers at a critical time. The widespread acceptance by the community of a limit to growth of 52,500 bed units (despite the fact that growth management principles state that with community consensus growth limits can be changed) was established (and remains a guiding benchmark) in Whistler for about 15 years. As this 'build out' limit approached around 2000, the RMOW found itself painted into a difficult corner (Gill, 2007). A no-growth scenario was not attractive, especially in light of the potential negative impact it would have on traditional local government and business revenues generated by new real estate developments. Further bed unit limit was creating an intolerable escalation in housing prices that threatened the ability of the resort to house an acceptable proportion of its labour force.

The solution lay in changing the discourse regarding growth from one that focused on the bed unit limit to one that diffused the tight relationship between a bed unit limit and environmental quality. To do this, an RMOW initiative to introduce the concept of 'sustainability' into the policy arena was undertaken. It involved orchestrating an extensive consultation process with a wide range of stakeholders – residents, local businesses, non-government organizations and early adopters. Among other concerns, a priority issue emerging from

these sustainability discussions was the need for more resident-focused affordable housing. This community-voiced priority provided the support the RMOW needed to move beyond the established cap and develop further bed units that were restricted to resident use. While not abandoning the environmental imperative, the sustainability focus of the consultations and subsequent community vision and CSP paved the way for not only social but also economic development. It also provided a tangible focus for tactics designed to leverage specific community-focused legacies from the forthcoming Vancouver 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games to be partially hosted at Whistler.

TNS process characteristics

Numerous strategic approaches and tactics could have provided a range of paths for Whistler's sustainability planning journey, for example, ISO 14001, (Rondinelli and Vastagh, 2000); Factor X, an eco-efficiency tool (Reijnders, 1998) and ecological footprinting (Rees and Wackernagel, 1996). However, TNS's leadership, flexibility, engagement and image traits were particularly central to its choice and ongoing use as a planning frame and tool.

Leadership

The initial catalyst for adopting TNS was more the charismatic personality of the concept's founder, Dr Karl Heinrick Robèrt, than the specific operating principles of the frame. His informal first visit and subsequent presentations in Whistler resonated with decision makers and inspired them to act in their community. Whistler stakeholders suggest that his personality and leadership qualities created the impetus needed to set the destination's sustainability planning programme in action (December 6, 2006, Environmental Consultant, Vancouver, personal communication). His clear articulation of the concept's guiding principles and his extensive 'data bank' of sustainability action success stories established him as the trusted information broker who shared and traded intuitively appealing ideas with locals. As often occurs in organizations with charismatic leaders, the validity of his TNS perspectives were largely unchallenged by Whistler residents. In keeping with Gladwell's perspectives (Gladwell, 2000), Robèrt was the 'maven' who established the initial 'tipping point' condition needed for formally launching the sustainability initiative.

Flexible options

In 2000, the TNS approach was not widely known in North America either as a business model or as an approach to community-based sustainable planning. However, as opposed to other approaches that predominantly focused on environmental elements, TNS emphasized 'strong sustainability' (Ekins *et al.*, 2003). Instead of addressing only one of the three elements of sustainability – environmental, economic and social – it offered a more holistic and integrated systems approach (Robèrt, 2002), which accommodated the exploration of several alternative management issues and planning options. TNS approaches appeared to accommodate the needs of many Whistler stakeholders who were shifting their priorities from solely growth-related environment concerns to

more socially focused challenges such as affordable housing. Notwithstanding this situation, the overriding rhetoric of TNS's adaptability still needed to be tested in order to determine its utility in a Whistler context.

To do this evaluation a credible and influential set of community stakeholders ('early adopters') was encouraged to 'kick the tires' of TNS ideology, principles and processes. Via their participation in several workshops and planning sessions, they collectively assessed the extent to which TNS's premises and approaches were adaptable enough to accommodate Whistler's unique operating challenges.

After refining TNS approaches to suit a resort community context, they became the important 'connectors' needed to tip the confidence and attitudes of other Whistler stakeholders towards embracing the creation of a comprehensive sustainability strategy. Their efforts included convincing the RMOW's Council and senior administrators to make a significant commitment of resources (i.e. financial and human) towards the development of a Comprehensive Sustainability Plan that would be built on TNS principles and driven by community priorities. Paralleling Gladwell's perspectives (Gladwell, 2000), without the commitment of these 'early adopters', it would have been difficult to mobilize the community's social networks to participate in the broader sustainability planning process. As powerful connectors, they had the social networks and social powers needed to connect other key community stakeholders to Whistler's sustainability journey.

Community engagement

Powerful arguments exist in a tourism context that suggest affected publics should be involved in 'helping identify desirable futures and acceptable pathways to achieving them' (McCool and Moisey, 2001, p. 11). In Whistler's case, 'grass-roots' participation was deemed essential to ensuring that the destination's CSP resonated with community priorities and motivated locals to embrace its proposed actions. Consequently, the RMOW in concert with the 'early adopters' began a process of community consultation that included businesses and residents. The product of this 4-year process was 'Whistler 2020' – a community-driven vision, plan and process that is designed to guide future sustainability policy making and action pursued by the municipality. Rather than prescribing specific actions, it suggested guiding principles and tools that should frame the sustainability choices to be pursued. It emphasized the importance of local residents and businesses being engaged in shaping local practices on a variety of sustainability issues. Sixteen community-based task forces tackling sustainability issues were established. The principles and tools of TNS and the priorities of Whistler 2020 are embedded in the operating processes of each task force group. They provide the common teaching tools that systematically guide the selection of options for shaping Whistler's sustainability actions. Depending on the social capital and learning derived from their task force experiences, they each can provide the 'social licence to operate' needed by decision makers to take action (Williams *et al.*, 2007). Mirroring Gladwell's analogy, they become the sales people 'with the skills to persuade us when we are unconvinced with what we are hearing, and they are as criti-

cal [as mavens and connectors] to the tipping . . . ' of opinion needed for widespread action (Gladwell, 2000, p. 70).

Image

The positive promotion opportunities associated with being part of TNS's success story is another reason for its continuing presence in Whistler's sustainability planning tool kit. Many stakeholders involved with the process claim that it has created a very positive image and market position for Whistler (Temenos, 2007). Its perceived success has encouraged other communities to embrace TNS. For instance, in 2007, the mountain gateway community of Canmore, on the edge of Banff National Park adopted TNS for its planning frame. Interestingly this type of modelling has created a self-reinforcing synergy in which Whistler stakeholders seek to maintain the community's perceived success by pursuing even more sustainability initiatives in their own community.

Conclusions

McCool and Moisey (2001, p. 10) suggest that '[W]hile sustainability is often posed as a technical scientific issue, it actually represents a moral commitment to future generations'. TNS offered Whistler stakeholders a sustainability framework which was informed by science but shaped by a user-friendly lexicon of common terms and principles. For the most part, the scientific validity of the cause-and-effect relationships inferred in the TNS rationale have, with the exception of Upham's (2000) critique, not been critically challenged. This was the case in Whistler. In some ways, this was surprising considering that in a tourism context, the complexity of interactions between environmental, social and economic relationships is so poorly understood. However, in other ways this behaviour was understandable. Whistler needed a 'guiding fiction' that would stimulate and organize a community-wide social discourse around some complex challenges to its future. TNS provided a relatively flexible vehicle for that discussion. To its credit, the discourse spawned the development of a growing set of shared meanings concerning the conditions and programmes needed to move Whistler towards a more sustainable future. It also helped Whistler build the social capital needed to move its sustainability agenda forward. While varying levels of enthusiasm exist concerning specific aspects of the sustainability initiatives identified, the community continues to build a growing pool of stakeholders who are making personal and collective commitments towards achieving the overriding actions which align with the resort community's vision. As such, TNS processes helped create many of the threshold conditions needed to move the sustainability agenda forward in Whistler. Through refinements to its methods, the development of learning tool kits, and the gradual collection of more detailed evidence concerning the outcomes of its projects, TNS is also transforming from a 'guiding fiction' to a practical planning tool – one that builds on the collective experience of Whistler stakeholders and others.

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8

Destination and Place Branding: a Lost Sense of Place?

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Introduction

In a globalized world, the distinctive character of a destination is important but difficult to communicate. Marketing researchers and destination marketing organizations (DMOs) pay significant attention to the promotion of destinations, regions or countries, but often standardized advertising strategies fail to convey the unique geographic and cultural qualities of a place. In the past, examining the image of a destination that tourists internalize proved useful for enhancing or modifying a positioning strategy. However, Walsh *et al.* (2001) pointed out that during this process, the created destination image may be exaggerated, may be misrepresenting 'what the place is really like' and may be raising tourists' expectations to an unattainable level. The authors suggested utilizing residents' 'sense of place' while constructing a more authentic image of the destination: "'Sense of place' reflects how people relate or feel about places in which they live. It reflects their 'positive, affective sentiments for certain places... their communal meaning' of place' (Stokowski, 1991). A marketing strategy focusing on a more organic perceived image would follow a societal marketing approach that does not only target the needs of the tourists but provides benefits to the residents' and community as well.

This chapter reviews the progress made towards more sustainable ways of marketing destinations. First, we summarize the appropriate use and utility gained from promoting destination images. Second, we explore the trendy marketing activity of 'branding' and distinguish between 'the brand' and 'the destination'. And finally, we follow the evolution of *place* and *location branding*, and suggest a more integrated holistic view of the destination and the place. In conclusion, we suggest a bioregional perspective on place marketing. This approach places a community into a globalized world without losing its identity, and therefore would develop more sustainable grounded bioregional brands rather than standardized destination images.

Destination Image

Destination image is one of the most widely used constructs in the tourism marketing field. Numerous researchers have engaged in the conceptualization and operationalization of destination image (Echtner and Ritchie, 1991, 1993; Gallarza *et al.*, 2002; Pike, 2002; Tasci *et al.*, 2007). It is not the purpose of this analysis to review the many studies and definitions of destination image but rather to emphasize some important observations that may influence further research and practical applications. Image can be defined as 'a representation of the external form of a person or thing... the general impression that a person, organization, or product presents to the public' (The New Oxford American Dictionary, 2001). Applied to the destination, it indicates a perspective from the outside, the tourists or other stakeholders, and a perspective that may be accurate or distorted from reality, 'a thing that is actually experienced or seen' (The New Oxford American Dictionary, 2001). Of course, in a postmodern world, we are also constructing reality; however, for the purpose of this paper we consider an image as the representation of the real. Based on numerous studies on destination image and the above literature reviews (Echtner and Ritchie, 1991, 1993; Gallarza *et al.*, 2002; Pike, 2002; Tasci *et al.*, 2007), we summarize, a destination image:

- is a perception by the tourists of what *could be experienced* at the destination;
- takes on different forms based on who portrays that image how, e.g. induced, covert, organic, authentic, etc.;
- is mostly measured on quantitative structured scales;
- is measured with adjectives perceived as real by the researcher or marketer;
- has cognitive, affective and conative dimensions;
- has a core identity, attributes that confirm the identity and an overall gestalt;
- has dimensions that are sometimes confused with other constructs (personality, attitudes and behavioural intentions).

Destination image is often analysed through multidimensional scaling representing the perceived attributes of the destination. These attributes may not totally reflect the reality of the place. It is our contention that a destination image analysed by tourists' perceptions may be useful in uncovering some stereotypical perceptions or misperceptions, but does not provide reliable guidelines for the destination marketer to 'create' or 'reposition' a destination image. For the purpose of creating an image, marketing researchers and DMOs have turned towards the trendy concepts of brand and branding.

Brand and Branding

Tourism marketers very quickly adopt marketing concepts and practices. Branding appeals to marketers because it associates products with value, it *brands* or *marks* a product with significance. The American Marketing Association defines *brand* as 'a name, term, sign, symbol, or design, or a com-

ination of them intended to identify the goods and services of one seller or group of sellers and to differentiate them from those of competition' (www.marketingpower.com). Branding is associated with the activity of creating, managing and positioning brands:

Brands differentiate products and represent a promise of value. Brands incite beliefs, evoke emotions, and prompt behaviors. Marketers often extend successful brand names to new product launches, lending existing associations to them.

(Kotler and Gertner, 2002, p. 249)

Consumers associate the brand name with a certain reputation, and similar to classical conditioning, respond to a brand name in a favourable or unfavourable manner because it signifies certain qualities. Associated with brand and branding are concepts such as brand equity, brand image, brand personality, brand identity and brand strategy. The concepts have been used widely for the marketing of products and organizations (Aaker, 1996; de Chernatony and Dall'Olmio Riley, 1998; Keller, 1998), and tourism marketers have quickly adopted branding to destinations. Many researchers have used the constructs synonymously, such as in research models, they replace 'attitude towards the brand' with 'attitudes towards the destination', or they discuss 'brand loyalty' or 'brand personality' for destinations. One of the first questions to be resolved is if destinations can be treated as brands. Most authors concede that tourism products are similar to services and experiences, and therefore have special characteristics such as intangibility, heterogeneity, inseparability, and perishability (Shostack, 1977), as well as affective experiential components. Attractions such as Disney World have successfully created a brand image. Some researchers argue that destinations can be compared to corporate brands rather than product brands. From this perspective, marketers do not just create a brand image for a newly created product, but establish a reputation for all corporate activities.

Hankinson (2004) compared place branding to classical product branding theory and identified four mainstreams of brand conceptualizations. He established:

- *Brands are communicators* – beyond the brand logos, taglines, etc., brands have an identity that develops the products differentiation further by communicating the firm's vision of the brand.
- *Brands are perceptual entities* – in this conceptualization, brands were regarded as having a public image that appeals to the consumers' sense, reason and emotions. This conceptualization is close to a destination's image and represents 'what the consumer perceives, while identities are defined as what vision the firm tries to communicate' (p. 111).
- *Brands are value enhancers* – brands have been regarded as corporate assets and therefore led to the development of brand equity. 'The role of brand management from this perspective is to define and manage a brand identity as a means of achieving a competitive advantage' (p. 111).
- *Brand as relationships* – here, the brand is conceptualized as having a personality that enables it to have a relationship with its stakeholders. Branding activities now go beyond communication of images and

include behaviours such as creating and managing networks. This complex web of relationships with a variety of other organizations seems to be of particular importance to place marketing/branding.

Hankinson (2004) continued to present his model of the relational network brand. At the core of the model is the brand's identity and its extensions are its relationships with stakeholder groups, these include consumers (also residents and employees), media, infrastructure and services. He applies his model to place branding, and through his conceptualization recognizes a more complex perspective on branding and the destination. However, he does not consider the unique geographic and cultural identity attached to the place. One of the major differences between these products and places is that goods and services are being created and destinations already exist within a particular bioregion. They have geographical, cultural and historical roots and have names already associated with them. They cannot be created as brands but their brand images, identities and associations can only be managed, influenced, repositioned, enhanced, etc. The idea of a destination brand is much more complex than a product brand and needs further consideration.

Destination Brand

Destination brand is a fairly new concept in tourism research but has gained a lot of attention by marketing managers. Broadly defined, it refers to the holistic reputation a tourism destination has achieved. However, DMOs often associate branding with the development of logos and tag lines (Blain *et al.*, 2005). Comprehensive analyses of branding are rare compared to applied case studies or destination image analyses. The exceptions are Morgan *et al.*'s (2002) book, *Destination Branding: Creating the Unique Destination Proposition*, which provides a positive outlook on brand management strategies for places. Also, Cai (2002) suggested distinguishing between the formation of a destination image and the branding of it. He offered a theoretical model for cooperative branding for rural destinations and developed a model of destination branding. Morgan *et al.* (2002) offered a refreshing mixture of academic and applied thoughts on branding without extensive debates on definitions and exemplifying a step-by-step guide to destination branding. The book laid out case studies of countries that intentionally developed brand strategies. For several countries it was important 'to root the brand identity in the realities of the country in a way that taps into the beliefs of the people actually living and working there'. This is an important consideration versus the 'image creation' strategy. Perhaps here, we start recognizing the significant differences between destination image and destination brand. The image is perceived by the tourists, while the brand may be based on a core identity that is identified by the residents. The brand/destination image may then be a reflection of how well that identity is represented through marketing strategies.

The model by Cai (2002) builds upon Gartner's (1989) image components and Keller's (1998) types of associations to connect the core brand identity with the outer layers. In an optimal branding situation the brand identity is spreading and activating positively identified associations. However, in the case of New Zealand, Wales, Ireland, etc., we observe various stakeholders such as residents, business leaders and government and NGO officials determining that identity. In Cai's (2002) case of the cooperative branding for rural destinations in New Mexico, the various tourism offices determined the attributes for measuring destination images. In the cooperative branding case, the author identified gaps between destination images and projected brand strategies of the regional DMO. Perhaps, other gaps would have been identified if a sense of place by its residents would have been considered. Stakeholder involvement is an important component of sustainable tourism development and it also has been recognized in Hankinson's (2004) network branding model. Morgan *et al.* (2003) demonstrated the role of stakeholder involvement in destination branding. They reviewed the political process involved while energizing the stakeholders from public and private sectors. The success of the destination brand is 'based on a vision which is founded on intensive stakeholder, consumer and competitor research and which is expressed with care and discipline in everything that communicates the brand's personality' (Morgan *et al.*, 2003, p. 296). The authors concluded that 'country branding is not merely a rational marketing activity but a political act based on issues such as local pride' (p. 296). The joint vision, pride and collaboration were important for a brand management strategy. Destination branding certainly needs further research attention.

Recent work emerged on destination personality (Ekinici and Hosany, 2006; Hosany *et al.*, 2006). The research of brand personality was applied to tourism destinations. While this research offers an interesting alternative to destination image studies, it also creates confusion when similar adjectives describe an image or a personality. Most of the destination branding studies will have to deal with the complex nature and special characteristics of destinations versus tangible goods. Destinations are not created with special characteristics in mind, they are existing places and much of their 'identities', 'personalities' and 'equity' may be inherited through their geographic places, their unique culture and historical developments. Destinations are heterogeneous and diverse, determining a single identity or a holistic gestalt may be impossible. Further, a tourist destination is embedded in the larger entity of a place, region or country. Stakeholders may not only have to define the destination identity but explore the wide eco-network system of a place or bioregion. Within this context, we need to explore the opportunities of place branding.

Place Branding

Kotler *et al.* (1993) developed place marketing strategies and later considered, 'country as brand, product, and beyond: a place marketing and brand management perspective' (Kotler and Gertner, 2002). From a country's

perspective, place marketing has been analysed through the country of origin (COO) construct. Products are being evaluated based on the country's image and vice versa, the image of a country may be dependent on the quality of its products. Fan (2006) analysed the product/country of origin relationship from a branding perspective and asked: 'Branding the nation: what is being branded?'

Fan (2006) felt that in a positive relationship both, the country's image and the image of the products, win, but the country of origin concept is filled with stereotypical perceptions and paradoxes. The author differentiated between nation brand and nation branding, and suggested while a brand may already have a stereotypical image, the act of branding may encourage cross-cultural communication and create an awareness of the diversity and complexity within the nation. He also suggested how branding the nation can integrate product and tourism marketing strategies. Kotler's (1993) concept of place marketing quickly evolved into place branding. Kotler and Gertner (2002, p. 250) stated that 'even if a country does not consciously manage its name as a brand, people still have images of countries that can be activated by simply voicing the name'. They emphasized how a country's image results from its geography, history, proclamation, art and music, famous citizens, and the entertainment industry and media. Additionally, products 'made in' events, natural disasters or social problems contribute to the image of a place. These images may be stereotypical and they may last for a long time. Therefore, these pre-existing images cannot be separated or ignored when marketing the tourism brand. Destination brands need to integrate place into their marketing strategies. Many authors who discuss place branding use it as an umbrella term for distinctly different marketing strategies for business investments and tourism, however, quickly stress tourism as the primary applications for branding activities. Few studies try to integrate place and destination branding.

Integrated Place Branding

Kerr (2006) proposed to move 'from destination brand to location brand'. Supporting Hankinson's (2004) notion of an organizational rather than a product perspective on brands, he elaborated on *brand architecture*, *brand portfolio* and *corporation as brand*. Brand architecture refers to the complex building of the brand; brand portfolio includes the range of strategic businesses that fit within the brand relationship network; and corporate branding is the ability to use the vision and culture of the company explicitly as parts of its unique selling proposition. 'Further, the corporate brand contributes to the images held of the organization by its stakeholder' (p. 279). In respect to the location, the brand architecture also determines if a destination should focus just on tourism and if there should be a 'branded house' or a 'house of brands'. Several authors suggested taking into consideration organic and non-tourism resources in determining a place brand strategy. Kerr (2006, p. 281) considered the viability and prioritization of markets and

their compatibility as important issues for consideration. He also suggested a more holistic approach to branding practices:

Contemporary authors on brand management might suggest that the location brand should be a summation of the location's infrastructure, people, industries, and quality of life. The brand should be indicative of the location's vision for the future and receive wide stakeholder support.

Kerr (2006, p. 282) suggested drawing models from the corporate branding literature and examined leadership and vision, resources and capabilities, understanding of the competitive environment, the need for committed people (culture) and the value of alliances.

Managers and marketers of urban areas have recognized this need for integration. Despite concerns such as the commercialization of the public environment or the commodification of culture, marketing and 'branding' activities have become more important for cities, museums, events and other institutions. Marketers are designing campaigns to attract outside investments or build retail centres and precincts for economic revitalization. However, few cities have formed marketing departments that manage the brand of the city or create holistic branding campaigns. Current activities are fragmented and led by DMOs or Chambers of Commerce activities. Selby (2004) reviewed urban tourism including its image, culture and experiences. Ashworth and Voogd (1990) and Kotler *et al.* (1993) contributed with their works on 'selling cities' and 'marketing places'. Bennett and Koudelova (2001) explored the branding and marketing of downtown areas and concluded that much marketing was conducted in an operational rather than strategic manner, not conflicting with each other, but also not collaborating or creating synergies with other areas. Trueman *et al.* (2004) emphasized the importance of examining the perceptions of (brand/city) identity for different stakeholder groups. In a study on shopping centres, Warnaby *et al.* (2002) summarized three key dimensions that described the challenges of place marketing. The authors identified, first, a wide range of actors from public, private and voluntary sectors, and, second, all of these actors promoted a wide range of products to diverse customers and users. Finally, this process involved a type of commodification of urban attributes that intended to create a positive image of the place as a holistic identity. Van den Berg and Braun (1999) and Van den Berg *et al.* (2003) demonstrated a multidisciplinary approach while proposing the need for 'organizing capacity':

i.e. the ability of managers and marketers to convene all stakeholders in order to generate jointly new ideas and formulate and implement a policy that responds to fundamental developments and creates conditions for sustainable economic growth.

(2003, p. 1977)

They utilized visions, strategic networks, leadership, political support and societal support for organizing capacity. Finally, Van den Berg and Braun (1999) suggested that marketing was instrumental in obtaining the objective of policies and that an integrated vision of development was essential for developing strategic networks and leadership.

Sustainability and stakeholder involvement are central to urban marketing frameworks. In nation and place branding, synergies have been created: tourism benefits from goods branding, marketing for investments benefits from destination image and local residents gain a quality of life from new investments. In addition to collaboration and integration for different products, industries and market segments, more challenges emerge at the spatial and geographic levels: Cai (2002) examined cooperative branding for rural destinations, and in this case the cooperation is needed for a geographic region. Dredge and Jenkins (2003) explored differences along spatial scales while establishing distinct destination identities. They observed differences in perceived identities and goals for regional tourism policy based on the geographic scale. They discovered how conflict over globalization and localization may influence and destabilize joint decision and policy making at the local level. The authors emphasized the powerful concept of globalization and how this movement challenges place governance capacities in decision making. They state, however:

there has been growing recognition that important socio-political responses to this so-called homogenizations (globalization) have been a reassertion of “the local”, where collectives of actors with similar worldviews seek to reassert their identity and interests relative to other collectives.

(Giddens, 1990; Dredge and Jenkins, 2003)

Globalization leads to tension between branding homogenization and cultural, geographic heterogenization.

Place Branding in a Globalized World

Place branding is a concept of our postmodern world. In an era of globalization and homogenized products, brands are created to create a distinguished image and reputation. Global brands offer the opportunity to establish a standardized value across the world and differentiate similar products from other brands. This chapter demonstrates some of the challenges associated with destination branding:

- A destination image only provides limited information on how accurately a tourist’s perception compares to the reality of a place.
- Branding is more complex than creating a perceived image but includes communication of vision, value and reputation and builds relationships.
- Destination brands are more complex than product brands and more similar to organizational brands.
- Destination brands can be integrated into place brands:
 - They have a core identity and associated attributes.
 - They have multiple stakeholders.
 - They serve complex functions and communicate with multiple market segments.
 - Geographic scales play a role in policy and decision making.
 - Geographic identities have been neglected in place branding.
- The pressures of globalization create a need for localized identities.

Existing studies have mostly focused on the process of branding but largely ignored the larger theoretical frameworks and significance in society. With the notion of local identities in a globalized world, we suggest to examine branding in the context of bioregionalism, macromarketing and sustainability.

Brand Identities

During the process of integrated destination branding, marketers need to identify the core identity of the local place. Previously, Walsh *et al.* (2001) proposed to use the sense of place of the residents instead of a perceived destination image when marketing a place. This sense of place may be captured when we realize the brand identity of a place. Few studies have attempted this task.

Van Keken *et al.* (2005) examined 'resident perceptions of local identity: the case of Zeeland (Netherlands)'. Through a qualitative and quantitative research design, the authors questioned over 5000 residents about their local culture, feelings and sensory experiences in their everyday world. This knowledge provided 'an opportunity to gain insights in the construction of their perceived and experienced identity' and could be used for the construction of brand identity. They considered their research 'a rather proactive study which attempts to establish a "true sense of identity" that will be used in marketing of the region'. Results include 'affinity' or a regional sense of belonging to the place, a description of the culture and resident perceptions on experiencing the place. The geographic sense of place and the sensual perceptions play a significant role in identifying the identity of a place.

Konecnik and Go (2008) examined the tourism destination brand identity of Slovenia. Their strategic brand analysis framework comprised three parts: a tourist analysis, competitor analysis and self analysis. The vision of the brand identity system represented the process of developing a destination brand identity which incorporated relevant local cultural characteristics. During the process they emphasized maintaining 'places' of social meaning as opposed to creating 'non-places' that result when a community surrenders to being driven by commercial interests of globalization.

Matching the scale of these disparate forces – the quest for cultural continuity and the change introduced by tourism – in a manner that leads to economic prosperity on a sustainable growth model represents a formidable challenge. Inherent in such challenge is the role of strengthening a destination's identity rather than erasing it.

(Konecnik and Go, 2008, p. 181)

In a third study, Askegaard and Kjeldgaard (2007) discussed the role of branding in regional development in the context of the global cultural economy. They examined the branding of the local gastronomic industry on the island of Fuenen, Denmark. The local food industry was changed and enhanced through adapting, mixing and evolving their local cultural food heritage with the global offerings. Broadly interpreted, the authentic local foods were enhanced with global foods and the destination was branded based on the available unique cuisine. Some may fear the loss of authenticity in this process,

but the authors stressed that 'any locality must reflexively understand its own cultural identity in relation to divergent discourses of globalization' (p. 139). They pointed out 'processes of globalization not only result in the dissolving of local cultures by homogenizing forces but also enable the construction of places by way of marketing' (p. 138). In this study, localized place branding becomes an issue in macromarketing for sustainability.

Places do not disappear in the process of globalization but through the increased reflexivity of the consumers and marketers; their place branding activities reappear both as hyperreal constructs and as very real development opportunities.

(p. 146)

All three studies demonstrate that through the place-branding process, destination communities explore and become aware of their identities within their geographic region. These processes can be embedded and further analysed through frameworks of bioregionalism. 'Bioregionalism' examines bioregional identity within the globalized world. It is concerned with indigenous peoples, local knowledge, globalization, science, global environmental issues, modern society, conservation, history, education and restoration. Bioregionalism's emphasis on place and community radically changes the way we confront human and ecological issues (McGinnis, 1999). Once we have identified a bioregional core identity, place branding strategies can build upon the unique characteristics of the local culture, build quality of life communities and become worthy travel destinations.

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9

Withstanding the Test of Time: Yellowstone and Sustainable Tourism

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In the spring of 1872, the US Congress created the world's first national park by setting aside almost 880,000 ha (2.2 million acres) of wilderness along the headwaters of the Yellowstone River in what was then the territories of Montana, Wyoming and Idaho. Yosemite had already been established as a state park in California in 1864, but because the Yellowstone reserve was located in territories rather than states, it became the responsibility of the federal government. Probably without really understanding what it had done, Congress established Yellowstone National Park as the world's first federally owned and federally managed – and therefore truly 'national' – park. And, were it not for the support of the railroads and others hoping to profit from future tourism in the area, the move to establish Yellowstone as a national park would probably not have proceeded as quickly as it did (Haines, 1977; Majoc, 1999; Barringer, 2002). In the wording of Yellowstone's Enabling Act, legislators echoed sentiments codified earlier in Yosemite's enabling legislation and which appeared again in 1916 when the US National Park Service (NPS) was created: the park should be managed to protect natural features while simultaneously making them accessible to the public. Yellowstone was to be a nature preserve as well as 'a public pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people'.

Today, over 135 years later, this grandfather of all national parks continues to maintain its appeal as an internationally renowned tourist destination despite major changes in administrative strategies, national crises such as the Great Depression and two World Wars, and large- and small-scale environmental changes. As a result, Yellowstone might serve as an effective model of the sort of 'sustainable tourism' many communities and countries are trying to develop in places where nature experiences or specific natural features and/or wildlife are the main tourist attractions. It is difficult to gauge the real, long-term sustainability of most sustainable tourism projects, because these projects – or experiments – are so young. Yellowstone National Park, in

contrast, is an intact ecosystem and successful tourist destination with a long history. The park, therefore, provides an opportunity to study one place where long-term sustainable tourism has been achieved.

In an earlier edition of this book, using Yellowstone as a case study, I argued for the incorporation of the traditional tourist experience or the tourist's 'sense of place' into park management decisions (Meyer, 2001). I pointed out that Yellowstone's ecological and economic sustainability as a nature-based tourist destination was secure, but cautioned that without attention to the park's 'spirit of place' and standards of 'historical appropriateness' alongside science, politics and economics, park managers might inadvertently lose or dilute the traditional and unique 'Yellowstone experience'. In its place would be a less meaningful, less rewarding, perhaps 'generic' national park experience, something less able to withstand the test of time and administrative conflict. Since that earlier edition, however, it is obvious that the idea of 'sense of place' and 'historical appropriateness' have become institutionalized in most recent NPS management documents and are very much a part of management strategies and decisions. For example, in reference to an ongoing debate over whether snowmobiles should be allowed in the park, Yellowstone's outdoor recreation planner cites the NPS's own *Management Policies* document when he writes:

[T]he NPS promotes activities that are 'inspirational, educational, or healthful, and otherwise [are] appropriate to the park environment' and forbids uses that impair park resources or values, or that [a]re contrary to the purposes for which the park was established.

Park history and tradition provide the foundation for this policy (Yochim, 2003, p. 14; see also National Park Service, 1991, 2007a; ENSAR Group, 2001; US Department of the Interior, 2001; Yochim, 2005; Yellowstone Association, 2007). By including the concepts of 'sense of place' and 'historical appropriateness' alongside standards of ecological health and economic feasibility, managers have reinvigorated that which is unique about a visit to Yellowstone. And, a closer look at this form of management may provide lessons that are applicable to other sustainable tourism projects.

Granted, 'sustainable tourism' is an elusive goal. It is difficult to clearly define any of the terms associated with the concept of 'sustainability' as first introduced by the Brundtland Commission (Hall and Lew, 1998, p. 3). In fact, 'defining...sustainable development has become one of the major policy debates of our generation' (Hall and Lew, 1998, p. 1) and problems with definitions are equally difficult for the term 'sustainable tourism' (Stabler, 1997; Butler, 1998). Typically, the idea of 'sustainable tourism' focuses on achieving a hybrid of economic and environmental viability coupled with ethnic and ethical sensitivity and responsibility. That is, managers working towards 'sustainability' must ask themselves if tourism – as opposed to other economic activities such as agriculture or extractive industries – is truly viable as an economic strategy in that particular place. And, those same managers must ask themselves if encouraging tourism will also protect and maintain the area's environmental health (recognizing that 'environmental health' itself is

a difficult concept to quantify), while also respecting local, often indigenous, ties to the land. In other words, will the ecosystem remain a viable, functioning system that will draw tourist money to the area despite the environmental impact of tourism *over the long term*?

In terms of environmental health, Yellowstone appears to meet the requirements of long-term sustainability. In fact, with the successful reintroduction of the grey wolf, a rebound in the grizzly bear population and amazing post-fire regrowth of Yellowstone's forests, it appears that Yellowstone's ecological complexity and health have never been better. The current NPS superintendent of Yellowstone proudly declares:

Yellowstone National Park and the surrounding 20 million acre Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem comprise the largest intact wild ecosystem in the lower 48 states. All native vertebrates are present. Natural disturbances, native species, and ecological processes interact with relatively little human intervention.

(Lewis, 2007, p. 5)

Naturally, problems still exist. Whirling disease, brucellosis, pollution from oil and gas drilling operations just outside the park's southern border, encroaching urban sprawl, and questions surrounding bioprospecting and road building are just a few of the problems that continue to plague those who struggle to maintain Yellowstone's iconic status as 'pristine' and 'natural' (Whittelsey, 2007, Yellowstone National Park, personal communication). But, vexing as these problems are, they do little to deter visitors from travelling to the park.

In terms of economic sustainability, the park continues to serve as a nuclear core, fuelling economic development and maintaining economic stability in the surrounding region. 'In Greater Yellowstone, the economic contribution of the service-oriented sector of the economy, which includes tourism, has far surpassed that of the extractive industries' (Glick, 1991, p. 69). Glick, however, reminds us of the same 'devil's bargains' Rothman (1998) described as being struck in western towns that adopt tourism as the mainstay of their economies: 'There is growing concern that the rapid expansion of tourism could threaten the conservation gains associated with the curtailment of the more blatantly destructive land use practices' (Glick, 1991, p. 69). To that end, Yellowstone has also attracted a host of non-governmental and non-profit organizations which employ locals as well as outsiders and bring revenue into the park's gateway communities. The Yellowstone Association, Yellowstone Foundation, Greater Yellowstone Coalition, Teton Science School, Hopa Mountain, Big Sky Institute and the Yellowstone Institute are all situated in or around the greater Yellowstone area and contribute to the regional economy without requiring a large ecological footprint inside the park.

Sense of Place

Any understanding of 'sense of place' must begin with an appreciation for the role of *place* as a geographic concept. *Place* and a person's *sense of place* are

integral to the field of humanistic geography (Tuan, 1977), and Yi-Fu Tuan was the first to define them for the discipline. Tuan defined a place as 'not only a fact to be explained in the broader frame of space, but it is also a reality to be clarified and understood from the perspectives of the people who have given it meaning' (Tuan, 1979, p. 387). It has become commonplace to describe the social construction of place and the spaces or landscapes that surround them (Schama, 1995; Oakes, 1997; Olwig, 1996; Schein, 1997; Proctor, 1998). And, people as individuals and as nations identify themselves and their values with particular places as well (Greider and Garkovich, 1994).

Viewing Yellowstone as *place* – rather than as national park, tourist destination or nature preserve – reveals Yellowstone to be a deeply humanized landscape: the product of generations of people interacting with its landscape and assigning meanings to it beyond its physical setting. Two outcomes of my own work on the evolution of a sense of place for Yellowstone (Meyer, 1996) are especially relevant to the idea of sustainable tourism. First is the role of the tourist in contributing to, articulating, and sustaining, a sense of place. Earl Pomeroy (1957), historian of tourism in the American West, understood the importance of tourists to the establishment and continued success of western parks and resorts, because the tourist not only observed and recorded experiences but became an ingredient of the experience as well (see also Pomeroy in Wrobel and Long, 2001). By recounting tales of their travels, tourists create expectations for others. Second, sense of place is not wholly subjective and enigmatic, something easily dismissed as peripheral to the tourist experience. Instead, sense of place can be understood and quantified (Shamai, 1991). It is a shared image vital to the unique 'Yellowstone experience' that differentiates it from other national park experiences and allows it to be used as a management tool.

Using this sort of holistic and site-specific management perspective frees park managers from considering only the negative environmental impacts of tourism. When the tourist experience itself is the central concern, managers may take on a more proactive rather than reactive role. Beginning with a solid understanding of the park's sense of place, management decisions may be weighed against whether or not they enhance this site-specific experience. Another benefit is that it recognizes and incorporates the interests of the area surrounding the park into the 'totality of the park experience' (Sax, 1980). In many instances, the tourist experience for a particular place actually begins well outside its borders. Few tourists arrive in Yellowstone without having driven across the western plains or mountains *en route* to the park. Their Yellowstone experience begins somewhere along the way, somewhere beyond the park's actual administrative border (Meyer, 1996, 2003). Despite justifiable claims of 'visual blight' when describing the hundreds of miles of billboards and signs announcing the approach of Wall Drug Store, these markers often serve as 'anticipation-builders' for Yellowstone-bound tourists making their first trip across the western plains. National park managers should be both willing and eager to elicit advice, ideas and support from surrounding communities, since it is often there that tourists' actual park experience begins (Walsh *et al.*, 2001).

US National Parks: Early Experiments in Sustainable Tourism

Yellowstone is one of the 'crown jewels' of the US national park system, an honour it shares with other old, large nature parks such as Yosemite, Glacier, Grand Canyon and Mount Rainier. These parks enjoy a privilege not afforded most new national parks. That is, these crown jewels were created at a time when both nature protection enthusiasts and the touring public saw no contradiction in the idea that a place could remain natural, untouched by human hands and at the same cater to mass tourism. Even today, people easily accept the idea of Yellowstone as both 'natural' and filled with roads, bridges, dining rooms, hotels and gift shops. Yellowstone exists simultaneously as an internationally revered icon of nature preservation and as an international tourist destination that comfortably accommodates approximately 3 million visitors each year.

Today, it is nearly impossible to imagine any national park without tourists, even in the most distant and rugged locations. The NPS web site even allows web surfers to locate specific national parks by name, location or major tourist activities such as hiking, biking, auto touring, camping or horseback riding (National Park Service, 2007b). Hence:

national parks, often the most recognisable form of protected environments, have a well-established connection with tourism. From early days, tourism has been encouraged in park systems worldwide as it helped to fulfil the 'enjoyment' mandate of many national parks agencies.

(Boyd, 2000, pp. 161–162; see also Butler and Boyd, 2000; Nelson, 2000).

US national park history is very much a constant give and take between proponents of wilderness protection and those favouring increased tourism development. Nowadays:

conflict over park mandates is avoided on the basis that the type of tourism being encouraged is that classed under the broad labels of 'sustainable', 'responsible' and 'environmentally conscious'.

(Boyd, 2000, p. 162)

An understanding of a park's sense of place and standards of historical appropriateness is especially helpful when trying to meet the often conflicting requirements of the NPS's dual mandate.

A Longitudinal Study

As mentioned above, Yellowstone's primary usefulness as a model for sustainable tourism is its longevity. The park's popular image as an important tourist 'must see' has survived natural disasters and times of incredibly bad media attention partly as a result of its clear and resilient image as *place*. Repeatedly over the park's 135 year history, the NPS has erred in making decisions balancing preservation with use. In the 1970s and early 1980s, Yellowstone's managers were criticized for precipitating what the public press considered 'avoidable' grizzly bear attacks on tourists. The 1988

summer of wildfires was a media disaster as all major news stations aired footage of the nation's beloved Yellowstone enveloped in flames (Pyne, 1997; Rothman, 2007). A decade later, the NPS allowed park bison to be hunted when they crossed over the park's northern boundary on to lands not protected by the federal government in search of grass at lower, less snowy elevations. The Yellowstone 'bison slaughter' of 1997 made international news (Leakey, 2004). Then came the wolf reintroduction of the 1990s, a move praised by environmentalists and cursed by local wool growers. Finally, the snowmobile ban of 2001 angered snowmobilers and snowmobile manufacturers to the point that their powerful public relations campaign caused the White House to overturn the ban the following year.

