TOURISM IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD: PROMOTING CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY THROUGH A COMMUNITY-INTEGRATED PLANNING APPROACH

by

ERIN LEIGH STUBBLEFIELD

(Under the Direction of Stephen Ramos)

ABSTRACT

The field of tourism planning is drastically different throughout the developing world than in more affluent countries. Whereas western notions of democracy have led to the common use of participatory techniques to solve problems, political and socio-economic characteristics in developing countries call for an entirely different strategy. In an attempt to address the impacts of tourism on host communities, specifically issues related to the preservation of local culture, planning approaches which focus on community participation are examined as a possible tool for the promotion of cultural sustainability. Based on an analysis of community-based tourism on the island of Taquile, Peru, along with other examples of community-directed tourism initiatives, this thesis provides a framework for the incorporation of cultural sustainability objectives in a community-integrated participatory planning process as an alternative to conventional tourism planning paradigms common to the developing world.

INDEX WORDS: Tourism, participatory planning, community development, cultural sustainability, developing countries

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1

INTRODUCTION

> *We shall give people the opportunity to have a meaningful impact on the development of plans and programs that may affect them. Participation should be broad enough to include those who lack formal organization or influence… We shall seek social justice by working to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of the disadvantaged and to promote racial and economic integration…We shall… endeavor to conserve and preserve the integrity and heritage of the natural and built environment.*
>
> -American Institute of Certified Planners Code of Ethics

The field of planning is constantly evolving as new techniques and strategies are introduced with the aim of helping planners to better identify and understand the vision of the community in which they work and to facilitate the development and implementation of that vision through a plan. As described by the American Institute of Certified Planners Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct, American planners are increasingly reliant on the input and involvement of stakeholders and community members to play a major role in determining the goals or objectives of various planning initiatives with the understanding that such involvement is essential to the long-term acceptance and success of those initiatives. National, regional and local government policy often supports this process through legislation which requires the opportunity for community input in the form of open planning commission meetings, committees, surveys and charrettes. Such a method of planning is so commonplace within the democratic mindset of most developed countries, that as planners, there may be little recognition of how drastically different the same profession operates in less developed parts of the world. Yet, with the mounting concern

for sustainability and carrying capacity, particularly in countries with rapidly growing populations and minimal resources, the need for effective and comprehensive long-term planning is as imperative as ever.

For planners, there must be a wider understanding of how the economic, political, and socio-cultural characteristics of developing countries dictate the process of planning there, especially in terms of participatory planning. While professionals and academics alike have called for the use of a participatory process in developing countries, few have gone on to fully consider how such a process can be carried out in a context so radically different from our own.[1] While there has been a tendency to apply developed world concepts to developing world problems, success has been rare due to a lack of consideration of these differences.

The tourism planning sector is one area this is particularly evident. As an increasingly valuable and growing industry in many developing countries, tourism is intrinsically tied to the need for sustainability. Since its introduction and boom starting in the 1970's, the economics of tourism development have resulted in swift but ad hoc intensification with little comprehensive planning beyond the necessary infrastructural improvements. The resulting negative impacts have been myriad, but one of the most recognized consequences has been the increased destruction of the natural environment. While more recent advancements in the tourism industry have resulted in the institution of alternative or "eco-tourism" to help mitigate the environmental impacts of tourism development, other impacts, particularly relating to socio-cultural issues, have received less attention.

[1] Cevat Tosun, "Limits To Community Participation In The Tourism Development Process In Developing Countries," (2000).

Socio-cultural impacts are often a product of mass tourism, which can result in rapid modernization, transformation of cultural elements, loss of traditional lifeways and increased social disharmony. This can be especially acute when previously impoverished destinations receive an influx of economic benefits from tourism and are simultaneously exposed to the affluence of tourists from more developed countries. While some cultural change is inevitable, and host communities should not be made to remain frozen in time, there is often little consideration of how modification of cultural elements affects the longevity or sustainability of the destination as a whole. Such consideration should become a larger part of tourism planning, along with focusing on the environment and the economy.

This thesis hypothesizes that participatory planning techniques, as part of the tourism development process (TDP) in developing countries, have the potential to promote greater cultural sustainability for host or destination communities. This is based on the assumption, to be considered in greater detail, that participatory planning can be used in developing countries at all, and that host communities value the retention of local culture. Given that context, it seems that high levels of community involvement in the planning and decision-making process would result in the identification of cultural sustainability as a goal of tourism development and lead to implementation of various initiatives which ensure such an outcome. Therefore, extensive study will seek to answer the question, "Can participatory planning as part of the tourism development process serve as an effective tool to promote cultural sustainability in developing world destinations?"

Answering this question involves the consideration of how tourism planning is carried out in developing countries, specifically, in Chapter Two; followed by a review of

the elements of participatory planning and barriers to its use in Chapter Three. Chapter Four will present the argument for cultural sustainability, what it is and why it is important. Chapter Five examines the tourism industry on Taquile Island, Peru, which provides a unique example of participatory planning in action and allows for identification of some of the key factors to its success. Chapter Six will then present an analysis of findings, and attempt to answer the research question through the introduction of a new approach to the participatory planning process.

This new approach hinges on the need for community integration in tourism planning, going beyond basic participation or involvement in a professional planner-guided process, to the development of a process that allows for host communities to build the capacity to plan, manage and develop tourism on their own, with local leaders as the primary catalysts. This approach not only seeks to increase the quality and depth of community participation, but to serve as a tool for the promotion of cultural sustainability by putting the responsibility of such goals in the hands of those to whom culture belongs. Furthermore, community-integrated planning takes into account characteristics unique to developing countries and works within those circumstances rather than infusing democratic or developed world ideals into the process. Overall, it stands, not as a radical new framework to be applied globally, but rather an attempt to better understand and cultivate small-scale place-based planning techniques in tourism host communities.