Each of these events and their policy shifts caused public outcry that focused attention on NPS management policies in Yellowstone and beyond. Criticism was levelled not only at the management decisions but at individual managers and administrators living in Yellowstone all the way up to high-ranking officials in Washington, DC. Criticism from Yellowstone's bordering states and gateway communities was especially loud and sharp. Some communities or enterprises assume they cannot adjust quickly or cannot easily absorb the impact of change, so any policy changes that deviate from the way it has always been done 'round here' are followed by a fear that tourists will stay away, sales of rooms, meals, gasoline and other necessities purchased in and outside the park will plummet, jobs will be lost and tax revenues will dry up. However, these predicted losses never materialized. Yellowstone's draw as a tourist attraction – its sense of place – has staying power.

A closer look at the public's response to the 1988 wildfires is revealing. Since the early 1970s, in response to American society's growing environmental awareness and concern that began a decade earlier, the NPS has used ecosystem-based management as a guideline for achieving and maintaining some illusion, if not actual state, of wildness in the nature parks of the national park system (Houston, 1971; Despain *et al.*, 1986; Schullery, 1997; Pritchard, 1999). And, in celebration of Yellowstone's centennial in 1972, the NPS introduced a new management strategy based on letting nature run its course. This new policy meant that naturally occurring fires would be allowed to burn as long as fires did not threaten human lives or major structures. In the summer of 1988, several small, natural, backcountry fires burned out of control. Eventually, the decision was made to fight the fires, and in an effort to save lives and speed up firefighting efforts, the NPS closed the park to the public at the height of the tourist season. Almost immediately, local and regional residents and business owners in the park's gateway communities felt betrayed by administrators who appeared to place more value on scientific principles and ecological processes than on their needs and interests. 'The fires generated more emotion than inquiry, and more heat than light' remarked then-NPS Superintendent for Yellowstone, Robert Barbee (quoted in Carrier, 1989, p. i). The public's critical response – fuelled by emotional hyperbole and exaggeration by the mass media – to the 'ecologically correct' wildfires made park managers realize that Yellowstone was more than a representative bit of wild nature.

The ecological value of wildfire may have been acceptable in *theory* but not in *reality*, not in Yellowstone National Park. Managers quickly realized that for many of Yellowstone's supporters, the park is not a natural laboratory, it is a cherished *place*. The NPS's ecosystem-based management programme is only an 'uneasy truce between what science tells us is possible and what our value system tells us is appropriate' (Barbee and Schullery, 1989, p. 18). As the smoke cleared, it was obvious that the worst fears of the regional tourist industry had not occurred. The economic impact of the fire was minimal. Park visitation did decrease by 400,000 people (about 16% of expected totals for the year) in 1988 when park gates were closed to all but firefighters and their equipment. But, when the park reopened in October, visitation was up 39% over previous years (Wuerthner, 1988):

Despite these losses, some establishments did a brisk business in supplying the army of firefighters with everything from motel space to food. For many establishments, the summer fires were a gold mine that provided an unexpected boom, helping to mitigate the loss of tourist dollars.

(Wuerthner, 1988, p. 55)

And, if visitation figures from Yellowstone entrance gates are considered, the minor drop in visitation during the fires did not, as fears suggested, continue into later years. Tourist numbers are measured at entrance gates in persons per vehicle (PPV), and PPV figures for 1988, 1989 and 1990 were 2.2 million, 2.7 million and 2.8 million, respectively. Throughout the 1990s through 2006, Yellowstone's total summer visitation rate has hovered right around 3 million PPV, with a low of 2.7 million in 2001 and a high of 3.1 in 1992, 1998 and 1999 (National Park Service, 2007c). High fuel prices and a weak US dollar contributed to near record-setting visitation totals for 2007 as well (Yochim, 2007, Yellowstone National Park, personal communication).

Yellowstone National Park would seem to provide fertile ground as a model of sustainability, whether the focus is on sustaining an ecosystem, one element of the ecosystem, or the local and regional tourist economy over the long term. After one-and-a-quarter centuries, Yellowstone's popularity remains high, and, except for the years during the World Wars, visitation rates have never gone through the typical resort cycle of initial boom and eventual stagnation or bust. Yellowstone's image as *place* has been strong enough to weather firestorms, ageing infrastructure, political scandals and policy shifts, making it an excellent model for long-term sustainable tourism and environmental protection practices.

Grizzly Bears and Snowmobiles

Tourist appeal for Yellowstone's grizzlies and the contentious battle over whether or not snowmobiles belong in Yellowstone are two topics that illuminate the resilience, strength and importance of the park's sense of place. Equally revealing is how seriously the NPS takes its mandate to protect and promote what is best about the park and how adaptable the public's

affection is for this place. Although the Yellowstone grizzly bear saga is long, complicated and fascinating, the most recent chapter has a happy ending. Early on, there was a period when Yellowstone was the model for Jellystone National Park and picnic-basket-stealing Yogi Bear – a time when bears lined the roadways begging for handouts from passing tourists. Then came a drastic change in park policy which was part and parcel of the same ‘let nature run its course’ philosophy instituted in the early 1970s. Roadside feeding of bears was outlawed and backcountry garbage dumps where bears had fed for generations were closed in the hope of forcing the bears to make the transition back to more natural hunting and foraging behaviours. Dump closings were followed by a transition period during which ‘bear incidents’ occurred, resulting in the injury or death of both tourists and bears. This was a difficult time for the bears, the public, and the NPS. Some bears simply would not ‘return to the wild’ and had to be removed. Experts still disagree on how many bears were lost in the policy change. Some believe grizzly populations were reduced to near-extinction levels in a misguided attempt to force bears to return to more ‘natural’ diets and foraging behaviours (Craighead, 1979). Others argued that the NPS’s removal programme merely restored a more natural balance between the grizzly bear population and available habitat (Schullery, 1980; Pritchard, 1999). Nevertheless, regardless of finger-pointing and name-calling of the past, grizzlies have apparently returned to their natural, wild ways, and bear sightings along Yellowstone roads are increasingly frequent.

For several years, especially during the 1980s when the grizzly population was very low, park visitors expressed disappointment at not being able to see bears. Some felt cheated or disappointed, others were angry. However, during this time, the NPS put forward an excellent public relations and public education campaign that explained the relationship between ‘wild’ grizzlies and a ‘healthy’ Yellowstone ecosystem (Biel, 2006). The public’s strong desire to believe Yellowstone to be a wilderness helped people overcome disappointment at not seeing and feeding beggar bears. It was not long before the ‘new and improved’ Yellowstone grizzly was part of the park experience again, and the traditional Yellowstone experience remained intact. A slow but steady increase in the grizzly population has also helped tourists accept the grizzly’s new role in Yellowstone.

Unlike the grizzly bear issue, Yellowstone’s snowmobile controversy has yet to be resolved. Until the availability of privately owned, affordable snowmobiles, winter was typically Yellowstone’s off season. It was a time for the park to rest, recuperate and rejuvenate from the short but intense summer tourist season (Bartlett, 1985). Those who visited the park in winter found travel slow, deliberate and quiet. They had to travel on skis or snowshoes and make camp in the snow. Since the late 1980s, however, Yellowstone’s winter visitation numbers have soared, mostly as a result of increased snowmobile use. Now, only the naive still come to park assuming they will find solitude and silence. An increase in the number of winter tourists led to an increase in services and facilities available to them, and modern winter tourists truly need these services. Due to Yellowstone’s incredibly cold

temperatures and deep snow-imposed isolation, winter tourists simply are not and cannot be as self-sufficient as their summer counterparts. They arrive on snowmobiles, sleep in hotels, eat in restaurants, and warm themselves and fuel their machines at warming huts and gas stations. Yellowstone is not alone. 'Many wildlands have thus experienced a progressive shift from values focused on a natural environment to more socially-oriented, facility dependent values' (Knopf, 1988, p. 6).

In the case of grizzly bears and Yellowstone's sense of place, public perception of the bear evolved from beggar bear to wild bear, from bear as entertainment to bear as proof of Yellowstone's wildness. In the case of the snowmobile, it has been more difficult to reconcile past experiences with modern conditions. Yellowstone's traditional transportation experience went through a change once before, beginning in 1915 when automobiles began replacing horse-drawn carriages as the main form of park transportation. At that time, many tourists and travel writers decried the eventual ruination of the then traditional 'Yellowstone experience' as stagecoaches disappeared and were replaced by park's famous yellow touring cars and private automobiles.

The introduction of snowmobiles on the Yellowstone scene is different, however. One difference is that the exhaust fumes and sound of snowmobiles precludes others from experiencing the traditional quiet of a Yellowstone winter. Recently, two organizations who oversee national parks in general and Yellowstone in particular, the National Parks and Conservation Association and the Greater Yellowstone Coalition, reported that over the course of a day, the drone of snowmobiles in Yellowstone is now nearly constant, especially at popular places like Old Faithful geyser. Hence, the use of snowmobiles is 'locking out other users' (Milstein, 2000). Others have pointed out that silence or at least an environment 'uncorrupted by the beeping, pounding, whining, roaring, growling, and screaming of civilization' may be a valid reason for preserving natural places (Watkins, 1999, p. 41; see also Coates, 2005).

Originally, scientists argued that snowmobiles were a benign presence in the park, because their ecological impact was minimal. It was assumed that because bears hibernate, many of the park's elk herds move to lower elevations outside the park, and much of the park lies hidden and protected under many feet of snow in the winter; winter tourism would have little impact on the environment. More recently, however, attention has focused not only on the noise but also on air pollution. The two-cycle engine on a snowmobile produces exhaust containing a thousand times more hydrocarbon and nitrous oxide pollutants than a car (Greater Yellowstone Coalition, 1996). Further, snowmobilers do not necessarily stay on groomed roads and have been found chasing bison and other wildlife as well as competing with cross-country skiers on backcountry ski-only trails. The rub lies in the fact, however, that snowmobilers spend more money in local and regional communities than do cross-country skiers, so concessionaires do not want snowmobile numbers reduced or their access restricted.

As the NPS continued to study the snowmobile situation, managers extended their investigation to include 'visitors' qualitative experiences' alongside quantitative data.

These studies revealed that:

snowmobile noise disturbed the aesthetic experience of the snowshoer or skier. For these visitors, solitude and quiet were valuable resources. Moreover, snowmobile air emissions lingered on still days and were offensive to people and wildlife. Finally, although snowmobiles made the park accessible to the old, very young, and physically handicapped, their use conflicted with that of other, more numerous park users.

(Yochim, 2003, p. 7)

The final Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) and Winter Use Plan for Yellowstone was just released late in 2007, so it is still too early to guess what the future of snowmobiles in Yellowstone will be. However, it is interesting to note that the Plan relies heavily on arguments protecting not only traditional (non-snowmobile) use but also arguments for maintaining the traditional winter experience by focusing on the 'character of historical winter access and recreation' (US Department of the Interior, 2007, p. 1).

Yellowstone as Model

The most important lesson other sustainable tourism projects might learn from Yellowstone's success is that whenever possible, new nature parks or preserves should be as big as is economically and politically possible. There are several reasons for doing so, and five are explained below. First, if the park is to serve as a nature park, the larger a park's geographic extent, the easier it is to maintain at least a semblance of wildness – if only in the interior, at its highest elevations or in its densest jungles – while still providing for some level of modern tourist amenities to sustain the park economically.

Second, the larger the park, the better is the chance for more biological diversity within its borders. And, the more diversity or variation in wildlife or landforms, the broader is the park's appeal among different interest groups. For example, a single park can attract anglers, photographers, bird-watchers, wildflower enthusiasts and rock climbers only if it has something to offer each of those groups. In Yellowstone, when the wolf was removed as a predator, the grizzly bear took over as the park's main carnivore as evidence of the park's naturalness *perceptually* if not ecologically. Certainly, the bear did not fill the same ecological niche as the wolf, but in terms of sustaining the tourists' perception of the park as a place where there are natural predators and prey, the wolf was not really missed.

Today, tourists come to Yellowstone to see and hear wolves not so much because they are an integral part of predation cycles, but the reintroduced wolf is an attraction itself. In the mid-1990s, 31 wolves were reintroduced to the greater Yellowstone area and are now second only to bears as the park's main wildlife attraction (Duffield *et al.*, 2006; Yellowstone Park Foundation, 2007). More interesting to sustainable tourism studies is the economic impact of wolf. 'Visitors who come to see wolves in Yellowstone contribute roughly \$35.5 million annually to the regional economy' (Yellowstone Park Foundation, 2007, p. 1) and '3.7% of Park visitation, or approximately 100,000 visitors annually, is due solely to the presence of wolves' (p. 2). 'In this case,

a fractional increase in visitors to one of the most popular parks in the world generates millions of dollars for gateway communities' (Duffield quoted in Yellowstone Park Foundation, 2007, p. 2).

A third reason for creating as large a park as possible is that it can physically and economically accommodate large numbers of tourists, support staff and provide gateway facilities and attractions. Their size allows them to absorb large numbers of visitors without appearing crowded and without straining infrastructure, because there is an opportunity to disperse visitors throughout the park rather than concentrating them in one small area.

Fourth is that larger areas have a better chance of recovering from macro-scale natural processes such as volcanic eruptions, wildfire and floods, whereas smaller reserves cannot. Typically, the aftermath of these major, landscape-altering events acts as a tourist draw as curious tourists and scientists rush in to assess the situation. Also, when natural disasters do strike, a large park most likely has other attractions upon which to fall back, whereas a smaller park might not. When floods, volcanic eruptions, wildfire, epidemics or other natural (or human-caused) disasters devastate one wildlife population, for example, tourists may be re-routed to viewing another, different species. Or, the park's 're-birth' may be touted as a new attraction as was the case with Yellowstone's post-wildfire regrowth and wolf reintroduction. The more opportunities are encompassed in a single destination, the greater is its ability to weather natural cycles.

Fifth and finally, the larger the park, the larger is the region dependent on, and responsible for, its success. Communities geographically distant from the actual border of the park will not be as likely to act as park advocates. Yellowstone is literally the 'heart' – geographically, biologically, geologically, economically and politically – of a greater Yellowstone area (Vale and Vale, 1989; Glick *et al.*, 1991; Schullery, 1997; Pritchard, 1999) composed of publicly and privately owned land surrounding the park. Greater Yellowstone is home to movie stars, mining and logging camps, new ranchettes and suburban sprawl, working farms and ranches that have been owned by the same family for generations, national parks, national forests, national wildlife refuges, state parks, city parks, new and historic resorts, checkerboard acreage owned by railroad corporations and gateway communities hoping to continue to 'cash in' on Yellowstone's name and reputation. Hence, the park's gateway communities include those immediately adjoining the park – such as West Yellowstone and Gardiner, Montana – as well as those cities as far away as Bozeman and Livingston, Montana, to the north; Cody, Wyoming, to the east; Jackson, Wyoming, to the south; and Big Sky, Montana, to the north and west. Some of these towns were established well before Yellowstone became a national park, but none would attract the number of tourists it does today were it not for their relationship and proximity to the park.

In marketing themselves, different gateway communities emphasize different aspects of their association with the park. Jackson, Wyoming, for example, promotes itself as a part of the 'Wild West' and the 'cowboy era' with nightly shoot-outs and 'saloons' instead of bars. Virginia City, Montana, is a restored mining town and hopes to draw in visitors interested in the

Rockies' gold rush and the settlement of the 'frontier'. Both towns are within one or two hours' drive from Yellowstone National Park, and both draw on, and profit from, their association with the greater Yellowstone-generated tourist region.

Most recently, many of Yellowstone's gateway communities are experiencing renewed vigour as retired and/or wealthy urban dwellers rediscover the American West and buy up ranches to build second homes or retirement homes in the Greater Yellowstone area.

For most nature parks, therefore, size does matter. If a destination hopes to attract both wilderness enthusiasts and mainstream tourists, the larger the park, the more confidently managers can speak of its wilderness characteristics, its ecological complexity and ability to withstand major natural processes. Perhaps Yellowstone, Yosemite, and the other large national parks have been successful *because* of their size and biological and geographic diversity. But, it is also the parks' rich layering of meanings and their enduring allure – each park's sense of place – that draw visitors in and keep them coming back.

Shortcomings: Cultural Sustainability

For all their success, however, Yellowstone and other US crown jewel parks never faced one of the most difficult problems faced by most national parks now being established in developing countries as sustainable tourism projects. These parks must include policies that are respectful of the ethical and cultural rights of the local population. The third leg supporting sustainable activities – that of respect for human rights – was simply not an issue for early US national park managers. Native Americans were systematically removed from their ancestral lands within newly created parks (Schullery, 1997; Spence, 1999). This absolved the NPS from asking questions regarding ethnic and moral responsibilities to the indigenous population and allowed them to avoid dealing with all but a narrow field competing stakeholders and public interests. Since most new national parks just recently established in Africa and South America have long been home to native people, protecting wildlife or outlawing grazing, dam building or timber cutting often means forcing local populations off ancestral lands or to completely change their ways of life (Naughton-Treves, 1997; De Boer and Baquete, 1998; Ferreira and Harmse, 1999; Gillingham and Lee, 1999; Hudson, 1999).

In an effort to repair its image with tribal people and communities in the lands surrounding Yellowstone today, the NPS has made very real efforts to involve Native Americans with the park, from educational programmes for tribal youth ('No Child Left Inside' programme), hiring incentives and including information about Yellowstone's Native American presence, heritage and evidence on the landscape in its interpretive programmes. But, the fact remains that the NPS is only now, in the 21st century, dealing with incorporating the Native American presence into the Yellowstone tourist experience.

National Parks and the Goal of Sustainability

Attention to a park's sense of place and traditions – as well as attention to preserving, restoring and maintaining its natural ecosystem – provides managers an additional tool for building a sustainable tourist destination. Only by truly understanding the sense of a place of a park, can managers intelligently, comprehensively and appropriately manage for the long-term tourist experience. And, it is comforting to know that unlike managing for scientific or economic goals alone, managing for sense of place allows flexibility. As long as the public understands that his and her expectations are included in the decision-making process, it is easier to accept minor changes that do not destroy what the park has come to represent.

In conclusion, Yellowstone National Park is an excellent place to examine long-term regional sustainability issues that include attention to environmental, economic and sense-of-place needs. Increasingly, Yellowstone's managers are taking the traditional tourist experience into consideration as they realize the tourist is both the source and the vector for the park's enduring popularity. This return to the heart of the Yellowstone experience is evident not only in the reintroduction of wolves and natural fire regimes to the park's ecosystem, but in the restoration of the park's famous yellow, canvas-topped touring cars that are now used alongside modern motor coaches for park tours. Throughout the park and gateway communities, new attention is being paid to the value of Yellowstone traditions and how best to meet tourist expectations without endangering the park's natural resources.

In terms of economic sustainability, the NPS is not mandated to manage its parks to be self-funding, unlike most nature parks established in developing countries today. US national parks have always been funded by the federal government rather than gate receipts and park concessions. However, the economic health of Yellowstone's gateway communities depend on the environmental health of the Yellowstone ecosystem, so it is in the best interest of both parties to work together to maintain the park's integrity. As in most nature-based parks:

it is protected area managers and conservationists, working with local communities and the tourism industry, who are generally best placed to manage nature tourism, to ensure that it is low impact, and that both local people and parks benefit significantly from it.

(Goodwin, 2000, p. 246)

In recent years, Yellowstone's NPS managers have worked with the park's concessioners and gateway communities to build LEED certified buildings, recycling centres and promote alternative fuels, ride share programmes and carbon neutral activities. In this way, Yellowstone continues to serve as a leader, paving the way for other national parks while still maintaining ties to its past. In making management decisions, however, the NPS has become very much aware of the boundaries set by sense-of-place standards, so that the 'Yellowstone experience' of the next century may be firmly grounded in what was best about the park's first 135 years.

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10 Community Perspectives in Sustainable Tourism: Lessons from Peru

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Introduction

The year 2006 was a record year for the Latin American tourism industry. More disposable income in several countries and a higher overall level of economic activity has fuelled an increase in recreational and business travel to the region. By August 2006, tourist arrival numbers were up by 8.7% in Central America, 8.1% in South America and 5.1% in the Caribbean countries (UN/ECLAC, 2007). Countries such as Costa Rica, Belize, Ecuador and Peru have promoted sustainable tourism to generate revenue and employment in rural areas while striving to reduce or avoid negative impacts. Peru in particular has enormous opportunities for alternative forms of tourism, including nature observation, heritage and archaeology, trekking, mountain climbing and river trips. Many rural areas of Peru, including the once relatively isolated islands of Lake Titicaca and mountain villages of the Andean region, have experienced rapid tourism growth since the mid-1990s.

It is widely accepted that as tourism expands in rural regions, sociocultural and environmental impacts will increase too. Potential impacts may be reduced by ensuring key ecological, economic and sociocultural factors are considered at all stages for a given tourism project or programme, although in reality this is often easier said than done. The key to improving environmental conservation and community well-being could be the direct involvement of local communities within a climate of supportive regional or national policy (e.g. Godde, 1999). Still, the current debate is not whether local communities should be involved, but just *how* they should be involved and whether such 'involvement' means 'control'. Moreover, some perceive the *degree* of control to be a significant element of sustainability (Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p. 103).

Defining sustainable tourism

Extensive literature exists on tourism and sustainability (besides this volume, see Hunter and Green, 1995; France, 1997; Stabler, 1997; Middleton, 1998; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Honey, 1999; Sharpley, 2000; Liu, 2003; Miller and Twining-Ward, 2005). This wide diversity of scholarship also highlights the difficulties inherent in defining sustainability or sustainable development (e.g. Langhelle, 2000; Liu, 2003), not to mention its applicability to the tourism sector. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the lack of consensus on meanings is a significant pitfall in the search for sustainability. Tourism is often considered as a panacea to support regions and localities in flux due to changing circumstances, leaving a correspondingly small footprint compared to industrial alternatives.

Sustainable tourism generally implies a balanced mix of sustaining local economies, local cultures and local environments with an acceptable and desirable level of impacts. McIntyre (1993, p. 16) considers sustainable tourism as a type of development that 'connects tourists and providers of tourist facilities and services with advocates of environmental protection and community residents and their leaders who desire a better quality of life'. To be truly beneficial, '[sustainable tourism] must also be dedicated to improving the quality of life of the people who live and work there, and to protecting the environment... Tourism must be environmentally sustainable – in both the natural and cultural environments – to be economically sustainable' (McIntyre, 1993, p. 5). Sustainable tourism often equates with 'ecotourism', which The Ecotourism Society defines as 'responsible travel to natural areas which conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people' (Epler Wood, 1998a, p. 10).

In reality, it may be difficult to achieve such laudable outcomes since local communities are often exploited and do not receive adequate benefits from tourism (Epler Wood, 1998a). Given that it is impossible to ensure that a particular visit or resort will not result in any significant long-term negative consequences, 'an emphasis on sustainability in intention is thus more realistic than an insistence on sustainability in outcome' (Weaver, 1999, p. 794). In their critical analysis of 'new' tourism and sustainability in the Third World, Mowforth and Munt (1998) contend that sustainability is a contested concept, one 'that is *socially constructed* and reflects the interests of those involved' (Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p. 24–25). They argue that developed countries' interests are served by the promotion of sustainability and ask 'who decides what sustainability means and entails, and who dictates how it should be achieved and evaluated?' (Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p. 12). The final section of the chapter addresses this point of who decides.

Other criticisms inherent to sustainable tourism exist. The wide variety of indicator sets and measurement techniques in use makes comparative evaluation difficult (IISD, 1999). Monitoring of tourism impacts is often absent or inadequately informal (Drumm, 1998). But perhaps most challenging for sustainable tourism proponents is that disagreement still exists on

exactly what may constitute 'local involvement' or 'participation'. The type, amount, intensity and equability of community participation requires closer examination to determine the level of involvement for a potentially sustainable tourism project to qualify as having achieved a high degree of local involvement. It is important to know just how local participation may affect the people's means of livelihood and the equitable sharing of benefits. Is the level of local participation in decision making merely of a consultative nature, or is the community largely in control of its tourism development and management? If the latter, would more equitable sharing of decision-making power result in a more balanced distribution of tourism benefits, and eventually lead to sustainable tourism?

Community integration

The central question considered in this chapter is whether a relatively high degree of community involvement in tourism planning, management and ownership, hence local control, can help reduce negative sociocultural impacts and increase positive benefits to local residents. Is it possible that a highly integrated community may increase the likelihood of success for tourism sustainability? The following characteristics distinguish community integration in tourism (Mitchell, 1998):

- the extent of a broad-based, equitable and efficient democratic process;
- the amount (or percentage) of participating citizens;
- the degree of individual participation, i.e. influence, in decision making;
- the amount of local ownership in the community-based tourism sector; and
- the degree of long-term involvement in planning and management by local communities, i.e. not a 'one-off' event.

True community integration would necessitate more than mere participation; for example, it would take seriously the concept of 'equality', which is linked to fair, democratic and meaningful decision making (Mitchell, 1998). An integrated community would demonstrate a mature social, psychological and political integration partially measured by its perceived and actual social, cultural and economic benefits (Mitchell, 1998). Crucial factors compounding this assumedly desirable outcome include property ownership, local elite domination, government policies and economic leakages. Mitchell and Eagles (2001) and Mitchell and Reid (2001) proposed a framework for community integration in tourism planning and management that outlines three integral components of a public participation triangle discussed throughout this chapter: awareness, unity and power. Many scholars (e.g. Arnstein, 1969; Freire, 1970; Chambers, 1983; Cernea, 1985; Kaufman and Haroldo Dilla, 1997; Green, 1999) elaborated at length on community participation as a complex process of awareness building, control and action, equating it with empowerment or the ability of a community to 'take charge' of its development goals on an equitable basis (for a critique of participatory development, see Kothari, 2001).

Building upon this and related research, two main objectives in this chapter are as follows:

1. To examine the role of community integration, especially power structures and processes, in relation to sustainable tourism planning and management.
2. To determine if community integration in sustainable tourism may: (i) increase the likelihood of socio-economic benefits; and (ii) influence or cause negative socio-economic impacts.

These objectives link to the fifth pathway or pitfall elaborated in the introductory chapter: *forms of knowledge and public participation*. In particular, this chapter examines the role and accessibility of knowledge in community-based tourism. For example, how is knowledge of tourism potential disseminated, what forms of knowledge should be considered, who are the principal advocates, what are their motives and to what extent do local residents collaborate with tourism policy administrators and industry players? Is the public equitably engaged to identify desirable futures and acceptable pathways to develop sustainable tourism (and if so, how)? These questions are examined in this comparative case study approach of two communities in Peru.

Tourism in Peru

Peru is the third-largest country in South America, bordered by five neighbours: Ecuador to the north-west, Columbia to the north-east, Brazil and Bolivia to the east and Chile to the south (see Fig. 10.1). Its total population of 26.2 million people (2005 census) includes about 7 million that live in the capital of Lima on the Pacific coast.

The combination of economic and political instability, widespread terrorist activities and a serious cholera outbreak resulted in the virtual destruction of the country's tourism industry during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Peru was one of only three countries in the Western hemisphere where tourist arrivals declined from 1980 to 1992 (Blackstone Corporation, 1995). With increased socio-economic stability during the latter half of the 1990s, tourism became the fastest-growing sector in Peru's economy (Boza, 1997). From 317,000 international tourist arrivals in 1990, Peru had over 1.2 million international tourist arrivals in 2005, with an average annual growth of 10.8% between 1995 and 2004 (UNWTO, 2005). Record tourism numbers are expected for 2007 and 2008. Principal reasons for the increased tourism demand included Peru's outstanding ecological, cultural and historical diversity. The country is likely the most globally diverse in terms of bird species (over 1600) and third most diverse in mammals (Blackstone Corporation, 1995). It also possesses some of the most exciting heritage resources in the world, including the Inca ruins at Machu Picchu and the Nazca Lines.

Inappropriate tourism in fragile destinations such as Peru's cultural and biological treasures can generate negative environmental, social and cultural impacts. These include too many visitors at the same time in sensitive areas,

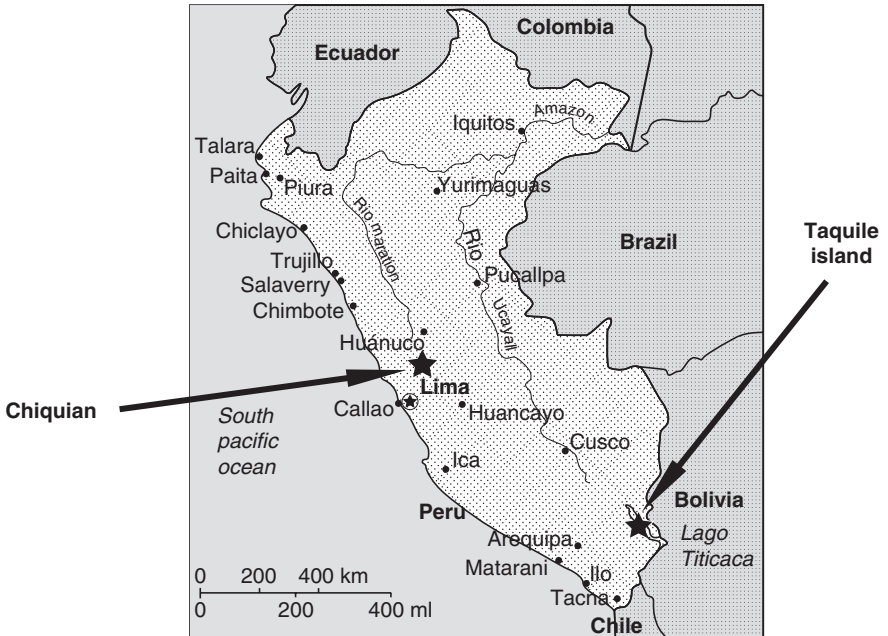


Fig. 10.1. Map of Peru and location of study sites. (Adapted from www.theodora.com/wfb/peru/peru_map.html, July 19, 1998.)

uncontrolled litter and pollution, loss of local tradition and culture, vandalism (such as damage to archaeological sites or graffiti on Inca walls) and other impacts. In a concerted effort to avoid or minimize these impacts and achieve sustainable tourism, a National Strategic Plan for Tourism, PENTUR (2005–2015), was implemented in 2005 by the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism (MINCETUR), including promotion, infrastructure, legislation and competitiveness (see www.mincetur.gob.pe). The Peruvian private sector has also shown interest in the conservation of natural and cultural resources. For example, the Peruvian Association of Adventure Tourism & Ecotourism (APTAE) has produced a *Handbook of Good Practices for Sustainable Tourism* in coordination with the Rainforest Alliance and the National Tourism Promotion Commission (PromPerú). Founded in 1993, PromPerú's mission is to promote Peruvian tourism domestically and internationally. These examples demonstrate that Peru is developing a serious commitment to sustainability in tourism.

Study Area

The first community selected for this comparative study was Taquile Island,¹ located on Lake Titicaca in south-eastern Peru. The other community was Chiquian,² which lies just south of Huaraz in the central part of Peru. Tourism in the Chiquian region is principally nature-based, while

both culturally and ecologically oriented for Taquile Island. Taquile Island was selected for a number of reasons. Most importantly, an earlier visit by the author in 1990 and an initial review of previous research indicated that the islanders appeared to be in self-control of their tourism industry with many islanders participating and benefiting from tourism. By setting their own tourism agenda many years ago and controlling the tourism transportation and accommodation industry on their island, the author hypothesized that the islanders were receiving high social and financial benefits. Chiquian was selected to compare and contrast tourism and community integration to Taquile Island. Again, previous research and site visits indicated that Chiquian and other neighbouring communities were largely excluded from any tourism benefits such as direct employment and income generation. Chiquian was selected over certain Huayhuash villages (e.g. Llamac and Pacllón) due to its wider diversity of tourism services, greater population size and recent focus on ecotourism events and employment.

Shared characteristics of the two study sites are indicated in Table 10.1. Although some differences exist, recognizable elements of sustainable tourism are inherent to both Taquile Island and Chiquian. Both areas are culturally and ecologically unique and tend to attract nature-adventure rather than conventional tourists (at least initially for Taquile), especially if stayovers such as camping or rustic accommodation are necessary. Both communities have not only local people employed in the tourism industry, but also local people concerned about protecting their land and culture from possible

Table 10.1. Research site comparison.

Key characteristics	Taquile Island	Chiquian
Altitude	3,812m	3,374m
Dominant languages	Primarily Quechua, minor Spanish	Spanish; minor Quechua
Location	Lake Titicaca; accessible by boat from Puno	Central Andes; accessible by road from Huaraz or Lima
Major economic activities	Subsistence agriculture, tourism services, weaving	Subsistence agriculture, guiding, weaving
Number of visitors	Estimated 27,000 in 1996	Estimated 1,000 in 1996 to Huayhuash
Population	1,850 (1997 estimate); 350 households	3,801 (1993 census); 1,204 households
Production of handicrafts	Very high; tourist-based and functional	Low to moderate; predominantly export-based
Tourism frequency	Year-round; high season from June–August	During high season only from May–September
Tourism economic importance	Very high; basic services including lodging, food, transport	Low to moderate; basic services including lodging, food, transport
Tourism type	Cultural/nature	Nature/cultural

negative effects. In addition, conservation of both the natural and/or cultural environment is an important priority, as well as planning or organizational efforts to increase widespread economic benefits from tourism.

Taquile Island

Taquile Island lies on Lake Titicaca in the extreme south-east end of Peru, about 25 km or 3–4 h by motor boat from Puno (regional capital with approximately 100,000 inhabitants). The total surface area of the island is 754 ha, with 65% of the area being cultivated (Valencia Blanco, 1989). Taquile's estimated population of 1850 (in 2005 estimated to be 1900 in Zorn and Farthing, 2007) primarily Quechua-speaking people are highly industrious in agriculture, fishing and weaving. Island administration is based on unique socio-geographical divisions which combine traditional with modern political systems (Healy and Zorn, 1983).

Foreign tourists began arriving on the dock at Puno in the mid-1970s and local private boat owners soon added the island to their tourist run on the lake. Groups of 30–40 families formed Taquile Island sailboat cooperatives in early 1978 (Healy and Zorn, 1983). By 1982, the number of boat cooperatives had expanded to 13 with 435 Taquile residents sharing boat ownership and management responsibilities (Healy and Zorn, 1983). The islanders proved to be competitive with boat owners from Puno and eventually displaced them by obtaining an officially sanctioned monopoly. Protection of islander-controlled tourist transport ended during the early 1990s with the advent of then-President Fujimori's privatization and anti-monopolization policies. In late 2005, several Puno-based tour operators acquired new, faster boats that make the trip in half the usual time including a brief visit to Taquile as part of a multi-island tour (Zorn and Farthing, 2007). A neoliberal economic policy of not forcing Puno-based agencies to pay local fees to Taquile for the right to take tourists to the island continues to this day (Zorn and Farthing, 2007).

One major attraction for many tourists to Taquile is its extraordinary weavings, skilfully woven from sheep and alpaca wool. Weavings are sold in a large community-run artisan store (Manco Capac Cooperative), and prices based on workmanship quality and labour (Healy and Zorn, 1983). Prices are also fixed by all members to avoid harmful competition, with a small percentage (5%) retained for cooperative maintenance. Community law in keeping with islander traditions of equality prohibits private sales, although in reality they occur on a discreet basis. By 1990, Taquile controlled all stages of its textile manufacture and marketing, and most tourism services (Prochaska, 1990). In November 2005, Taquile and its textile arts were named by UNESCO as one of 43 new Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritages of Humanity, providing a 'moral recognition' that may assist Taquileans in pressing their claims for a greater share of the market (UNESCO Press, 2005, cited in Zorn and Farthing, 2007, p. 683).

When tourists arrive on Taquile, a reception committee greets and registers them by age, duration of stay and nationality. New arrivals are assigned

accommodation on a rotating basis with a local family in an adobe hut. Several committees help to manage the daily tasks, such as housing, weaving, food and transportation. Each household approved by an accommodation committee as suitable for tourists directly receives the lodging fees (in 1997, about US\$2 per night). Tourist income revenues encourage household improvements (such as simple bedding gear, extra rooms and kerosene lanterns). Groups of families own and manage island restaurants.

Chiquian

Chiquian has an urban population of 3801 inhabitants and 1204 households (1993 census). It lies 110 km south-east of Huaraz, 340 km north-east of Lima and situated at 3374 m. In many respects, Chiquian remains as isolated as Taquile Island since it is surrounded by mountains and requires a relatively arduous journey from Huaraz (about 4 h by bus). Formerly known as the gateway to the Cordillera Huayhuash, this status may be changing as access by car to Llamac is now possible. Until recently, many visitors either start from, or end their Huayhuash trips in, Chiquian. However, most foreigners and domestic visitors tend to stick to the immediate Huaraz area compared to relatively isolated Cordillera Huayhuash area. An estimated 95% of foreign visitors to the Chavín Region (of which Chiquian belongs) visit cities in the Callejón de Huaylas (the mountain valley north of Huaraz of which the National Park of Huascarán is located), while only 1% visit Chiquian and the Cordillera Huayhuash (TMI, 1996).

Some local people in the Chiquian area are hired as porters, mule drivers and cooks. Other local services that cater to tourists (although not exclusively) include restaurants, hostels, bus transportation, wool clothing manufacturing and cheese making. Chiquian and its neighbouring towns offer other attractions such as colonial churches, thermal springs and archaeological sites. Most foreign tourists coming to Chiquian intend to trek or climb mountains in the nearby Cordillera Huayhuash that cover an area of 140,000 ha and is 45 km long from north to south. The Huayhuash is 'virtually an undiscovered treasure' with its extensive 'hiking and trekking routes, climbing attractions, archaeological sites, alpine lakes and cultural uniqueness' (Kolff and Tohan, 1997, p. 29). It contains 46 alpine lakes and has six peaks greater than 6000 m, including the second-highest mountain in Peru, Yerupaja at 6634 m.

The flow of visitors to the Huayhuash started in the 1970s and reached its peak by the mid-1980s. From that point on until the group's effective defeat in 1992, the Shining Path used the Cordillera Huayhuash as a remote base. As terrorism declined, tourism levels began to approach or even exceed numbers experienced during the 1980s. Approximately 1000 visitors during 1996 stayed an average of 10 days per person (Kolff and Tohan, 1997). However, local people of the Cordillera Huayhuash 'perceive tourism as only a means of economic benefits', and in general do not have a well-developed understanding of the industry (Kolff and Tohan, 1997, p. 61). In 1997, The Mountain Institute began discussing a community-based ecotourism programme with

local communities. However, in nearby mountain communities such as Llamac, a few families tend to dominate the tourism sector.

Locals remain concerned about the future of the Cordillera Huayhuash due to interests by foreign mining companies and increased tourism. In this research, some feel that roads built to access the mines or Jahuacocha Lake would reduce or even eliminate trekking if the pristine nature of the range was degraded. Since the late 1990s, the Cordillera Huayhuash 12-day trek around the entire range that begins and ends in the village of Chiquian has been shortened due to new roads built onwards from Chiquian. Combis (minibuses) now travel to Llamac via a new mining road, which shortens the route by a day, and which also has reduced Chiquian's importance as a 'gateway'. Some claim that Mitsui Mining and Smelting converted once-pristine wetlands on the range's west edge into industrial wastes, and local residents say that a local mine explosion contaminated their water supply (Wehner and del Gaudio, n.d.). In 2002, the Peruvian Ministry of Agriculture declared the Huayhuash a reserved zone and prohibited certain economic activities, including any future mining. Villagers are in large part opposed to the area's new protected status, because they fear they will lose grazing rights on what has always been their communal land (Wehner and del Gaudio, n.d.).