Methodology

The research and methodology behind this thesis represents some of the uncertainty surrounding this topic in the field. It was initially assumed that analysis of

participatory planning in developing countries, particularly in relation to other objectives such as economic or environmental sustainability, had likely already been carried out, and that new research would focus on an examination of numerous existing initiatives to observe the cultural sustainability focus. However, it became it clear early on that not only did few examples of participatory planning exist, much less with a concern for cultural sustainability, but that the use of participatory planning in the developing world for any purpose was very much up for debate. As a result, this topic expanded to examine the initial possibilities for participatory planning through a review of literature on the issue, and then sought to further evaluate the potential for the inclusion of cultural sustainability principles.

Rather than looking to the limited formal planning initiatives directed by government agencies or non-governmental organizations to provide insight, cases of community directed, primarily informal tourism planning helped to form the argument for participatory planning and cultural sustainability. Taquile, Peru in particular allowed for the study of this kind of planning and development over a period of thirty-years, a rare opportunity given the uncommon existence of successful, long-term tourism initiatives in developing countries. That case study, combined with other, younger examples then led to the identification of various stages and elements which might make up a participatory planning approach, based on repeated and/or successful project ideas and attempted resolutions to unsuccessful techniques. Finally, while the proposed approach is obviously untested as a whole, suggestions are given for its application based on known limitations within the developing world.

2

TOURISM PLANNING IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

To begin an analysis of any singular aspect of tourism planning, it is necessary to first understand the bigger picture. Anthropologist Clifford Geertz notes that the study of tourism and its operation are far more than what one experiences while on vacation; rather tourism is a tangled web of categories, "host and visitor, inside and outside, local and global, we and they, here and there."[2] As Geertz highlights, the tourism industry and how and where it operates has become increasingly varied and complex, requiring an expansion of knowledge in order to manage impacts and solve problems, rather than a more simplified approach. Of particular importance is a recognition of how international tourism, specifically tourism in developing countries, has been initiated and developed over time and how the field of planning is now catching up, not just in terms of tailoring place-specific responses, but also in incorporating those responses to serve an end goal of sustainability.

While an in-depth explanation of tourism history will not be presented here, a basic account of the expansion of tourism into the developing world is worthy of note. During the latter half of the twentieth century, increasing availability of cheap fuel and the growth of airplane transportation helped to reduce the cost of international travel.[3] As mass tourism

[2] Clifford Geertz, "Cultural Tourism: Tradition, Identity and Heritage Construction," *Tourism and Heritage Management* (1997). 20.
[3] David L. Gladstone, *From pilgrimage to package tour : travel and tourism in the Third World* (New York: Routledge, 2005). 1.

began to take off, and the economic benefits were recognized, international institutions and organizations such as World Bank and others encouraged many developing countries to consider adding tourism to their portfolio as a way of diversifying their economies.[4] While the industry was in its infancy, tourism planning was also limited, with the primary goals of "…ensur[ing] that opportunities [were] available for tourists to gain enjoyable and satisfying experiences and at the same time to provide a means of improving the way of life for residents and of destination areas".[5] However, such ideals did not fully take into account all facets of tourism development and by the late 1970's the increasingly negative impacts of tourism on the environment and cultures of host communities were becoming apparent.[6] Since that time, tourism has become one of the largest and fastest growing industries around the world, accompanied by advances in scholarship and research on mitigating negative impacts and increasing the sustainability of tourism development. However, our understanding of the various issues associated with the tourism industry continues to evolve, particularly as the economic benefits to the developing world slowly fall behind the number of arrivals throughout those regions.[7]

Defining the "Developing World"

In working with this topic it quickly becomes apparent that there exists a myriad of terms to describe those countries which are considered "developing," including the "Third World," and it is useful to consider a definition of the phrase or at least develop an

[4] Mark P. Hampton, "Heritage, local communities and economic development," *Annals of Tourism Research* 32(2005): 736.
[5] Peter Mason, *Tourism impacts, planning and management* (Amsterdam ; Boston: Butterworth Heinemann, 2003). 70.
[6] Colin Michael Hall, *Tourism planning : policies, processes and relationships*, Themes in tourism (Harlow, England ; New York: Prentice Hall, 2000). 29.
[7] Gladstone, *From pilgrimage to package tour : travel and tourism in the Third World*: 13.

understanding of what these terms now mean, generally and in reference to this study. In the most basic sense, "developing countries/world" or "less-developed countries" include those nations, most commonly found throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are not considered "High Income Economies" by the World Bank (Figure 1).[8] Cevat Tosun, a professor of tourism at Mustafa Kemal University in Turkey, developed a list of socio-economic and cultural characteristics common to such places which includes:[9]

- *Low level of living*
- *Lack of services of welfare state*
- *High rates of population growth and dependency burden*
- *Low per capita national income*
- *Low economic growth rates*
- *Increasing income inequality*
- *High and increasing unemployment and underemployment*
- *Narrow resources base*
- *Dependence on primary products*
- *Declining terms of trade*
- *Elite domination in political life*
- *Inadequate or no democratic experience*
- *High level of political instability*
- *Lack of education*

Furthermore, in more recent times there has been a disappearance or transition of what used to be the "Second World", which necessarily affects how one defines "Third World." While the same countries appear on almost any list, with a few variances, it is important to note that these countries exhibit fewer homogenous characteristics than ever before, making it more difficult to draw general conclusions about the developing world as a whole. As Tosun explains, "developing countries are so heterogeneous, economically,

[8] Cevat Tosun, "Stages in the emergence of a participatory tourism development approach in the Developing World," *Geoforum* 36, no. 3 (2005): 337.
[9] Ibid., 337-8.

culturally and in virtually every other way, that they exhibit no single defining feature." [10] Additionally, it is worth considering that even within individual countries, certain regions will be more developed than others, making classification somewhat problematic. Undoubtedly, Lima, Peru is far closer to exhibiting characteristics of a developed nation than Aguas Calientes at the base of Machu Picchu. Regardless, this thesis will focus largely on those developing countries for which tourism is a top and/or primary economic producer, using the phrases *developing world* and *less-developed countries* (LDCs) to describe such places, except in instances where quoting another source requires a different term.

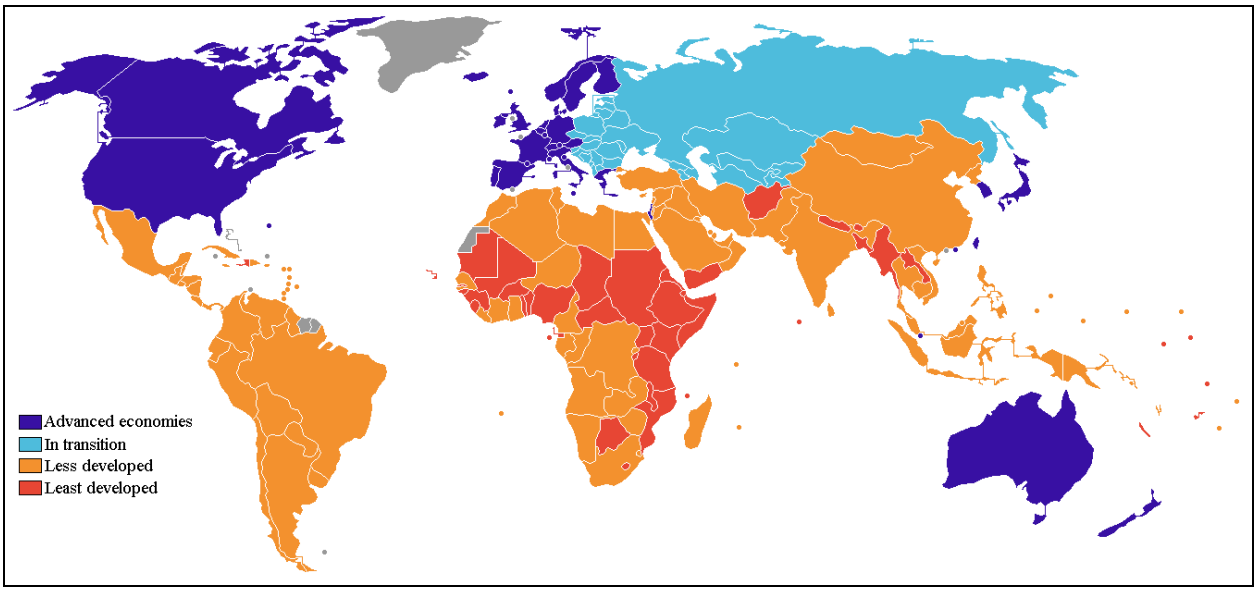

Figure 1: Development Status across the Globe.
Source: Pereira, Eva. "Developing Countries Will Lead Global Growth in 2011, says World Bank - Forbes." Forbes.com. http://www.forbes.com/sites/evapereira/2011/01/12/developing-countries-will-lead-global-growth-in-2011-says-world-bank/ (accessed May 30, 2012).

[10] Tosun, "Limits To Community Participation In The Tourism Development Process In Developing Countries," 618.

The Impacts of Tourism

There are benefits and impacts of tourism wherever the industry and its accompanying development exists, but due to a lack of experience with tourism in many developing countries, it is not uncommon for such areas to pursue the economic gains of development with little understanding or planning to handle the associated effects on the environment, society, culture and heritage of the host community.[11] Many scholars have documented and acknowledge that tourism in developing countries can result in influential, long-term effects on the social structure and culture of destination communities and regions, producing unacceptable changes to traditional value systems and behaviors. [12] D.L. Gladstone, an associate professor of planning and public policy at Rutgers University explains, "The economic and demographic magnitude of tourism is important and its effects on the places where it occurs are equally significant…entire regions have been altered beyond recognition by the growth of the leisure industry."[13] But this is not simply a problem of the "leisure industry" or mass tourism. In an analysis of negative impacts, 329 case studies of tourism development from almost one hundred countries were reviewed, revealing five main types of impacts: [14]

- *Environmental degradation*- This includes issues such as increased use of limited natural resources by tourists, particularly potable water; the destruction or degradation of local ecosystems due to their use in tourism experiences and/or as

[11] Heidi Dahles and Lou Keune, *Tourism development and local participation in Latin America*, Tourism dynamics (New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation, 2002). 117.
[12] Salah Wahab and J. J. J. Pigram, *Tourism, development and growth : the challenge of sustainability* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1997). 132.
Pimrawee Rocharungsat, "Community-based Tourism in Asia," in *Building Community Capacity for Tourism Development*, ed. Gianna Moscardo (Wallingford: CABI, 2008), 69.
[13] Gladstone, *From pilgrimage to package tour : travel and tourism in the Third World*: 2.
[14] G. Moscardo, "Community Capacity Building: an Emerging Challenge for Tourism Development," in *Building community capacity for tourism development*, ed. G. Moscardo (Wallingford, UK: CABI, 2008), 2.

areas of lesser value when new infrastructure or development expands; interference with wildlife habitat and behavior through eco-excursions; and the associated problems of pollution and waste from increased population in areas with limited means of handling refuse and disposal.

- *Conflict*- Conflict primarily refers to social disruptions that arise amongst host community members as a result of tourism. These include increased competition among businesses, opposition between various stakeholders, and changes to levels of affluence and influence throughout various sectors of society with increased disparity between those involved in tourism development and those who are not.
- *Cultural Challenges*- Such challenges may relate to inability to modernize and adapt culture without disrupting tourism income, or necessity to display elements of culture that were previously sacred for the sake of authenticity. This may also include loss of traditional ways of life, such as agricultural production, in favor of tourism as a primary means of income.
- *Disruptions to daily life*- The presence of large groups of outsiders can have many costs to local residents; disrupting daily life through increased crowding and traffic, changes in land use to meet the demands of tourists rather than locals, and increased cost of living or gentrification of areas popular with tourism development.
- *Disillusionment*- All of the previously mentioned impacts above can undoubtedly lead to feelings of disillusionment or negativity towards tourism. This is also commonly attributed to unmet expectations in terms of jobs for locals within the industry and overall economic benefits. Often higher-paying and more skilled jobs

go to outsiders, and international agencies or developers may control the majority of the tourism business, making it difficult for local ones to succeed.