Data Collection

This research took place from December 1996 to September 1997. Recognizing that a given level of tourism dependence was present for each community, emphasis was placed on 'why' and 'how' individual and community participation might reduce negative sociocultural impacts. Individual and community well-being (i.e. personal satisfaction and democratic, equitable participation in local decision making) was measured through individual and community perceptions towards the tourism sector, equity inherent in local decision-making power and participation factors.

A household survey was applied to adult family members considered as community residents (defined as any household member 16 years or older living in the community for at least 6 months of the year). The survey objective was to examine household perceptions of socio-economic benefits from local tourism activities by a combination of closed-ended, i.e. choices provided, and Likert-scale questions, i.e. five-point scale ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. Other questions concerned local tourism history, community unity, tourism planning and development, decision-making power and impacts. A total of 101 surveys for Taquile and 136 surveys for Chiquian were carried out, usually at the place of residence. The minimum confidence interval was established at 10%, with a level of confidence of 90%.³

Qualitative methodology was applied to 'key-informant' interviews to obtain a greater perspective of the historical development of tourism for each respective community. Nine persons for Taquile Island and eight persons for Chiquian were selected for their extensive knowledge or involvement with the respective local tourism sector, including tourism founders and owners,

travel agencies and guides, politicians and weavers. The interviews also examined decision-making processes and attitudinal responses of the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism in each community. The interviews were undertaken in Spanish with a translator used for the local language on Taquile Island (Quechua).

Results

Research findings are grouped as follows: (i) growth and development; (ii) planning; (iii) solidarity and support; (iv) community participation; and (v) impacts. These themes are not intended to be definitive. Several other factors beyond community control such as destination attractiveness and government policies may be critical to the ultimate success of a locally based tourism industry (whether measured by longevity, equitability or other parameters), but were not studied here. Key findings from the household surveys are illustrated in Table 10.2. These include the type and degree of participation in local tourism, perceptions of support for tourism, personal benefits from tourism such as employment, and whether tourism should be expanded in the future. Principal factors recognized as responsible for socio-cultural, economic and environmental changes for both communities are summarized in Table 10.3. These include local tourism growth and control, community unity, sociocultural, economic and environmental impacts associated with tourism, and the future of local tourism.

Growth and development

Taquile Island and Chiquian were still relatively new destinations in the 1970s, although some mountain climbing activity and domestic tourism were already occurring in the latter community. Unique natural and cultural features inherent to both areas initially attracted visitors, but numbers remained relatively small, restricted by a lack of accessibility, proper facilities and

Table 10.2. Selected household survey findings.

Question	Taquile Island (%)	Chiquian (%)
Hold administrative role of any kind in community	88	15
Hold tourism administration role	79	8
Have attended a tourism meeting	96	18
Feel authorities encourage participation in tourism	93	65
Feel there is high municipal support for tourism	79	30
Are employed in tourism (part-time or full-time)	98	10
Feel that tourism benefits household	89	40
Desire more tourism activities for community	93	93

Table 10.3. Comparison of tourism growth and impacts by community.

Theme	Taquile Island	Chiquian
Tourism growth	Started mid-1970s; highest levels reached in 1990s; tourism has increased to near mass proportions	Started mid-1950s; highest levels reached by mid-1980s; tourism returning after years of terrorism
Tourism control	Formerly high control has decreased to moderate level partly due to privatization and ineffectual leadership	Low control with outside domination of local tourism industry
Community unity	Strong but declining unity linked to diminished control	Divided opinion over unity but marked pattern of disharmony and conflict
Sociocultural impacts	Modernization due to demands of tourism have affected traditional lifestyles; emergence of individualism and globalization; begging by children	Community feelings about tourism often negative; suspicion mixed with adverse inter-community relationships, less openness
Economic impacts	Most residents benefiting; opportunism linked to high revenues for shrewdest islanders; high leakages; Puno agencies blamed	Some revenues and jobs from tourism, but most residents not benefiting; high leakages; potential for community-wide benefits; Huaraz agencies blamed
Environmental impacts	Increasing litter affecting consumer demand; neglect of agriculture due to handicraft production	Mining exploitation and roads in Cordillera Huayhuash; perceived need to protect natural and cultural environment
Future of local tourism	Highly optimistic, but concern to maintain traditional ways; regaining control, training youth as guides, educating tourists important	Guarded optimism; tourism in early stages of development; community awareness and outside support needed

national or international awareness of their existence. As word spread during the latter 1970s, both areas received a growing number of tourists, and particularly so for Taquile Island due to its proximity to the 'gringo trail' (combination of road, rail and boat) linking Lima, Cuzco and Puno with La Paz in Bolivia.

By 1988, violence from terrorism was spreading throughout Peru, but affecting the Huayhuash region near Chiquian more dramatically and directly than Taquile. Tourism declined somewhat in Taquile but dropped to near zero levels in Chiquian. By 1994, tourism started to pick up again in Chiquian although short of the numbers of tourists experienced in the early 1980s. Based on general observations with local people employed in the tourism industry, visitation has hovered around the 1000 visitor level noted in 1996 by Kolff and Tohan (1997). Visitor numbers to the Huayhuash declined

somewhat in 1997 due to the combined effects of El Niño and the 1996–1997 MRTA (Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement) takeover of the Japanese Embassy in Lima.

In contrast to Chiquian, according to Puno Coast Guard records, in 1996 Taquile Island had 27,685 visitors. By 2001, of the 83,000 annual tourists to Puno, nearly half or 40,000 went to Taquile, which is ‘an astonishing number given the rustic remoteness of the island’ (Zorn and Farthing, 2007, p. 681). By 2005, the overwhelming majority of tourists travelled to Taquile on outsiders’ boats and 95% stayed only for the day (Zorn and Farthing, 2007).

When asked if tourism was responsible for any negative impacts (either social or environmental), 84% of Taquile and 90% of Chiquian respondents disagree with the statement. Still, many key informants claim that tourism has caused some problems for both communities, but especially so in Taquile due to its higher visitation numbers and relatively fragile setting, e.g. limited space and resources, dependency on lake for transport and food. Due to the increasing amount of congestion and litter on Taquile, some tourists and agencies interviewed displaced to other nearby islands, e.g. Amantaní, Islands of the Sun and Moon, Suasi (or, more recently, Anapia Island). This suggests that local tourism use is relatively elastic. Whereas many Taquileans feel their island to be so unique that it will continue to draw more visitors by reputation alone, many Chiquian interviewees suggest that visitor numbers could decline due to increasing litter, poorly marked trails, inadequate promotion and heightened mining activity in the Huayhuash. Likewise, other unique areas exist for hiking and climbing in the nearby Cordillera Blanca may influence visitor preferences.

Tourism planning

This research found that key individuals in both communities played important roles in the early stages of tourism planning. On Taquile Island, initial reluctance to be involved in tourism changed to outright support when economic benefits from community-wide participation in handicraft sales and lodging provision became apparent. Many respondents suggest the determination of ex-governor and expert weaver Francisco Huatta Huatta, Belgian priest Father Pepe Loits and US Peace Corps worker Kevin Healy persuaded the islanders of tourism’s economic advantages. These outside experts demonstrated that equitable participation could provide tourism services locally without drastically changing traditional ways. For example:

Father Loits...is one of the important factors of the island’s development and was there when the first tourists came, [but the islanders] did not want to bring [them]...they felt tourism would change them. [Father Loits] explained that it would be O.K. and told them about [cultural] exchanges, and how the monetary system worked...It seems to me that what he did was to conscientize the people that their island had value and richness, and that they had to maintain their identity...So when tourism increased, the [negative] effect was reduced and [Taquile] was able to maintain itself.

Chiquian, too, has had its tourism champions although some interviewees feel that their motives were not entirely altruistic. Roberto Aldave, considered by many respondents and interviewees to have put Chiquian on the map for its excellent opportunities in adventure tourism, was personally involved in early documentary film-making of the Cordillera Huayhuash in the 1970s. He also initiated the regionally important festival 'Ecoventura' (Eco-Adventure) in May 1994. Ecoventura essentially reopened the Huayhuash to trekkers and climbers after years of terrorism activity had virtually decimated the local tourism industry. For Aldave, it was an ideal venue to promote the area for outdoor activities such as trekking, climbing, horse-back riding and mountain biking:

[Ecoventura] was an incentive for bringing visitors to Chiquian. The City of Huaraz has always had attention, like their Alpine Week... so we had to compete with them. [Ecoventura] was formed for cultural, adventure and ecotourism motives... We wanted to promote Chiquian so that money would be invested in it.

Chiquian and nearby communities were also given the opportunity to show their unique customs, historical sites and other tourism possibilities. Although the original Ecoventura enjoyed some degree of success both locally and nationally, a bitter dispute in 1996 between the Ecoventura founder and the new Chiquian Municipal Council resulted in a takeover of festival management by the municipality.

Many respondents assert that tourism efforts in Chiquian favour those already involved in the local industry, such as established guides with connections to non-local agencies. In the late 1990s, some Chiquian residents working in the nature-adventure industry attempted to organize themselves. In 1997, local guides, porters and donkey drivers joined together with the Municipality of Chiquian and the newly created Tourism Commission to form The Cordillera Huayhuash Mountain Climbing Provincial Association. Still, the association was established not only to 'improve tourism service quality', but to lend support to non-tourism initiatives as well. One interviewee notes that perhaps the local government thought its scope would be too limiting with tourism as the sole objective. Many feel that travel agencies from Huaraz, Lima and Europe have overly controlled local tourism development. Some state that Chiquian residents with experience in trekking and climbing are often bypassed in favour of those from nearby mountain communities.

Solidarity and support

The two communities differ substantially in their respective level and intensity of community solidarity of support for the local tourism industry. Taquile islanders have historically and even passionately defended their rights in a collective fashion. An example of their solidarity occurred during a 1990 fight on the Puno docks when travel agencies tried to wrest control

over the right to take passengers to the island. Although the tourist agencies sued in court, Taquile won transport rights to the island through a Ministry of Tourism directive (Stone, 1996). However, then-President Fujimori's anti-monopolization laws of the early 1990s later thwarted this victory for Taquile residents, which effectively prohibited Taquile boat cooperatives from maintaining control over transport rights. This also showed that local monopolization could generate negative perceptions. In contrast, many Chiquian respondents were ambivalent towards not only tourism but also towards community planning and administration in general. Several persons blame this inherent disharmony on spillover effects of fear and suspicion of outsiders from the terrorism years, whereas others pointed fingers at the high emigration levels from surrounding villages or lack of financial incentives. Planning efforts with the town council and some local guides were 'to improve the quality of service to the client', rather than detailing how this organization could involve or benefit the entire community. Those lacking previous experience in adventure tourism tend to be excluded from membership in such organizations or from receiving specialized training. Still, one local guide feels less hostility and more willingness to help tourists exists:

Tourists have always been well-received by the people of Chiquian, because tourism generates income for restaurants, business people... more than the farmers could make... That's why the mountain folk were happy.

Only those owners and employees of tourism-related businesses were identified as strong supporters of tourism. One key-informant says that the nearby communities of Llamac and Pocpa support tourism more than Chiquian since many guides, donkey drivers and porters originate from these smaller mountain villages. Some suggest that trekkers have a more visible presence in such villages on the Huayhuash circuit, whereas tourists may not be as noticeable in Chiquian. Local political support for tourism would seem relatively high with new tourism committees and events, but many express discontentment with the municipality. The former mayor was very supportive of local tourism (some recognize that he had helped create and organize the first Ecoventura), but only 30% of survey respondents in Chiquian compared to 79% in Taquile agree that the local government supports tourism.

Community participation

According to the household surveys, Taquile residents highly participated in tourism service administration (79%) and community tourism meetings (96%), although admittedly the wide majority of participants are men (more on gender is discussed below). Most respondents agree (93%) that local authorities encourage participation in tourism meetings. A strong tradition of consensual decision making exists on Taquile, at least for men. All residents of legal voting age (both men and women) annually elect representatives of

the various tourism committees and the local government. Most posts cannot be held for more than a year, creating good opportunities for participation as community leaders. Authorities are not only expected to lead but to participate in the very decisions they make, and leaders are dismissed for incompetence or other factors. Tourism on Taquile has become such an important part of daily life that it has become interwoven with local politics. For example, at the time of the survey, most residents (77%) belonged to the Manco Capac Cooperative, which required a minimum of 3 weeks of administrative work from every member (this work could be substituted by a close relative of a member).

In contrast, few Chiquian respondents held any kind of administrative role in the community (15%) or attended tourism meetings (18%), only 8% were involved in some capacity in tourism administration, and most of those employed in tourism (apart from local restaurant and hostel owner-operators) worked for Huaraz-based or other tourism agencies. Many feel that only those already working in tourism are invited to take part in meetings and event planning (only 65% of respondents agree that local authorities encourage participation). Several respondents comment that only those working in tourism 'participate' in tourism service provision, since most people are either busy working on their farms or are simply not interested. At least one person attributes the lack of participation as a consequence of terrorism and its socio-psychological impacts on the community.

It is apparent, then, that greater participation exists in the overall administration of socio-political aspects of Taquile compared to Chiquian. Many Chiquian respondents indicate that tourism management is highly selective and geared towards those working in the industry, whereas many Taquileans have roles in local government or one of the several municipal or cooperative committees. Ecoventura (1994–1996) in Chiquian has created a perception of high community participation when in reality only a select few were involved in organizing the event. Training opportunities in trekking and climbing are not currently extended to those lacking experience. On the other hand, high participation levels for Taquile say little about the intensity of individual involvement or the type of participation. Public meetings on Taquile tend to be 'information sharing' by local leaders on recent achievements and upcoming projects rather than actively soliciting public input.

In addition, gender appears to play an important role in the variety (or intensity) of tourism meetings attended for both communities. Interestingly, Taquile women are visibly present at most community meetings but this was not the case observed in the male-dominated tourism committee meetings in Chiquian. Still, soft-spoken members of Taquile community such as the generally shy women are rarely encouraged to speak out except during 'special' sessions on domestic-related issues. This may be an indication that: (i) men have more spare time to attend such meetings; (ii) men are more interested in tourism meetings than women; and/or (iii) it may be a cultural role assigned to men. Differences attributable to gender are likely a combination of all three possibilities, but last one in particular is a characteristic common to traditional Andean cultures.

Impacts

The survey and interview results indicate that tourism has brought many changes to their way of life and their environs for both Taquile and Chiquian residents. For this chapter, primarily sociocultural impacts will be considered in the next section since the economic and environmental aspects are described in other publications (see Mitchell, 1998; Mitchell and Eagles, 2001; Mitchell and Reid, 2001).

Taquile Island

Consumerism: according to one interviewee, money was a relatively new commodity for most islanders when tourism began. Since the local economy was based on subsistence agriculture and fishing and the people were so isolated from mainland Peru, hard currency was only needed to purchase sugar or coca leaves (which are chewed) or to make house improvements. To obtain cash, Taquile men travelled to nearby towns to work as farm labourers, or sold their cattle and *colle* (local shrub used for firewood). Tourism made it possible to stay on the island and earn sufficient income for the family. In addition to handicraft sales, most respondents acknowledge that revenues collected from transport, entrance fees, stayovers and the community restaurant contribute to both individual and community wealth. Money is now readily available to import televisions, radios, dry foods, fertilizers, pesticides, building materials and other 'luxury' items previously unknown to most islanders.

Individualism: traditionally, duty to one's family and to the community is considered of equal importance on Taquile Island. However, the general perception is that a growing number of residents now pursue individual material wealth with the spread of free enterprise and consumerism. Diminishing unity is seen by some as linked to economic interests, such as increasing individualism, external leakages to Puno agencies and businesses, and other socio-economic factors. Some feel that this trend of individualism causes negative impacts on community cohesiveness:

It's probably true that [unity] has diminished. ... With more solidarity, spirituality and sense of community [in the past], there used to be more concern for each other.

Many interviewees feel that individual ownership is adversely affecting the work-sharing ethic common to Taquilean society. The majority of residents still practice reciprocal work-sharing systems such as the *ayni* and *minka*, but demand payment for work on government-sponsored community projects. One key-informant deplores the growing number of children begging for money or candy from unsuspecting tourists. Another feels that individualism is directly due to tourism, e.g. opportunity for personal financial benefits, and the national economic situation, e.g. recession and inflation.

Modernization: most respondents mention several lifestyle changes since tourism began. The introduction of boat motors at the end of the 1970s significantly reduced travel time for tourists. Still, it was not until the early 1990s

when modern technology began to significantly affect islander lifestyles. Major improvements in keeping with modern trends include a community telephone, solar lighting, television sets and the increased use of pesticides. The Taquileans built a tour agency office in Puno with their own funds and initiative in the late 1990s, and now use the Internet on a regular basis, although its use is often interrupted by the island's lack of electricity (Zorn and Farthing, 2007, p. 682). Perhaps the greatest visual change is the replacement of traditional straw thatching with corrugated tin roofs on many houses. Tin is quickly installed and low maintenance. In addition, synthetic 'wool' (machine-spun, commercially dyed yarn purchased from Puno vendors) is gradually replacing the traditional use of natural sheep and alpaca wool in islander handicrafts. Simpler patterns and techniques may earn greater revenues but many feel that the quality of workmanship has deteriorated compared to the 1970s. Still, one key-informant suggests that it is up to the Taquileans to decide for themselves what degree of change is acceptable:

There was a period when the influence of tourism was so strong that everybody was weaving and nobody farmed. But they still had to eat. The good thing is that they maintain their cultural identity and their principles. We (I feel) should not impede what they want. It would be a crime if we prevented contact from the rest of the world and turned Taquile into a living museum.

Globalization: non-local interviewees note that globalization negatively affected Taquile and its traditions. Extensive media coverage of Taquile since the mid-1970s opened its unique culture 'hidden' from the world, causing an annual influx of thousands of foreign tourists. A few Taquileans now travel frequently to Europe and North America on promotional tours to dance at folklore festivals and sell weavings. This fast pace of change is worrisome to those who believe the island has become more cosmopolitan, but risks losing its traditional sense of identity.

Chiquian

Disharmony: Chiquian appears divided about its own sense of unity. There is a sense of trying to self-organize for tourism but without achieving broad-based support within the community. Some believe that jealousy or laziness hinders the improvement of services, or that the mining issue causes division among neighbouring communities. Whatever the case, community unity in Chiquian appears to be lacking.

Emigration: some interviewees feel that a cultural factor influencing residential attitudes towards tourism was the high emigration from neighbouring towns and regions to Chiquian (only 54% of Chiquian respondents were native born compared to 99% of Taquile respondents). Lack of homogeneity among residents in terms of birthplace may be partly responsible for the general lack of overall support. Significant differences in class, education, culture and other factors may make it difficult to achieve consensus on tourism-related issues. In addition, residents may spend only part of their time in Chiquian, or just long enough to provide an education for their children. Such factors may contribute to feelings of indifference about the community.

Terrorism: several years of terrorism not only eliminated tourism as an economic option for Chiquian and the Cordillera Huayhuash, it created difficulties for residents in openly welcoming strangers. A sense of fear and suspicion was evident at the time of field research in 1997, perhaps attributable to the aftermath of a very traumatic period. Terrorism most certainly affects tourism negatively – residents and visitors alike. The image of safety is significant from a national or international perspective of tourists and travel agencies, and also from a local perspective of residents. Safety is still a concern in the Cordillera Huayhuash with some incidents of hikers being robbed or assaulted in recent years.

Community Perspectives: a Comparative Analysis

Finding new models of sustainability is an inclusive process. All stakeholders should be involved at the initiation of a project, including both the local community and the private sector (Epler Wood, 1998b). This is not to suggest that the path will be smooth going. Tourism development requires a slow process of community building, particularly when conventional stakeholders (residents, entrepreneurs, politicians and tourism advocates) do not view it as a productive activity (Reed, 1997). Moreover, community building may not be an easy process to initiate and maintain given the many pitfalls and pathways along the way as illustrated throughout this book.

On Taquile Island, many years passed until most residents became convinced of the economic advantages of tourism. Yet clearly greater individual involvement and influence on the future of tourism existed compared to Chiquian. Frequent discussions among islander residents occurred before allowing tourism to occur. Several individuals did more than merely promote the island and its unique culture to the outside world; they employed a deliberate process of awareness raising or *conscientization* (Freire, 1970). Taquile directed its own tourism development through self-awareness and self-reliance. In contrast, the average resident in Chiquian demonstrates minimal awareness of the local tourism industry and few opportunities to participate in its management and potential benefits.

Since its beginnings in the 1970s, tourism planning on Taquile was a participatory, albeit unstructured, process. As a process of empowerment, 'participation helps local people to identify problems and become involved in decision-making and implementation, all of which contribute to sustainable development' (France, 1997, p. 149). Rocha (1997) delineates five types of 'empowerment' within planning, of which perhaps the most relevant to Taquile is 'socio-political empowerment', defined as 'the development of a politicized link between individual circumstance and community conditions through collective social action, challenging oppressive institutional arrangements' (Rocha, 1997, p. 34). Given their traditional sense of duty to the community and their intrinsic participatory nature, a tourism 'dialogue' was conceived and established through public discussions and entrenched by community laws.

Taquileans not only initiated tourism development on their island themselves, 'they strive for control' (Ypeij and Zorn, 2007, p. 119). The islanders decided for themselves what type of services to offer tourists, who would be involved, how everyone could participate and to what extent they would share benefits. This collective action for self-reliance concurs with Galjart's (1976) claim that an obvious common opponent (e.g. the Puno-based travel agencies) can lead to increased solidarity. Nevertheless, community solidarity has deteriorated in the past few years due to a trend towards individualism, consumerism and globalization, albeit not to the extent of Chiquian. This is not so surprising. Growth in individualism often accompanies a decline in traditional solidarity, or a transition from 'brotherhood to otherhood' (Chodak, 1972).

In Chiquian, there is a sense of 'collective indifference' rather than the 'increased hostilities' that Theophile (1995) refers to as a possible outcome if most residents are excluded from tourism revenues. Many residents recognize that local and non-local elite capture most of the benefits, including government officials, former residents and single families from smaller communities of the Huayhuash zone. Brandon (1996) states that non-cohesive communities have little decision-making input; moreover, decisions usually favour the needs of the tourist and the operator/owner of the site rather than the needs of the community.

The situation is much more positive for tourism potential and support by local residents and the national government on Taquile Island. As Godde (1999) ascertains, supportive national and regional policies play a major role in stimulating sustainable mountain tourism activities. High public involvement in local decision making regarding tourism and the combined financial and promotional assistance provided by then-President Fujimori in the mid-1990s probably contributed to feelings of support for local tourism on Taquile Island. The results also concur with the findings of Prentice (1993) that beneficiaries of tourism revenues are more likely to support its development. If residents perceive themselves to benefit from tourism, they may feel a greater sense of ownership and need to ensure its continued growth (albeit, on a sustainable basis), particularly if their livelihood depends upon its survival.

Still, not all is positive concerning increased earning potential that tourism revenues have brought to Taquile Island. As Brandon (1996) illustrates how village elite in Nepal captured benefits, ecotourism may exacerbate local levels of income inequality within communities, or among communities in a region. One Taquile resident comments that money is changing them, which alludes to socio-economic and political transformations experienced with tourism. The concept of private ownership is relatively new to a society characterized by traditional sharing of benefits, with certain individuals perceived as responsible for causing disharmony through materialistic wants.

At this stage it is uncertain which direction tourism will take in either area – either rejuvenation or decline – although some speculation is provided in the final section. From the perspective of local residents, both communities

would prefer tourism to continue expanding (e.g. 93% of respondents for both communities want more tourism). Still, it will require more than just an expressed wish on the part of residents for tourism to continue on a steady path of growth. Definitive steps will help assure sustainable rejuvenation or continued growth, which would necessitate long-term, participatory planning.

Given the demand for more tourists by local residents, it may be difficult to control growth. This concurs with Butler's (1991) assertion that intervention in the form of limiting tourist numbers is politically difficult in a free market situation. The 'truly unique area' or a site categorized as having a 'timeless attractiveness' that Butler (1980, p. 9) claims as necessary to 'withstand the pressures of visitation' may not be sufficient for rejuvenation to occur. This is especially the case given the current context of competitive markets, unfavourable tourism policies, socio-economic instability, lack of community support or other internal and external factors. Nevertheless, it is possible that Taquile, with its higher perception of community support and benefits due to tourism, and combined with past achievements largely based on community awareness, solidarity and sharing of power, may have a greater likelihood of rejuvenation in its tourism industry compared to other island communities of Lake Titicaca or relatively neglected and isolated mountain communities such as Chiquian.

Conclusions and Implications

This chapter examined the pathway or pitfall considered as 'forms of knowledge and public participation', and made explicit reference to community-based or social integration within a sustainable tourism framework. The results indicate that the respective degree and nature of community integration can influence sustainable tourism to varying degrees of success, although sustainability can never be guaranteed. It is worth repeating Mowforth and Munt's (1998) assertion that who decides what sustainability means and how to best achieve it are critical considerations. As indicated in this chapter, the Taquileans must decide for themselves what degree of change is acceptable. They must also decide what they need to do to achieve and assess their own brand of sustainable tourism.

This research shows that a community more highly integrated in its local tourism industry may increase the potential for positive impacts in the provision of local tourism services and products. Above all, a more equitable sharing of decision-making power combined with a relatively unified citizenry should result in a more balanced distribution of tourism benefits. Additionally, favourable municipal and national government support and policies may ensure that a greater proportion of residents ultimately gain from local tourism activities.

Although a participatory, democratic framework and mechanism should allow for greater local control of tourism management and ownership, both internal and external forces and interests may negatively affect such control.

Tourism 'catalysts' or 'mediators' can serve to inspire and motivate local residents. As Zorn and Farthing (2007) note, alliances with ad hoc advocate mediators undoubtedly facilitated Taquileans' retaining control over tourism as long as they did, and play an important role in determining the shape that community-based tourism takes. The downside is that local tourism opportunities may attract outsiders that may not have the community's best interests at heart, such as external tourism agencies. Moreover, increased individualism and consumerism may erode community harmony and weaken local control. But tourism is a double-edged sword. While bringing community and individual benefits, it could also weaken or destroy local traditions, and in so doing undermine the very social and ecological environment upon which people depend. Again, however, those affected must decide if such changes are acceptable.

This chapter has demonstrated that those rural communities more thoroughly involved, i.e. *integrated*, in their local tourism sector, from the early planning and development stages to the day-to-day administration, stand a much greater chance of enhancing overall tourism sustainability and reducing negative impacts. Factors such as social unrest and globalization in previously isolated communities may cause tensions and disharmony as opportunities for revenue generation increase. This chapter has also shown the importance of encouraging community integration at the *onset* of tourism development, perhaps by the support of facilitators or local tourism champions. This may avoid an unpopular redistribution of wealth afterwards if long implementation delays occur in the integration process. In this scenario, integration potential may dissolve as local entrepreneurs and power holders solidify and augment their personal stakes.

Recommendations for sustainable tourism

In summary, these two case studies have crucial implications for sustainable tourism in developing nations. Taquile Island shows more positive socio-economic impacts related to tourism than Chiquian largely because of three factors, described below.

The first has to do with community size. Taquile is smaller and more homogeneous, with controlled entry points for anyone arriving on the island. Their isolation functions as an advantage: 'Taquileans' continued practice of traditional arts and customs combined with their remoteness attracts backpacking tourists, while their distance from the mainland kept outsiders at arms' length (Zorn and Farthing, 2007, p. 683). Its manageable size and scale enables better cottage-style group decision making. Local sites offer smaller, therefore more practical, venues for direct participation by citizens or direct democracy.

Second, this sense of 'localness' also led to solidarity among residents and encouraged cooperative decision making, with a shared tourism vision. Some cultures in developing countries have a shared tradition of strong cooperative relationships and organizational practices, collective land ownership and management and well-engrained cultural patterns that reinforce long-held local decision-making mechanisms (Cohen, 1999).

Dense socio-political ties and obligations enhance community solidarity and promote local autonomy. They often fill voids where government or the private sector may have encroached on local affairs or, alternatively, are noticeably absent. An increased sense of solidarity is only natural under such circumstances. As the French sociologist Durkheim, among others, has described, solidarity is an important aspect of any functional community (Galjart, 1976). It builds on a communal sense of identity and provides for collective action when families or groups share aims. These informal and formal cooperative arrangements inherent in Taquile's tourism industry provide a security system based on a web of loyalties and reciprocity distinct from developed nations. One significant shortcoming, however, is how women are restricted from meaningful participation in local governance and tourism management (with the notable exception of the weaving cooperatives).

Third, and perhaps most importantly why Taquile demonstrates more positive socio-economic impacts than Chiquian in sustainable tourism management: the former is not a free market economy. While consumerism, individualism and modernization are spreading, Taquile still remains a socialized, community-controlled effort steeped in traditional governance and sociocultural arrangements. To maximize local positive socio-economic benefits from sustainable tourism, the local community must have legal control in a cooperative style of management, and administrators must reign in the free market somehow. This is no easy task given current political and economic circumstances in Peru and elsewhere that favour free market economies while discouraging alternative ones. More supportive institutional and financing arrangements could lead to more communities gaining entry into niche markets and succeeding (Mitchell, 2005). Ultimately, however, Taquile may have to accept free market tourism, and perhaps already has. As Zorn and Farthing (2007) state: 'In order for Taquileans to compete in tourism, they must (as many desire) become more "modern" through acquiring skills such as operating computers and motorized boats and marketing, and the need for such skills is intensifying an ongoing internal debate about social transformation' (Zorn and Farthing, 2007, p. 683).

For developed nations, these case studies also offer some food for thought, with political or control factors that stand out. Sustainable tourism advocates wanting to better 'integrate' or include communities in tourism plans and administration should promote and prioritize support for transparent and effective local governance. As Horochowski and Moisey point out (Chapter 11, this volume), societal values and political systems largely dictate the type of participation by local residents. Political restructuring at municipal and state levels may help facilitate a more democratic tourism administration. Political leaders, entrepreneurs and other power holders from within and outside the community are perhaps the pivotal link in the integration process. Lacking support, any sustainable tourism initiative is likely to fall far short of its anticipated goals. Potential adversaries may become the most enthusiastic advocates of a given sustainable tourism project if their support is obtained at an early stage. However, the process

should not become circumvented or used to the advantage of those with significant decision-making control or influence, especially those that may not have the community's best interests at stake. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, local empowerment in the context of community development is as much part of the equation as is adequate tourist demand and resources.

For some communities, incorporating traditional or indigenous knowledge and concerns is paramount to a sustainable tourism approach. While it is not possible to transplant Taquile's small-scale, indigenous community structures or social make-up on to any other community and expect to achieve the same satisfactory results, lessons learnt from this research make their analysis and consideration all the more pertinent. At least two avenues can be explored to provide a greater understanding of community integration in sustainable tourism. First, what effect, if any, does community integration have on environmental parameters associated with sustainable tourism? Second, would greater social integration facilitate the development and implementation of tourism development to the benefit of local residents? While this research did not address these questions, others may wish to take up the challenge that they present.

In closing, time will tell whether Taquile laudatory communal tourism practices will move towards sustainability, as the recent UNESCO designation suggests, or if tourism itself will decline due to many internal and external pressures and changes. For communities in developing countries to cope with the whims and fancies of tourism 'tastes', 'local people need to maintain multiple livelihood strategies as well as their community organization. The problem, however, is that tourism brings the danger of destroying both' (Ypeij and Zorn, 2007, p. 126). The stark contrast provided by both case studies shows that sustainable tourism's pitfalls and pathways are far from resolved.

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Notes

¹ Pronounced 'Tah-key-lay'.

² Pronounced 'Chee-key-an'.

³ Percentages related to the survey results are based on $n = 101$ for Taquile Island and $n = 136$ for Chiquian.

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11 Local Participation and Attaining Sustainable Tourism: a Comparative Study of Honduran Ecotourism Development

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Introduction

Ideally, sustainable tourism combines present benefit with the protection of future opportunities. Under the rubric of sustainable tourism lies the notion of 'ecotourism', which is tourism development that protects the ecological and cultural resources of a tourism site, while providing local economic opportunity (TIES, 2007). It is theorized that through local participation and control in the decision-making process of tourism planning and development, long-term economic and ecological sustainability can be achieved while reinforcing cultural integrity.

Ecotourism refers to low-impact nature-based tourism that produces less damaging effects on a destination's environmental, social and economic resources than conventional mass tourism. It is widely believed that by minimizing these negative impacts and maximizing benefits locally, ecotourism can be used as an effective sustainable development tool. As such, it is challenged with the goal of enriching and preserving the natural and cultural landscapes of host destinations for the common good and for future generations (Murphy, 1985; WCED, 1987; Barré and Jafari, 1996; TIES, 2007). Ecotourism strives to give travellers a greater awareness of environmental systems and contributes positively to the economic, social and ecological conditions of the tourism site (Butler, 1989). Accordingly, ecotourism attracts visitors to relatively undisturbed and pristine natural locations with the objective of studying and enjoying the scenery and its wilderness, as well as the existing cultural manifestations found in these areas (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1987; Cater, 1994).

As the fastest-growing segment of the tourism industry, ecotourists have a special attraction to destinations in Less Developed Countries (LDCs), where the greatest variety and extent of unspoiled natural environments are often found. Consequently, ecotourism destinations in LDCs have become commonplace in the industry. However, the tourism market in LDCs has long been characterized and dominated by large, capital-intensive resorts, owned by, and catering to, the needs of consumptive foreign cultures while having little or no concern for, and interaction with, the local people.

Unlike many industries, tourism is intimately tied to location – the culture, ecology and economy of destination sites. The host community and the natural environment not only provide the goods and services for the tourism industry but also are the product of it (Haywood, 1988; Getz and Jamal, 1994; Joppe, 1996; WTO, 2002). As a commodity, the community's intensive interaction with visitors is of utmost importance in the long-term sustainability of the industry since it is the culture and hospitality, along with the natural attraction, that create the image and experiences which attract visitors (Haywood, 1988). None the less, considerable development activity and income generated by tourism have not always been compatible with a location's social and economic objectives and can threaten the community's integrity.

The integration of local control and ownership, the meeting of individual needs and economic self-reliance are goals of a sustainable ecotourism development strategy (Redclift, 1987; Cronin, 1990; Berno, 1996; Wallace and Pierce, 1996; Schaller, 1997; WTO, 2002). Despite these idealistic goals, prevalent local social and cultural institutions and characteristics often limit its effective implementation. Nowhere are these challenges more apparent than in the rural sectors in LDCs, near national parks or protected areas, typically where ecotourism projects are being introduced. As a result, and despite the copious use of ecotourism as a marketing gimmick, very few examples can be found where the actual goals and essence of ecotourism are fully embraced.

The success of any rural development strategy, such as ecotourism, can be influenced by outside events (Honadle, 1990). While much of the economic health of a community is determined by national or regional economic conditions, the economic vitality of a community can be strongly influenced by local residents. Humphrey and Wilkinson (1993) note that economic growth is positively correlated with the degree of local participation in rural tourism development. Their results suggest that economic growth from tourism is most likely in areas endowed with scenic natural resources. Betz and Perdue (1989) concur with these findings by concluding that 'tourism development built on the foundation of amenity resources is the logical sensible strategy to ensure sustainable community economic development'.

The capacity with which a community may participate in successful economic development projects of any type depends, according to Flora *et al.* (1997), on its existing entrepreneurial social infrastructure and social and economic capital. Furthermore, it also relies on the community's ability and willingness to resolve internal and external issues concerning the inequitable distribution of wealth and power. In political ecology theory, Belsky (1999)

suggests that a community is a 'political arena, grounded in a particular history and constituted through multiple scales and networks of social relations entailing contexts of unequal power'. Although often simplified as 'ecologically noble' or 'backward and nature plunderers', communities are often sophisticated conglomerations of various traditions, interests, relations and visions, and their dynamic constitution and evolution should be considered in the process of participatory planning.

The community, as an integral component of the tourism product, plays a significant role in the success or failure of the tourism industry. If resident perceptions and preferences do not support tourism development policies and programmes, they are likely to fail or be ineffective in their implementation (Pearce, 1980). Therefore, the goals and strategies of tourism development should reflect or incorporate the views of the local residents through participation in the decision-making process (Lankford, 1994).

Finally, it should be noted that most theories involving community participation in development assume that negotiations will be conducted under a democratic process, which would entitle all stakeholders an equal voice in the negotiations; this is not always necessarily true in most settings. King and Stewart (1996) advise that 'local populations often need assistance from state, regional, national, and international levels in regard to political power, organization skills, capital and technical know-how to manage protected areas and to develop ecotourism facilities'. Under such conditions, it would seem that tourism development initiatives would be tainted by biased external objectives and agendas; thus, making such an endeavour alien to a community's organic self-development.

Whether the communities possess the skills, organization and resources required to effectively negotiate with forces within and outside their jurisdiction (e.g. local power struggles, resistance, competition, international tourism industry, regional and national governments, and NGOs) determines the potential for community-effective articulation in the strategic ecotourism planning process (Horochowski and Moisey, 1999). Of particular importance in such mobilization, especially among the rural poor, is a broad support and participation of large numbers of people into organizations, associations or structures for the realization of common goals (Rahman, 1993; Kahn, 1994). Development scholars believe that local organizations are an important and necessary component of social action in community development (Esman and Uphoff, 1984; Garkovich, 1989; Smith, 1997).

This chapter focuses on how existing social organizational frameworks may restrict or enhance the successful implementation of sustainable tourism development. More specifically, on one level this chapter evaluates the perception of local political and ecotourism industry leaders, and on another, the effectiveness of formal and informal community organizations, their support for changes in natural resource use, and the community awareness and support for ecotourism development. The communities surrounding two natural areas are compared to determine whether the stage of tourism development affects the perceptions and opinions of local residents.

Research Setting

Honduras, the second-largest country in Central America – with a population of just over 7 million – is also the second poorest in the Western hemisphere. Like most Central American countries, the population of Honduras is primarily rural in character. Nearly 80% of the country is mountainous with only narrow lowlands along its coasts. Most of the arable land is used to produce export crops such as bananas and pineapple. Much of this land is owned by large international agribusinesses (Keller *et al.*, 1997).

Tourism in Honduras had been growing about 8.5% per year from 1992 to 2000 (IADB, 2005). In 2005, Honduras developed their National Sustainable Tourism Program (NSTP) and received US\$35 million to fund infrastructure development, regional planning efforts, and research and marketing (IADB, 2005). The NSTP identified the northern coastal region as currently underutilized from a tourism development perspective and recommended developing a tourism strategy based on the natural resources of the area to ‘trigger regional development’. The thrust of this programme is to encourage large-scale development in the region (e.g. airports, hotels, etc.), but also the development of a network of small locally owned ‘support services’ (IADB, 2005).