While environmental degradation has long been the most common topic of scrutiny and research, in recent decades the third type, cultural challenges, has grown in recognition and importance and will be the focus of this thesis. The above-cited analysis summarized these kinds of challenges by explaining,

> *The need to change cultural practices for presentation and sale to tourism interests was a commonly cited problem. In this case the negative impacts reported by local residents related to changes to culture that were out of their control. Ironically, in other cases the major problem faced by local residents was the reverse—an inability to change culture. The use of certain images of local people and their culture to promote regions resulted in residents being trapped in certain lifestyles in order to meet tourist expectations…In some cases the peak tourist season coincided with critical times for other traditional practices, especially in agriculture, creating a shortfall in the resources needed to sustain these other activities and a subsequent decline in traditional cultural practices.*[15]

The impacts of tourism on cultural sustainability will be explored further in later sections, but the problems described above are most often cited as being a result of tourism in less developed countries that is predominantly geared towards tourists from more affluent origins.[16] Though the majority of tourists in developing countries are actually domestic tourists, their impact is limited both monetarily and culturally; where as Western markets are responsible for the greatest amount of revenue.[17] Therefore, there is a growing sense that developing countries and host communities are easily adopting Western values and cultures, particularly with a greater lean towards consumerism.[18]

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[15] Ibid., 3.
[16] Gladstone, *From pilgrimage to package tour : travel and tourism in the Third World*: 10.
[17] Ibid., 7.
[18] Ibid., 8.

In actuality, there is very little understanding of how elements of the tourism development process contribute to not only cultural problems, but other impacts as well. While there is plenty of recognition that numerous impacts exist as a result of tourism, tying them directly to decisions or policy of the development process is problematic, making mitigation also difficult. Several authors have questioned the long-held tendency of connecting negative impacts with tourist numbers; however, this is largely the standpoint from which alternative forms of tourism have been derived.[19] These alternative forms, such as ecotourism and community-based tourism (CBT), have been developed with a notion of greater concern for sustainability among other things, though they themselves are not without criticism. [20] One study reported, "The advocacy of alternative forms of tourism serves mainly to project an image of political responsibility while supporting a marketing strategy aimed at expanding tourism."[21] Additionally, it has been suggested that alternative forms of tourism should not be assumed to be "ethically and morally superior" to conventional tourism, in part because the process of implementation, rather than the form of tourism, has the greatest effect on economic, environmental and cultural elements and overall quality of life for a destination or host community.[22] Still, these explorations into non-conventional tourism have opened the door to the realization of socio-cultural impacts as one of the most important aspects of tourism development, and undoubtedly, a major contributor in the evolution of sustainability in the tourism development process.[23]

[19] Moscardo, "Community Capacity Building: an Emerging Challenge for Tourism Development," 4.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Rocharungsat, "Community-based Tourism in Asia," 64.
[23] Hall, *Tourism planning : policies, processes and relationships*: 29.

A More Sustainable Approach

Though much of the world's initial exposure to the idea of sustainability was and continues to be a direct result of the Bruntland Report definition, the tourism industry has undoubtedly been most affected by the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992. The Summit helped define sustainable tourism development by highlighting the need for preservation of environment and natural resources, better education of hosts and guests to tourist sites, and the need for human development.[24] Furthermore, the endorsement by the 179 represented governments of Local Agenda 21 "challenge[d] action on the part of…local authorities to adopt ways to involve their local communities in defining their own sustainable futures." Perhaps most importantly, the agenda called on sustainable development to be carried out "through planned, democratic, cooperative means including community involvement in decisions about the environment and development."[25] Since this time, the field of tourism planning has sought to define and carry out a more sustainable approach to the development process, recognizing the importance of involving stakeholders in a consideration of economic, socio-cultural and environmental elements and their connection to the longevity of tourist attractions and host communities (Figure 2).[26]

[24] T. Choibamroong, "A stakeholder approach for sustainable community-based rural tourism development in Thailand," in *Tourist Destination Governance: Practice, Theory and Issues*, ed. E. Laws, et al. (Wallingford; UK: CABI, 2011), 174.
[25] Kaye Walker, "Tools to Enchance Community Capacity to Critically Evaluate Tourism Activities," in *Building Community Capacity for Tourism Development*, ed. Gianna Moscardo (Wallingford, UK: CABI, 2008), 90.
[26] Roselyne N. Okech, "Socio-cultural Impacts of Tourism on World Heritage Sites: Communities' Perspective of Lamu (Kenya) and Zanzibar Islands," *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 15, no. 3 (2010): 341.
Hall, *Tourism planning : policies, processes and relationships*: 5.