The Cuero y Salado and Guaimoreto Wildlife Reserves of northern Honduras (Fig. 11.1) are located in the Caribbean coastal region and protect

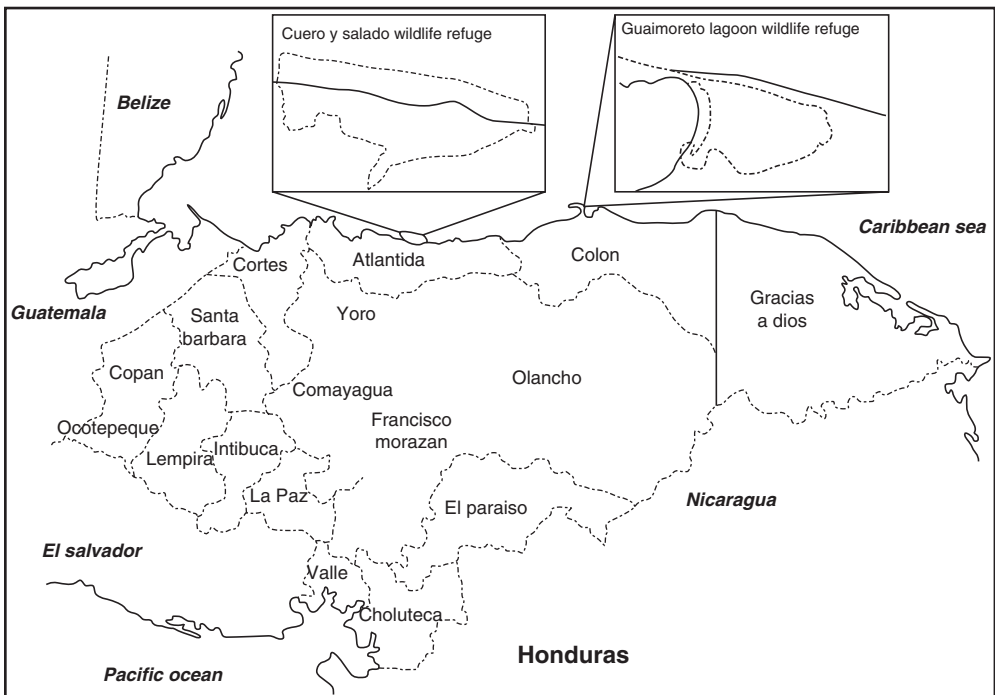


Fig. 11.1. Map of Honduras.

mangrove forest estuaries. Cuero y Salado Wildlife Reserve has been managed since 1987 by a non-governmental organization (NGO) – Fundación Cuero y Salado (FUCSA). Cuero y Salado Wildlife Reserve receives an increasing number of visitors departing from La Ceiba (population 105,000), a port town 37 km east of the reserve, which hosts many tourists also visiting the popular Bay Islands. Currently ten tour operators offer trips to the wildlife reserve. Tourism in La Ceiba and the Bay Islands has been dominated by large-scale, capital-intensive projects that accommodate large numbers of foreign tourists and is based largely on the beaches in the area. The NSTP identified these natural areas as key in diversifying the more established ‘sun and beach tourism’.

The second site, Guaimoreto Wildlife Reserve, was assigned protected status in 1992 and has experienced low-scale tourism development. It is located only 3 km from city of Trujillo and is being managed by an NGO – Fundación Capiro-Calentura y Laguna de Guaimoreto (FUCAGUA). The city of Trujillo is also a popular tourist stop for beach goers and for its historical importance – Columbus landed near Trujillo on his fourth and final voyage to the New World and the city was the first Honduran national capital. It is a more colonial town than La Ceiba and is more accustomed to low-budget, adventurous travellers.

Methods

The present chapter reports on results from a larger study of sustainable ecotourism development in northern Honduras. The results of this chapter are based on scheduled, personal structured interviews with community leaders, ecotourism operators and local residents. The key individuals were identified through snowball sampling techniques using their potential influential capacity as criteria. Local residents were randomly selected. During the months from August to December 1997, 32 key individuals and 208 local residents were interviewed. Key individuals included local government officials, the mayors of the regional centres, local ecotour operators, community leaders and the NGOs managing the reserves or working in the region. At all levels, respondents were asked to give their views on topics concerning protected areas and conservation, social institutions, the political processes, community participation and tourism development.

Findings

Community organization (formal and informal)

The formal organizational structures into which the communities of Cuero y Salado and Guaimoreto organize themselves are similar in both areas. Communities consistently (although not entirely) associated into three core formal organizations which address basic needs. These groups are the

'patronato' (town council), 'junta de agua' (water commission) and 'sociedad de padres de familia' (local PTA). With very few exceptions, all northern Honduran communities possess at least one of these three groups.

The functions of the formal groups generally consist of recruiting support from their community for specific activities or projects. Most people said they joined these groups when they were solicited to do so, but otherwise they did not participate. A strong sense of moral obligation when called upon was evident but individual proactive initiative is very rare. The functions of the formal groups generally consist of recruiting support from their community for specific activities or projects.

A common complaint among respondents is the lack of follow-up after community projects were completed. Ironically, the very people who complained generally admitted that they did not partake in any of the planning and/or organized activities since the completion of projects in their respective towns. Distrust in the (mis)allocation of funds is repeatedly cited as a reason for not being more supportive and active. One interviewer's response, which resonated with many others, was 'people in charge always do what they want and use public money for their own personal benefit. Why should I support them after I receive what I need?'

In both study sites, informal groups are present, especially church groups and soccer players who met regularly to play the game. Of the few informal groups mentioned, the church groups (catholic, Mormon and evangelical) are the most permanent. Other organized groups are addressed in the past tense, especially women's groups and cooperatives. Many such groups had generally been organized by an outside agency (i.e. Peace Corps, Ministry of Agriculture) and disbanded after the volunteer or programme left the area. Generally speaking, none of the informal groups cited by the respondents met to carry out community planning, activities or services.

In the organization of informal groups, the two areas differ more from each other than in formal organization. This is primarily due to the ethnic make-up of the communities. In the vicinity of Cuero y Salado, the population is primarily Latino (98%), whereas in Guaimoreto, over a quarter of the population is Garífuna (Black Caribe). The Garífuna, unlike the Latino, rely more on community or neighbourhood support in their traditional and modern activities. The reasons for this appear to be influenced by tradition and culture as well as by political and social marginalization and racial discrimination. Accordingly, the Garífuna count heavily on mutual support. At the same time, their unique culture with a distinct language, music and dance, food, etc. creates a social bond not equivalently found in their Latino counterparts. As a result, the Garífunas tend to more frequently congregate informally to carry out their business activities, play music, dance, play soccer, etc. Generally, the Garífunas demonstrate greater solidarity than do the Latinos. None the less, the Garífunas do not consider these groups as organized per se, but as cultural tradition and thus, do not consider them as either formal or informal organizations. One Garífuna teacher stated that 'we resent the imposed political structures of the whites because it dismantles our

traditional system of elders based on respect. Now, anybody can buy or sell his position; it's corrupt'.

Perceptions of functional efficiency of community structures

The perception on the efficiency of formal and informal community structures was a virtually unanimous response of distrust. Although the distrust was primarily directed towards the government, many people also expressed suspicion of other members in their community. The mistrust was usually generalized and was founded on past experiences or rumours of misallocation of funds, insidious land transactions and failed projects. 'Politicians make promises when they want your vote but once they reach office, they forget us (the poor) and steal from the projects intended to help our country', was one man's complaint. Many subjects claimed that whether or not a group could be trusted depended mostly on the leaders (organizers) of that group. Overall, people did not join or trust groups unless they felt an obligation to do so.

When asked if they trusted non-political leaders more than political ones in their community, most people pointed out that such leaders (people who mobilize the community without a personal political agenda) did not exist in their communities. In rare instances that non-political leaders were identified, people said they trusted them over politicians. Surprisingly, an overwhelming number of the respondents claimed they would rather trust a foreigner than someone from their own community. The reasoning behind this confidence towards foreigners is the belief that outsiders (usually associated with international development agencies such as CARE, Peace Corps, etc.) have no ulterior motives for uniting people into groups, whereas 'the Hondurans who organize other people are always looking to take advantage of them by having access to project money or by taking their land after it has been cleared'.

Level of community awareness of, and support for, tourism development

In both areas, the mass influx of beach-going vacationers during Holy Week, television advertisements from Miami and international advertisements seem to guide people's expectations of what tourism is: sun, sea, sand and sex. Generally, people believe that tourism is accomplished through the building of large-scale resorts, requiring substantial investments and offering many services to a large number of visitors. Consistently, people considered the development of the industry in their area beyond their means and frequently stated that it was the responsibility of government to either build resorts or find investors for it.

Of all the respondents, only two had a general knowledge of the meaning of ecotourism and few others had heard the term before but had no idea

what it meant. Despite the lack of familiarity with the terminology, the respondents considered tourism a positive and worthwhile development for their area. A frequent view of tourists was defined as 'rich people who come to the beach for Holy Week; they are good for businesses'. Most felt it stimulated the economy, generated cultural exchange and brought positive changes. However, only few had contemplated how these changes would affect their society or them personally. They tended to believe that 'others' benefit from tourism; that tourism is something that only the upper classes enjoyed and benefited from.

Level of support for changes affecting local natural resource use

Whether landowners or farm labourers, most of those living in proximity to the reserves have a close relationship with the natural resources that surround them. Most express a fondness for fishing and hunting, but referred to these activities as something of the past, claiming that animals, such as tapirs, deer, turkeys and agouti, could no longer be found in their area. This is among some of the reasons mentioned for ideologically supporting conservation efforts. They express concern for the state of the ecology (in comparison to the past) and agree that measures are needed to prevent further deterioration. Environmental problems are often seen as an important issue but rarely in their own area of influence or as a result of their own actions. Where local problems are admitted, external causes such as large corporations or immigrants are often blamed for them. 'Since the cooperatives were established during the land reform and people moved from other parts of the country, we started having problems with over fishing in the lagoon.'

Even though most favour conservation, many sympathize with migrant farmer activities (considered to be at the very bottom of the socio-economic scale) as every man's right to possess a piece of land with which to feed his family. That is, they do not find it irregular for someone to clear a parcel of forest for growing food. When asked if they would mind if that forest were on their own private property, most said they would. According to a Gallup poll conducted for USAID, a majority of Hondurans believes that there is a need to control migrant agriculture in order to save the forests. Thus, even though many sympathize with the needs of the poorest class, they also realize that their practices are detrimental to the preservation of the national forests and threaten the quality of water.

The controlled use of natural resources is supported by nearly all people, especially if such controls do not directly affect them. Surprisingly, most people claim that they are willing to accept changes in their customary use of resources (i.e. limit their extraction), if there exists a valid reason for them, such as an improvement in the environment and alternative gains from the activity. Objections to regulations were raised, not as a result of subsequent sacrifices but rather, in regards to the equitable implementation of such practices. In both areas, each Foundation was accused of preferential treatment in the enforcement of established rules. People overwhelmingly claim that

individuals with influential connections and/or money are allowed to continue destructive practices while the poor and powerless are punished for doing so. 'If a poor man gets caught, his equipment and catch is confiscated but if someone working for a powerful man is caught, everyone looks the other way; no one is punished.'

Conclusions

The Honduran Tourism Institute, along with other government offices and international agencies, is eager to capitalize on the thriving tourism business, particularly ecotourism. To attain this goal, many of those working with the park system are enthusiastically programming a participatory strategic planning process for the communities surrounding some of the country's protected areas. Their aspiration is that, through participation, the local needs and views will be addressed and accommodated while natural resources are protected and the tourism industry is developed. The NSTP (IADB, 2005) identifies the development of locally owned small tourism support services as one key objective in reaching national sustainable tourism development objectives. However, it is assumed that the affected populations will welcome this opportunity and participate fully. In this chapter, we argue that the social conditions, traditions and attitudes must be carefully examined and scrutinized before such assumptions can be made and before such endeavours are undertaken.

The communities neighbouring the Cuero y Salado and Guaimoreto Wildlife Reserves frequently organized themselves in similar ways. Family connections, ethnic heritage, basic infrastructure needs (i.e. potable water and electricity), religion and emergencies were all influential reasons for uniting individuals into organized groups, even if temporarily. In the rural sector of northern Honduras, the single most important institution was the family. People generally distrusted anyone outside of their immediate circle of relatives and intimate acquaintances.

Need was the greatest and most frequent motivator in the unification of these communities. Emergencies, such as floods or untimely deaths in poor families, constituted the reasons for which people united into common efforts. However, once an immediate need was met, the organization was disbanded. With very few exceptions, actions did not express community interest that contributed to the creation of development organizations (Humphrey and Wilkinson, 1993), leadership skills and roles (Beaulieu, 1990), and shared sentiments among local residents (Luloff, 1990). The overall perception of institutional frameworks, political or not, was of distrust and incompetence, but with theoretic potential. Thus, unifying associations and entrepreneurial social infrastructure, components deemed necessary for community development, were not apparent. A long and vivid history of political corruption and abuse of power, along with their daily preoccupation to seek out a subsistence living, created an environment not of 'community', but rather of individual struggle and survival.

Only in Guaimoreto, the Garífuna culture demonstrated more permanent solidarity and unity, bound by ethnicity and against perceived general social injustices. As formal national groups, they have taken some legal actions to further their cause but have failed to do so at the local level in this region. None the less, the Garífuna congregated much more in informal group activities, presented their culture as a tourist attraction and seemed to maintain strong community network of support and solidarity.

In other communities, it was surprising to find that many people trusted foreigners more than members of their own community. They believed that, unlike their own, others had more altruistic motives and were not as susceptible to the temptations of corruption prevalent in their society. With remnant attitudes of colonial and neocolonial times, the poor still view the foreigner as a provider of aid, jobs and wealth.

Along similar lines, people expected outside investment to develop tourism and large resorts to accommodate large numbers of tourists. They were not familiar with the concept of ecotourism; nor did they consider small-scale, low-impact tourism as adequate development. Having little or no capital for investment and viewing tourists as rich people with fancy expectations, they did not conceive the possibility of being a part in that industry.

Despite (or perhaps because of) a very limited understanding of the industry and its implications in developing destination sites, the support for tourism development was overwhelmingly positive at both locations. People perceive tourism as a favourable development in their community because they believe it creates jobs, pays better, stimulates development and encourages cultural exchange. As a general rule, respondents viewed tourism as possible and attractive sources of employment and income and, hence, development, but expected government or outside investors to take the initiative. Support for its development was very strong and enthusiastic, even if foreign to them.

Although social structures, democratic principles and practice, education, information and communication were mediocre, people on both sites showed a surprisingly high level of support for conservation efforts, tourism development, and a willingness to learn and change, given the opportunity. Considering that the majority of the population depends on natural resources for their subsistence, the Foundations working in the regions count with a remarkable endorsement of their goals. In addition, dire poverty and high unemployment make the residents of these areas eager to try any alternative, which might alleviate or improve their well being.

Coupled with their generally agreeable view of tourism and tourists, the populations demonstrated, on the one hand, a willingness and preparedness to embrace tourism development, if this meant an improvement in their quality of life. On the other hand, their deficiencies in community cooperation and involvement would indicate that they do not possess the adequate resources or skills to successfully participate in a strategic planning process, at this time. Significant and long-term commitment to modification in institutional structures, functions and common objectives would be necessary on the part of all stockholders for such development to take place.

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III Emerging Issues in Culture and Tourism

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While much of the focus so far has been on the environmental consequences of tourism development, social and cultural systems can also show the strains of tourism development. Cultural anthropologists, sociologists, geographers and economists have long studied the social impacts of tourism. Again, understanding the implications of tourism development on both developed and developing cultures can guide development to more sustainable options. This part investigates the effects of tourism on poverty alleviation, indigenous peoples, residents within smaller local communities and the differing cultural contexts of 'nature' and how these affect sustainability.

While poverty is truly a global phenomenon, it is concentrated both geographically and culturally. Spenceley (Chapter 12, this volume) notes that three-fourths of the world's poor live in rural areas. It is the nexus of tourism development and poverty found in these rural areas that is a critical determinant in achieving sustainability through tourism. Tourism development is typically justified in economic terms but as Spenceley points out, the economic benefits of tourism do not always flow to those who most commonly bear the costs of tourism. Pro-poor tourism is an approach to develop and implement tourism activities to ensure that tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction. Spenceley critiques several pro-poor tourism examples in South Africa and evaluates their effectiveness in encouraging local economic development and increasing local ownership and employment in tourism.

While much of the scientific or academic discourse surrounding sustainability has focused on definitional issues or the larger-scale global implications of current unsustainable development, it is at the local level where perhaps greater success can be attained. How well tourism developments integrate the cultural, economic and environmental considerations at the local level to a large degree dictates how tourism might contribute to overall sustainability. In Chapter 13 (this volume), Staiff illustrates through two different cultural case studies the relationship between nature, culture and

community as they relate to tourism and the conservation of national parks. Staiff notes that the cultural inscriptions of 'nature' are quite different, and from the visitors' perspective portray very different interpretations of the natural world. Staiff argues that these cultural inscriptions of nature are the 'true' values that each culture wishes to preserve or protect and should be incorporated a priori into conservation and tourism development planning. The sustainability of natural and cultural systems then requires that local community cultural values towards nature are articulated to 'sustain and nurture the attraction, sustain and nurture the destination community and maintain the economic viability of the industry'.

The community, as a tourism product, plays a very influential role in the success or failure of the tourism industry. If resident perceptions and preferences do not support tourism development policies and programmes, then programmes are likely to fail or be ineffective in their implementation – ultimately failing to achieve sustainability. Therefore, the goals and strategies of both community and tourism development should reflect or incorporate the views of the local residents through active participation in the decision-making process. In Chapter 14 (this volume), Andereck and McGehee, in an exhaustive review of research on the relationship between resident tourism attitudes and support for tourism development, note that the most important explanatory variable is the perceived personal benefit residents received from tourism. They also note that the stage of a community in its tourism development life cycle also seems to have an effect on people's attitudes and to some degree predicts resident support or opposition for tourism. In other words, if residents perceive that they benefit in some way from the presence of tourism within their community *and* that the level of tourism is appropriate, then residents generally support additional tourism development. Under these circumstances, the likelihood of sustainable tourism development is more likely to occur.

In the final chapter of this part (Chapter 15), Trau and Bushell illustrate several case studies of co-managed national parks – parks and protected areas that are managed jointly by the local indigenous peoples and the national resource management agencies. The coupling of local management control of natural resources and nature-based tourism can empower local communities, alleviate poverty and preserve local cultures. But as many other authors in this text argue, local indigenous cultures typically lack the human and economic capital to fully engage their potential in tourism developments and are marginalized within this context.

12 Tourism and Poverty Alleviation: Lessons from Southern Africa

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Emergence of Poverty Alleviation Through Sustainable Development of Tourism

Sustainable development

Development is a process that improves living conditions (Bartelmus, 1986) by increasing wealth (Dudley, 1993), and also by addressing human and institutional change (Hapgood, 1969). However, 'development' has become increasingly associated with a number of environmental problems, such as pollution and climate change (Horobin and Long, 1996). Concern for the local and global consequences of development-related degradation led to the evolution of the notion of 'sustainable development' in the 1970s (Basiago, 1995).

An output of the United Nations' (UN) World Commission on Environment and Development was the Brundtland Report, entitled *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987). This landmark report suggested that inter-generational equity could not be achieved unless the environmental impacts of economic activities were considered. The report defined 'sustainable development' as that which 'meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987, p. 43). The definition received criticism for being vague, too general, rhetorical and impractical (e.g. Redclift, 1987), but despite this it led to an important debate between stakeholders within government, academia and industry regarding the characteristics of sustainable development.

A decade later, the UN stressed the need for a holistic approach, and suggested that *economic* development, *social* development and *environmental* protection were three interdependent and mutually reinforcing components

of sustainable development (UN, 1997). Elkington (1997) referred to this simultaneous pursuit of economic prosperity, environmental quality and social equity as the 'triple bottom-line' of sustainable development. Elkington's (1997) book supported the view that companies were accountable for their impact on sustainability through the triple bottom-line, and that accountants had a role to play in measuring, auditing, reporting and rating risks and benchmarking it (rather than simply addressing finances). Subsequently, the 7th Session of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) reinforced the need to consider the triple bottom-line, and stressed that sustainable consumption included 'meeting the needs of present and future generations for goods and services in ways that are economically, socially and environmentally sustainable' (CSD, 1999). Other parties suggested that sustainable development should be carried out within the context of an open and accountable system of governance (Robins and Roberts, 2000), and should also address poverty and inequality (Smith, 1992).

Ten years after the first Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) was held in Johannesburg. The WSSD reaffirmed that sustainable development was a central element of the international agenda, and its meaning was broadened and strengthened, particularly with regard to important linkages between poverty, the environment and use of natural resources (UN/DESA, 2002). In South Africa, the King Report on Corporate Governance (King I), published in 1994, incorporating a Code of Corporate Practices and Conduct, was the first of its kind in the country and was aimed at promoting the highest standards of corporate governance in South Africa. Over and above the financial and regulatory aspects of corporate governance, King I advocated an integrated approach to the good governance in the interests of a wide range of stakeholders. Subsequently King II acknowledged that there is a move away from the financial bottom-line to the triple bottom-line, regarding the economic, environmental and social aspects of company activities. The Global Reporting Initiative (GRI) released sustainability reporting guidelines and indicators (GRI, 2002b). There was an increasing emphasis on demonstrating processes and performance by companies which contributed towards sustainable development.

Sustainable tourism

In 1997 Krippendorff argued that the world needed a new, less exploitative form of tourism that could be considered regarding its capacity to contribute to gross national happiness, by measuring 'higher incomes, more satisfying jobs, social and cultural facilities, and better housing' (Krippendorff, 1987). The concept of 'sustainable tourism' has evolved since Krippendorff's statement was made, and Butler (1993) defined 'sustainable development in the context of tourism' as:

tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period, and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and wellbeing of other activities and processes.

(Butler, 1993, p. 23)

One of the outcomes of the Rio Earth Summit had been a global action plan called Agenda 21. Approved by 182 countries, Agenda 21 integrated the goals of environmental protection and economic development into an action plan for sustainable development, but based on free market principles (McCormick, 1997). Agenda 21 promoted the 'formulation of environmentally sound and culturally sensitive tourism programmes as a strategy for sustainable development' of tourism (United Nations, 1992a). In 1999, the 7th CSD promoted a balanced approach to sustainable tourism by the private sector, widening the debate from an environmental focus, to local economic development and poverty alleviation. The commission called on the tourism industry to:

promote sustainable tourism development in order to increase the benefits from the tourism resources for the population... and maintain the cultural and environmental integrity of the host community;... promot[e] linkages within the local economy in order that benefits may be more widely shared; [emphasising] greater efforts [for] employment of the local workforce, and the use of local products and skills.

(United Nations, 1992a)

CSD7 urged governments to maximize the potential of tourism to eradicate poverty by developing appropriate cooperative strategies with major groups, indigenous and local communities (CSD, 1999).

In 2002, UNEP's Tour Operators Initiative (TOI) responded to the launch of Global Reporting Indicators by releasing a series of pilot indicators for the tour operators' sector (GRI, 2002a). These indicators addressed environmental, social and economic indicators of core business processes of project management and development; internal management; supply chain management; customer relations; and cooperation with destinations (GRI, 2002a).

Poverty

Globally it is estimated that there are 1.2 billion people living in extreme poverty, of which about a quarter live in sub-Saharan Africa and three-quarters work and live in rural areas. More than 800 million people (or 15% of the world's population) suffer from malnutrition, and the life expectancy at birth in the least developed countries (LDCs) is under 50 years (27 years less than in developed countries; UNDP, 2003). The UN classifies 49 nations as LDCs, due to their low GDP per capita, weak human assets and high economic vulnerability, and 34 are located in Africa.

The UN states that for easy reference and coherence in global assessments, development agencies often employ quantitative financial measures

of poverty, such as those setting a threshold of US\$1 per day. Specific indicators relating to certain economic and social factors (such as infant mortality and literacy rates) are also used, but many aspects of poverty, some of which are crucial to a human rights analysis, are not reflected in the statistical indicators. Economic deprivation (or a lack of income) is a standard feature of most definitions of poverty. However, financial measures alone do not take account of the wide range of social, cultural and political aspects of poverty. Poverty is not only deprivation of economic or material resources but also a violation of human dignity (UNHCHR, 2002).

Therefore, poverty can be defined both using economic and non-economic approaches (Sultana, 2002). The economic approach typically defines poverty in terms of income and consumption. The non-economic approach incorporates concepts such as living standards, basic needs, inequality, subsistence and the human development index. The range of characteristics integrated within the notion of poverty means that definitions of the term may differ both within and between societies, institutions, communities and households.

In the most comprehensive and rights-sensitive definition of poverty to date, the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights defined poverty as 'a human condition characterized by the sustained or chronic deprivation of the resources, capabilities, choices, security and power necessary for the enjoyment of an adequate standard of living and other civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights' (United Nations, 2001).

The 1992 Rio Declaration challenged all people to 'co-operate in the essential task of eradicating poverty as an indispensable requirement for sustainable development' (United Nations, 1992a). A decade later, a key outcome of the WSSD in 2002 was a reaffirmation of the Millennium Development Goal to halve the number of people living in poverty by 2015 (UN/DESA, 2002).

This chapter considers the economic impacts of tourism in the alleviation of poverty in southern Africa, and for simplicity, relates to the benchmark of individuals living on less than US\$1 per day (DFID, 2000).

Economic impacts of tourism

Economists consider tourism to be a response to a particular consumer demand, which directly and indirectly creates needs for a wide variety of products and services. The industry stimulates a wide range of economic opportunities that impact on many sectors including transport, communications, infrastructure, education, security, health, immigration, customs and accommodation. Tourism is an attractive industry to developing countries, as the start-up costs and barriers to entry are generally low, while income may flow quickly under favourable strategic and marketing conditions. However, economic benefits may not be maximized in developing countries in cases where there are high levels of foreign ownership and deep leakage effects, caused by few local economic linkages (OMT/WTO Secretariat, 2002).

The WTO (2002) reviewed the significance of international tourism to poor countries, and found that tourism was a principal export for 83% of

developing countries. Eighty per cent of the world's poor people (living on under US\$1 per day) live in 12 countries, and in 11 of these, tourism is significant or expanding (i.e. over 2% of GDP or 5% of exports; see Table 12.1).

A number of potential economic impacts and consequences of tourism that are relevant to this research are outlined in Table 12.2.

There is debate regarding what forms of tourism maximize economic benefits. For example, Ashley and Roe (1998) compared package tourists and backpackers and found that although the total spent by backpackers was often lower than package tourists, more of their money reached local people. Research in the Philippines indicated that independent travellers spent significantly more per day than backpackers, but there was little difference in reported spending between domestic and international tourists (H. Goodwin, 2003, personal communication, cited in Spenceley, 2003).

The economic impacts of tourism may have social consequences. For example, research on the Pacific island of Tonga implicated tourism as a causal factor in the demand by inhabitants for western products, the gradual erosion of the traditional extended family, increased reliance upon financial payments and increased crime (Koea, 1977). However, social consequences are not always perceived negatively, and there have been instances where indigenous people have avoided over-commercialization by limiting their involvement in tourism, and instead have consciously exploited tourism as a complimentary livelihood to provide social benefits (e.g. traditional healers using tourism revenue to subsidize poor student's training costs; Poultney and Spenceley, 2001).

Table 12.1. Significance of international tourism in countries with 80% of the world's poor people. (From WTO, 2002.)

Country	Is international tourism an important economic sector? ^a	Have international tourists arrivals grown significantly (1990–1997) ^b	Percentage of population living on under US\$1 per day ^c
Bangladesh		Yes	?
Brazil	Yes	Yes	29%
China	Yes	Yes	22%
Ethiopia	Yes		34%
India	Yes		53%
Indonesia	Yes	Yes	15%
Kenya	Yes	?	50%
Mexico	Yes		15%
Nepal	Yes	Yes	53%
Nigeria		Yes	29%
Pakistan	?		12%
Peru	Yes	Yes	49%
The Philippines	Yes	Yes	28%

^aInternational Tourism Receipts of more than 5% exports or 2% of GDP in 1996. Data adapted from WTO (1998) and World Development Indices (1998).

^bPercentage of change between international tourist arrivals for 1990 and 1997. Adapted from WTO (1997) and WTO (1998).

^cWorld Development Indices (1998) and UNICEF (1999).

Table 12.2. Potential economic effects of tourism.

Area of impact	Range of consequences
Employment	<p>Numbers of jobs: tourism is a labour-intensive industry (de Kadt, 1979; Boo, 1990) where jobs are particularly accessible to women (OMT/WTO Secretariat, 2002). Indirect employment may also be generated from locally re-spent income earned by people through tourism (Opperman and Chon, 1997)</p> <p>Low wages: employment options may be menial, with low wages and low skills, with little opportunity for advancement and training of local people (Ruf, 1978)</p> <p>Seasonal job losses: variations in vacation times, climate or temporal attractions may lead to job losses during low seasons (Opperman and Chon, 1997)</p>
Local business development	<p>Supplying the tourism sector: demand for a wide range of supporting products and services (e.g. agriculture, laundry, transport, craft, furnishings, construction), entrepreneurial activity and business development to support tourism may be stimulated (Lea, 1988)</p> <p>Demand from tourists: tourists may develop preferences for destination products during holidays that continue when they return home, stimulating international demand for certain products (Cox <i>et al.</i>, 1995)</p> <p>Reducing leakage: local ownership of tourism enterprises and opportunities for those enterprises to purchase supplies locally reduces leakage. Leakage is the effect where a portion of foreign exchange earnings generated is repatriated (e.g. through foreign owner's profits, imports of equipment, materials, capital and consumer goods; Voss, 1984; Diaz, 2001)</p> <p>Seasonal business: may cause difficulties for enterprises to sustain profits during low seasons (Opperman and Chon, 1997)</p>
Diversified economy	<p>Improved standards of living: tourism activity may provide complementary livelihood strategies, especially for poor, rural people – who rarely rely on one activity or income source (Ashley and Roe, 1998)</p> <p>Opportunity costs: tourism may be incompatible with other revenue-generating industries such as agriculture or mining. In addition, it may not be the most appropriate tool for economic development in a particular area (Mathieson and Wall, 1982)</p> <p>Dependency on tourism: if the local economy is not diverse, service and product providers are vulnerable, and at risk if there is a downturn in visitation (Krippendorf, 1987)</p> <p>Patchy distribution of benefits: benefits are often accrued by small elite (Krippendorf, 1987; Saville, 2001) rather than the poorest people</p>
Infrastructure	<p>Investment: attraction of private investment to finance infrastructure and supporting business development in tourism destinations, which may benefit local people</p> <p>Taxes: government taxes accrued from tourism provide funds to increase infrastructure investment in schools, health facilities, roads and services such as education, policing and healthcare</p>

Similarly, generating the primary economic motivation for tourism – revenue – requires environmental inputs, which have implications for biodiversity conservation.

Biodiversity conservation

Although this chapter focuses on poverty alleviation and tourism, the industry and socio-economic status of people have critical implications for biodiversity conservation, particularly in remote and underdeveloped areas where many of the poor reside. Biodiversity can be defined as:

the variability among living organisms from all sources including, *inter alia*, terrestrial, marine and other aquatic ecosystems and the ecological complexes of which they are part; this includes diversity within species, between species and of ecosystems.

(UNEP, 1994)

Threats to biodiversity include poverty, poor planning, market failure, excessive wealth and open-access exploitation (Caldecott *et al.*, 1996). In parallel with the globalization debate, van der Duim and Caalders (2002, p. 745) recognized that:

[the] growing concern for the deterioration of nature is a concern mainly of the developed world, whereas a large part of this nature falls under the jurisdiction of Third World countries. They generally are confronted with many social and economic problems, which are felt to be more urgent than environmental and ecological ones.

Redclift (1992) warned that the poor often had little choice but to choose immediate economic benefits at the expense of the long-term sustainability of their livelihoods. He noted that under these circumstances it was useless to appeal for altruism and protection of the environment, as individuals were effectively forced to behave 'selfishly' to survive. Since much of the tourism industry relies on the natural resource base to attract clients, reducing poverty in tourism destinations becomes vital in maintaining the viability of products over time.

Growth of the Pro-poor Tourism Agenda

Poverty and tourism

The term 'pro-poor tourism' emerged from a desk-based review of tourism and poverty conducted by Deloitte and Touche, IIED and the ODI that was commissioned by the UK's Department for International Development that explored the role of tourism in reducing poverty (DFID, 1999; Sofield *et al.*, 2004). The review identified a number of strategies for developing or supporting poverty alleviation through tourism, but noted that these strategies had not been tried or tested. Subsequent work by the Overseas Development Initiative (ODI), International Institute of Environment and Development (IIED) and International Centre for Responsible Tourism (ICRT) generated a series of reports and case studies that measured economic impacts of tourism

in destinations across the world, and which considered different parts of the tourism industry (see www.propoortourism.org.uk). These reports included a series of case studies undertaken during 2000 and 2001, which evaluated the impacts of tourism on the poor using a common approach, from Caribbean, Ecuador, Nepal, Namibia, South Africa and Uganda (PPT Partnership, undated). Further research followed, with additional working papers, discussion papers, policy briefs, 'How to...?', workbooks and annual registers of PPT interventions which considered the role of different stakeholders (e.g. governments, development agencies, the private sector) and the impacts of tourism on poverty reduction internationally.

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) is defined as tourism that generates net benefits for the poor, and aims to ensure that tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction. It is not a specific tourism product, or sector of the industry, but an approach to developing and implementing tourism activities. PPT strategies aim to facilitate opportunities and break down barriers for the poor to gain in terms of revenue, livelihood or participation in decision making (Ashley *et al.*, 2001). Ashley *et al.* (2002) consider that although agriculture tends to be at the core of most rural people's livelihoods, diversification strategies were critical for poor households in order to decrease risk and increase their rewards. There has been an increasing emphasis among non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and development agencies to use opportunities presented by tourism to diversify livelihood options and alleviate poverty. Although tourism may create problems for the poor, including limited access to markets, displacement, local inflation and loss of access to resources (Roe and Urquhart, 2002; WTO, 2002), agencies have become increasingly focused on the potential for tourism to provide net benefits to the poor. Tourism's 'pro-poor' potential lies in four main areas (DFID, 1999; Ashley *et al.*, 2001):

- Tourism is a *diverse industry*, which increases the scope for wide participation of different stakeholders and businesses, including the involvement of the informal sector.
- The *customer comes to the product*, which provides considerable opportunities for linkages (e.g. souvenir selling) to emerging entrepreneurs and small-, medium- and micro-enterprises (SMMEs);
- Tourism is *highly dependent upon natural capital* (e.g. wildlife and culture), which are assets that the poor may have access to – even in the absence of financial resources.
- Tourism can be more *labour-intensive* than other industries such as manufacturing. In comparison to other modern sectors, a higher proportion of tourism benefits (e.g. jobs and informal trade opportunities) go to women.

The Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership is a collaboration between the ODI, IIED and ICRT, which emphasizes the importance of looking at tourism and poverty from a livelihood perspective, and can have both positive and negative social, economic and environmental impacts on local communities; it is essential that a broad view is taken when assessing likely impacts and determining whether or not to proceed with particular initiatives (Spenceley and Goodwin, 2007). A southern African pro-poor tourism pilot project was established in May 2002 by the Pro-Poor Tourism Partnership, to promote strategies that could be used

by tourism companies to create and enhance linkages with local people or enterprises that make business sense to the company. The project worked closely with five 'pilot' tourism enterprises in southern Africa to promote and facilitate local linkages (Ashley *et al.*, 2005). Over 3 years, the project facilitated a number of initiatives with the pilot enterprises to strengthen local linkages and enhance local economic development. The enterprise activities generated increased local employment, and increased use of local contractors and suppliers, upgrading existing product development facilities and stronger local relationships between the private sector and local community (PPT, 2005).

International initiatives for pro-poor tourism

Outside the PPT partnership, there is a widely growing perception that tourism can be used as a tool in the fight against poverty. This has been reflected in international initiatives, such as the World Tourism Organization's (WTO) *Global Code of Ethics for Tourism* (WTO, 1997). The code argues that local populations should equitably share in the economic, social and cultural benefits generated from tourism, and in particular from employment opportunities (WTO, 1997). This agenda was further promoted when *Principles for the Implementation of Sustainable Tourism* were released by the UN Environment Programme (UNEP, 2001).

A year later at the WSSD, the WTO released a paper specifically on poverty alleviation and tourism (WTO, 2002). During WSSD, the WTO in collaboration with UNCTAD (the UN Commission on Trade and Development) launched the 'Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty' (ST-EP) programme. The programme aims to alleviate poverty through sustainable tourism by financing research and development, and also providing incentives for good practice (WTO undated). As a contribution to the WSSD, UNEP brought together a consortium of the WTTC, International Hotel and Restaurant Association, International Federation of Tour Operators and the International Council of Cruise Lines to develop a paper regarding the role of the tourism industry in sustainable development. The report noted that one of the main barriers to achieving sustainable tourism had been the inherent fragmentation of the industry and the relative fragility of viable operating margins – especially for the small- and medium-sized enterprises that made up most of the industry. Although these barriers had indirectly led to a deficiency of accountability in both the private and public sectors, the report stated that the tourism sector was increasingly recognizing the need to protect cultures, heritage and the environment, while allowing developing countries to obtain the full economic potential of tourism (WTTC/IH&RA/IFTO/ICCL, 2002). A broader key outcome of the WSSD in 2002 was a reaffirmation of the Millennium Development Goal to halve the number of people living in poverty by 2015 (UN/DESA, 2002).

Within this context, a number of UN agencies, private sector associations and NGOs, have developed initiatives to encourage sustainable tourism development. Although they have predominantly prioritized environmental issues, some have taken a more holistic stance to address sustainable development. A number of these are summarized in Box 12.1.

Box 12.1. Examples of sustainable tourism initiatives from different stakeholders.

United Nations Initiatives

The United Nations World Tourism Organization Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty programme; One of the programme's initiatives in southern Africa has been the development of an online community-based tourism directory (Spenceley and Rozga, 2006).

The International Trade Centre of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development is a technical cooperation agency whose mission is to support developing and transition economies, and particularly their business sectors, in their efforts to realize their full potential for developing exports and import operations with the ultimate goal of achieving sustainable development. International Trade Centre's (ITC) Export-led Poverty Reduction Programme (EPRP) is to contribute to the goal of reducing the proportion of people living in extreme poverty by half in the year 2015 and operates through pilot projects in countries having submitted to ITC a formal request for technical assistance in sectors that offer best leverage for poverty reduction: Community-based Tourism (CBT) being one of them. The EPRP concept of CBT focuses on the development and promotion of tourism businesses and services in which poor communities can play an entrepreneurial role (ITC, 2005).

Private sector initiatives

Tour Operator Initiative (TOI) for Sustainable Tourism Development was launched in 2000 and is hosted by the UNEP. It is a network of tour operators who have voluntarily joined forces to improve their business practices and raise the awareness within the industry. It is a platform to develop ideas and projects to address the economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects of sustainable development within the tourism sector (WTTTC/IH&RA/IFTO/ICCL, 2002). The TOI also drafted Global Reporting Initiative indicators for tour operators' sector (GRI, 2002a).

The Association for Independent Tour Operators (AITO) developed a Responsible Tourism policy in 2001 that prioritizes protection of the environment; respect for local cultures; maximizing the benefits to local communities; conserving natural resources; and minimizing pollution. It is anticipated that within a few years members will have to endorse these guidelines as a condition of membership. Members are assisted to formulate their own Responsible Tourism strategy through a database of Responsible Tourism Advice Notes, available to them on the member's only section of the AITO web site (www.aito.co.uk).

NGO initiatives in Southern Africa

Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) is a non-profit organization initiated as part of the World Conservation Union (IUCN), and in 2002 launched a trademark that it would award to enterprises meeting FTTSA's criteria of 'fairly traded'. FTTSA markets the brand so that tour operators and consumers can choose tourism products that have obtained an independent hallmark of 'fairness' (Spenceley *et al.*, 2002).

The International Centre for Responsible Tourism – South Africa (ICRT-SA) has a mission to contribute to economic development, social justice and environmental integrity through the development and promotion of Responsible Tourism by: (i) influencing public institutions, the tourism industry, donors and tourists to integrate the principles of responsible tourism into their policies, operations and activities; (ii) communicating the principles of responsible tourism through capacity building, education and awareness programmes to the broadest possible constituency; (iii) initiating and undertaking research to develop knowledge to support the implementation of responsible tourism; and (iv) creating a network of individuals, institutions and tourism enterprises supportive of the objectives of the Cape Town Declaration on Responsible Tourism in Destinations. The ICRT-SA is part of a network of organizations in the UK, Gambia, South Africa and India (www.icrtourismsa.org).

Although some of the industry interventions may be motivated by altruism, income generation is undoubtedly a reason for some. There is evidence of some market demand for environmentally and socially responsible products, and a number of consumer studies in the UK, the USA and Germany have found increased levels of awareness of the need for pro-poor tourism (see Table 12.3). Perhaps the most compelling reasons for tourism businesses to endorse sustainable tourism have been the indications of *increasing* demand for environmentally and socially responsible holidays from consumers over time (Tearfund, 2001, 2002; Goodwin and Francis, 2003; Martin and Stubbs, undated).

To date there has been very little market research in Southern Africa to establish the level of demand for responsible tourism. In 2006, Spenceley replicated the Tearfund study of 2001 in order to evaluate to what extent South African tour operators were engaging in responsible management practices. Spenceley's study used a small sample of 20 predominantly small-sized tour operators attending the 2006 Tourism Indaba (an annual travel trade show in Durban) who completed a self-administered questionnaire which included questions relating to issues such as partnerships, local benefits, training, policies and demand for responsible tourism. Findings revealed that almost

Table 12.3. Consumer attitudes to socially responsible tourism policies. (From Spenceley, 2003.)

Issue	Proportion of sample (%)	Source and sample size ^a
More likely to book a holiday with a company that had a written code guaranteeing good working conditions, protection of the environment and support of local charities in the tourist destination	1999: 45 2001: 52	Tearfund, 2001, 2002 (1999: nationally and regionally representative sample of $n = 2032$ adults in the UK; $n = 927$ in 2001)
Knowing that they had booked with a company with good ethical practice made their holiday enjoyable	24	Mintel, 2001 ($n = 2028$; UK holiday makers = 1636) July 2001
Importance of the holiday benefiting people in the destination (e.g. through jobs and business opportunities)	2000: 71 2002: 76	MORI study for ABTA, cited by Goodwin and Francis, 2003 ($n = 963$ British public in 2000; $n = 713$ in 2002)
Respect towards the ways of living and the traditions of the local host population was the most important criteria for them when booking a holiday	95	Forschungsinstitut für Freizeit und Tourismus (FIF), Müller and Landes, 2000 (German tourists)
Willing to pay more if workers in the destination are guaranteed good wages and working conditions	29	Tearfund, 2000

^aThe sample size is indicated where known.

all tour operators claimed to have a positive impact on local communities – such as employment, using local service providers and purchasing local products (Spenceley, 2007, p. 3). However, several tour operators pointed out that they faced numerous barriers in bringing benefits to local people. These included concerns about safety and crime, access and problems relating to capacity – such as skills, language and inconsistent quality. The majority of tour operators indicated that partnerships and relationships with suppliers were very important to them; however, only half of respondents claimed to have responsible tourism policies in place (Spenceley, 2007, p. 8). Spenceley (2007) also found the barriers of corporate social responsibility (CSR) to include safety and security issues, lack of quality and quantity compliance by smaller suppliers and limited understanding and experience of implementing responsible tourism management (RTM) practices. A majority of the sampled tour operators, however, indicated that they were engaging in positive interventions in local communities. These benefits ranged from economic upliftment through employment opportunities, to improved local infrastructure and support for education, and health and conservation initiatives (Spenceley, 2007). In a subsequent, and more extensive study to investigate why the tourism industry in the Greater Cape Town region was not adopting RTM, Frey (2007) developed a model to test what factors are disrupting the relationship between managers' attitudes and perceptions towards RTM and CSR and actual RTM behaviour. Frey sent a questionnaire by e-mail to 1700 tourism businesses in the Greater Cape Town region, and achieved a response rate of 14% (244 returns). Frey (2007) found that a high proportion of the businesses considered an ethical and responsible approach to business as very important (see Table 12.4).

Table 12.4. Relative importance of responsible tourism to tourism enterprises in Cape Town, South Africa. (Adapted from Frey and George, 2008)

Scale item	Percentage of strongly agree and agree
Being ethical and responsible is the most important thing a business can do	94
Responsible management is essential to long-term profitability	94
Business planning and goal setting should include discussions of responsible management	92
We think responsible tourism management is a useful marketing tool	81
Our employees are proud to work for a socially responsible business	73
We think responsible tourism management improves our staff performance	67
Business has a social responsibility beyond making a profit	62

Tourism Benefits for the Poor in Southern Africa

The literature has many examples of case study research undertaken in southern Africa, where the impacts of tourism on poverty, livelihoods and local economic development have been assessed in particular destinations. The impacts of particular programmes by government institutions, donor agencies and private sector companies have also been reviewed, and they predominately consider local ownership, employment and procurement of products and services. Five examples from southern Africa are provided below to illustrate the range of work.

As a first example, an initiative that actively promoted a pro-poor approach to tourism by government was the commercialization of national parks in South Africa. The process allowed a conservation parastatal, South African National Parks (SANParks), to grant the private sector rights to lease defined areas within national parks. Concessionaries were then permitted to build and operate tourism facilities in those areas (SANParks, 2001). Although the primary aim of SANParks commercialization was to provide revenue to finance nature conservation (Spenceley *et al.*, 2002a), the process included stringent environmental criteria for development plans, and gave preference to tenders that promoted the economic empowerment of formerly disadvantaged people and provided business opportunities for emerging entrepreneurs adjacent to national parks (SANParks, 2000a,b).

Seven accommodation concession contracts in the Kruger National Park (KNP) were agreed in December 2000, which guaranteed SANParks a minimum income of R202 million¹ over a 20-year period. Three of the concessionaires were black-controlled consortia; and all of the others had significant percentages of shareholding by Historically Disadvantaged Individuals (HDIs; who were disadvantaged by the apartheid regime). The average percentage of HDI shareholding in the seven concessionaires, either immediately or contractually bound to be in place within 3 years, was 53% (SANParks, 2001). Bidders had to commit to progress in local and HDI shareholding, affirmative action and training and creation of economic opportunities for local communities. These commitments were quantifiable in terms of extent, value and time, and form part of the ultimate concession contract. For example, Table 12.5 summarizes the annual revenue for local community empowerment that was anticipated by concessionaires in their bids. Concessionaires were then obliged to report on progress made on achieving these obligations every 6 months. Failure to realize the objectives results in financial penalties of up to R1 million and persistent failure could even result in contracts being terminated (van Jaarsveld, 2004). The SANParks example illustrates the use of 'planning gain', and public-private partnerships to promote beneficial economic impacts on people who are poor or marginalized in destinations.

The importance of community involvement in tourism is emphasized from a moral point of view, an equity perspective, a developmental perspective and from a business management view (Wilkinson, 1989; de Kadt, 1990; Brohman, 1996; Cater, 1996). Community ownership provides livelihood security, minimal leakage, efficient conflict resolution, increases in the local

Table 12.5. Annual anticipated revenue for proposed local community empowerment initiatives from four private sector operators bidding for KNP's concessions. (From Spenceley, 2004.)

Empowerment initiative	Range of revenue ^a (R)
Construction contract	23,500–3,200,000
Accommodation in local villages	60,000–900,000
Transport to and from lodging	30,000–350,000
Curios	6,3000–240,000
Food supplies	2,000–300,000
Laundry services	60,000–200,000
Game drives	50,000
Waste disposal	60,000–100,000
Maintenance	4.8,000–120,000
Catering	160,000
Furniture	115,000
Visits to local villages	50,000
Recycling	30,000
Creche/aftercare	20,000
Environmental education organization	16,000
Printing	2,000
Theatre	1,500

^aR1 = US\$0.12912 on 1 December 2000.

populations' social carrying capacity and improved conservation (Steele, 1995). As a second example, a review of southern African community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs) was undertaken by Spenceley (2008) as an initiative from the UN World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), the Regional Tourism Organization for Southern Africa (RETOSA) and the Dutch development Agency SNV. Data from 218 CBTEs in Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe were reviewed regarding their economic impact on local people (i.e. in relation to employment, revenue generation, visitation, local procurement of goods and services). The review found that the 218 enterprises employed 2644 people between them, of which about 40% were women. People reported benefits such as access to finance, employment, community infrastructure development, training and product purchasing. Cumulatively the enterprises had given nearly US\$4.5 million to local projects during 2006, and many reported buying craft and agricultural produce from local people, and using services such as cultural dancing, singing, guiding and catering. On average, 196 of the enterprises each spent around US\$6500 on products and services annually in the local community (cumulatively, US\$965,954). Through employment, procurement and donations, these enterprises were having a positive economic impact on poor people living in the tourism destinations. However, the enterprises reported problems too, and the most commonly reported limitations to the businesses were accessibility and market access.

The third example of a private sector intervention from Ashley and Haysom (forthcoming) considers Spier Leisure, which operates a mid-range 155-bed hotel with conference centre just outside Stellenbosch (Western Cape, South Africa). Spier comprises accommodation, restaurants, a picnic area, delicatessen, and provides a base for leisure tourists enjoying the winelands, or conference visitors. In 2004, Spier Leisure embarked on a review and adaptation of its procurement practices, from a sustainable development perspective. At the time Spier was disbursing ZAR 5.7 million (US\$0.54 million²) in philanthropy, while the total annual spend on procurement for the Spier group amounted to ZAR 272 million (US\$25.83 million). Therefore, Spier realized that if just 10% of the procurement budget could be channelled to local, small and emerging suppliers, the financial impact would far outweigh philanthropy and would be a substantial boost to the local economy.

One of the initiatives from Spier was to develop a new local laundry to service the enterprise. The benefits to the community from the new laundry were more than four times the benefits from a traditional laundry, because of a higher number of local employees, and the fact the owner was also a member of the community (see Table 12.6).

Ashley and Haysom (forthcoming) calculate that from Spier's perspective, the enterprise development approach involved R85,000 (US\$11,300) investment on infrastructure and equipment, but that they saved money overall.

Table 12.6. Comparison of net benefits of the enterprise development laundry compared to an existing contract. (From Ashley and Haysom, 2008.)

<i>Costs and savings to Spier in Year 1</i>				
Spending per annum by Spier (ZAR) ^a	472,000	270,000	202,000	26,933
Set-up cost		75,000		
Sundry costs		10,000		
Total year 1 cost	472,000	355,000	117,000	15,600
<i>Earnings into the community per year</i>				
Jobs ^b	2	7		
Salary average per person per month ^c	1,700	2,000		
Months	12	12		
Earnings into local community ZAR4	40,800	168,000		22,400
Community flow (US\$)	5,440	22,400		16,960

^aCost to Spier for the ED laundry is based on actual payments made over 12 months for the financial year ending 2006. Costs to Spier for Laundry 1 are what Spier would have spent for a year if it had continued with Laundry 1, based on the per item costs at which Laundry 1 was contracted during the first 4 months of the restaurant, when Spier was using Laundry 1, multiplied by the volume of items laundered by the ED laundry over the following year.

^bNumber of employees includes two part-time, four full-time employees and one owner.

^cSalary per month is an average for all staff – full-time, part-time and owner (owner is a black male).

During the first year they saved R117,000 (US\$15,600), which was equivalent to 25% of what Spier would have spent on a conventional laundry. Therefore, there was a clear commercial business case for shifting procurement to a local SMME, as well as clear returns in terms of Spier's non-financial values.

As a fourth example, a review of seven private game reserves (PGRs) in the Eastern Cape of South Africa by Sims-Castley *et al.* (2005) is considered. In this review, it was found that by changing from farming to wildlife-based ecotourism, employment had increased by a factor of 3.5: 175 people had been employed on the seven farms before they were transformed into PGRs, and this rose to 623 employees under tourism. The wage bill also increased by a factor of 20, from US\$20,848 to US\$416,000 per year, providing an average salary of US\$4064 (instead of US\$715 previously). This case importantly illustrates that changing land use from agriculture to tourism can provide substantial increases in financial benefits to local people, and that they can be 'engines' for local economic growth, while simultaneously conserving natural resources.

Perhaps due to the complexity of the concept of poverty, surprisingly few studies have extrapolated information on local salaries from tourism to establish the impact on poverty. However, at a luxury private game reserve neighbouring Kruger National Park, there was an attempt to do so. As the fifth and final example, the level of local earnings from the Sabi Sabi was estimated, and then related to the proportion of local people living above the international poverty line (US\$1 per day) that was determined during systematic surveys within local communities. It was revealed that approximately 70% of the monthly wage bill was paid to 140 people living within 20 km of the enterprise, and that the average monthly wage was R2500 (US\$357). Local employees effectively earned US\$12 per day and therefore had the capacity to support their estimated 7–8 dependants to a level just above the poverty line, on US\$1.5 per person, per day. Cumulatively therefore, local employment from Sabi Sabi was estimated to have lifted between 980 and 1120 dependants in the local area above the poverty line: or approximately 4.1% of the local population (Spenceley and Seif, 2002). However, these calculations did not address the wide range of social, cultural and political aspects of poverty, such as human dignity (UNHCHR, 2002).

Challenges and Opportunities for Pro-poor Tourism

In their review of pro-poor tourism case studies, Ashley *et al.* (2001) listed a range of challenges to alleviate poverty through tourism, but also a number of opportunities for interventions that could overcome these, as shown in Table 12.7.

Ashley *et al.* (2001) also review the lessons for different stakeholder roles in reducing poverty through tourism, and explain activities that can be undertaken by the private sector, government, the poor, civil society and donors.

Table 12.7. Increasing participation of the poor in tourism. (From Ashley *et al.*, 2001, p. 51.)

Issue	Identified as a challenge	Opportunities to overcome it
Lack of human capital	Low capacity, lack of skills and/or lack of tourism awareness identified as a barrier	Investors required to use local skills; formal/informal training and skills transfer, including business and SMME management, language training, tour guiding, craft development
Lack of financial capital	Access to capital and credit identified as a major constraint	Grants and loans provided, bank accounts set up providing access to credit, community-level revolving funds established
Lack of social capital/ organizational strength	Institutional weakness and limited involvement of strong, local organizations	Capacity building, training, participation of CBOs in decision making
Gender norms and constraints	Identified as a significant constraint	Training in gender-sensitive approaches
Incompatibility of tourism with existing livelihood strategies	Identified as a constraint	Avoidance of mass market tourism to reduce pressure on resources and provision for waste disposal; demonstration of tangible benefits
Location	Remote location identified as a constraint which resulted in inaccessibility to tourists and uneven geographic distribution of benefits	Destination marketing by private sector and government; development of tourism plans and lobbying for infrastructure development; promotion of tours and activities in remote areas; airstrip, boat and radio communication links established
Lack of land ownership/ tenure	Important barrier to economic and social empowerment	Support and lobbying of land reform process; strengthening of traditional rights through improved management
Lack of 'product'	Limited product development or absence of tourism product; limited understanding of what constitutes a tourism product is frequently a problem	Development and establishment of new products; development of tourism plans; consultation with private sector and tourism board on product development
Planning process favours others	Private sector focus and inadequate attention from planning authorities	Use of planning gain, lobbying of government, strengthening of district-level and community-level organizations

Continued

Table 12.7. Continued

Issue	Identified as a challenge	Opportunities to overcome it
Regulations and red tape	Complex or changing regulations are problematic, as is a lack of regulation or having to meet high standards	Lobbying for lifting of prohibitive regulations, intermediary/facilitator-recommended guidance and advocacy for 'community-friendly' procedures
Inadequate access to the tourism market	Identified as a key constraint	'Destination building' at government level to increase tourist flow; multiple use visitors' centres designed to create market access for the poor
Low capacity to meet tourist expectations	Identified as a barrier	Capacity building; upgrading of infrastructure and facilities; promotion of joint ventures with private sector; training
Lack of linkages between formal and informal sectors/local suppliers	Significant constraint	Awareness raising among formal sector of informal sector activities; development of new services
Lack of pro-active government support for involvement by the poor	Identified as a barrier	PPT measures built in at project level; lobbying for supportive legislation

They recommend that four key issues for any stakeholder to consider from the start of any process are:

1. *Access by the poor to the market*: physical location, economic elites, social constraints on poor producers.
2. *Commercial viability*: product quality and price, marketing, strength of the broader destination.
3. *Policy framework*: land tenure, regulatory context, planning process, government attitude and capacity.
4. *Implementation challenges in the local context*: filling the skills gap, managing costs and expectations, maximizing collaboration across stakeholders.

This chapter has reviewed a number of initiatives in southern Africa, there are examples of initiatives by various stakeholders to reduce poverty through tourism. These include how conservation authorities can use the planning process to encourage greater local economic development; community-based tourism enterprises that increase local ownership and employment in tourism; private sector promotion of local procurement of goods and services from marginalized members of society; how private land owners may generate greater socio-economic benefits from land through wildlife tourism than agriculture and also the importance of measuring the financial impact on livelihoods, in relation to the international standard of absolute poverty of US\$1 per day.

Interventions in the future should concentrate on implementing mechanisms to improve local livelihood benefits from tourism, and systematically monitoring the changes brought about by the tourism industry in reducing poverty, and also improving the local environment.

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Notes

¹ In real Net Present Value terms. On 1 December 2000, R1 = US\$0.12912.

² At the average 2002 exchange rate was R10.53 to US\$1. Other US\$ amounts below are based on the exchange rate of ZAR 7.226 to US\$1, the current rate on 5 September 2007, unless otherwise noted.

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13 Cultural Inscriptions of Nature: Some Implications for Sustainability, Nature-based Tourism and National Parks

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*and again I hear
These waters, rolling from their mountain-springs
With a soft inland murmur. Once again
Do I behold these steep and lofty cliffs,
That on a wild secluded scene impress
Thoughts of more deep seclusion, and connect
The Landscape with the quiet of the sky.*

William Wordsworth

*The mountain, with its superimposition of peaks,
its succession of precipices, its secret valleys and its deep abysses, its lofty crags
bluntly pointing, its vapours, its mists and dews, its hazes and clouds, makes us think
of the onrushing, the engulfing, the surging of the sea.*

Shih-T'ao

*I feel it with my body,
with my blood.
Feeling all these trees, all this country.
When this wind blow you can feel it.
Same for country,
You feel it.
You can look.
But feeling ...
That make you.*

Bill Neidjie

Prologue: Kakadu National Park, Australia

Kakadu National Park covers an area of some 19,804 km² extending south within the Alligator Rivers system from the coast of northern Australia. As

the *Management Plan 2007–2014* makes clear, this land is an Aboriginal living cultural landscape where deep ongoing relationships exist between the Bininj people and their country. The poetry of Bill Neidjie, an Australian Aboriginal senior elder, provides a portal into this relationship for non-indigenous people. The landscape is the people and the people are the landscape. Jacob Nayinggul, a senior elder of the Manilagarr clan puts it this way: 'Land and people go together. Every place has a clan name, and every place has a clan.'¹ Although Kakadu is inscribed on to the World Heritage List for its ecological values, the national park is co-managed with the Bininj people and it is Bininj 'cultural rules' that animate the management praxis of Kakadu. Equally, the tourism vision for the park emerges from Bininj epistemology. Jacob Nayinggul, who is also the current Chairman of the Kakadu Board of Management, expresses it in the shared vision for tourism in Kakadu: 'Our land has a big story. Sometimes we tell a little bit at a time. Come and hear our stories, see our land. A little bit might stay in your hearts. If you want more, you will come back.'² The visitor experience at Kakadu is defined in terms of the 'extraordinarily beautiful' landscape, the ancient cultural heritage, the wildlife and the need for respect and protection into perpetuity. It is clear from the tourism vision statement that an understanding of Bininj culture, landscape and customary law are one and the same and indivisible. Culture is inseparable from the landscape.

Introduction: a Contextual Note

A major theme of sustainability has been the translation of the global discourse of sustainable development into local praxis.³ At the heart of this theme is the significant acknowledgment that global policy frameworks are one thing, but that the action on the ground must arise from the local *milieu* so that a phenomenon like sustainability is immersed in the sociocultural 'realities' of communities, and, significantly, communities as diverse as industrial cities in southern China, to agrarian communities in northern Argentina, to the inhabitants of complex cities like Hong Kong or Sydney, to the indigenous communities – whether they be the Aboriginal peoples of Australia or the Inuit peoples of North America – to the island communities like Bali or Fiji and so on and so forth. Also at the heart of this theme is the recognition that sustainability was originally embedded in a scientific paradigm; a paradigm that is often given the status of universal veracity by its practitioners but which is not necessarily a universal discourse when considered in the context of, say, indigenous knowledge(s). This is not to suggest that the teleology of sustainable development is at odds with the epistemologies of non-scientific cultures (there is a growing awareness that this is not the case⁴), but that an act of translation is crucial to the application of sustainability principles within communities that do not operate within, for example, a techno-scientific paradigm. Indeed, the argument has been extended.

Local translation can be viewed as an imperative for *all* sustainability. Following the lead of Agenda 21, a number of commentators have focused on community empowerment and community-based action by advocating ground-up strategies whether the context is developing societies or technoscience rich societies.⁵ The science of biodiversity is not a universal given, even within western consumer cultures.

Cultural Inscriptions of Nature

The site specificity of the interface between the conservation of biodiversity, local (destination) communities and tourism, particularly to protected areas, has highlighted the fundamental role of culture.⁶ Australian national parks have a mandate to not only protect the natural environment using established and scientifically verifiable environmental management strategies, but also a mandate to educate the wider public about the primacy of the nature conservation effort.⁷ Linking the two has, until recently, been undertaken by the largely science-trained staff and this has resulted in a science-based education and interpretation programme for visitors to national parks. However, the attraction of natural landscapes since the inception of national parks in the USA in the late 19th century has always been as much about aesthetics and the 'appreciation of nature' as it has been about ecology.⁸ While this is the case in western societies it is, perhaps, even more so in eastern societies (where the natural world has had a fundamental influence on cultural forms and cultural meanings),⁹ and in indigenous societies (where nature/culture/aesthetics and ecology are indivisible entities).¹⁰

The recognition of the differing cultural contexts of 'nature' as a concept raises important issues for protected area management grappling with the conservation imperative on one hand and the tourism industry on the other. In Australia, this is a particularly acute problem because 'community' means multiple communities in a multicultural society and 'nature' means the coexistence of quite different conceptions of 'nature' within the one community.¹¹ These issues are exacerbated in those Australian national parks that experience large (and growing) numbers of international tourists (e.g., the Blue Mountains, Kakadu and Uluru-Kata Tjuta). To maximize the opportunity for educating visitors to national parks about the conservation of natural heritage (and therefore about conservation values and a sustainability ethic), approaches are required which are sensitive to a number of factors that pertain to the visitor. These include the cultural background of visitors, the aesthetic attraction of parks (for their scenic beauty),¹² the radically different notions of the natural environment operating in a multicultural society, indigenous Australian perspectives,¹³ differing levels of biological knowledge and different attitudes to leisure and recreation.¹⁴

All of these factors point to the need for the cultural construction of nature to be at the heart of both the research and the application of the

research to national park management strategies, especially those strategies that look to nature-based tourism and community stewardship of protected areas.¹⁵ One of the ways of investigating this relationship, and the way the nature/culture/community triad operates with regard to protected areas, local communities and tourism (and ultimately the way all this can contribute to a sustainability praxis) is to analyse the relationships in a number of case studies. However, before turning to the case studies it is necessary to contextualize these in two ways: briefly reviewing the growing (and already extensive) literature on the nature/culture relationship and describe, in more detail, the nature/culture/community model that has informed the thinking here.

The nature/culture relationship in contemporary western discourse

The discourse that emanates from the nature/culture dualism is not only complex and deeply philosophical, it has, in the west, a long history that continues to inform that complexity¹⁶ by drawing upon a whole range of discourses including the theological, the scientific, the aesthetic, the anthropological, the literary and the psychological, to mention but six strands.¹⁷ In the context of the present discussion the relationship can be categorized, very broadly, into three hugely simplified positions: (i) those that view 'nature' (i.e. the biosphere) as being separate from the 'artifice' of human actions and the cultural representations of nature; (ii) those that view 'nature' as a cultural construction so that the two are always co-implicated; and (iii) those that view the two terms, in their various guises, as always being (re-)negotiated and, consequently, suggest there is a constant, and inevitable, too-ing and fro-ing between categories (i) and (ii) within western discourse and environmental praxis.¹⁸

Irrespective of the philosophical position of various discourses, what cannot be denied or ignored by national parks management regimes is the contentious and contested space created by the nature/culture doublet. Nor can they ignore the analysis that is being generated by the nature/culture relationship in a wide variety of fora. Despite the arguments mounted by those committed to the primacy of a 'purely' ecological perspective, it would appear to this writer, at least, that ecology makes no sense outside the social and cultural habitats of human communities and outside the *scientific culture* which produced it. Ultimately, the three positions outlined here are all ideologically charged, but as the third position suggests, none of them is mutually exclusive, because circumstances often dictate which position is most useful.¹⁹ In the final analysis, what the intensity and the vastness of the discourse reveal is that, in the west at least, the dualist split between nature and culture simply reinforces the very foundational role culture plays with regard to any sort of environmental praxis. And the logical extension of this argument is that in every society the physical world is mediated by culture, and vice versa, in a continuous spiralling and dynamic way reminiscent of the double helix configuration.²⁰

The nature/culture/community triad

The sustainability literature has given rise to a number of conceptual models and one of the most pervasive is the three interlocking circles, each circle representing, in turn, environment/economy/society.²¹ While this is a useful way of indicating the importance of finding a balance between competing needs, especially if sustainability is to be realized in practice – particularly in capitalist, high-consumption and technologically wealthy nations – this model is, nevertheless, problematic in a number of circumstances. It gives enormous weight to the economy by separating it out from ‘society’. While this was an important strategic move within the sustainable development debate (‘development’ so often regarded in economic terms²²), the model tends to play out the most contentious aspect of sustainable development – the environment/development dilemma – at the expense of other negotiations and possibilities.²³ ‘Culture’ has been identified as one of these ‘other’ negotiations/processes along with site-specific grounding in place/community.²⁴

The nature/culture/community triad is an attempt, not to supplant earlier models of sustainable development, but to highlight other, equally crucial processes that have emerged in the ‘sustainable development decades’, and in particular, the role and the significance of culture in the way the environment is understood within communities. The triadic model is an attempt to represent three interrelated constellations of entities that are always in a dynamic, non-hierarchical, non-teleological relationship. The nature/culture/community constellations are assumed to be interpenetrative and indivisible in ‘real life’. The constellations that each of the triadic terms describe can be defined variously but, for example, in the Australian context would include clusters of entities along the following lines:

1. *Nature* – biosphere; ecosystems; environment; landscapes; non-human, etc.
2. *Culture* – spirituality; beliefs; aesthetics; values; morality; epistemologies; systems of representation (language/writing/painting/music, etc.); gender; ethnicity; sexuality; ideology, etc.
3. *Community* – socio-economic entities; political structures; power and authority; religious, educational and judicial/legal institutions; geography (rural/urban etc.); spaces (domestic/work; private/public; secular/sacred; gendered spaces, etc.); sociocultural roles (women/men/children/aged etc.); civic ritual, etc.

The triad is a theoretical representation of complex processes that are both volatile and necessarily negotiable. However, in terms of the sustainability debate, as it applies to protected area management and tourism, it clearly identifies the fundamental – indeed foundational – role of culture in the equation. It also indicates how and why culture is central to the *translation* of sustainability principles at the local/community level. And above all, it clearly articulates the essential nature/culture relationship. Indeed, as the triad representation makes abundantly clear, the very terms that appear

within the orbit of 'nature' – terms like ecosystem/environment/landscape – are themselves all cultural constructions and are culturally specific.²⁵

The Hermeneutics of the Nature/Culture Dynamic in National Parks

To further understand the nature/culture dynamic in protected areas, two case studies are presented from the perspective of the visitor or tourist. The aim here has been to analyse the various intersections between culture and the natural environment. This takes two forms, both of which are semiotic in character: (i) the way language and the architectonics of the visitor experience directly superimpose culture on nature; and (ii) the cultural associations that are initiated by the constructed visitor or tourist experience. These interrelationships are only ever revealed in the meanings being generated by the architectonics, the signage, the narratives, descriptions and metaphors used by guides, the publications associated with each site, the design and content of display boards and so forth. Therefore, the study of the nature/culture dynamic, from the visitor's perspective, is a hermeneutic study based on the assumption that national parks can be validly regarded as sites of semiosis.²⁶

Dinghushan, China

Dinghu Mountain Nature Reserve was the first to be declared in China in 1956. It is a tropical humid forest covering 1133ha and with a core area of 625ha that virtually sits on the Tropic of Cancer and is close to Zhaoqing City in Guangdong Province. In 1979, it was declared a UNESCO Man and Biosphere Reserve.²⁷ Mount Dinghu has strong cultural and spiritual associations that have, since at least the 17th century CE, been focused on an important Buddhist temple and monastery which, today, remains a significant part of the visitor's experience.²⁸ In 1982, the Nature Reserve was declared one of the 'foremost national scenic resorts' and in 1983, Qinyun Temple was opened to international visitors.

At Mount Dinghu, Qinyun Temple and its associated monastery act as both a site of pilgrimage/visitation as well as an historical monument, a remnant of a Chinese past.²⁹ The extensive ongoing additions to the buildings and their surrounds, all designed to enhance the visitor experience and place the site on a commercial footing, is not, in the strict sense, a heritage project.³⁰ The ceremonial gateways and staircases that connect the monastery complex with the constructed pathway through the forest (so that the monastery/temple complex is either the beginning or the end of site-hardened walks) are a direct quotation of architectural elements in Beijing's 'Forbidden City'. For Buddhist Chinese visitors, the sacred relationship between past and present and the sacred bond which connects humans to all of life is played out on a site with a centuries-old tradition of pilgrimage, meditation, contemplation, fasting and compassion for all living things. For secular Chinese visitors, this is a 300-year-old historical monument that 'speaks' of the 'superstitions' of the past but, at the same

time, explicitly links that past with the present by transforming Buddhism into a modernist ideology of good health and moral well-being. The old rituals of meditation, contemplation and reflection on the precepts of the Buddha have been transformed into a highly orchestrated meditation, contemplation and reflection on nature and health and their role in contemporary China.

In the context of the nature/culture relationship in protected areas, Mt Dinghu illustrates the potency of that relationship and the impossibility of separating the two entities if coherent meaning-making is to occur. Visitors are told, via a very large information board at the base entrance to the mountain, that there are five elements of Dinghu Mountain: mountain is deep; forest is green; water is clean; air is clear and scenery is beautiful. Throughout the areas of the Reserve that cater for tourists, nature is consciously organized and aestheticized: the visitor has a very particular experience of nature. At every turn, the natural world is *framed* by the architectonics of the site, whether it be built structures like pavilions or texts or pathways. Small pavilions have been built which not only frame particularly beautiful scenic prospects, they become part of the landscape being viewed. One small pavilion situated near the temple complex has an inscription which reads:³¹

The temple on the renowned mountain
creates picturesque scenery.

The pavilion was built from the contributions of scholars in memory of their teachers: knowledge, beauty, architecture and nature are co-joined in this place. Another small pavilion along the pathway that approaches the waterfall is a place where the visitor is encouraged to pause and hear the 'music' of the water and another proclaims that the visitor is in a 'unique and peaceful world'.

Other than architectural structures in the forest, the most obvious way in which nature is aestheticized is through numerous texts which are literally carved on to various rock-faces within the Reserve and then, in turn, melded to the visitor's experience as they are read during a walk. Many of these carvings are verses of poetry while others seem to be eulogies written by earlier visitors to the mountain. One of the poems, written by Gu Dacun, is inscribed in the rock opposite the lower steps of the waterfall. It reads as follows:

Morning breeze lifts the spirit,
Never tired of admiring this famous mountain at all seasons.
The scenery changes like magic,
The star lake joins the mountain shade
to form one spectacular view.

One of the eulogies, written by a previous traveller, was composed to make the writer known to other visitors and to memorialize their 'great experience'. The text says:

This famous mountain looks different all the time.
Endless green trees reach the heavens while the
monastery
sweeps away worldly worries. The summer heat
disappears here and eternal peace remains.

The extensive calligraphy, painted bright red, includes a number of Buddhist sayings including the equivalent of 'amen', and important historical information. Huge characters beside the waterfall, announce to the visitor that Dr Sun Yat-Sen used to swim in the pool below the falls.

The link between poetry and nature is a dominant feature of Chinese landscape painting, as is the practice of inscribing painted landscapes with poems.³² The strong cultural connection between nature, spirituality, poetry and human action has a very long history in China and the constant attempt to link the 'real' experience of nature with the poetic and the painted illustrates something of the limitations of the Western doublet nature/culture: at Mount Dinghu, the suffusion of the two is almost complete. Even ecology can be successfully incorporated into a Chinese aesthetic of nature.

This is best illustrated by referring to a Chinese landscape painting in the collection of the Art Gallery of New South Wales in Sydney. In 1628, Wang Jianzhang painted his *Returning Home From Gathering Lingzhi Fungus*. The landscape is in the tradition of Chinese painting whereby 'nature' is expressed in terms of both the brushstrokes and their union with philosophical, aesthetic and spiritual beliefs. Within the painted form of the mountain, a visual surge of energy is suggested by clearly using the symbol of the *yang* within the *yin*, the signature forms of Daoist mysticism.³³ The mountainous landscape completely dominates the tiny figure at the bottom of the painting. Humans are insignificant in the dynamic cosmos depicted and the energies and dynamisms of the natural environment are far more significant than the physical forms. Here nature is not some sort of external reality to be mastered, as in western landscapes, but a poetic vision of the principles that make physical manifestations possible. Consequently, the painting is not a photographic depiction of a geographical terrain, but a visual meditation on the mysterious and the profound, both of which are deemed to be *the* enduring reality. Such depictions of 'nature' express the emptiness that is paradoxically full: it is the invisible energies that give physical forms their life and meaning.³⁴ The poem at the top of the painting reads:³⁵

Trees on the cliff cage clouds, half moist.
The brushwood gate beside a stream is
newly opened.
Facing the dawn, I seek for a poem, all
alone;
As I gather fungus the sun sets, and I return.

If nature is ultimately the outward form of the far more significant invisible energies, of which the material world is but a manifestation, then the science of ecology and the science of health can be readily incorporated into an aestheticized 'nature'. At Mount Dinghu one of the features of the signage is the multiplicity of texts that occur together. Often, at the one location, biological information is presented side by side with poetry, and with health information and with a story that incorporates a strong moral principle for 'right living'. There is no contradiction in this multitude of different messages because 'nature' is a totally mediated entity: the 'real' is a scientific, poetic

and philosophical 'text' to be learnt and understood. For the visitor to Mount Dinghu, nature is the source of spiritual health (meditation and contemplation); aesthetic health (the scenic beauty of the place); physical health (breathing 'good' air, swimming, walking, doing tai-chai and having a foot massage); and moral health (right thinking and right living). There could be no better illustration of a national park as a site of semiosis: every aspect of nature is only visible via the interpretation of a number of sign-laden processes that are grounded in the sociocultural contexts of southern China.

Minnamurra Rainforest, Australia

Minnamurra Rainforest Education Centre is located within Budaroo National Park on the South Coast of New South Wales, Australia. The national park is within a 2h drive from the city of Sydney and has 5 million potential visitors from Sydney. The site protects an ecologically sensitive and important remnant of the once extensive Illawarra rainforest and the scenically attractive escarpment waterfalls of the Minnamurra River. Due to its recreational value and use in the late 1800s, the site was proclaimed a reserve in 1896 (Worboys *et al.*, 1995).

Minnamurra, an aboriginal word of the Wadi Wadi people meaning 'plenty of fish', is deemed ecologically important because of a number of reasons: the diversity in the soils and topography; the site supports most of the rainforest species found in southern New South Wales; it supports most of the species of ferns found in New South Wales; the site contains many large specimen trees, including some uncommon species; it is an important site for rainforest fauna, and a number of species of plants and animals it supports are nationally threatened including several of statewide conservation importance (Mills and Jakeman, 1995). Minnamurra's core function, after it was taken over by the National Parks and Wildlife Service (New South Wales) in 1986, was deemed to be educational. The Centre provides numerous interpretative programmes for school, special-interest tour groups and the general public. Although the visitor centre is pivotal and acts as a transition zone between the built and natural environment at Minnamurra, the rainforest itself was always envisioned as the 'real' education centre.

The cultural dynamics at Minnamurra are fundamentally different from Mount Dinghu although, at the level of tourism infrastructure and the design of the tourist experience, there are many similarities. Minnamurra is a good example of the way a forest is aestheticized within the traditions of European neo-Romanticism.³⁶ The culture/nature interface sets up, and works within, a series of associations that are activated long before the visitor arrives at the gates of the Park. Promotional material is but one example. Tourist brochures, the marketing literature of National Parks in New South Wales, television nature documentaries and the recent explosion of coffee table books on the 'natural' world by highly professional photographers and design artists have all conspired over the years to construct and widely circulate a particular *image* of nature. This image is either one of breathtaking panoramic scenery, where the viewer often soars above the landscape, or images of beautifully

crafted details positioned within cleverly textured settings. The images employ a sumptuous palette of colours and an iconography that suggests peacefulness, solitude and tranquillity (an iconography that powerfully sets itself up against an urban 'other'). This imagery is published with extremely high production values. It is the aesthetics of seduction and the seduction of the aesthetic.³⁷

Arriving at Minnamurra is, on one level, a matter of perceptually negotiating between the images of nature and the 'real', a task considerably aided by the array of posters in the visitors centre, pictures, display boards and a video of Minnamurra Rainforest that is often played for tourists (and which can be purchased). On the boardwalk, the visitor experience, like Mount Dinghu, is highly orchestrated. The pathway cleverly exploits the scenic properties of the site so that the bridges over the creek, for example, are located at points which present for the visitor a scene that acts like an over-determined pictorial/photographic sensation: such views replicate the conventions of European picture-making, and in particular, the aesthetic of the picturesque.³⁸ These are the 'spots' which are instantly photogenic and the act of photographing them an aesthetic response, albeit choreographed and thoroughly learnt behaviour. And they are the same 'spots' which are reproduced as postcards back in the visitor centre. It is this circularity which makes the visual form of a nature aesthetic such a powerful and enduring phenomenon – the brochures and posters, the actual scene, the photograph by the visitor which replicates the brochure view and the purchasing of postcards as mementos which, to complete the circle, then join the 'archive' of brochures and posters.³⁹ Cultural processes and cultural productions like this – and visuality and visual culture is but one example – contribute markedly to the aesthetic determination of the natural environment. Consequently, the cultural interplay between nature and the European Australian tourist/visitor becomes a crucial means by which the experience of nature is both enriched and understood.⁴⁰

Conclusion

In the context of sustainability, tourism and national parks, the discussion illustrates the following propositions:

1. Tourism to national parks enacts (often by design) the deeply embedded nature/culture doublet.
2. The 'nature' of the national park (i.e. the natural environment) is only understood in its symbiotic relationship to 'culture'.
3. The culture of nature is as much on display in national parks as the ecology of nature (although to make this distinction overlooks the cultural mediation even in the very idea of 'ecology').
4. The culture/nature relationship is a site-specific relationship – each culture negotiates the equivalent of these terms in its own quite unique way, so that the nature/culture doublet is not the same thing at Dinghushan in China as it is at Minnamurra Rainforest in Australia.