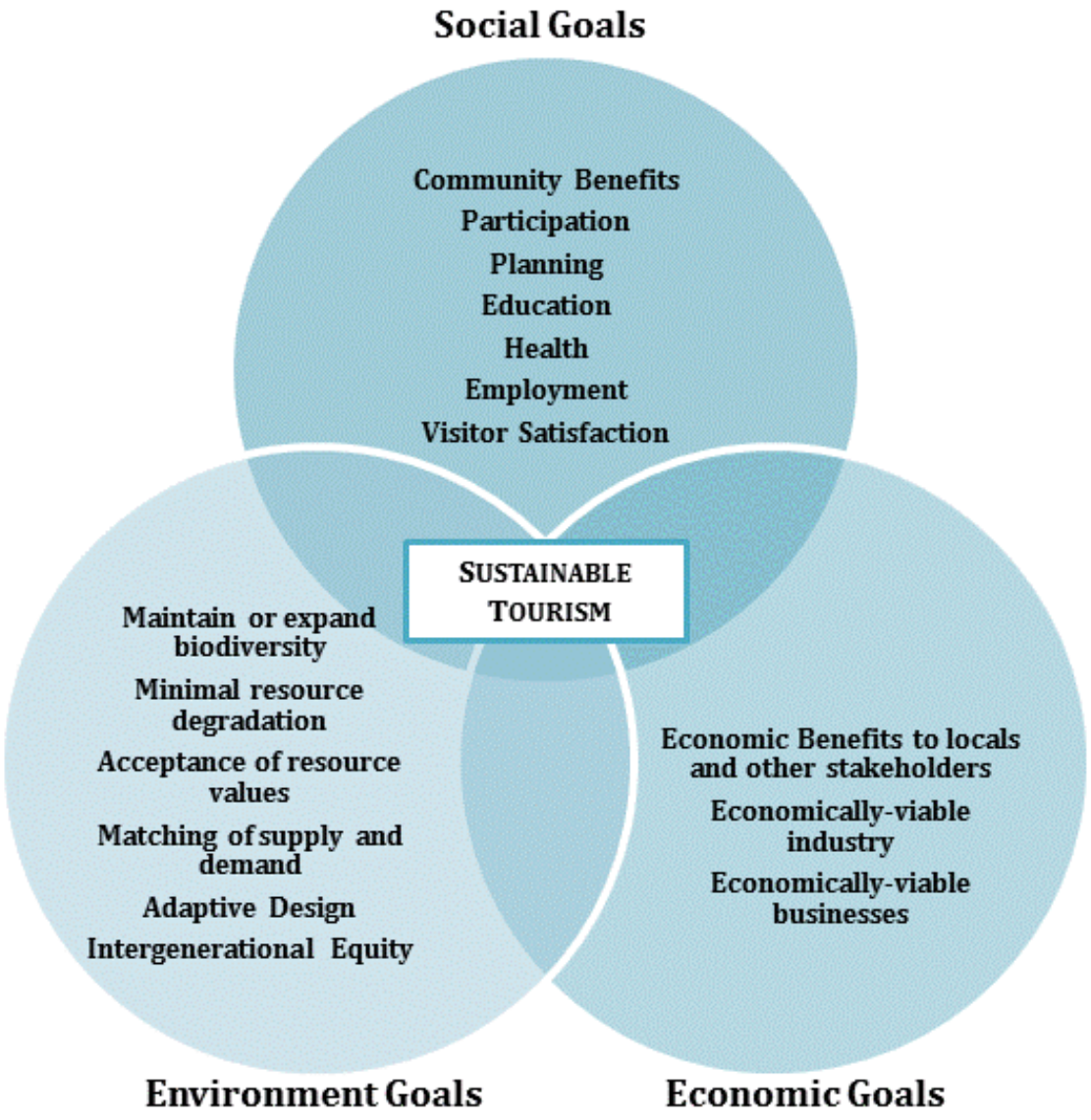

Figure 2: Sustainable Tourism Values and Principles.
Source: Adapted from Hall, Colin Michael. *Tourism Planning : Policies, Processes and Relationships*. Themes in Tourism. Harlow, England ; New York: Prentice Hall, 2000: 14.

University of British Columbia professor, William E. Rees, aptly described sustainable development as

> *…positive socioeconomic change that does not undermine the ecological and social systems upon which community and society are dependent. Its successful implementation requires integrated planning, and social learning processes; its political viability depends on the full support of the people it affects through their governments, their social institutions, and their private activities.*[27]

As this quotation makes clear, without the support and involvement of the host community and connected stakeholders, tourism cannot be successful or sustainable.[28] Though sustainability has been described as "probably the most important planning and policy issue of our time," and is undeniably of paramount consequence both in developed and developing countries, years of research and consultation have often resulted in few solutions to the problems associated with tourism development, particularly in terms of community participation.[29]

Planning for Tourism

There is no doubt that planning is needed not only to provide for sustainable development going forward, but also to alleviate the negative impacts currently being experienced as a result of tourism. Scholars suggest that the level and quality of planning in tourism destinations is likely to directly correspond to tourist satisfaction, economic benefits and tourism impacts on the local environment.[30] Yet, while the benefits of planning may seem obvious, how it should be carried out, and by whom, is less apparent. Alister Mathieson and Geoffrey Wall, in their book Tourism: Economic, Physical and Social

[27] William Rees, "Defining Sustainable Development," in *CHS Research Bulletin* (University of British Columbia, 1989).
[28] Wahab and Pigram, *Tourism, development and growth : the challenge of sustainability*: 165.
[29] Hall, *Tourism planning : policies, processes and relationships*: 1-6.
[30] D. J. Timothy, "Participatory planning. A view of tourism in Indonesia," *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 2 (1999): 371.

Impacts, cite "diversity of scales at which impacts occur…lack of an integrated planning framework…and…the lack of planning organizations" to be just some of the difficult circumstances surrounding tourism planning in developing countries.[31] Additionally, with other legitimate demands on government time and resources, the formulation and implementation of policy can become secondary, often resulting in "ad hoc reactive approach to solving problems…instead of systemic policy that typifies proactive approaches."[32] Still, when planning does occur, it is more commonly executed at the national level, resulting in national tourism policies and goals, which may provide a plan for future development, but rarely take into account more specific details of the host community.[33] Furthermore, there is a tendency for such planning to emphasize visitor satisfaction rather than the "welfare of those being visited."[34]

Conclusion

Recent studies have called for a changing emphasis in the tourism planning field, rejecting traditional approaches that take into account visitor perceptions and infrastructure in favor of addressing impacts at the community level. This includes the need for decentralized planning, which encourages the integration of "community-defined development objectives" and more inclusive decision-making techniques.[35] Such an approach generally falls under the category of participatory planning, but the possibilities for its use as part of a tourism development process in the developing world are still being

[31] Alister Mathieson and Geoffrey Wall, *Tourism : economic, physical, and social impacts* (Harlow, Essex, England
New York: Longman Scientific & Technical ;
Wiley, 1987). 179.
[32] Wahab and Pigram, *Tourism, development and growth : the challenge of sustainability*: 133.
[33] Hampton, "Heritage, local communities and economic development," 736.
[34] Mathieson and Wall, *Tourism : economic, physical, and social impacts*: 179.
[35] Timothy, "Participatory planning. A view of tourism in Indonesia," 372.

explored. The following section will focus on participatory planning and its potential for application in host communities and destination areas.