5. The nature/culture relationship is foundational and so any discussion/action about the conservation mission of national parks must accept this as a priori.
6. The moves, worldwide, towards community custodianship of protected areas in a time of withering government resources must also accept the nature/culture dynamic as a priori.
7. Sustainability can only ever be understood from the perspective of locally lived existences and the translation of sustainability into a local/community praxis necessarily activates the cultural inscriptions of nature. (Phenomenologically, sustainability cannot be the same thing in China, Australia, Indonesia and Thailand because *all* translations are approximations and subject to the cultural inscriptions of the translation, irrespective of the 'original'.)
8. All of the propositions above are in a state of flux and dynamism – and, there is no guaranteed objective, external point of reference – and so at any point in the time/space matrix, negotiation is the only possibility.
9. Therefore, there can only be multiple translations and multiple 'solutions' that will coexist simultaneously across the planet.

There cannot be a neat formula for achieving sustainable tourism in protected areas because of the way all the entities (sustainability and tourism and national parks) are so heavily mediated by (local) cultural constructions and (local) cultural processes. However, by delineating some of the dimensions of the complexities involved, it is possible to identify and articulate appropriate thinking and appropriate processes for negotiating the future and therefore, for negotiating a tourism praxis that sustains and nurtures the attraction, sustains and nurtures the destination community and maintains economic viability of the industry.

Notes

¹ DEH (2007).

² DEH (2005).

³ An analysis of this 'translation' with regard to protected areas can be found in Furze *et al.* (1996).

⁴ For a comparison of 'native' ways of knowing and science, see Suzuki and Knudtson (1992).

⁵ For example, see Brown (1997). In Brown's thinking 'translation' may not be the best description because it continues to give the 'original' (in this case highly technical language) a governing role. Rather, Brown proposes a transformational knowledge construction at the 'local' level that may bear little resemblance to the foundational sustainable development formulations. A protected areas context is given by Furze *et al.* (1996).

⁶ The cultural construction of 'nature' has been the subject of intense academic interest since the advent of the environmental movement (although the debates in the west, which are so often built on the nature/culture doublet, have a history that stretch back to classical antiquity). Some well-known forays are represented by Simmons (1993), Soper (1995), Cronon (1996), Robertson *et al.* (1996) and Macnaghten and Urry (1998).

⁷ NPWS(NSW) (1998).

⁸ In a provocative essay Joel Snyder suggests that the rise of photography and the national parks movement in the USA in the last quarter of the 19th century were linked. The large audience of photography was instructed about a particular nature aesthetic which happily coincided with the legislative moves to 'protect' nature from development. Photography established a point of view about the scenic qualities of 'nature' (Snyder, 1994; see also, Horne, 1992). Photography, however, was – in the USA, Australia and in Europe – building on an earlier 19th-century tradition of tourism, nature and the picturesque (Wallach, 1993; also see Staiff, 1995). For a discussion about aesthetics and nature in post-enlightenment western thinking see Soper (1995) and for a recent analysis of landscape/nature and aesthetics in western art see Andrews (1999). It can also be argued that national parks are equal to the ideology of 'nation' which is, of itself, a phenomenon grounded in culture. See Olwig (1996).

⁹ On the cultural inscription of nature in China, especially the aesthetics of nature, see Cheng (1994), Clunas (1997), Crane (2000) and Liu and Capon (2000).

¹⁰ Suzuki and Knudtson (1992); Sutton (1988).

¹¹ For example, more than 84% of the total visitation to Minnamurra Rainforest Centre comes from the Sydney and Wollongong regions. These two cities have one of the highest per capita ratios of non-English-speaking residents in Australia. A recent survey revealed almost 1 in 5 visitors (18%) indicated their first language was not English. Of these, two-thirds (61.7%) did not speak/understand or read English (29.4% and 32.3%, respectively). See Smith (1997a).

¹² In a recent study of visitors to three National Parks in Argentina it was found that the prime motivation for the visit (between 80% and 86% in a sample of 1200) was the scenic beauty of the parks (Sheridan, 1999).

¹³ Exemplified in the work of Deborah Bird Rose. See Rose (1992, 1996).

¹⁴ It also requires a serious rethink about the content and the context of education in protected areas and the issues that permeate through the selection and presentation of that content. This has been addressed in an earlier paper where it was argued that the content/context issue should be informed by a number of key questions: who are the owners/custodians of these places? How are these places represented? Who speaks for them? What is spoken? And who is listening to the speaking? (Staiff *et al.*, 2002).

¹⁵ The notion of community stewardship of natural and cultural heritage sites has become a major objective across the globe in an age of withering government resources. See IUCN (1993), NPWS (NSW) (1998), ICOMOS (1999), Australian Heritage Commission (1999) and Bushell and Eagles (2007).

¹⁶ For a lively interrogation of this complexity see Cronon (1996).

¹⁷ The vast array of discourses that press on to western ideas of nature/culture can be gleaned from several publications, for example, those published within a 3-year period. See Soper (1995), Descola and Palsson (1996), Eder (1996), Cronon (1996), Robertson *et al.* (1996) and Macnaghten and Urry (1998). All these studies are interdisciplinary but here the focus of the interest in the nature/culture relationship is firmly within the humanities/social sciences. And this short list ignores the interest expressed in allied disciplines where the culture/nature doublet certainly defines the field of study but where a precise investigation of that relationship is not the key question being addressed, for example, in art exhibition catalogues and art historical discourse (see Andrews, 1999; Thomas, 1999; Waterlow and Mellick, 1997), in landscape studies (see Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Mitchell, 1994), in landscape design (see Potteiger and Purinton, 1998) and historical studies (see Schama, 1995). And all of these groupings are in addition to the work done from *within* environmental science and ecology (see Wilson, 1991; Simmons, 1993; Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997).

¹⁸ The third position is examined by Alf Hornborg in Descola and Palsson (1996).

¹⁹ Illustrated in Soper (1995).

²⁰ The double helix model used to explain the continual 'dialogue' and dynamic relationship between the physical 'reality' and cultural representations is explained in more detail in earlier work (Staiff, 1995). Soper describes the relationship in slightly different terms but the metaphor remains relevant (Soper, 1995).

²¹ Brown (1997).

²² See, for example, Beder (1996) and Smith (1997b). In Smith, a collection of essays that addresses practical implications in the 'third world' (to use their term) the emphasis is almost entirely on the ecology/natural resources/economic interface.

²³ These other negotiations and possibilities (including a re-conceptualization of the sustainable development model) is explored in Griffiths (2000).

²⁴ Brown (1997) and Griffith (2000).

²⁵ This rather poetic irony is explored more fully by Simmons (1993). Also see Soper (1995).

²⁶ MacCannell was the first to suggest the importance of semiotics in his groundbreaking work on tourist attractions (MacCannell, 1976). This work has been taken up in a number of contexts by both theorists and tourist researchers. See Eco (1986), Culler (1988) and Urry (1990). A recent application of semiotics to material culture is that of Gottdiener (1995) and Hall (1997).

²⁷ UNESCO MAB Reserve Directory. Available at: www.unesco.org/mab/br/brdir/asia/chi3.htm

²⁸ There is very little published about Mount Dinghu, even in UNESCO literature. Nearly all the observations presented here arise from a site visit in April 2000.

²⁹ For the description and analysis of Mount Dinghu, I am indebted to the expertise of those who accompanied the research team: Dr Julie Wen from the University of Western Sydney and Mr Baojian Hu from Xijiang University.

³⁰ 'Heritage' is a much contested term especially in the context of tourism. See Herbert (1995) and Hollinshead (1998). The 'strict sense' referred to is that of preserving/conserving material objects from the past and presenting them in their present state without undue reconstruction. Problems always arise when a built heritage site is still in use. The extensions at Mount Dinghu would appear to be an attempt to enhance the site as a tourism attraction rather than enhance the Buddhist history of the place. Of course, these are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

³¹ All translations are by Dr Julie Wen.

³² Cheng (1994).

³³ These observations are from McDonald (1994).

³⁴ Cheng (1994).

³⁵ The translation is that of the curators of Asian Art at the Art Gallery of New South Wales (McDonald, 1994).

³⁶ One way to mark the *differences* between nature in Chinese representations and nature in European representations is to note how in Chinese painting, for example, it is the underlying forces/processes/dynamisms of nature which are essential (see Cheng, 1994), whereas in European traditions, representations tend to freeze the natural world into a static entity which is invested, in its sheer materiality, with a source of power and authority (see Andrews, 1999). For writers like Sober (1995) and Parker (1999), the western tradition with its implicit and explicit emphasis on power and dominion and mastery (both in the execution and in the subject matter) produces a deep problem when images are used in the context of nature conservation. Ross, in a purposely provocative book, argues that the contemporary ecological appeal to the 'power and authority of nature' (an appeal which replicates the origins of natural law, the right-wing ideologies of the first half of the 20th century CE and, more recently, genetic

determinism) is politically dangerous (Ross, 1994). These important debates, in the present context, simply highlight the impossibility of separating nature from culture.

³⁷ Promotional material is only one set of associations about the nature/culture relationship which can be shown to operate in protected areas. Beyond the scope of the present paper, but equally powerful is the dark side of the neo-Romantic aesthetic – the sublime. The aesthetic of the sublime is about the terror of nature; it is overwhelming power. Terror/horror is constantly manufactured and played out in popular culture, particularly cinema. While the history of the nature/horror connection is much older than the cinema and much older than Romanticism, like all nature associations and the mythic symbolisms they spore, it too has a ‘double helix’ relationship with the ‘real’ in contemporary life. Hurricanes, mudslides, floods, fire, volcanic eruptions and so forth are but *one* of the contemporary sources of such associations. Hollywood films like *Perfect Storm* and *The Day After Tomorrow* are another contemporary source. On nature and the sublime see Andrews (1999).

³⁸ In European aesthetic practices, the idea of the picture already composed in the landscape is an important one. It explains why western perception of the landscape, in an aesthetic sense, is often ‘pictured’ as is landscape vision. This also explains why tourists can easily identify the ‘scenic view’ to photograph. The relationship between painted pictures, landscape vision and photography and the role of the picturesque aesthetic in all three has been explored by Snyder (1980) and Staiff (1995). On nature as a picture see Andrews (1999).

³⁹ This particular process of semiosis maps on to the semiotics of the tourist attraction as described by MacCannell and Urry. They are, of course, essentially the same process – nature at Minnamurra is the tourist attraction (MacCannell, 1976; Urry, 1995). See also Crawshaw and Urry’s essay on tourism and photography in Rojek and Urry (1997). For a critique of western tourism photography as a form of place ‘ownership’ and control see Sontag (1977).

⁴⁰ There has been some trenchant criticism on the way the neo-romantic aesthetic of nature empties nature of human occupancy and promotes a false, idyllic ecology (pristine nature) that denies, for example, the role of indigenous Australian and New Zealand peoples and perpetuates the myth of *terra nullius* (Park, 1999). While these are justifiable concerns, the answer is not to expel aesthetics from the forest – how would this be possible? – but to engage the aesthetics of place perception by better understanding the mechanisms of the nature/culture relationship. The pioneering work of Tuan is important here (Tuan, 1974).

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14 The Attitudes of Community Residents Towards Tourism

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The Study of Attitudes Towards Tourism

Tourism has great potential to affect the lives of community residents in both positive and negative ways. Before community leaders begin to allocate resources and facilitate the development of tourism, an understanding of residents' opinions regarding prospective development is crucial. A commonly cited rationale for conducting the research that helps us understand residents' attitudes and opinions about tourism is that without support from the community it is difficult to develop sustainable tourism. Menning (1995) noted development of tourism in a community is not simply a matter of matching product supply with tourist demand. Local acceptability must also be considered. Moreover, it is community residents who should ultimately have a voice in determining which tourism impacts are acceptable and which are unacceptable. As Richardson and Long (1991) argued, residents' leisure needs and wants must take precedence over development for tourists. Concern with resident's desires is obviously necessary to maintain support for tourism given their permanent status within the community. John (1988) proposed several keys to success for sustained growth in rural communities. He ultimately concluded that strategies for economic growth in rural areas must originate and be directed from within the community (a grass-roots strategy) in order to be successful. Further, when government organizations are involved in community development, they are ultimately accountable to community residents. This chapter will begin with a detailed review of the literature, covering both the early, ground-breaking work in resident attitudes as well as the most recent research. A resident attitude study conducted in Arizona will be used throughout the chapter as an illustration. The Arizona study will demonstrate the kinds of measure and analysis typically used in this type of research.

Early quantitative studies of resident attitudes towards tourism generally had a 'tourism impact' focus. These works usually included either a

series of questionnaire items related to several types of previously documented impacts (Liu and Var, 1986) or focused specifically on social or environmental impacts (Brougham and Butler, 1981; Liu *et al.*, 1987; Milman and Pizam, 1988; Ap, 1990; Um and Crompton, 1990; King *et al.*, 1993; Jurowski *et al.*, 1997). Others had a 'tourism attitudes' or 'tourism perceptions' approach, considering the attitudes of a community's residents towards tourism (Perdue *et al.*, 1987; Allen *et al.*, 1988, 1993; Johnson *et al.*, 1994; Lankford, 1994; McCool and Martin, 1994; Gilbert and Clark, 1997; Lindberg and Johnson, 1997). Researchers who developed these studies made the valid argument that residents' perceptions of, and attitudes towards, tourism impacts were at least as important as the actual impacts, if not more so.

Research in the area of resident attitudes towards tourism has been one of the most frequently studied areas of tourism (Easterling, 2004; McGehee and Andereck, 2004; Andereck *et al.*, 2005). Over the past several years a number of studies have considered residents' attitudes towards tourism and the impacts tourism can have on a community (Perdue *et al.*, 1990; Ap, 1992; Jurowski *et al.*, 1997; Gursoy *et al.*, 2002; McGehee and Andereck, 2004, 2008; Aguiló Pérez and Rosselló Nadal, 2005; Andereck *et al.*, 2005). Research has been conducted in communities worldwide, including those in Europe (Avcikurt and Soybali, 2001; Lindberg *et al.*, 2001; Aguiló Pérez and Rosselló Nadal, 2005), Australia, New Zealand, the South Pacific (Berno, 1999; Fredline and Faulkner, 2000; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Tomljenovic and Faulkner, 2000; McKercher, 2001; Dyer *et al.*, 2007), Asia (Kayat, 2002), Africa (Infield and Namara, 2001; Sirakaya *et al.*, 2002; Lepp, 2007) and North America (Andressen and Murphy, 1986; Brayley, 2000; Carmichael, 2000; Iroegbu and Chen, 2001; Snepenger *et al.*, 2001; Gursoy *et al.*, 2002; McGehee and Andereck, 2004; Andereck *et al.*, 2005). Resident attitudes have been measured in both rural (Lankford and Howard, 1994; McGehee and Andereck, 2004) and urban (Gilbert and Clark, 1997; Iroegbu and Chen, 2001) environs, in resort communities (Carmichael and Peppard Jr, 1996) and larger areas such as regions (Fredline and Faulkner, 2000), states (Andereck *et al.*, 2005) and islands (Carlsen, 1999; Aguiló Pérez and Rosselló Nadal, 2005). Respondents have been queried about tourism in general as well as many specific types of tourism, including casinos (Perdue *et al.*, 1995; Carmichael and Peppard Jr, 1996), major fairs and festivals (Gibson and Davidson, 2004), sporting events (Deccio and Baloglu, 2002), nature-based tourism (Brayley, 2000), winter-sports tourism (Lindberg *et al.*, 2001) and volunteer tourism (McGehee and Andereck, 2008).

Methods used to explore resident attitudes have evolved similar to other areas of tourism study: from basic univariate analysis to more complex and sophisticated analysis. Much of the research has utilized an impacts assessment approach, testing a model that attempts to examine interactive effects of various demographics of respondents, the influence of those characteristics on impact perceptions, support for tourism planning and specific types of development (Perdue *et al.*, 1990; Ap *et al.*, 1991; Allen *et al.*, 1993; Easterling, 2004; McGehee and Andereck, 2004). Researchers generally agree that this approach is necessary in order to capture the wide variety of perspectives and attitudes towards tourism that exist within every community.

Dimensions of Resident Attitudes

A number of dimensions or categories of resident attitudes towards tourism have been explored. As an overall framework, many authors have suggested that attitudes tend to fall into three basic categories: (i) economic, such as tax burdens, inflation and job availability; (ii) sociocultural, such as community image, availability of festivals and museums and awareness of cultural heritage; and (iii) environmental, such as crowding, pollution, wildlife destruction and litter. Other types of attitudes such as support for additional tourism, perceptions of personal benefit from tourism and other variables have also been considered. An example of the types of attitude items that are often used in resident attitudes studies is presented in Table 14.1. This data derives from a study conducted in Arizona as part of the Rural Tourism Development Program (Andereck, 1995a). Several communities in various regions of the state with differing levels of tourism development participated in the programme. Questionnaires were distributed door to door in all but one community in which a mail survey was used. Response rates for the door to door surveys ranged from 67% to 86%, with a final sample size of 1347 for all the communities combined. Further details about the methods used for the project can be found in Andereck and Vogt (2000) and McGehee and Andereck (2004).

Economic, sociocultural and environmental attitudes

With respect to economic factors, there is evidence that residents perceive the benefits of tourism in the form of increased employment, investments and profitable local businesses, as well as negative economic effects including an increase in the cost of living. The literature argues that residents perceive a positive rise in the standard of living more than the negative impact of a rise in the cost of living (Aguiló Pérez and Rosselló Nadal, 2005; Liu and Var, 1986). The economic impact of tourism on residents varies considerably within a community. For example, vacation home development can create a tax burden on local residential property owners (Fritz, 1982) and tourism development has been found to increase government debt and the cost of living for residents (Crofts and Holland, 1993). As the Arizona study demonstrates, respondents tend to view the economic aspects of tourism positively, particularly perceiving that tourism improves the local economy, increases tax revenue and provides jobs for residents (Table 14.1). They seem to be unsure as to whether tourism benefits only a small group of residents but disagree that tourism is a burden on a community's services. There is a slight leaning towards agreement that tourism increases cost of living.

Although the economic benefits of tourism are usually considered to improve communities, previous studies have indicated that the sociocultural effects may not always be as positive (Liu *et al.*, 1987). The local community and culture can experience changes due to tourism and these can have an effect on resident quality of life. Areas with high levels of tourism activity often experience an increase in population, especially as a result of new

Table 14.1. Tourism attitude items in the Arizona study.

Tourism attitude items	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean
<i>Economic</i>						
Increasing the number of tourists to a community improves the local economy	1.0	3.1	9.4	49.2	37.2	4.2
Tourists are valuable	1.3	3.2	9.2	60.2	26.0	4.1
Tourism increases a community's tax revenue	1.3	4.2	20.4	45.6	28.5	4.0
The tourism industry provides worthwhile job opportunities for community residents	2.2	4.8	10.9	50.6	31.4	4.0
Tourism results in an increase in the cost of living	5.1	22.4	34.1	28.7	9.7	3.2
Tourism development increases property values	10.0	29.1	28.7	22.3	10.0	2.9
Tourism usually benefits a small group of residents	8.3	38.0	24.5	21.9	7.3	2.8
Tourists are a burden on a community's services	22.4	40.6	18.4	15.3	3.3	2.4
<i>Sociocultural</i>						
Tourism provides incentives for restoration of historic buildings	2.1	4.5	14.2	57.5	21.6	3.9
Tourism encourages a variety of cultural activities by local residents	1.9	4.2	10.2	65.3	18.5	3.9
Tourism provides cultural exchange and education	1.8	6.2	16.0	60.2	15.8	3.8
Tourism development increases the quality of life in an area	3.5	7.3	20.1	45.8	32.4	3.8
Shopping opportunities are better in communities as a result of tourism	3.1	10.9	17.1	52.8	16.1	3.7
Tourism improves understanding/image of my community and culture	2.4	9.6	26.8	51.9	9.3	3.6
Tourism helps preserve the cultural identity of my community	3.2	13.0	31.7	44.3	7.9	3.4
The quality of public services in my community has improved due to tourism	5.8	20.5	44.1	25.8	3.8	3.1
Tourism causes change in traditional culture	6.4	37.2	31.3	21.0	4.1	2.8
Tourism development increases the amount of crime in an area	8.2	36.6	30.7	19.5	5.0	2.8
Tourism results in more vandalism in a community	7.2	41.5	31.2	15.0	5.1	2.7
An increase in tourists in my community will lead to friction between local residents and tourists	6.1	46.2	30.7	14.1	2.9	2.6

Continued

Table 14.1. Continued

Tourism attitude items	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Unsure	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean
Tourists negatively affect a community's way of life	13.3	49.9	20.0	13.4	3.4	2.4
Native people are being exploited by tourism	15.6	45.8	24.4	9.8	4.4	2.4
<i>Environmental</i>						
Tourism development increases the traffic problems of an area	2.2	12.8	12.6	50.6	21.9	3.8
Because of tourism communities develop more parks and recreational areas that local residents can use	3.0	11.0	18.2	51.3	16.5	3.7
Tourism development improves the appearance of an area	2.6	8.6	18.7	56.8	13.3	3.7
Tourism results in more litter in an area	3.3	24.7	21.9	39.6	10.6	3.3
The environmental impacts resulting from tourism are relatively minor	6.7	24.4	32.0	32.7	4.1	3.0
In recent years, my community has become overcrowded because of tourists	11.0	53.9	17.8	13.9	3.5	2.5
<i>Overall</i>						
It is important that community residents be involved in decisions about tourism	0.8	1.4	6.0	55.6	36.1	4.3
The overall benefits of tourism outweigh the negative impacts	2.4	6.2	20.8	47.8	22.8	3.8
My community's residents are courteous and friendly to tourists	1.5	6.3	28.3	54.5	9.4	3.6

Sample size for data reported in this table is 1347.

residents relocating from out of state, which results in significant changes in the social character of the community (Perdue *et al.*, 1991). Loss of community identity and local culture often occurs when a high growth rate with poor planning and growth management are combined (Rosenow and Pulsifer, 1979). Tourism development directly affects residents' habits, daily routines, social lives, beliefs and values that may lead to psychological tension. Other negative sociocultural consequences of tourism include a decline in traditions, materialism, increase in crime rates and social conflicts (Dogan, 1989). The residents of some destinations do not feel tourism affects the crime rate, and they do not attribute social costs to tourism (Liu and Var, 1986). However, in other areas residents perceive an increase in negative sociocultural consequences such as brawls, drug addiction, vandalism and individual crimes. The same residents identify improvements in attitudes towards work and hospitality towards strangers as positive social effects of tourism (Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996). Other positive effects are cultural benefits including improved entertainment, historical and cultural exhibits, a means for cultural exchange, cultural events and a strengthening of cultural identity (Liu and Var, 1986). In the case of the Arizona study, residents tend to not perceive any of the potential negative sociocultural consequences of tourism that were measured while agreeing that it can provide many benefits (Table 14.1). For the most part Arizona residents did not report that tourism causes problems, but there is also some uncertainty with respect to its effects on crime, vandalism and friction between residents and visitors.

Although tourism is often considered a clean industry that does not harm the natural environment, in reality, it can cause significant environmental damage because it is often developed in areas that have attractive but fragile environments. The principal negative environmental consequences of tourism are: air pollution such as emissions from vehicles and airplanes; water pollution such as waste water discharge, fertilizer leakage and road oil; wildlife destruction as a result of hunting, trapping and fishing and disruption of natural habitat; plant destruction, deforestation, over-collection of specimens, forest fires and trampling of vegetation; and destruction of wetlands, soil and beaches. In addition, there are other environmental consequences of tourism that concern residents. These include: large buildings which destroy views; clashing architectural styles which do not fit the style of the area; noise pollution from planes, cars and tourists; damage to geological formations due to erosion and vandalism; fishing line and tackle left by anglers; and graffiti (Andereck, 1995b).

While the impacts of tourism on the environment are evident to scientists, not all residents attribute environmental damage to tourism. Residents' reactions to environmental impacts are mixed. Some feel tourism provides more parks and recreation areas, improves the quality of the roads and public facilities and does not contribute to ecological decline. Many do not blame tourism for traffic problems, overcrowded outdoor recreation or the disruption of peace and tranquillity of parks (Liu and Var, 1986). Alternatively, some residents express concern that tourists overcrowd the local fishing, hunting and other recreation areas or may cause traffic and pedestrian congestion

(Reid and Boyd, 1991; McCool and Martin, 1994). Some studies suggest variations in residents' feelings about tourism's relationship to environmental damage are related to the type of tourism, the extent to which residents feel the natural environment needs to be protected and the distance residents live from the tourist attractions (Jurowski *et al.*, 1997; Jurowski and Gursoy, 2004). The Arizona study indicates that residents perceive that tourism increases traffic problems and litter, but they also feel it results in more parks and recreation areas and improves an area's appearance (Table 14.1). Respondents tend to be somewhat unsure if environmental impacts of tourism are minor.

Analysis of resident attitude measures

In most studies, perceptions of impacts or attitudes have been measured using a series of agreement scales similar to the items utilized in the Arizona study (Table 14.1). Though these usually measure economic, environmental and sociocultural attitudes, as well as support for tourism, frequently these items have been combined into multiple-item scales using either descriptive univariate analysis (Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Avcikurt and Soybali, 2001; Sheldon and Abenoja, 2001), factor analysis (Perdue *et al.*, 1990; Lankford, 1994; Andereck and Vogt, 2000), cluster analysis (Iroegbu and Chen, 2001; Aguiló Pérez and Rosselló Nadal, 2005) or a priori conceptualization (Jurowski *et al.*, 1997; Gursoy *et al.*, 2002). Although the statistical dimensions that emerge from each study are slightly different, a few commonalities exist. Most studies discover one or more positive attitudes or benefits dimension(s) and one or more negative attitudes or costs dimension(s). The remaining factors are partly dependent on the questions asked. Some studies find a community development or related dimension (Perdue *et al.*, 1990; Lankford, 1994; Andereck and Vogt, 2000), a tax levy or equity dimension (Perdue *et al.*, 1990) and/or a quality-of-life dimension (Andereck and Vogt, 2000), among others. A factor analysis of the environmental, sociocultural and economic attitude items from the Arizona study provides an example (Table 14.2). Much like other research, there are two positive dimensions, one with a community enhancement orientation and another with an economic improvement orientation. There are also two negative dimensions, one with a community degeneration focus and the other with a lifestyle costs focus.

Regardless of the way in which attitudes have been measured or classified, most studies reveal that residents have generally positive attitudes towards tourism (Andereck and Vogt, 2000). When asked their feelings about the variety of benefits and costs of tourism to communities, most residents report positive attitudes regarding tourism and economic improvement, more recreation and park opportunities, improved quality of life (Andereck *et al.*, 2005; Dyer *et al.*, 2007), improved appearance (Perdue *et al.*, 1990), encouragement of cultural activities (McCool and Martin, 1994) and other items. There are some reports of no perceived benefits on some of the items in several of the studies, especially those items related to job quality (Lankford and Howard, 1994; McCool and Martin, 1994; Siegel and Jakus,

Table 14.2. Factor analysis of tourism attitude items in the Arizona study.

Tourism attitude items	Factor loading	Scale mean	Cronbach alpha	Variance explained	Eigenvalue
<i>Community enhancement</i>		3.7	0.88	34.4	9.3
Tourism improves understanding/ image of my community and culture	0.74				
Tourism helps preserve the cultural identity of my community	0.73				
Because of tourism communities develop more parks and recreational areas that local residents can use	0.66				
The quality of public services in my community has improved due to tourism	0.64				
Tourism development improves the appearance of an area	0.62				
Shopping opportunities are better in communities as a result of tourism	0.62				
Tourism provides cultural exchange and education	0.60				
Tourism encourages a variety of cultural activities by local residents	0.55				
Tourism development increases the quality of life in an area	0.55				
The tourism industry provides worthwhile job opportunities for community residents	0.50				
<i>Community degeneration</i>		2.9	0.83	10.8	2.9
Tourism results in more vandalism in a community	0.76				
Tourism results in more litter in an area	0.73				
Tourism development increases the traffic problems of an area	0.70				
Tourism development increases the amount of crime in an area	0.65				
In recent years, my community has become overcrowded because of tourists	0.64				
An increase in tourists in my community will lead to friction between local residents and tourists	0.60				
Tourist's are a burden on a community's services	0.45				
<i>Economic improvement</i>		4.0	0.75	4.8	1.3
Tourism increases a community's tax revenue	0.69				

Continued

Table 14.2. Continued

Tourism attitude items	Factor loading	Scale mean	Cronbach alpha	Variance explained	Eigenvalue
Increasing the number of tourists to a community improves the local economy	0.66				
Tourists are valuable	0.57				
Tourism provides incentives for restoration of historic buildings	0.49				
<i>Lifestyle costs</i>					
Tourism results in an increase in the cost of living	0.64				
Tourism usually benefits a small group of residents	0.63				
Tourism causes change in traditional culture	0.51				
Native people are being exploited by tourism	0.48				
Tourists negatively affect a community's way of life	0.47				
<i>Deleted items</i>					
Tourism development increases property values					
The environmental impacts resulting from tourism are relatively minor					
It is important that community residents be involved in decisions about tourism					
My community's residents are courteous and friendly to tourists					
The overall benefits of tourism outweigh the negative impacts					

1995), increased quality of life or standard of living (Long *et al.*, 1990; Lankford and Howard, 1994) and improved roads and public services (Lankford and Howard, 1994).

Most study findings thus far have not found residents to be greatly concerned about the negative aspects of tourism on a general level. Several studies reveal concerns with one or more specific items with respect to negative impacts. The one item that emerges most often as a concern is the impact of tourism on traffic (Mok *et al.*, 1991; Black and Nickerson, 1997; Lindberg and Johnson, 1997; Tomljenovic and Faulkner, 2000; Andereck *et al.*, 2005; Dyer *et al.*, 2007). Other studies report resident concern with crime, drugs (Mok *et al.*, 1991; King *et al.*, 1993), litter (Lankford and Howard, 1994; Snaith and Haley, 1995), noise pollution (Dyer *et al.*, 2007), crowding of public facilities and resources (McCool and Martin, 1994), increased prostitution, vandalism (Liu *et al.*, 1987), degradation of morality (Mok *et al.*, 1991), alcohol, openness

of sex (King *et al.*, 1993), parking problems (Lindberg and Johnson, 1997) and declining resident hospitality (Liu and Var, 1986). The one exception to the generally positive attitudes towards tourism is the study conducted by Johnson *et al.* (1994), which found that residents in three Idaho communities are negatively disposed towards tourism. They disagree with the idea that tourism has positive impacts, and agree that tourism has negative impacts.

The conclusion that can be made from this literature is residents seem to be positively disposed towards tourism in a great diversity of communities. This does not imply that residents do not have concerns about the negative impacts tourism either can or does have in their communities, but the specific concerns vary by setting. As the study by Johnson *et al.* (1994) demonstrates, there are certainly exceptions to the overall positive attitudes of residents. In most cases, however, tourism is generally viewed positively as an industry.

Predictors of Resident Attitudes

Early studies of resident attitudes often rested on the ontological perspective that communities are relatively homogeneous places whose residents either generally support or do not support tourism. It did not take long for researchers to determine that there is often great heterogeneity within communities and as a result great variety in attitudes about tourism development (Snaith and Haley, 1999; Mason and Cheyne, 2000; Iroegbu and Chen, 2001/10). In fact, some groups of residents may find more in common with other residents in neighbouring communities than within their own. For example, Iroegbu and Chen (2001) found that male, college-educated, urban residents who made more than \$25,000 per year were most likely to support tourism development, regardless of region of residence in Virginia. Snaith and Haley (1999) found a great deal of variation in support for tourism development within an historic community in England. In general, those who are not economically tied to tourism view it more negatively than those who are; those who own their own homes view tourism development more negatively than those who rent; and those who live far from the city centre are more likely to view tourism development more negatively than those who live in town. In other words, personal characteristics have some effect on the respondent's view of tourism development, perhaps due to the myriad ways in which people with different personal characteristics experience the impact of tourism.

Most recent attitude studies have targeted specific communities and have explored the various elements and characteristics within those communities, and with respect to the residents themselves, that may predict attitudes about tourism. A number of theoretical concepts have been applied in the study of resident attitudes, including life cycle theory (Dogan, 1989; Ap and Crompton, 1993), equity theory (Pearce *et al.*, 1991), and more recently stakeholder theory (Perdue, 2003; Easterling, 2004) and the theory of reasoned action (Dyer *et al.*, 2007). While each of these perspectives has received attention and contributed to the theoretical foundation of resident attitudes research, the theoretical

base for many of the studies has been social exchange theory. Some of the first researchers to use social exchange theory include Allen *et al.* (1993), Ap *et al.* (1991) and Perdue *et al.* (1987, 1990). More recently, social exchange theory has been utilized by Andereck *et al.* (2005), Gursoy *et al.* (2002) and McGehee and Andereck (2004). As described by Ap (1992, p. 668), social exchange theory is 'a general sociological theory concerned with understanding the exchange of resources between individuals and groups in an interaction situation'. The tourism industry in any form consists of exchanges between and among individuals, various stakeholder groups and organizations (governmental, private and corporate). Residents must develop and promote tourism, and then serve the needs of the tourists. Some community residents reap the benefits of tourism, while others may be negatively impacted. Social exchange theory suggests people evaluate an exchange based on the costs and benefits incurred as a result of that exchange. An individual that perceives benefits from an exchange is likely to evaluate that exchange positively; an individual that perceives costs from an exchange is likely to evaluate that exchange negatively. Thus, residents who perceive themselves as benefiting from tourism are likely to view it positively, while residents who perceive themselves as incurring costs are likely to view tourism negatively. There has been mixed support for social exchange theory in the tourism literature. Some studies have found support for the theory while others have not been conclusive (Ap, 1992; Jurowski *et al.*, 1997; Gursoy *et al.*, 2002).

Importantly, the majority of studies have shown that residents who are dependent on the tourism industry, or perceive a greater level of economic gain, tend to have a more positive perception of tourism than other residents (Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996; Jurowski *et al.*, 1997; Deccio and Baloglu, 2002; Sirakaya *et al.*, 2002). Studies have found residents who perceive greater levels of personal benefit from tourism express more positive attitudes towards tourism and are more supportive of tourism development than those who do not feel they receive tourism's benefits (Perdue *et al.*, 1990; Jurowski *et al.*, 1997; McGehee and Andereck, 2004; Andereck *et al.*, 2005). When residents are categorized into those who are directly economically dependent on tourism and those who are not, it becomes evident that the former perceive the tourism industry in a more positive light (Liu *et al.*, 1987; Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996). Residents who themselves or who have family employed in the tourism industry tend to have more positive perceptions of tourism's impact than other residents (Jurowski *et al.*, 1997; Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Deccio and Baloglu, 2002; Sirakaya *et al.*, 2002). Lindberg and Johnson (1997) report that people who place a greater amount of importance on economic development have more positive attitudes towards tourism than those who do not. There is also evidence that those who feel they receive tourism's benefits are also aware of some of the negative impacts of tourism (King *et al.*, 1993; Snepenger *et al.*, 2001).

Similarly, resident attitudes towards tourism are often found to be related to involvement with the tourism industry. Residents who feel they are knowledgeable about tourism, as well as those who are more involved in tourism decision making, are often more positively inclined towards the industry

(Davis *et al.*, 1988; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Andereck *et al.*, 2005). In like manner, there is evidence that those who are more engaged with the industry through high levels of contact with tourists are more positively inclined towards tourism and express more positive attitudes than the uninvolved (Brougham and Butler, 1981; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Andereck *et al.*, 2005). In general, the findings to date suggest residents who are more engaged with tourism and tourists are more positively inclined towards tourism and express more positive attitudes.

Sentiments about one's community have been investigated as a predictor of attitudes about tourism. Variables that have generally been labelled 'community attachment' and most often measured as length of time living in a community and/or having been born in a community have been investigated in some studies with mixed results (Davis *et al.*, 1988; McCool and Martin, 1994; Deccio and Baloglu, 2002; Gursoy *et al.*, 2002; McGehee and Andereck, 2004). Some investigators have found evidence that attachment is negatively related to tourism attitudes (Lankford and Howard, 1994), but this relationship is not yet conclusive given that others have found the opposite or no definitive relationship in their studies (Davis *et al.*, 1988; Deccio and Baloglu, 2002; Gursoy *et al.*, 2002; McGehee and Andereck, 2004).

This has also been true of the relationship between demographic characteristics and attitudes; generally, no consistent relationships have emerged in the analysis of the connection between traditional demographic variables and tourism attitudes (Johnson *et al.*, 1994; Perdue *et al.*, 1995; Sirakaya *et al.*, 2002; Tosun, 2002; McGehee and Andereck, 2004; Andereck *et al.*, 2005; Haley *et al.*, 2005). The only consistent demographic predictor of tourism attitudes is employment in the tourism industry with residents who are employed in, or otherwise dependent on, tourism having a more positive perception of tourism's economic impact than other residents (Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Sirakaya *et al.*, 2002; Haley *et al.*, 2005). This has also been a measure of using business ownership, with owners being more positive towards tourism than other groups (Lankford, 1994; Siegel and Jakus, 1995).

Differences in attitudes have also been examined according to degree of tourism development in the resident's community (Long *et al.*, 1990; McGehee and Andereck, 2004) and maturity of destination (Sheldon and Abenoja, 2001). A relationship that has been explored by several researchers is the association between a community's economic activity and residents' attitudes towards tourism (Long *et al.*, 1990; Allen *et al.*, 1993; McGehee and Andereck, 2004). Long *et al.* (1990) suggest that residents in communities that are more dependent on tourism perceive higher levels of impacts and are more supportive of user fees and taxes than those who are less dependent. They also found that there appears to be a threshold of tourism development activity beyond which attitudes became less positive. Initially, residents' feelings about tourism become more positive as the level of tourism development increases, but over time the positive feelings seem to crest, after which time attitudes begin to be less positive. Allen *et al.* (1993) examined this relationship and report that residents in communities with low tourism and low economic activity, and those in communities with high tourism and high economic

activity, are more positively disposed towards tourism than residents in communities with low tourism and high economic activity, or high tourism and low economic activity. Similarly, Smith and Krannich (1998) found that residents in tourism-dependent communities prefer less tourism development and perceive more negative tourism-related impacts than residents in less tourism-dependent communities.

A number of studies based on social exchange theory have verified a relationship between attitudes towards tourism and support for tourism development. For example, structural equation models have verified a relationship between support for tourism development and economic involvement, ecocentric attitudes, residents' perceptions about impacts, the state of the economy, how far residents live from the tourist activities, residents' evaluation of costs and benefits and, in some instances, community attachment (Gursoy *et al.*, 2002; Jurowski and Gursoy, 2004; Dyer *et al.*, 2007). Other models, most often using regression analysis, have found similar relationships and that various attitude domains predict resident support for tourism (Perdue *et al.*, 1990; Andereck and Vogt, 2000; McGehee and Andereck, 2004; Haley *et al.*, 2005).

Predictor variables in the Arizona study

Since the study conducted in Arizona included many of the variables that have been linked to resident attitudes towards tourism and/or support for tourism development, it will be used as an illustration. As referenced earlier, Table 14.1 lists the economic, sociocultural and environmental variables measured, with Tables 14.3 and 14.4 presenting the remainder of the variables, their frequency distributions, and the reliability statistics for those combined into composite variables from the Arizona study. Figure 14.1 outlines the relationships among variables tested based on the Arizona respondents. Personal benefit from tourism is composed of the two variables noted in Table 14.3 and has an alpha coefficient of 0.75. The involvement variable is made up of three items that have normally been considered separately in attitudes research: level of knowledge about tourism, involvement in community tourism decision making and amount of contact with tourists in the community (alpha = 0.72; Table 14.3). Both of these constructs were confirmed with factor analysis. The attitudes variables consist of composite variables based on the factor analysis shown in Table 14.2. In this case, path analysis, which is a form of regression analysis, is used for testing these relationships (Keane, 1994).

Figure 14.2 shows the direct relationships that were found to be significant in the path analysis while Tables 14.5, 14.6 and 14.7 present both direct, indirect and total relationships found in the Arizona study. The first level of analysis tested the relationships between resident characteristics and the two composite variables of personal benefit from tourism and involvement in tourism (Table 14.5). Two of the characteristic variables, years in the community and income, are not significant in any of the models and so are not shown

Table 14.3. Characteristics of respondents to the Arizona study.

Variables	Percentage
<i>Gender</i>	
Female	50.7
Male	49.3
<i>Age (mean = 47.2)</i>	
Less than 30 years	11.7
30–39 years	22.0
40–49 years	25.1
50–59 years	17.0
60–69 years	11.7
70–79 years	10.2
80–89 years	2.3
<i>Household income</i>	
Less than \$50,000	93.1
\$50,000–99,999	6.2
\$100,000 or more	0.7
<i>Education</i>	
Less than high school	6.2
High school graduate	22.3
Technical/associates degree	7.3
Some college	36.3
College degree	17.4
Advanced degree	10.5
<i>Years in community (mean = 18.6)</i>	
Fewer than 4 years	18.9
4–6 years	13.9
7–10 years	11.5
11–15 years	9.6
16–20 years	9.1
21–30 years	16.5
31–40 years	9.1
41–50 years	6.4
More than 50 years	5.0
<i>Live in community as a child</i>	
Yes	28.6
No	71.4
<i>Distance from tourism area (mean = 5.8 miles)</i>	
0–2.0 miles (1 mile = 1.609 km)	54.4
2.1–4.0 miles	18.2
4.1–6.0 miles	11.5
6.1–10.0 miles	8.4
10.1 or more	7.5
<i>Frequency of visits to tourism area (mean = 1.5)</i>	
Never	55.4
Occasionally	29.1
Often	15.5

Table 14.4. Predictor variables in the Arizona study.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	Mean
<i>Personal benefit from tourism</i> (alpha = 0.75)						
I would personally benefit from more tourism development in my community ^a	7.4	22.5	27.6	31.4	11.0	3.2
Amount I feel I benefit personally from tourism in my community ^b	16.8	24.2	34.2	14.3	10.3	2.8
<i>Involvement in tourism</i> (alpha = 0.72)						
Level of knowledge about the tourism industry ^c	10.8	34.2	42.1	12.9	n/a	2.6
Involvement in tourism decision making ^b	46.5	27.6	18.0	5.5	2.3	1.9
Amount of contact with tourists ^d	19.9	38.6	27.3	14.2	n/a	2.4
<i>Support for additional tourism</i> ^a						
I support tourism having a vital role in this community	2.7	5.1	14.6	58.0	19.6	3.9
Tourism can be one of the most important industries for a community	2.3	4.0	8.4	46.3	39.0	4.2
Additional tourism would help this community grow in the right direction	2.8	6.3	25.4	50.2	15.3	4.1
The tourism industry will continue to (or could) play a major economic role in this community	1.7	3.7	9.9	60.9	23.8	4.0
I am happy and proud to see tourists coming to see what my community has to offer	1.7	5.4	10.4	59.8	22.7	4.0
Tourism holds great promise for my community's future	2.2	5.8	19.4	52.9	19.7	3.8
The tourism organization of my community's government should do more to promote tourism	2.8	6.7	20.7	49.0	20.8	3.8
I favour building new tourism facilities which will attract more tourists	4.4	9.7	15.1	52.6	18.1	3.7

n = 1347.

^awhere 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree.

^bwhere 1 = not at all to 5 = a lot.

^cwhere 1 = not at all knowledgeable to 4 = very knowledgeable.

^dwhere 1 = no contact to 4 = a large amount of contact.

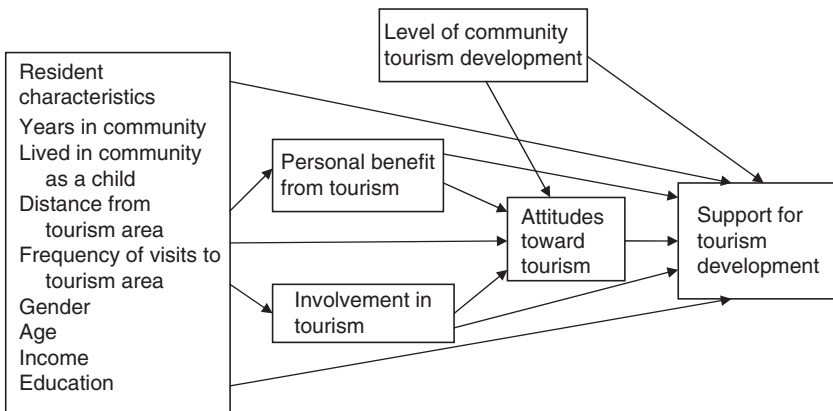


Fig. 14.1. Model of support for tourism development based on the Arizona study.

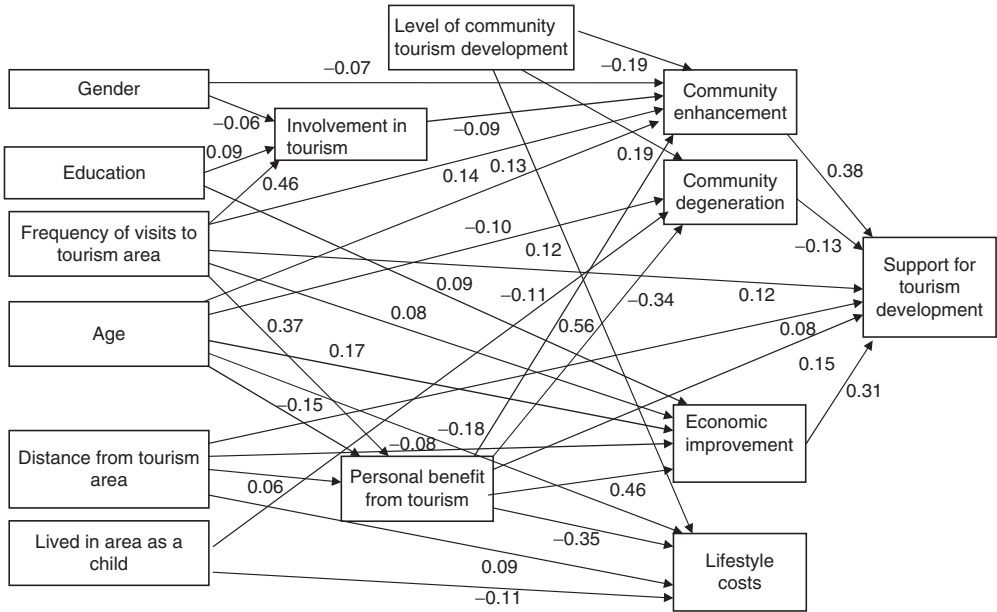


Fig. 14.2. Significant relationships among variables.

in Fig. 14.2. Involvement in tourism is predicted by gender, with men indicating more involvement; education, with the higher educated being more involved with tourism; and frequency of visits to the tourism area of the community, with those visiting frequently being more involved. Personal benefit from tourism is predicted by frequency of visits to the tourism area, with frequent visitors perceiving greater personal benefits; age, with younger residents perceiving more benefit; and distance of residence from the tourism area, with those farther away perceiving more benefit.

The second level of analysis considers the predictive ability of personal characteristics, involvement, personal benefit and level of community tour-

Table 14.5. Model direct relationships for involvement and personal benefit in the Arizona study.

Dependent variables	Independent variables	Direct effect (beta)
Involvement	Gender	-0.06*
	Education	0.00**
	Visits to tourism area	0.46**
Personal benefit	Age	-0.15**
	Visits to tourism area	0.37**
	Distance of residence	0.06*

* $p < 0.05$.

** $p < 0.001$.

Table 14.6. Model direct and indirect relationships for attitude constructs in the Arizona study.

Dependent variables	Independent variables	Direct effect (beta)	Indirect effects	Total effects
Community enhancement	Gender	-0.07**	-0.01	-0.08
	Age	0.13***	-0.08	0.05
	Education	-	-0.01	-0.01
	Visits to tourism area	0.14***	0.17	0.31
	Tourism development	-0.20***	-	-0.20
	Involvement	-0.09***	-	-0.09
	Personal benefit	0.56***	-	0.56
Community degeneration	Age	-0.10***	-0.05	-0.05
	Visits to tourism area	-	-0.13	-0.13
	Distance of residence	-	-0.02	-0.02
	Live in area as child	-0.11**	-	-0.11
	Tourism development	0.19***	-	0.19
	Personal benefit	-0.34***	-	-0.34
	Age	0.17***	-0.07	0.10
Economic improvement	Education	0.09***	-	0.09
	Visits to tourism area	0.08*	0.07	0.25
	Distance of residence	-0.08**	0.03	-0.05
	Personal benefit	0.46***	-	0.46
	Age	-0.18***	-0.05	-0.23
Lifestyle costs	Visits to tourism area	-	-0.13	-0.13
	Distance of residence	0.09***	-0.02	0.07
	Live in area as child	-0.11**	-	-0.11
	Tourism development	0.12***	-	0.12
	Personal benefit	-0.35***	-	-0.35

* $p < 0.05$.** $p < 0.01$.*** $p < 0.001$.

ism development on attitudes towards tourism (Table 14.6). As has been found in many studies, a number of the variables used in the Arizona study are related to attitudes towards tourism (Brougham and Butler, 1981; Long *et al.*, 1990; Lankford and Howard, 1994; McCool and Martin, 1994; Andereck *et al.*, 2005). Community enhancement is directly predicted by: gender, with men agreeing to a greater extent than women that tourism enhances the community; involvement in tourism and level of community development, with those more involved in tourism and living in communities with higher levels of tourism development perceiving fewer community enhancement benefits; and frequency of visits to the tourism area, age and personal benefit from tourism, with those visiting the tourism area more often, older residents, and those perceiving more benefit, respectively, viewing more enhancement due to tourism than others. Personal benefit from tourism has almost always predicted attitudes in other studies (Liu and Var, 1986; Perdue *et al.*, 1990; Lankford and Howard, 1994; Jurowski *et al.*, 1997; Sirakaya *et al.*, 2002). There are also indirect effects by gender, education and frequency of visits via the

Table 14.7. Model direct and indirect relationships for support for tourism based on the Arizona study.

Dependent variables	Independent variables	Direct effect (beta)	Indirect effects	Total effects
Support for tourism	Gender	–	–0.03	–0.03
	Age	–	0.01	0.01
	Education	–	0.03	0.03
	Visits to tourism area	0.12*	0.24	0.36
	Distance of residence	0.08*	–0.01	0.07
	Live in area as child	–	–0.01	–0.01
	Tourism development	–	–0.09	–0.09
	Involvement	–	–0.03	–0.03
	Personal benefit	0.15*	0.31	0.46
	Community enhancement	0.38*	–	0.38
	Community degeneration	–0.13*	–	–0.13
	Economic improvement	0.31*	–	0.31

* $p < 0.001$.

involvement variable as well as indirect effects of visit frequency, age and distance of residence from the tourism area via personal benefit.

Among the Arizona respondents, community degeneration is also predicted by age, benefit from tourism and level of community development but in the opposite direction from community enhancement. Having lived in the area as a child also emerges in this model with those who did not live in the area during childhood being more likely to agree that tourism results in these kinds of negative impacts. There are also indirect effects by visit frequency, age and distance of residence via personal benefit.

The positive attitude variable of economic improvement is explained by a number of variables in the Arizona study: education and age, with those having more education and being older feeling tourism results in economic improvement; frequency of visits to the tourism area, with those who visit more often being more likely to perceive economic improvements; distance of residence from the tourism area, with those living closer perceiving more economic improvement; and personal benefit from tourism, with those who perceive more benefit also feeling tourism results in economic improvement in the community. There are positive indirect effects by visitation frequency, distance of residence from the tourism area and negative indirect effects by age via personal benefit from tourism.

Analysis of the last attitude construct of lifestyle costs in the Arizona study finds positive relationships with distance of residence from the tourism area of the community and level of tourism development. In other words, those who live farther from the tourism area and those in communities with higher levels of tourism development in Arizona also tend to feel tourism has lifestyle costs. It is negatively related to age, whether the resident lived in

the area as a child, and personal benefit from tourism indicating that those who are older, who did not live in the area as a child and who perceive less benefit from tourism are more likely to feel tourism lifestyle costs. The variable lifestyle costs are indirectly explained via personal benefit in the same way as is community degeneration.

The final analysis in the Arizona study considered all of the potential explanatory variables on resident support for community development (Table 14.7). Support is directly explained by community enhancement, economic improvement, community degeneration, personal benefit from tourism, distance of residence from the tourism area and frequency of visits to the tourism area. Those who more strongly feel tourism enhances and improves the economy of a community, benefit more from tourism, live further from the tourism area and visit the tourism area more frequently are more supportive of tourism. As well, those who feel tourism causes community degeneration are less supportive of tourism. All of the personal characteristics variables, personal benefit from tourism and involvement in tourism also have indirect effects on support for tourism.

Conclusion from the Arizona Study

In sum, several variables emerge as particularly important to explaining Arizona resident attitudes towards tourism. Some of the resident characteristics variables are important. Age is related to attitudes with older residents perceiving more positive and fewer negative consequences of tourism than younger people even though they apparently perceive less personal benefit. Gender and education play weak roles as variables in the explanatory ability of community enhancement. The respondent's frequency of visits to the tourism area of the community is a variable that is especially important, with those visiting more often being more involved in tourism, perceiving greater benefits, feeling tourism results in greater positive community impacts and that it does not result in negative impacts than those visiting less often. Undoubtedly those visiting the tourism area of the community are taking advantage of the amenities that tourists also enjoy and are thus positively inclined towards this enrichment of their quality of life. Where people live with respect to the tourism area of the community also is a predictor, though not strong, of some of the attitude items with those living farther away perceiving greater personal benefit as well as more economic improvement and fewer lifestyle costs than more proximate residents. Having lived in the area as a child is related only to the negative attitude variables, with those who spent at least part of their childhood in the community being more likely to disagree that tourism results in community costs. Arizona residents living in more tourism-dependent communities are less positive about tourism than those in communities with less tourism development. Though past research has found involvement variables to be related to resident attitudes, the Arizona study found involvement to be only a moderate predictor of community enhancement and not in the direction that might be expected. Personal benefit of tourism, however, has the

strongest predictive power of all the variables, with those who perceive more benefit agreeing that tourism results in positive community influences and disagreeing that it results in negative influences.

Resident support for tourism development is weakly explained by most of the personal characteristics variables. The one characteristic that emerges as a powerful predictor is frequency of visits to the tourism area of the community, again probably because residents who use the amenities in these areas are happy to have them available. It is also largely explained by personal benefit from tourism with those feeling they get more benefit also being more supportive. Three of the tourism attitude variables are related to support in the way one would expect those with more positive attitudes and those with less negative attitudes being more supportive of tourism development in the community. A somewhat weaker variable is that of the community level of tourism development, with those in more tourism-dependent communities being less supportive of tourism development. Distance of residence from the tourism area is also a predictor with those living farther away being more supportive of tourism. Virtually all studies that have considered the relationship between and among these variables have found similar types of relationships to those found in the Arizona study (Long *et al.*, 1990; Perdue *et al.*, 1990; Andereck and Vogt, 2000; Gursoy *et al.*, 2002; Sirakaya *et al.*, 2002; Jurowski and Gursoy, 2004; Andereck *et al.*, 2005).

The Future of Resident Attitudes Research

A review of the literature has demonstrated that after many years of research being conducted in the area of resident attitudes towards tourism some general conclusions are emerging. The demographic characteristics of people are not strong predictors of attitudes or support for tourism, and the nature of the relationship seems to vary from study to study. It may be that demographics and other personal characteristics are simply not the best way to predict people's perceptions about tourism. Nevertheless, such characteristics should continue to be included in research until it is clear that no pattern exists. These kinds of variables may also be important for understanding the role of tourism in individual communities. Some of the characteristics such as frequency of visits to the tourism area and distance of residence from the tourism area have not been thoroughly researched.

The variable that continually surfaces as being perhaps the most important explanatory variable in all resident attitudes research to date is the personal benefit residents receive from tourism. This has been measured in several ways but nearly always comes forward as a significant predictor of tourism attitudes and support for tourism development. The involvement types of variables are also often significant, but the pattern is not as clear as with benefits of tourism as these kinds of variables have not been thoroughly researched. The stage of a community in its tourism development life cycle also seems to have an effect on people's attitudes but also requires more research before conclusive statements can be made. Attitudes are predictors

of support for tourism development when studies have gone to this next level of analysis. Many other variables have been considered in studies as well, but none has been included often enough to develop conclusions.

In terms of theoretical foundations for this area, attitudes research is in its infancy. To date, several theories have been borrowed from various disciplines, most often social exchange theory, with uneven support found for these theories. It is perhaps time to consider other theoretical frameworks that better fit with research results. Further theoretical development will lead to more consistent testing of relationships and further progress towards a better understanding of resident attitudes towards tourism. Related to this, more attention should be paid to qualitative methods of measuring resident attitudes. The richness gained from in-depth interviews, focus groups, and/or participant observation can provide more organic, grounded sources for theories. Ideally, mixed and multi-methodological approaches will allow for a wider range of voices to be heard. It is only through this improved understanding that community tourism can be developed in a manner that is acceptable to, and supported by, residents leading to more sustainable tourism management.

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15 Tourism and Indigenous Peoples

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Strategies stressing the urgent need for policies and practices to ensure tourism development be in line with principles of sustainable development have been recommended by a wide range of international agencies and instrumentalities. These include the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UN-WTO), The United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD), regional UN commissions, international conservation bodies such as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), many conservation NGOs and the international banks. In 2002, the International Year of Ecotourism brought together the largest gathering of all stakeholders involved in ecotourism, and interested in more sustainable forms of tourism. It focused much attention and interest on the ecological, social and cultural costs and benefits of tourism. This same year the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) drew attention to tourism and its potential to support the UN Millennium Development Goals. The following year the International Ecotourism Society and the Centre on Ecotourism and Sustainable Development prepared 'Rights and Responsibilities' a compilation of Codes of Conduct for Tourism and Indigenous Local Communities (Honey and Thullen, 2003) in recognition of the need for sustainable tourism to be 'an instrument for the empowerment of local communities, for the maintenance of cultural diversity and for the alleviation of poverty'.

Such fora and the associated policies and strategies¹ generated for sustainable tourism have increasingly emphasized both the issues faced by, and the opportunities for, indigenous people worldwide. As an example, the 5th World Parks Congress, held in Durban South Africa, identified tourism as an increasingly important feature of park management and conservation partnerships. Co-management of protected areas by natural resource manage-

ment agencies and indigenous communities is increasingly common, as are community-conserved areas/indigenous protected areas. Throughout the world there are excellent examples where tourism provides a key strategy through which conservation work can also provide support for local and indigenous community development. These cases demonstrate how these conservation alliances can assist with poverty alleviation in both developing and developed nations – Africa, Australia, Canada, Central and South-east Asia, India and South America.

The picture however is far from rosy. Tourism is also frequently discussed at such meetings in relation to the threat of increasing pressure due to escalating interest in nature-based and cultural tourism. As demand for tourism, both international and domestic, continues to grow, particularly from the rapidly rising middle class of the Asian region, so too is commercial interest in the development of the most ecologically fragile, biodiverse, aesthetically, culturally and spiritually rich locations. These natural and cultural heritage conservation hot spots are the drawcards for much tourism development (Bushell, 2005). And indeed the fora themselves, meant to discuss ways to make tourism more sustainable have been heavily criticized by indigenous peoples representative groups, NGOs and activists, who have witnessed UN-led processes that have provided only token participation and representation and not allowed a voice for indigenous peoples to express concerns about the role tourism plays in the continuation of the dispossession process through increased globalization and privatization (Honey and Thullen, 2003).

Conservation International (CI) reports that biodiversity-rich places once covered more than 12% of the Earth's land surface. Nearly 90% of the original vegetation of these places has been lost with a mere 1.4% of these unique terrestrial environments remaining. Yet they are habitat for more than 44% of all plants and 35% of endemic species of mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians found nowhere else. These same areas are home to more than 1 billion people, many of whom live in extreme poverty. These places are crossroads where biodiversity conservation, survival of many indigenous groups and tourism meets (Mittermeier, 2003). In *Tourism and Biodiversity: Mapping Tourism's Global Footprint*, Christ *et al.* (2003) show how tourism development in such areas has had profound consequences on the future of biodiversity conservation and on the health and well-being of indigenous peoples – biodiversity and human welfare being inextricably linked (Borrini-Feyerabend *et al.*, 2004; Brown *et al.*, 2005).

UNESCO estimates that there are currently around 300–350 million indigenous peoples worldwide, or around 5% of the total world population, representing over 5000 languages and cultures in more than 70 countries on six continents (UNESCO, 2006). The rights of indigenous peoples to access land, protected areas, heritage resources and the values they contain are complex, and frequently controversial. Issues of traditional use of biological resources, land rights and ownership, particularly for colonized people who have been dislocated, dominate much of the policy discourse in this arena (Scherl *et al.*, 2004; Fisher *et al.*, 2005). Well-planned and executed tourism can

contribute to increased tolerance and respect for diversity of all sorts – biological, cultural, religious and political. Well-planned ethical tourism development can provide incentives to support indigenous people's traditional customs and values; protect and respect sacred sites; and, enhance the legitimacy of traditional knowledge. (McNeely, 2004; Olsder *et al.*, 2006) The tourism industry is therefore a critical component in fostering global support for natural and cultural heritage conservation, poverty alleviation and indigenous community well-being.

On the other hand, if poorly planned and managed, or if exploitative models of development prevail, the ecological, social and cultural consequences of tourism can be devastating. (Olsder *et al.*, 2006). Tourism development that does not aspire to the goals of sustainable development has been shown to contribute to the deterioration of cultural landscapes, threaten biodiversity, contribute to pollution and degradation of ecosystems, displace agricultural land and open spaces, diminish water and energy resources and drive poverty deeper into local communities (Fisher *et al.*, 2005; McNeely, 2005).

Sadly, indigenous people also continue to be marginalized and have many barriers to becoming active participants in tourism development (Manyara *et al.*, 2006; Hall, 2007a). Central to their disadvantage is that the cycle of poverty that excludes them from so much opportunity – education, health, economic growth and hence their survival and that of their rich cultural heritages (Ashley *et al.*, 2000; Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Hall and Brown, 2006). Internationally, the use of tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation has substantively grown in recent years, which has led to a proliferation of theoretical and practical action. Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) and Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP) are two leading international strategies spearheading such action, designed to enable people in poverty to achieve their livelihood outcomes through tourism activities. Conceptually very similar, PPT is however much more developed and has grown from pro-poor development strategies, and has in turn given rise to specific programmes like ST-EP. At the heart of the approach, PPT unlocks opportunities for the poor, encourages their participation and *tilts* tourism development in their favour, therefore fuelling an accumulation of livelihood benefits, and generating 'net benefits for the poor within tourism' (Ashley *et al.*, 2000; Ashley *et al.*, 2001a,b; Roe and Urquhart, 2001; UNWTO, 2002).

In a slight deviation of focus to the more common triple bottom-line-based approaches to sustainable tourism development and ecotourism, PPT places the poor at the epicenter: 'the environment in which the poor live is just one part of the picture' (Ashley *et al.*, 2001b). While local community involvement and benefits accrual is fundamental to all forms and shapes of sustainable tourism, PPT heightens these objectives and uncompromisingly targets the poor on every level and scale of development. It is not a specific product or sector of the tourism industry but a well-directed mechanism for poverty alleviation driven by industry-related activities and operations (Bennett *et al.*, 1999). In particular, the PPT is highly relevant to indigenous tourism, given indigenous peoples frequently live in developing nations,

and in the case of countries like Australia and Canada, live under conditions significantly different to the non-indigenous population.

We will discuss two cases in Australia; indigenous tourism enterprises in a remote rural community and in a protected area that have worked to contribute to the values of sustainable development for these people. As a capulated poor within a rich nation state (see Table 15.1), many indigenous Australians, particularly those in rural or remote areas, suffer from extreme and profound levels of poverty only comparable in 'less developed' countries (Linacre, 2002; Trewin and Madden, 2005). The root causes of this poverty, in addition to the nature of it, has been the subject of increasing debate ever since indigenous people were 'granted' full Australian citizenship in 1967 (Healy, 1997; Reynolds, 2003; Moses, 2004; Pearson and Kostakidis-Lianos, 2004; Attwood, 2005; Altman, 2007; Pearson *et al.*, 2007). The impacts of colonization, removal from land and family, exploitation, welfare together with all the worst aspects of modern society – drugs, alcohol and cycles of domestic violence and poor health – are linked to lack of incentive and hence education and the opportunities that flow.

Table 15.1. Comparing key socio-economic indicators of indigenous and non-indigenous Australians.

Indicators	Indigenous Australians compared with non-indigenous Australians ^a
Population	463,900 indigenous; 21,102,000 non-indigenous
Life expectancy	Indigenous Australians die almost 20 years younger than non-indigenous Australians
Infant mortality	Indigenous infant mortality rate three times higher than non-indigenous
Birth weight	Low to extremely low birth weight twice as likely for indigenous Australians
Year 12 completion	Indigenous Australians are half as likely as non-indigenous to continue to year 12
Child abuse and neglect	Indigenous children are nearly four times as likely as other children to be the subject of abuse or neglect
Access to health	Indigenous Australians suffer from markedly higher rates of preventable chronic health conditions
Individual income	Well over half of all indigenous people (62%) receive most of their individual income through government welfare programmes
Imprisonment and juvenile detention rates	Indigenous people were 13 times more likely than non-indigenous people to be imprisoned; indigenous juveniles were 23 times more likely to be detained than non-indigenous juveniles

^aComparisons are based on most recent figures available from the following sources: Linacre (2002), ANTAR (2004), Australasia Economics (2004), Trewin and Madden (2005), Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership (2007), Oxfam Australia (2007), Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision (2007).

A central and widely accepted tenet in the debate lies in economics; 'dismal science – but crucial for livelihood and social justice' (Altman, 2003, p. 3). Indigenous Australians live in a 'welfare economy' outside the 'real' mainstream Australian economy (Pearson and Kostakidis-Lianos, 2004), commonly referred to as a 'hybrid economy' perpetuated by government administered welfare programmes or 'social safety nets' (Altman, 2001; Altman, 2004). Compounded by the colonial legacies of Australia, this economic reality drenches individuals, families and communities in passivity and differentiates indigenous activity/capability/relative poverty from predominately 'third world' cash/income/absolute poverty (Sen, 1999; Altman, 2007; Cape York Institute for Policy and Leadership, 2007).

Tourism is one of the few sustainable livelihood activities accessible to rural or remote indigenous Australian communities, and can act as a gateway for indigenous people into this 'real' economy (Altman and Finlayson, 1992; Dyer *et al.*, 2003; Schmiechen, 2006). This also means 'real' wealth creation, not just in terms of monetary gain which always existed through state welfare systems (also known as 'hand outs' or 'sit-down money'), but also and more importantly for indigenous Australians, through the realization of social, cultural, spiritual and country needs and aspirations. In other words, tourism can give indigenous Australians the opportunity to derive income from activity on their land or 'country' as well as revitalize community and culture (Whitford *et al.*, 2001; Trau, 2006; Hall, 2007b). This is despite the menial and low-paid employment opportunities only usually available to indigenous people within tourism, especially for those with a lack of formal education and commercial business experience (Crick, 1991; Altman and Finlayson, 1992), not to mention the potentially deleterious effects of over-commercialization, modernization and increased vulnerability that can be associated with tourist activity without careful coordination and overall precaution (Hall, 2000; Fuller *et al.*, 2005; Bushell and Figgis, 2007).

However, it is important to note that as the use and promotion of PPT has increased so too have the levels of contestation and critical debate, in a similar pattern to that of sustainable development. Hall and Brown (2006), for instance, describe the arguments of UK development agencies which dominate the PPT discourse 'simplistic' and note that few researchers have analytically scrutinized the power dimensions and relationships of tourism development. Chok *et al.* (2007) and Scheyvens (2007) have argued that tourism is just another economic activity operating within the same socio-political structural confines as many other developments which have failed struggling economies, and that there has been far too much focus on pro-poor growth rather than equity; for in order to be pro-poor, growth must be facilitated to deliver over-proportionate benefits to 'the poor' through regulative and (re)distributive institutional approaches (Schilcher, 2007). This is the crux of the debate in development circles. At risk of oversimplifying, it is a debate between 'restrictive' notions of growth that favour equality, and 'less restrictive' notions that regard pro-poor growth as simply growth that positively impacts on the poor regardless of the incremental rate and broader societal norms (Ravallion, 2004; Warr, 2005; Mitchell and Faal, 2008).

Current neo-liberal PPT approaches favouring 'less restrictive' notions of growth are well ingrained in development institutions such as the World

Bank, and have been since the early 1990s. While this can and does yield benefits to indigenous communities at the local level, arguably, the bigger picture is still the problem (Spenceley and Seif 2003; Trau, 2006). For as long as the consumption of tourism is in the 'domain of the wealthy', so too is much of its production (Hall, 2007a, p. 16), which leads Hall and Brown (2006, p. 13) to ask, 'does PPT simply offer another route by which economic imperialism, through tourism, may extend its tentacles, or is it an appropriately liberating and remunerative option?' Hall and Tucker (2004, pp. 4–5) raise similar issues viewed through postcolonialism, suggesting that tourism is a 'new colonial plantation economy' and a form of 'leisure imperialism'. The rationale for PPT is much more profound than the purely economic aspects so often cited.

One of the key motivations for indigenous peoples is the opportunity to link the economic incentive to protection and transfer of traditional cultural custom and knowledge – that tourism can help to keep 'culture alive'. However, on the other side of this positive potential is the potential for cultural significance to be commodified and appropriated. Internationally indigenous peoples are looking towards much greater control and management of tourism that involves indigenous cultural knowledge, performance and material culture. Indigenous groups are insisting on the adherence to codes of ethics for users of indigenous cultures as components of tourism product or promotion. In Australia, indigenous tourism has been identified as a vital and growing area of the Australian tourism industry.

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC) document *Our Culture – Our Future* (Janke, 1998) and the *Mataatua Declaration on the Cultural, Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (1993) provide strong guidelines for the development of an indigenous tourism code of ethics. The Mataatua Declaration states the following: 'Indigenous people are the guardians of their customary knowledge and have the right to protect and control dissemination of that knowledge. They also have the right to create new knowledge based on cultural traditions'. This is in accord with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which affirms that cultural heritage constitutes an irreplaceable tangible and intangible legacy of all peoples. There are inherent duties and responsibilities for individuals and communities as well as institutions and states to protect this right for future generations (James *et al.*, 2001).

The ICOMOS *International Cultural Tourism Charter* (1999) affirms this and clearly states that each country is responsible for ensuring the protection of the cultural heritage rights of all its people:

At a time of increasing globalisation, the protection, conservation, interpretation and presentation of the heritage and cultural diversity of any particular place or region is an important challenge for people everywhere. However, management of that heritage, within a framework of internationally recognised and appropriately applied standards, is usually the responsibility of the particular community or custodian group.

(ICOMOS, 1999)

Gunya Titjikala Indigenous Tourism Enterprise

'Gunya Titjikala' is an indigenous tourism enterprise that operates amidst the challenges of PPT and the maintenance of cultural integrity, but also sees indigenous tourism providing a future for their community. Gunya Titjikala is a unique 50–50 (Ngapartji–Ngapartji) tourism joint venture between the Titjikala Aboriginal community and Gunya Tourism Pty Ltd located in central Australia. The Gunya Titjikala facilities are 'a stone's throw away' from the Titjikala Aboriginal community located 120 km south of Alice Springs, Northern Territory on the edge of the Simpson Desert (see Fig. 15.1).

In operation since 2004 following 6 months of negotiations, Gunya Titjikala is based on equity, with 50% community ownership in capital, profits and management committee seats (Gunya Australia, 2007; Gunya Tourism, 2008). Guests stay in five deluxe safari tents (twin share) which are priced at AUS\$1300² per night with a minimum two-night stay. Promoted as 'the ultimate authentic indigenous experience', Gunya Titjikala is therefore very much targeted at the high-yield market end to produce maximum economic yield with minimum tourists and therefore minimal social impact on the local community (Trau, 2006). However, as the business model in Fig. 15.2 shows, all of the management and administration remains in the hands of Gunya Tourism, and the Titjikala community focuses solely on product delivery and are paid award wages (Gunya Tourism, 2005, personal communication; Gunya Australia, 2007). This means that in terms of employment provided by Gunya Titjikala, the project manager is non-indigenous and indigenous people are

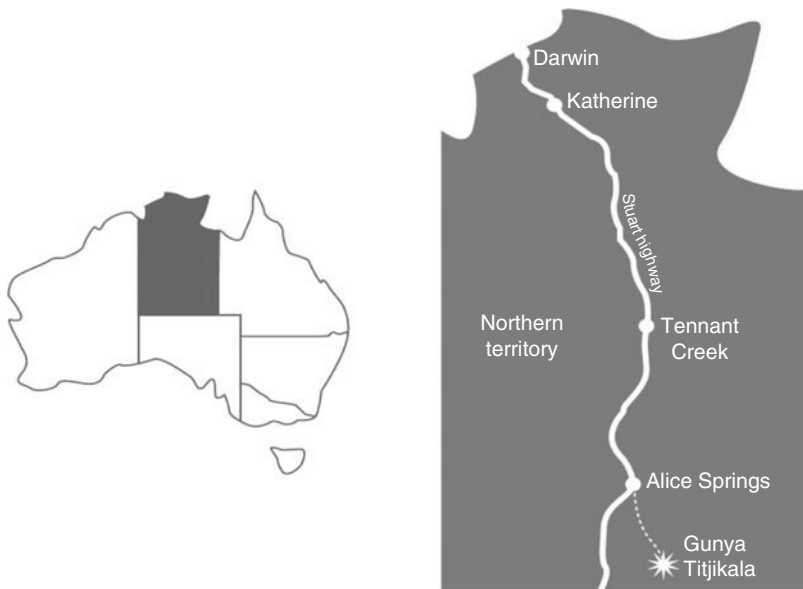


Fig. 15.1. National and northern territory map displaying the location of Gunya Titjikala. (From Gunya Australia, 2007.)



Fig. 15.2. The Gunya tourism business model. (From Gunya Tourism, 2005, personal communication.)

currently only employed for operational duties and activities such as cleaning and guiding tours.

Fundamental to this entrepreneurial model is the Titjikala community's contribution to their 50% financial equity, which is sourced and secured by Gunya Tourism. So in essence, financial contributions made by Gunya Tourism to the enterprise to cover everything from day-to-day operations to infrastructure improvement are matched by a third party equity partner for the community, whether government or non-government. This is also used for accredited training programmes to increase the operational skills and capacity of the Titjikala community within Gunya Titjikala in order to broaden their employment opportunities (Gunya Tourism, 2005, personal communication; Gunya Australia, 2007).

The Tapatjatjaka Community Government Council (TCGC) is the chief representative body for the Titjikala Aboriginal community. In 2005, the TCGC recognized 350 people residing in the Titjikala community, of which the majority belonged to the Arrente, Luritja and Pitjantjara clans (TCGC, 2006a). It is a young community demographic (see Fig. 15.3) suffering from many of the same socio-economic detriments and disparities found throughout indigenous Australia, as highlighted earlier in Table 15.1 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2001). Yet in spite of such hardship, the Titjikala community shows both enormous pride with what has already been achieved and great hope for that still to be (TCGC, 2006b; TCGC, 2007).

The other joint venture partner, Gunya Tourism Pty Ltd, is an emergent indigenous lifestyle company that focuses on providing high yield and locally operated 'authentic indigenous experiences' in areas of natural beauty through joint venture agreements with indigenous communities. Utilizing such tourist activity, Gunya Tourism aims to foster economic independence by providing employment, inspiring social stability and motivating cultural

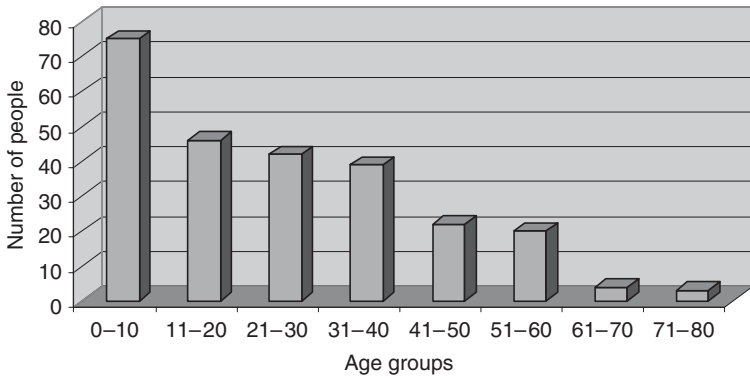


Fig. 15.3. Demographics of the Titjikala community. (Adapted from TCGC, 2006a).

preservation (Gunya Tourism, 2005, personal communication; Gunya Australia, 2007; Gunya Tourism, 2008).

Throughout the research, particular emphasis was placed on the importance of narrative, as story-telling is the cornerstone of knowledge transfer within indigenous Australian communities (Dyer *et al.*, 2003; Hall, 2007b; Schuler *et al.*, 1999). Using a critical ethnographic (Wolcott, 1999; Tedlock, 2000) and participatory action research approach (Bennett and Roberts, 2004) within the community (Trau, 2006), data analysis of research therefore used narrative as a medium. As a result, several storylines developed.

The 'Gunya Story' and the 'Titjikala Story' are outlined below. They provide insights into how both joint venture partners view the enterprise by tracking the initiation, evolution and future vision of Gunya Titjikala and gauging the contribution of Gunya Titjikala to the sustainable livelihood of the Titjikala community. The Gunya Story is led by first-hand accounts from key initiators and stakeholders from Gunya Tourism, while the Titjikala Story is led by Titjikala community members, transcending language and cultural barriers known to traditionally inhibit knowledge transfer (Schuler *et al.*, 1999).

The Gunya Story

From the very outset, the business model proposed for Gunya Titjikala aimed to build capacity and create employment in remote indigenous communities. During inception no government support or funding was received and financial capital was solely raised through corporate philanthropy. One of the two initiators of the enterprise did have a prior relationship with the Titjikala community, though he explained that the community was chosen simply for the challenge, so if it worked 'we could basically take it anywhere'. Three months before the joint venture arrangement was agreed upon a senior project manager was on the ground conducting a community consultation; a process Ashley and Roe (2003) argue should be continual and ongoing for

healthy bilateral relations. When Gunya Titjikala was finally open for business, many initiators and key stakeholders reflected upon a time of 'trial and error with no real blueprint'.

After 2 years of operation the joint venture agreement was still based on its founding principle of 'Ngapartji-Ngapartji': 'we are in this together'. It is also fluid and flexible, which Ashley (2005) and Ashley and Jones (2001) found to be crucial in similar community-private sector pro-poor partnerships across Southern Africa, though roles and responsibilities are roughly divvied up so that the Titjikala community supplies the land, labour and culture and Gunya Tourism the initial capital, expertise and marketing. During interviews and informal conversations, initiators and key stakeholders declared that Gunya Tourism was a managerial partner assisting and empowering the community via tourist activity to increase its roles, responsibilities and therefore equity. However, the need for both a timeline to greater community involvement and ownership as well as greater skills and knowledge transfer to overcome the capacity gap 'between capitalist corporate culture and traditional indigenous culture' was also clearly identified (Dyer *et al.*, 2003, p. 94).

Key barriers and frustrations identified by the initiators and key stakeholders of Gunya Titjikala included:

1. Community welfare dependency.
2. Lack of basic material needs/resources.
3. Lack of community interest in low-paid and menial jobs.
4. Differing cultural values.
5. Capacity 'gaps': shortage of skills and knowledge for tourism 'business side'.
6. Tourist occupancy rate of 30% as current capacity of the community.