3

PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD

While utilizing participatory planning techniques is widely accepted as an essential part of the tourism development process (TDP) in the developed world, its use and effectiveness in developing countries is less understood.[36] Though there has been no shortage of calls for its application in developing countries as well, such suggestions remain at the theoretical and academic level, and continue to be refined for on-the-ground, practical application.[37] In addition to considering how tourism planning in less developed countries could benefit from the incorporation of increased community participation in the planning and decision-making process, it is also necessary to recognize that certain characteristics inherent to less developed countries (LDCs) limit the success of such an approach. However, by studying various methods currently in use, as well as critiques of the process at multiple levels, it may be possible to gain a better understanding of how to most effectively advance the field of participatory planning in the developing world, particularly in relation to achieving cultural sustainability.

It is widely believed that a major downfall of tourism in developing countries is the result of foreign investors and local elites directing the majority of tourism development, often with little to no involvement by host communities. Because host communities rarely

[36] Tosun, "Stages in the emergence of a participatory tourism development approach in the Developing World," 333.
[37] Moscardo, "Community Capacity Building: an Emerging Challenge for Tourism Development," 6. Timothy, "Participatory planning. A view of tourism in Indonesia," 372.

have financial resources comparable to investors, they are essentially pushed out of the discussion and ultimately reap fewer benefits, while still being forced to share in the impacts that tourism development brings.[38] In fact, there are so few examples of successful community participation being carried out in developing countries that knowledge about limitations or possibilities for its use remains inadequate. Existing plans suggest participatory planning has not been recognized as an important or necessary part of the process, and as a result, local communities are rarely exposed to the concept.[39] However, participation should be an important part of the tourism development process, for many reasons, but particularly as a means of gauging the impacts of tourism on the community. Scholars suggest the benefits of implementing community participation techniques include:[40]

- *Increasing tourist satisfaction*- When communities are brought into the development and planning process there may be greater support for various initiatives and tourism as a whole. This buy in results in a more positive interaction between host and visitor, and a more satisfying experience for everyone.
- *Helping tourism professionals to design better tourism plans*- Tourism professionals will develop the best plans when there is a good understanding of how the community operates, how they view tourism, and where their support lies. Additionally, involving the source is better than making inaccurate assumptions about what could or should be done and is more likely to lead to long-term success.

[38] Martin Mowforth and Ian Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World* (London; New York: Routledge, 1998). 237.
[39] Tosun, "Limits To Community Participation In The Tourism Development Process In Developing Countries," 614.
[40] Rocharungsat, "Community-based Tourism in Asia," 62.

- *Contributing to a fair distribution of costs and benefits among community members*- As explained before, tourism development has a greater chance of success when there is broad community support. Such support, however, is often tied to costs and benefits, which must be equitable. Without community participation there is likely to be a greater disparity between the haves and the have-nots.
- *Assisting in satisfying locally identified needs*- Going beyond just economic benefits, tourism has the potential to provide other assistance, including needed infrastructure improvements. Allowing communities to participate in identifying those needs contributes to buy in and may improve the overall appeal to tourists.
- *Strengthening the democratization process in tourist destinations*- It is generally a good idea to encourage democratic planning rather than top-down processes, particularly in areas less familiar with such concepts; however this issue will be explored further in later sections.

While it would be easier for many developers to progress in their sole best interest, the danger in ignoring disparities in impacts or benefits of tourism development is the generation of indifference or hostility by locals, which ultimately affects the long-term success of tourism initiatives.[41]

Some scholars believe that community participation should not simply be a component of tourism development, but rather tourism development should have a goal of *community* development.[42] While seemingly idealist in nature, this concept is part of a notion that local participation is as much about the process of empowering and

[41] Lamberti Lucio et al., "Case Study: Mega-events as drivers of community participation in developing countries: The case of Shanghai World Expo," *Tourism Management* 32(2011): 1476.
[42] Hall, *Tourism planning : policies, processes and relationships*: 31.

encouraging involvement in the community as it is about products or outcomes. Donald G. Ried, a former professor and director of the School of Rural Planning and Development at the University of Guelph, Canada, explains, "Community development…is a method for focusing on people and their development, with the secondary outcome of preserving an ecological or cultural system."[43] Ried goes on to say that the best possible outcome is when the welfare of the people is connected to the driver's interest or initiative, and if those people can make a living in the pursuit of that goal, even better.