On the other hand, key strengths and successes included:

1. Community-tourist dual exchange inspires value of culture.
2. Guests contributing, not consuming.
3. High-end market niche.
4. The strength, unity and dedication of Titjikala community.
5. A strong and committed Community Executive Officer.
6. Equal and shared distribution of work and pay among the community (Trau, 2006).

In regard to the future direction of Gunya Titjikala, all initiators and key stakeholders identified Titjikala economic independence in the 'real' economy as the fundamental goal of the enterprise. This involves breaking the community's reliance on government and networking and engaging with other third party partners; effectively decolonizing indigenous governance by shifting power to the community and unhinging paternalistic dependency (Ashcroft *et al.*, 2000; Lazarus, 2004; Altman, 2007). It is no easy feat, considering the (neo)colonial 'relationships of power' that have engulfed indigenous Australians ever since European colonization, causing profound dispossession and injustice (Gooder and Jacobs, 2002). These are relationships bound by complex structures and mechanisms of hegemony (Said, 2003), and arguably take a contemporary form through the policies and actions of, typically, government institutions (Ashcroft *et al.*, 2006). However, as the Community Executive Officer explained,

it is a feat the Titjikala community had already begun to independently work towards long before Gunya Titjikala. This, as the TCGC (2006a, p. 3) states, provided the 'cultural tour opportunities that assisted in opening the doors for Gunya-Titjikala'.

Tourism is laden with 'power play', especially at the contact zone between tourists and destination residents (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). It is often an unequal power relationship, especially in the 'third' or 'fourth' world context (Hall and Brown, 2006; Manyara *et al.*, 2006). As perhaps a method of diffusing such power play, all initiators and key stakeholders suggested maintaining the 'natural spontaneity' of the tourist enterprise well into the future. This is at the heart of the tourist product on offer and keeps the tourist operation within the community's capability. However, this can be complicated and cumbersome for those working on the ground, which is why the current project manager suggested it be spearheaded by 12–14 confident, open and genuine community tour guides to ensure some sort of product consistency and stability.

The Titjikala Story

To begin with, employment offered to the Titjikala community at Gunya Titjikala ranges from food preparation to digging for witchetty grubs with tourists. The current project manager admitted it is low-end and low-paid, though the majority of the Titjikala community expressed great pride, happiness and inspiration emanating from such work. Many view the work as 'sharing culture on country', which instils respect within, and outside, the community. Income received then 'tops-up' government-administered welfare schemes. However, several community interviewees revealed that employment is completely dependent on tourist visitation. This has proved seasonally variable at Gunya Titjikala, which highlights the inherent instability of tourism in remote communities, also identified by Altman and Finlayson (1992) and Yu and Yu (2003).

Despite the variability and seasonality of the business, the Titjikala community identified a plethora of reasons for, and benefits of, working at Gunya Titjikala. The majority of interviewees for example expressed feelings of 'enjoyment' and 'happiness' (see Fig. 15.4) while a select few went further, powerfully articulating intergenerational benefits, cultural renewal/revival, Titjikala economic independence, local linkages to other entrepreneurial activities and an understanding of the 'tourism side' as reasons for, and benefits of, working at Gunya Titjikala. Similar factors were identified through observation and informal community interactions, and were found to be overwhelmingly coming from an incredibly profound awareness of the personal, social, cultural and economic wealth associated with Gunya Titjikala, and more broadly, the tourism industry.

This is highly significant, and broadens the developmental debate into inclusive and holistic notions of 'well-being', increasingly applied in relation to poverty alleviation worldwide (Sen, 1999; The World Bank, 2002, 2005; Asian Development Bank, 2004). However, this association was by no means uniform. Responses ranged from claims that it simply provides 'something

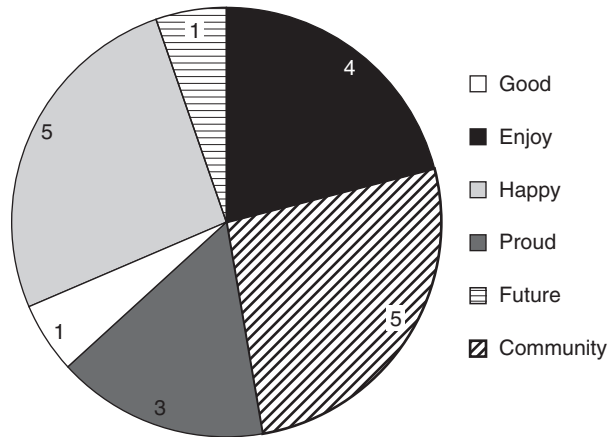


Fig. 15.4. Key words expressed and frequency of times cited by community interviewees when asked 'why do you work?' (From Trau, 2006).

for them to do' and it is 'close and easy' to the gratification and pride linked with the portrayal and teaching of culture.

Reasons for not working (see Fig. 15.5) were communicated as powerfully. Reasons such as 'shame' (a lack of language and power), alcoholism, individual and family conflicts, different social/cultural values, lack of training and education, poor method of payment, and outside interests and influence were recognized as having the power to erode motivation and support for Gunya Titjikala, indicating the delicacy of the enterprise as theatrically demonstrated by a respected community elder tiptoeing the pavement edge to stress the fragility of the enterprise and the thin line on which it exists. The quotes below from two community members actively involved in the enterprise provide further insight into the most common reason for not working, i.e. 'shame', articulated during interviews. They highlight some interesting constraints to indigenous represent-

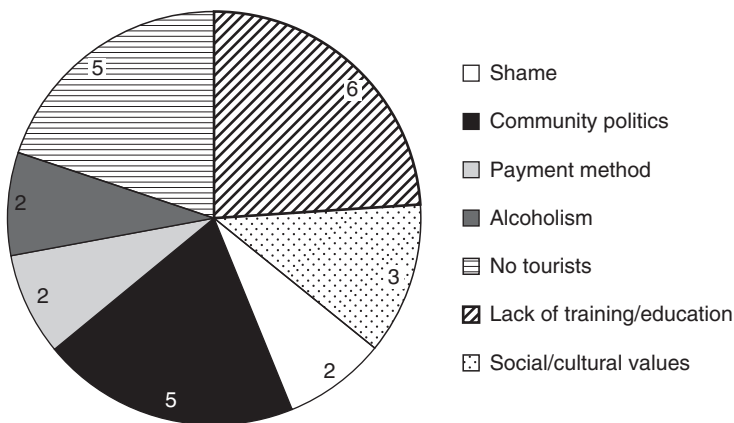


Fig. 15.5. Key reasons for not working at Gunya Titjikala and frequency of times cited by community interviewees. (From Trau, 2006.)

ability, giving weight to the postcolonial and post-structural reflections of Aitchison (2001) who portrays tourism as an instrument of gender and cultural 'Othering' laden with issues of power, representation and hybridity: 'They get shame you know, with the tourists and some of them don't understand, you know, those hard languages like German and like that. [I]t's strange for some people who didn't grow up or get mixed up with white people'.

The operational fragility of Gunya Titjikala was exacerbated by a clear lack of communication between partners which was creating community concerns over financial equity, similar to that uncovered by Dyer *et al.* (2003) at Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park, and more broadly, all community-private sector pro-poor partnerships as reported by Ashley and Roe (2003). In spite of such fragility, key individuals within the community were optimistic about the future course of the enterprise and the community overwhelmingly supported the 50–50 joint venture partnership. However, the need to cautiously increase the roles and responsibilities of the community within the venture was also emphasized by many in the community.

Decisions at Gunya Titjikala are made through the joint management committee consisting of an equal number of representatives from both Gunya Tourism and the Titjikala community. Key decisions made by the committee that were deemed crucial to the current success of the enterprise, as identified by the majority of community research participants, were 'no work, no pay' and 'don't criticise tourists'. Both apply to every community member, group or association. The former implies monetary equality and consistency, while the latter was in reference to offensive tourist behaviour and the need to maintain community image.

Most community members, when asked if they had any suggestions for improving the enterprise, either had trouble articulating it or could not identify anything pertinent. However, several community interviewees provided impassioned responses, such as 'we gotta be in front, not the white man' and 'we gotta take it seriously, put it in your heart'. All of the suggestions gleaned from the community interviews are listed below:

1. Community must be 'in the lead'.
2. Operated in the 'Aboriginal way'.
3. Improve basic community facilities and resources.
4. Full-time work should be made available.
5. No 'grog' during tourist visitation.
6. Improve method of payment.
7. Social events held to award involvement and contribution.
8. Continual encouragement and support for the younger generation, leaders/mentors and greater community.
9. A Titjikala Interpretation Centre (Trau, 2006).

Looking into the future, most in the community were quietly optimistic, and several community leaders and elders voiced their heartening and powerful visions. From larger and more consistent tourist groups and additional tourist safari tents to an empowered younger generation with majority community ownership and control, the aspirations of these 'champions' within the

community were very similar to that of the stakeholders included in the Gunya Story. One community leader and joint management committee member pointed out that 'that's 5 years down the line, but that's our goal you know' and it will take commitment, hard work and continual support for the community. 'When people are getting down you gotta say "come on let's get up, let's do this properly"' and it'll keep going.' Another, quoted below, spoke of the determination and spirit of the Titjikala community:

We try our heart out. This is the first time we're doing it and what I'm seeing with my own eyes... I'm very impressed considering these people are illiterate; half of them are illiterate people. But they can tell you the dreamtime stories, they can tell you how to cook a kangaroo, how to get the witchetty grubs, you know things like that. So they're not backwards in that area but they're slow in numeracy and literacy. But you get 'em out in the scrub where they're doing their work, they can leave you for dead. They can walk you to a water hole you've never seen before and you wouldn't even know how to get there. That's the best part of this place, they know where everything is. They've been here all their life. You people only learning.

Some in the community even contemplated branching out from Gunya Titjikala into other livelihood activities, confirming Zeppels' (1999) assertion that 'diversified indigenous tourism' is increasingly identified as an important and useful means of wealth creation in remote indigenous Australian communities. In case studies from South Africa (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2001; Spenceley and Seif, 2003) and Kenya (Kareithi, 2003) livelihood diversification reduced vulnerability to stresses and shocks within the tourism industry and was therefore identified as an imperative for basic survival in many rural and remote communities. Considering the comparable geographic isolation and socio-economic disadvantage of remote indigenous Australian communities, these findings give further motive for the Titjikala Aboriginal community to branch out from Gunya Titjikala in the future.

Speaking from their 2 years of experience with Gunya Titjikala, the Titjikala community also had several insightful recommendations for other communities in Australia and around the world seeking to establish and operate a tourism enterprise. Most important was the need to tailor the business to the specific needs of each and every community. This is a process that a community interviewee explained must involve 'kids, grandfathers, everyone you know' and determine the community's vision and goals. To achieve such collective outcomes, many in the community agreed it was vital that personal or family conflicts are put aside and outside stakeholders must continually adapt to the community's needs and wants:

I can talk to tourists now. I used to be really shy and after next one and next one you know I was really keen to talk and everyone would listen. Now I feel really good to talk. They ask us and we tell them. We can get really strong – I feel really strong when tourists come to talk. I'm all keened up to talk and I'm strong.

While this case study is in the early stages it serves to demonstrate a number of key issues within the PPT model of indigenous tourism development that resonate worldwide.

The other model of indigenous community development, closely aligned with principles of sustainable tourism, and the ethics of sustainable development is indigenous co-management of protected areas. The debates over sustainable tourism and appropriate use of natural heritage and protected areas together with models of effective management have been linked to efforts to restore and address the land rights of indigenous peoples (Scherl *et al.*, 2004; Fisher *et al.*, 2005). A range of cultural and ethical issues surround the identification, evaluation and management of cultural landscapes, particularly those associated with the history of indigenous people and the associated issues of territory, dislocation, secret knowledge, lost language and sacredness (Healy, 1997; Harrison, 2004). Co-management of protected areas and the use of locally managed tourism to generate income for both indigenous communities and the conservation work has been successful in a number of countries, notably Australia, Canada, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Kenya, New Zealand and South Africa.

While protected areas generally are national government-managed and funded, protected area-based tourism is not without its problems for traditional owners, especially if the 'protection' creates exclusion or displacement (Scherl *et al.*, 2004; Olsder *et al.*, 2006). For example, Machu Picchu, World Heritage Site has outstanding cultural and agrarian values as a 500-year-old Inca city. It is one of the most important tourist destinations in Latin America. For the poor people of this land, it is sacred, yet the system which declared it 'protected', ironically removed these traditional owners and stewards, and then through virtue of its inscription as 'world heritage' because of its outstanding universal values of significance, paradoxically encouraged hundreds of thousands of visitors, generating vast income while the asset has been degraded, both spiritually and ecologically, and the indigenous people experienced loss of basic necessities of food and water (Andrade, 2000).

A second case study from Australia looks at a co-managed national park. The concept of aboriginal ownership and joint management of national parks in Australia has emerged as a response to increasing acknowledgment of aboriginal rights to traditional lands. Co-management involves the establishment of a legal partnership and management structure reflecting the rights, interests and obligations of the aboriginal owners as well as the relevant government (Bushell, 2005). In 1981, Gurig National Park north-east of Darwin, in the Northern Territory became the first co-managed park in Australia. Since then several others have emerged in the Northern Territory, Jervis Bay Territory, New South Wales and Queensland states (Smyth, 2001).

The statutory Management Plans under the Australian Environmental Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act (EPBC Act; Commonwealth of Australia, 1999) for each co-managed park look to tourism to generate significant income for the traditional owners and for the conservation goals of the park. Tourism is anticipated to be the key to eventual self-sufficiency for the indigenous community and provides the pathway for park values to be communicated to the wider world.

The Australian government through the Director of National Parks and the Department of the Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts is the government agency responsible for the joint management of several co-managed parks in Australia, including the iconic Kakadu National Park and world heritage site. The Director sits on the Board of Management of each of these parks in conjunction with elected traditional Aboriginal owners who are the majority board members and Ministerial appointments representing science, environment and tourism expertise plus other relevant stakeholders.

The cultural dimension is an extremely important feature and attraction for tourism in these parks. These parks provide opportunities to care for land that is special to both the indigenous people and to visitors; opportunities for indigenous people and others to work together and learn about one another, and a window into indigenous Australian culture.

Kakadu National Park is jointly managed with the Bininj/Munggyu people. The Board of Management has 15 members – 10 elected from the region representing the different regions and language groups. Kakadu is a special cultural landscape. It was shaped by the spiritual ancestors of aboriginal people during the Creation Time. These ancestors journeyed across the country creating landforms, plants, animals and Bininj/Munggyu (aboriginal people). They brought with them laws to live by: ceremony, language, kinship and ecological knowledge. They taught Bininj/Munggyu how to live with the land and look after the country (DoNP, 2007).

Kakadu National Park is visited by approximately 200,000 people each year, most of whom stay within the park for an average of 3 days. During 2003, 107 commercial permits were issued to tour operators; 575 for camping; 45 for photography and 30 for filming. There is a high level of visitor satisfaction (76%). The current Plan of Management and associated Action Plan for Cultural Heritage, developed in conjunction with senior traditional owners, plans to increase local aboriginal participation in visitor programmes, as a means of cultural heritage support, income generation for traditional owners and increased visitor satisfaction and understanding of the Parks rich cultural history (Wellings, 2007).

Over 5000 cultural sites within the Park have been registered and a Register of Oral History Audio and Video Material continues to be developed. This is an important aspect of the conservation work of the Park. It will be a valuable resource for the community and for interpretative material for the visitors.

The Plan of Management aims at capacity building of Bininj-Munggyu staff and support for their move into senior management positions. Almost half the staff at Kakadu National Park are local aboriginal people.

The visitor guide has on the cover 'Welcome to the Aboriginal Lands of Kakadu'. Throughout it explains the park features and attractions through the language and customs of the traditional owners. It encourages respect and understanding of aboriginal culture. Many of the tours and businesses within the Park are indigenous-owned and indigenous-operated. The Board recognizes that in order to achieve success through partnerships between tourism and conservation, considerable planning, monitoring and capacity

building are necessary for effective outcomes in line with principles of sustainable and ethical development (DEH, undated).

Unlike Gunya Titjikala, the Binij Park staff have had many years of becoming upskilled in dealing with visitors and visitor services. They have been mentored and supported through Parks Australia, providing many more opportunities to gain the confidence and skills needed, and now more are moving into their own small enterprises. Through the Department of Environment and Heritage they have also been mentored through a training programme, 'Stepping Stones for Tourism', which was specifically designed for delivery in indigenous communities, with support from Tourism Northern Territory and adapted from 'Steps to Sustainable Tourism' (Hall and Testoni, 2004). Kakadu also has the advantage of a very large visitor base, due to its iconic status. This creates a more stable income and supports many more people. But it is also a very large and open Park with no entry fee, which means any tour company can visit the Park and provide all their own guiding. This is strongly discouraged for several reasons. First, only the Traditional Owners of that area should be interpreting their cultural heritage. Second, it is appropriation of cultural knowledge and intellectual property, if non-indigenous people take information to share with others without permission, and third, it denies the community the economic benefits that can accrue from tourism.

In New South Wales, National Parks and Wildlife Services, a specialized *Indigenous Tour Guides Training Manual*, has been prepared to help indigenous people prepare for these roles and to assist with the protection of intellectual property which in the case of aboriginal culture has an oral rather than written tradition of transfer of knowledge, making protection and copyrighting of information more difficult.

The protection of intellectual property includes traditional ideas and knowledge which identify places, customs and beliefs. Will codes of ethics or standards of best practice be sufficient to control the indigenous tourism industry? The primary protocol emphasized by the Aboriginal Tourism Association (ATA) is seeking permission of local elders:

Seeking and gaining permission from the appropriate individuals or groups is by far the most important aspect of dealing with or approaching Aboriginal people for information. Dealing with Aboriginal communities should always be through appropriate channels. [This relies on visitors having access to accredited tour operators who will] ensure that protocols are gone through so that local Elders welcome you to their land and the correct interpretation of local culture, sites of significance, bush tucker use, art and craft of the region will enhance your Aboriginal experience.

(ATA, 2000)

Ideally there should be accredited indigenous guides in all regions and sectors of the tourism industry; however this is not the case currently. In reality the majority of tourists to Australia, even those with expressed interest in aboriginal culture, do not visit aboriginal land and meet aboriginal tour operators, the notable exceptions being visitors to Uluru and Kakadu National Parks. In other regions of Australia, especially urban, it is difficult for most visitors to access

aboriginal tour operators or aboriginal elders recognized as having authority in the region. Nationally there is as yet no recognized system of accreditation of indigenous tours or operators. Aboriginal Tourism Australia is working to achieve this. Their programme, *Respecting Our Culture* (ROC), is an ATA business development initiative that addresses Business Management, Cultural Authenticity and Integrity, and Sustainable Environmental (Caring for Country) practices. It is the outcome of extensive national consultation by ATA with indigenous communities, industry stakeholders and tourism operators for several years. 'ROC aims to encourage the tourism industry to operate in ways that respect and reinforce indigenous cultural heritage and the living cultures of indigenous communities' (ATA, 2006, www.rocprogram.com).

It is important that visitors, the industry and government tourism authorities are guided by a code of ethics developed by a nationally recognized body of indigenous people in the tourism industry. In Australia, the ATA has developed a set of protocols that could form the framework for such a code for ethical indigenous tourism under three main categories of relationship, responsibility and respect. This involves authenticity of tourism product and interpretation of indigenous material/objects/stories and the protection of the cultural/spiritual landscapes and communal and individual intellectual heritage and communal heritage ownership; recognition of intellectual property rights in regards to communal oral history, story, dance, song and artistic designs; and importantly a system of permits/restrictions on access to indigenous sites and ceremony.

However, codes of professional ethics lack the force of adequate indigenous intellectual property laws and formal adoption by the mainstream tourism industry. The tourism industry needs to adopt a code of practice that incorporates the specific ethical concerns of indigenous peoples in regard to their culture and intellectual property rights. To influence the mainstream tourism industry the code of ethics should include clear and straightforward ways of establishing authenticity and correct protocols (James *et al.*, 2001). These sentiments are echoed by many. *Rights & Responsibilities: A Compilation of Codes of Conduct for Tourism and Indigenous Local Communities* contains over 200 pages of current documents from around the world. Yet the authors conclude: 'Policies, guidelines, standards can help, but the challenge continues to be ensuring compliance. In the nexus of indigenous Peoples and the tourism industry, finding the balance of rights and responsibilities remains a challenge' (Honey and Thullen, 2003, p. 8).

High standards of professional ethics in indigenous tourism will depend on an educated industry and more sophisticated market placing demand for authentic indigenous product.

Notes

¹ See for example UNEP & WTO (2002) *The Québec Declaration on Ecotourism*; ICOMOS (1999) *Charter of Cultural Tourism*.

² Equivalent to approximately US\$1217 as of May 2008.

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16 Sustainable Tourism in the 21st Century: Lessons from the Past, Challenges to Address

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Ecotourism, nature-based tourism, responsible tourism and green tourism are all terms applied to what is being referred to as a gentler, more socially and environmentally sensitive type of tourism – one more in keeping with our shifting global focus from that of mass consumption to one more focused on our role within larger ecosystems. Much of the debate within this text about the meanings of what we might collectively refer to as sustainable tourism reflects the larger discourse going on within the varied disciplines that study tourism. Sociologists, anthropologists, economists, business marketers and a variety of social and ecological scientists have recently been researching and describing the impacts of tourism on ecological and social systems with the intent of demonstrating that there does indeed exist a type of tourism that can be more sustainable than current forms.

Clearly, the authors in this text reflect the larger social uncertainty about the meanings attached to the concept of sustainable tourism. Yet, these differences – conflicts if you will – lead not only to more focused discourse but are necessary for the learning required to advance academic, entrepreneurial and social definitions of sustainability. Underlying much of the discussion is a common vision of what sustainable tourism is or should be. It is when we try to articulate those meanings that the discussion goes in as many directions as there are discussants, demonstrating the ‘guiding fiction’ character of sustainable tourism.

In the introductory chapter in this book, we outlined a series of pathways and pitfalls confronting tourism and its role in the world. Each of the chapters in this text addressed one or more of these by suggesting frameworks to examine many of the issues surrounding tourism development, examples of the pathways and pitfalls that places may have taken and discussions of the role that tourism might play in our search for a more sustainable world and communities. As a whole, the chapters indicate that while we have learned a lot about attempting to implement sustainable tourism, there

is much more for us to contemplate as we seek to choose appropriate pathways while avoiding potentially disastrous pitfalls. In this concluding chapter we raise some of the fundamental lessons learned in this examination of the pursuit of sustainable tourism. Evolving issues such as global economic downturn, the rapidly increasing costs of fossil fuel, climate change and the carbon footprint of travel and tourism illustrate the tourism industry's reliance on global economic cycles and vulnerabilities to evolving global environmental issues.

The Environment, Culture and Tourism

Tourism exists within, and in most cases is dependent upon, the environment in which it is located – whether this is the natural world or one that is man-made. In this sense, it is obvious that tourism cannot be studied in isolation from the system in which it operates. In this book, we focused on tourism that tends to be located in more natural environments. In such environments, tourism developments do not always result in benign changes. Typically, it is the natural environment that tourists come to see. In addition, these areas are also rich in historic and cultural resources – these are the tourism product. So, it is within this context that tourism must operate. The tourism industry can either protect or maintain the resources or it can exploit and deplete them. One path leads to more sustainable options, the other to places we have all seen. It is a matter of establishing what trade-offs are associated with the options available and determining the acceptability of those trade-offs.

If the choice is based on understanding the relationship of tourism within a larger system, one where decisions are based on how tourism development might impact or enhance local cultures and environments, then we must understand these relationships and base decisions on their impacts and the objectives we are seeking. Of course, tourism is but one of many players within this system. To more fully understand the dynamics of the system, all players must be included within this process and to some degree, all must be in agreement as to what they are trying to protect. In a sense, there should be agreement on what they and the system are trying to sustain. Clearly, this is a daunting task, for economic and social systems are filled with competing claims as to desired goals and methods, conflicting ideologies about capitalism (and its advantages and weaknesses) and frequently ill-defined judgements about what is important. Social discourse about sustainable tourism can help reveal otherwise hidden values, serve to organize social action and suggest ways to develop linkages with other components of the larger social system.

It is within this context that we tackle some of the issues confronting tourism presented at the beginning of this book. Do the proposed frameworks provide clarification to such issues as tourism's role and responsibility within the context of sustainability and do the case study examples illustrate successful achievement of these objectives? Do such frameworks help organize discourse and force disclosure of hidden agendas – for sustainable

tourism is as much a political act as an economic one? If so, then the issues that illustrate the pathways to achieving sustainability but also illustrate the pitfalls to avoid while on the way provide a small piece of the roadmap to a more sustainable place.

Tourism and sustainability: guiding fiction or realistic end-state?

The oft-cited 1987 Brundtland Commission Report provided the catalyst for much of the discussion concerning the issues of development and sustainability. But the report provided little guidance on how to achieve sustainability. In terms of direction for tourism development, much of the discussion still focuses on what role tourism should take. Does tourism sustain itself, sustain local communities, or should tourism's role be one of sustaining larger global systems? One can see that as the question moves from the local to the global, that the relationships become more abstract and the answers further out of reach.

Rather than focusing on sustaining tourism or on tackling the larger issue of global sustainability, the authors in this book look more to how tourism might help sustain local systems (i.e. at the community level). Sustainable tourism is a more gentle form of tourism, one that is smaller in scale, sensitive to cultural and environmental impact and respects the involvement of local people in policy decisions. Clearly, the field of sustainable tourism is an area filled with norms and myths, particularly the focus on developments of smaller scales, yet there is much to be done to make existing larger scale developments themselves more sustainable, particularly in energy and water consumption, waste generation, and in training, pay levels and benefits to employees. This raises an important question: can the benefits to the ideal of sustainable tourism be more effectively achieved by working with existing larger-scale developments than by constructing more smaller-scale ones? To be sustainable, tourism in this context must 'fit' within the system and forge symbiotic relationships with other segments of the social and economic system. Visions and definitions of what tourism should sustain are critical to progress. Yet, the growing complexity of our economic and political systems points to the fact that action requires multiple actors with a variety of skills and capabilities, each sharing these definitions.

Sustainable tourism's role in this situation is illustrated in Fig. 16.1. Definitions of sustainability must be shared among three major institutional participants in tourism development decisions: (i) public agencies that manage the natural resources and ensure their long-term health; (ii) the tourism industry that provides an array of supporting lodging, eating and transportation services; and (iii) the local residents whose culture may form part of the attraction and may benefit from tourism development, but who may also pay certain costs associated with impacts on quality of life, physical infrastructure and services.

Each of the participants has a direct interest in sustaining their component but also an indirect interest in sustaining the other components of the

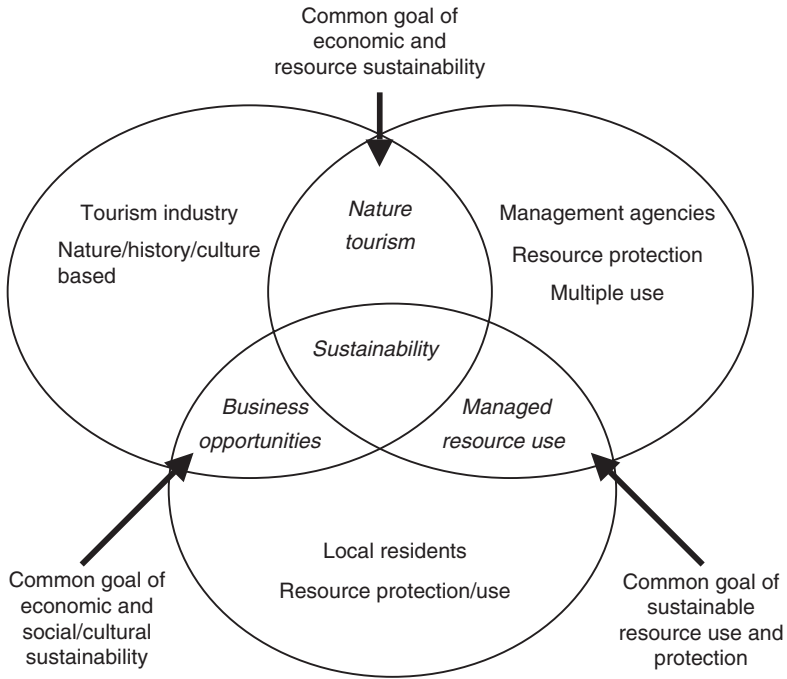


Fig. 16.1. Major participants in tourism development and their shared goals and opportunities for social, natural resource and economic sustainability.

system, given the system characteristic. While the tourism sector has an inherent interest in sustaining tourism, at some level there is the understanding that their tourism product is based on either the cultural or environmental resources. The community is motivated to sustain their quality of life; that includes such issues as a healthy economy and ecosystem. Public land management agencies rely upon the tourism industry to provide economic and political support and the community is their constituency. If meanings are not shared, the linkages among sectors cannot be articulated and mitigation of negative effects cannot proceed. The efficacy of this mutualistic system is highly dependent upon shared definitions of sustainability.

Without shared meanings, sustainability does indeed become nothing more than a 'guiding fiction' leaving the participants with a moving target of an idealized end state, yet paralyzed when it comes to taking action. Ioannides (Chapter 4) illustrates this within his longitudinal framework where over time and scale, definitions of sustainability change in response to the development stage of a destination. Understanding where in the development process we are might provide insight into why participants may or may not embrace sustainability, engage in appropriate actions or develop meaningful discourse with other segments. Dawson's (Chapter 3) discussion of the Tourism Opportunity Spectrum provides another framework to assess what opportunities should be sustained and the impacts of alternative development scenarios in terms of sustainability.

Not only are shared meanings and definitions critical in achieving sustainability, but must become institutionalized within each of the participants. Tourism operates within a complex and interwoven social, ecological and economic system. It would be foolhardy to assume that unless shared meanings were part of the underlying reward systems then the incentives to achieve those meanings would exist. In other words, participants would be maximizing their individual rather than shared goals resulting in potentially non-sustainable solutions. The fragmented character of tourism – many small businesses, a variety of government institutions, each with differing mandates and procedures, and a diverse citizenry – means that those interested in sustainable tourism face a daunting challenge to organize venues where possibilities can be discussed.

Public participation: keywords for success?

A fundamental – but not sole – role of public participation is to inform decision makers of the value systems under which various publics are operating. Achieving sustainability requires a variety of individuals, agencies and programmes, each operating under different value and reward systems and each bringing different and sometimes competing goals into the planning process. In a tourism context these players include tourism developers, local communities, government agencies, tourist representatives (indirectly through tour operators or local tourism business owners) and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). The views of each must be represented, articulated and integrated within the shared definition of sustainability and how sustainability will be achieved. It is through the political process that this takes place. We note that it is only out of this process, which is as iterative, difficult, complex and messy as it is, that shared definitions of sustainability will develop and evolve.

From a western perspective, the majority of political systems are open processes that include public input or involvement. But even within these democratic systems, other influences operate to undermine participation. For example, widespread corruption can exclude the public in the decision-making process. In many countries, the political system is corrupted by money buying power. Problems are often ill-defined, power is not equally distributed, there may be structural distortions in access to information, and the sense of competing priorities may vary. In such situations, those most affected by development decisions are typically excluded from the process. In still others, the scientifically based expert-driven progressive era models of planning tend to marginalize experiential and local knowledge. Achieving sustainability in such situations will require not only restructuring of political power, but the development of trust among participants in tourism development decisions.

Several authors discussed the need for changes within local and national political structures to enable participation in deciding tourism development issues that affect community sustainability. Weak or non-existent political structures and informal venues for political discourse not only diminish the likelihood for citizen involvement but ensure that important values will be

neglected. What options are available if local values and politics do not favour public participation? Gender, economic well-being and social status also play a role in the social acceptability of political involvement. Under such social and political systems achieving sustainability appears unlikely, if only because when groups are excluded based on gender, race or ethnicity, sustainable tourism loses its legitimacy. Tourism can bring about social and economic changes in communities dependent upon traditional industries and socio-political roles. Tourism tends to employ those less economically independent in the traditional natural resource industries. Economic independence engenders political empowerment, which in turn fosters enlightenment and participation within the political system.

An inequitable sharing of the benefits of tourism has been shown to breed a 'collective indifference' – tourism becomes less salient, which tends to stifle widespread participation. The community becomes less cohesive in defining the role that tourism plays in its development. This lack of community solidarity in turn determines not only support for tourism development but also the degree of citizen participation. Participation by only those positively affected by tourism will focus issues of sustainability on beneficial aspects of tourism – sustainability of tourism becomes the goal rather than a broader focus on community sustainability and resiliency. Thus, through neglect of authentic participatory processes, important elements of the tourism product – such as the friendliness of local people – are lost and anti-tourism attitudes and behaviours develop.

In broader circles, considerable discussion has focused on the role of science in defining sustainability. Science can provide information about the costs of decisions and the interrelationships between the various players, trade-offs between costs and benefits and the potential impacts of alternative scenarios. But, science cannot decide what is 'right' or 'wrong' – these are value-based decisions ideally left up to all affected individuals. This leads to a paradox: can we integrate both science and values effectively into sustainable decisions? This in turn leads to additional questions. Is sustainability a technical or value/moral issue? What is the role of traditional knowledge in defining sustainability, and who decides the role of each? And, who gets to decide what will be sustained and how?

No one argues that participation is not important to integrate local knowledge or protect local values in the search for sustainability. Indeed, without participation, communities lose their identity – their sense of place. Lack of participation leads to inappropriate goal setting with little or no ownership in a shared vision of development options. Community solidarity is weakened. The pathway to sustainability becomes lost.

Linking planning with outcomes: decisions and trade-offs

Planning involves decisions about desired future conditions that involve trade-offs in both the short and long term. Sustainable tourism does not just happen, it occurs only with explicit decision-making processes that consider

what futures are plausible and desirable and the pathways to them. In terms of tourism development, there are many options leading to multiple future conditions. Public involvement provides the 'reality check' in terms of outcomes while the role of science is to provide information about causes and effects, trade-offs and consequences in the decision-making process.

In most cases, competing goals, lack of scientific agreement on cause-effect relationships and agreement on the degree of acceptable change or impact characterize tourism planning in a modern context. These wicked situations call for more inclusive and integrative planning processes where emphasis is placed on mutual learning and consensus building. Planning for sustainability requires minimizing ecological and social impacts while maximizing economic and social benefits. But development implies impacts, which implies trade-offs. Developing appropriate organizing frameworks to understand these underlying relationships will ultimately lead to more sustainable decisions.

Several authors in this text (e.g. Leung, Dawson and Ioannides) propose a variety of planning frameworks or tools that diminish some of the uncertainties involved in sustainable tourism planning. For example, Leung, Marion and Farrell (Chapter 2) suggest that the ecological impacts of tourism in remote areas can be quantified based on recreation ecology research. Dawson's (Chapter 3) discussion of the Tourism Opportunity Spectrum illustrates how a variety of tourism development options can be evaluated in terms of sustainability.

The potential impacts of tourism development imply trade-offs between participants, present and future generations, and where likely impacts will accrue. Collaborative rather than traditional planning styles increase the likelihood of fair and equitable decisions as they relate to current participants. Decisions in a collaborative context are born by all affected parties. All those directly impacted, and to some degree indirectly impacted, should have collaborative input into forming development goals. Spenceley (Chapter 12) illustrates the importance of incorporating and giving priority to the needs of those traditionally left out of tourism development plans. Trau and Bushell (Chapter 15) provide an example of how indigenous values are incorporated into managing both the natural resources and the nature-based tourism industry. But the important question remains: how should the benefits of tourism be weighed against its costs? And how should these trade-offs be negotiated?

Sustainability implies the protection of future generations' interests. But, the advocacy of these interests is dependent upon decision makers in the present. By ascribing to the goals of sustainability, those in the present implicitly assume an understanding of the goals, needs, preferences, resources and relationship between these that may exist in the future. This most likely is not the case. Explicitly incorporating future opportunities is one of the strengths of planning for sustainability over more traditional planning approaches that ignore future costs and benefits or minimizes them through the use of discount rates. Uncertainty in planning is unavoidable, but should not limit planning horizons. Yet, we are confronted with the question of who best represents future generations.

Indicators of success?

Given that planners, community members, the tourism industry and public agencies are in agreement on a sustainable course, how do we know if tourism development is contributing to sustainability without a set of measurable variables that indicate progress? The question is, what should tourism sustain and can we measure whether it is becoming sustained?

What tourism should sustain is a negotiated and agreed upon outcome of the collaborative planning process. Through the involvement of interested and affected participants, a clear vision of sustainable development goals then drives future development decisions. Agreement on general indicators of sustainability is derived from these goals. Translating those general factors into specific, measurable, efficient, valid and reliable indicators is a key component in achieving sustainability.

A growing body of literature has focused attention on the concept of sustainability indicators in both the larger sustainable development context and more recently with regard to sustainable tourism indicators. Many issues have been identified including; whether sustainable tourism indicators are compatible with broader indicators of sustainability; the role that scale (both spatially and temporally) plays in the interrelationship of indicators; limited data availability and comparability across spatial and temporal scales; and that many efforts to date have created ad hoc indicators with little theoretical or conceptual bases.

It is an appropriate role for science to assist in the identification and development of sustainability indicators. We do not know the impacts of tourism on larger spatial and temporal scales nor the relationships between many of the indicator variables and how exogenous factors such as tourism might ripple through ecological and social systems. While many of the recent efforts to develop indicators of sustainable tourism have identified an almost infinite set of indicator variables, many decry the use of a standardized set of indicators but support the use of site-specific indicators. In either case, to be effective, indicators must measure progress toward sustainability.

Conclusions

The recent rise in the popularity of cultural and nature-based tourism combined with an increased taste for the exotic is changing the traditional linkages of tourism with social and ecological systems. Tourism is fast discovering new and untouched areas of the globe – places that are ill equipped to deal with the onrush of outside influences and impacts.

Sustainable tourism is the linking of culture and environment with one type of economic development. Each of these players is dependently linked that once realized creates a symbiotic relationship resulting in more sustainable development decisions. This is the concept we have presented throughout this text. More than ever, sustainable tourism is being viewed as a tool of social and economic development and as a method of protecting our cultural and

natural heritage. Consensus on these goals among these players is a necessary, though not sufficient condition, for implementing appropriate actions.

Several new and related issues confront the tourism industry as we move into the 21st century. The undeniable effects of global warming will have devastating impacts not only on coastal tourism destinations, but will severely affect tourism destinations that rely upon current climate conditions as the defining characteristic of their tourism product (e.g. ski areas, water-based recreation, etc.). While much of the debate on global warming is centered on causation, it will be in the interest of the tourism industry to focus on mitigating the impacts of a changing global climate and how that manifests locally. But perhaps of greater importance, the tourism industry will need to assess its role and responsibility within this debate.

The ever-increasing carbon footprint of the transportation, food service and accommodation sectors that provide the goods and services to tourists across the globe is rapidly becoming a key issue for tourism destinations geographically distant from their key markets. The cost to these destinations in terms of carbon credits will have to be weighed relative to other competing economic opportunities. This process will be carried out within the marketplace and will have profound consequences for both small- and large-scale tourism destinations. It is therefore critical for a sustainable tourism industry to develop and aggressively apply more sustainable designs and technologies within existing and future tourism facilities. But more importantly, the industry needs to fundamentally reevaluate if it can continue to ignore the role it plays in contributing to global CO₂ emissions. How the tourism industry responds to this challenge will be the key defining event that demonstrates their commitment to a more sustainable world.

While the chapters in this text pose many more questions than they answer, this is beneficial in the furtherance of the discussion of what sustainability is, how tourism can help to achieve sustainability, and what some of the pathways and pitfalls are that lead to sustainability. We are hopeful that we can both navigate the journey and arrive safely.

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