However, a key criticism of the participatory approach in developing countries is that "the push for local participation comes from a position of power, the first world: It is easier to promote the principles of local participation on paper, from a distance, than to practice them."[44] Hence, to overcome tourism-related issues it is necessary to encourage more direct involvement by stakeholders, not only in making decisions, but also in assessing impacts, and not only at the local level, but with larger governmental organizations as well. In that way, alternatives can be weighed based on those benefits or consequences important to the community as a whole, with motivation that is internally-derived.[45]

When studying the use of participatory planning techniques in the tourism development process, the concepts of "community" and "community participation" are often advocated and debated with no clear definition of what these terms mean,

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[43] Donald G. Reid, *Tourism, globalization and development : responsible tourism planning* (London ; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 2003). 93.
[44] Tosun, "Limits To Community Participation In The Tourism Development Process In Developing Countries," 614.
[45] Lucio et al., "Case Study: Mega-events as drivers of community participation in developing countries: The case of Shanghai World Expo," 1476.

particularly in the sense of tourism planning.[46] When one considers that tourism can occur at an isolated resort, in a single village or across a whole island, as well as on a national level, the definition of "community" becomes quite amorphous, as does the level of involvement that one can have. In many cases, tourism development and marketing decisions are being made at the national level, with less involvement or input from the communities immediately surrounding an attraction or site. This division may result in differing or even conflicting goals and concerns, and yet both are part of the greater tourism community.[47] This study will discuss and use the term in its locational sense, unless otherwise stated, focusing primarily on the utilization of participatory planning techniques by the people directly imposed upon by the development in and around their neighborhood.

Along the same lines, the phrase *community participation* should have a basic definition for the sake of clarity, comparing data, and drawing conclusions. Often viewed in two ways, community participation can refer to the act of taking part in planning and decision-making processes and/or the receiving of benefits through direct or indirect involvement in the tourism product.[48] While both are essential to successful community-based tourism development, current literature suggests that the latter is more commonly observed on its own, while development of the former will be the focus here. Many descriptions of community participation include two key elements: an educational component and a power component with a goal of increasing the range of stakeholders involved. The following explanation is perhaps most in line with how it will be used here.

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[46] Tosun, "Stages in the emergence of a participatory tourism development approach in the Developing World," 334.
[47] Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World*: 251-52.
[48] Timothy, "Participatory planning. A view of tourism in Indonesia," 372.

Ian Askew, an researcher on family planning with the Population Council, describes community participation as

> *…an educational and empowering process in which people, in partnership with those able to assist them, identify problems and needs and increasingly assume responsibility themselves to plan, manage, control and assess the collective actions that are proved necessary.*[49]

While this definition is not necessarily intended to speak to community participation in developing countries over developed, and is undoubtedly an idealist view, the components of education and empowerment and the notion of assumed responsibility are noble goals. They also seem particularly important in ultimately developing a successful framework for the participatory process in places where the larger government structure is not always capable of directing that process effectively.

Participatory Planning Techniques

The idea that local participation should be key to any form of sustainable tourism is rarely up for debate;[50] rather what *level* of participation or control in tourism development are best remains questionable.[51] Though some scholars in the field go so far as to say that community participation is not only essential to long-term success, but the "socially responsible" and "ethically appropriate" thing to do, the form in which it should take has been described as young and flawed in its development.[52] The most common concern appears to be that community participation often fails to go beyond more formal

[49] I. Askew, "Organizing community participation in family planning projects in South Asia," *Studies In Family Planning* 20, no. 4 (1989).
[50] Rocharungsat, "Community-based Tourism in Asia," 62.
[51] Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World*: 112-3.
[52] Ibid., 120-1.

involvement techniques to incorporate genuine inclusion in decision making.[53] While in some places, such as Indonesia, there appears to be strongly-held ideas that the government should be solely responsible for planning, and even individuals believe their involvement would be inappropriate;[54] other countries have found value in consulting local communities with the purpose of gathering information to aid consultants or government planners.

Pretty's *Typology of Participation*[55] (Table 1) is an oft cited explanation of the various forms community participation can take, in all types of planning. In particular, it is an effective tool for gauging the success of certain techniques as they relate to the definition of community participation as stated above. But it is important to note that thus far, few instances of participation in developing world TDPs have progressed beyond types A, B or C. While the reasons for this are many, and will be considered later on, it should be conceded that no single type may be effective or optimal in every scenario. As in all planning approaches, careful consideration should be given to individual circumstances.

Table 1: Pretty's Typology of Participation

Typology	Characteristics of each type
(A) Manipulative Participation	**Participation is by pretence. People have unelected representatives on official boards without power. Almost no interaction occurs between local stakeholders and managing institutions.**

[53] Lucio et al., "Case Study: Mega-events as drivers of community participation in developing countries: The case of Shanghai World Expo," 1476.
[54] Timothy, "Participatory planning. A view of tourism in Indonesia," 378.
[55] Adapted from Hanifah Atuhaire, "Involvement and Participation: Practices and perceptions in collaborative resource management: the case of Bwindi National Park, Uganda" (Masters thesis, University of Oslo, Norway, 2009), 14.

(B) Passive Participation	**People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management who do not listen to people's responses. The information offered belongs only to external professionals.**
(C) Participation by consultation or information giving	**People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information gathering processes. They control data analysis. This process does not concede any share in decision making and professionals are under no obligation to adopt people's views. People have no opportunity to influence proceedings.**
(D) Participation for material incentives	**People participate by contributing resources, e.g. labor, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. This is commonly called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging practices when the incentives end. Decisions are made by the managing institutions alone.**
(E) Functional Participation	**People's participation is seen by external agents as a means of achieving project goals, especially reductions in costs. People may form groups to meet pre-determined objectives. This participation may be interactive and may involve shared decision making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have been made by external agents. Local people may only be co-opted to serve external goals.**

(F) Interactive Participation	**People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and the formation, or strengthening, of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just as a means of achieving project goals. Formalized decision making structures such as management councils involve local stakeholders and meet on regular basis. Local people take control over local decisions and determine how local resources are used, thus maintaining structure and practice.**
(G) Self Mobilization	**Local People participate by taking initiatives, independently of external institutions, to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions and there is primary transfer of authority and responsibility for the resources.**

While there are numerous formal participatory planning techniques that have been used to facilitate the tourism development process, such techniques are best described in terms of the objectives they aim to accomplish. These objectives can be divided into two categories: *administrative objectives* and *citizens' objectives.*[56] Marien and Pizam, in Tourism, Development and Growth: The Challenge of Sustainability, describe such objectives as either satisfying the government's needs or the citizens' need for involvement in the planning process, but suggest that both play a role in a successful participatory planning approach.

[56] Wahab and Pigram, *Tourism, development and growth : the challenge of sustainability*: 165.

Administrative Objective Techniques[57]

- *Information Exchange [Public meetings, Focus group interviews]*
- *Education and Support Building [Petitions, Workshops, and Professional Training]*
- *Consultation*

Citizens' Objective Techniques[58]

- *Decision-making Supplements [Direct confrontation, Litigation]*
- *Active Representational Input [Referendums, Partnerships and Delegated Power]*
- *Passive Representational Input [Nominal Group Technique, Surveys and Charettes]*

Still, despite the range of techniques suggested by planners, there is some debate as to whether any greatly improve upon the use of traditional community decision-making paradigms. Though these techniques may be run counter to established developed world notions of equality, such as the exclusion of women or children, they carry the benefit of being self-directed, rather than administered by outsiders.[59] Such ideas regarding the use of traditional decision-making structures will be explored further in the following chapters.

Limitations to Participation Planning

Much of the academic literature on planning in developing countries has stressed that community participation as a planning approach may be less successful when methods are more aligned with certain economic and political structures more common to the developed world.[60] Moreover, political, economic and cultural characteristics associated with developing countries may limit the ability to carry out effective community

[57] Ibid., 165-7.
[58] Ibid., 168-9.
[59] Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World*: 245-6.
[60] Lucio et al., "Case Study: Mega-events as drivers of community participation in developing countries: The case of Shanghai World Expo," 1474.
Tosun, "Stages in the emergence of a participatory tourism development approach in the Developing World," 335.

participation techniques at all and should be thoroughly understood when undertaking any planning approach.[61]

While some studies have shown that difficulties arise from a more pervasive "benefit asymmetry," others suggest that conditions such as economic health have greater influence on community participation then say, education or literacy rates.[62] Though it can be useful to consider how alternative conditions affect participation success, such as the Lamberti, et al study on community involvement for "mega-events" like the Olympics, Tosun's explanation of certain accepted limitations may be more practical when developing new possibilities for valuable participation initiatives.

Tosun divides these "limitations" into three categories; Operational, Structural and Cultural. While only a few of each will be discussed here, these are intended to be generalizations, and not assumed to exist in every developing country.

Operational Limitations

Primary limitations of successful participatory planning approaches in LCDs can be associated with "operational procedures," which include elements of centralized public administration, lack of coordination among stakeholders, and a lack of education about planning issues in the destination communities. Like other areas of government in many developing countries, the planning sector is often a central organization controlled entirely at the national level. As a result, the influence of community-level organization or participatory planning initiatives is restricted thanks to the broad separation between

[61] Lucio et al., "Case Study: Mega-events as drivers of community participation in developing countries: The case of Shanghai World Expo," 1476.
[62] Tosun, "Limits To Community Participation In The Tourism Development Process In Developing Countries," 616.

planners and the population. Tosun notes, “Planning and management have been centralized in a way that can contribute to achieving pre-determined government objectives. Hence, it is not easy to persuade governments in developing countries to delegate its various powers to regional or local authorities.”[63] Furthermore, such centralized government, often characterized by bureaucracy, does not allow for easy coordination among local and tourism planners, or even across government departments. As an example, the government of Indonesia publishes five-year plans that point to the importance of tourism as part of the national economy. However, the central government restricts its regulation of the tourism industry to “high-end” businesses, including five-star hotels and outside travel agencies, which provide the largest economic benefits, while leaving provincial authorities to deal with “low-grade” accommodations and services.[64]

In a general sense, there is a lack of information about tourism development which exists on two levels: not only is there a lack of dissemination at the local level, making it difficult for community members to take part in the decision-making process, but there is also often a lack of up-to-date tourism information at the government or elite decision-making level.[65] In other words, by encouraging community involvement in the planning process, it allows for greater education of the local public and provides an opportunity for decision-makers to obtain needed information.[66] Though the problems are not entirely absent from the planning process in developed countries as well, they are arguably some of the biggest differences that need to be considered when working in LDCs. It is precisely

[63] Ibid., 619.
[64] Hampton, "Heritage, local communities and economic development," 741-2.
[65] Moscardo, "Community Capacity Building: an Emerging Challenge for Tourism Development," 5-6.
[66] Tosun, "Limits To Community Participation In The Tourism Development Process In Developing Countries," 618-20.

these elements which are taken for granted when thinking about participatory planning from a Western view point.

Structural Limitations

Structural limitations to successful participatory planning may include elements such as professional differences and limited expertise. Unlike in America, community participation is rarely seen as a valuable part of the planning process to professional planners themselves. Perhaps this is a symptom of greater disparity in education levels in developing countries, but it is not uncommon for planning professionals to feel they alone can develop the correct answer or response to planning problems, as opposed to less educated "amateurs" (locals) providing alternatives.[67] Unlike in more democratic societies, such involvement is less of a "right" of the local community.

Additionally, though developing countries may have plenty of traditionally taught urban and regional planners, they often lack the expertise in tourism planning specifically or even how to carry out participatory planning as part of a TDP.[68] Where expertise does exist, often through education overseas, engrained systems of favoritism or nepotism prevent equal opportunity employment, which results in the most-educated planners finding jobs in developed countries. Furthermore, the complexity of community participation should not simply involve tourism planners, but rather include other professions as well, such as sociologists and economists with alternative viewpoints and

[67] Ibid., 620.
Geoffrey Wall and Heather Black, "Global Heritage and Local Problems: Some Examples from Indonesia," *Current Issues in Tourism* 7, no. 4/5 (2004): 438-9.
[68] Timothy, "Participatory planning. A view of tourism in Indonesia," 373.

knowledge of tourism.[69] Instead, tourism planning and development more often relates to infrastructure and physical planning in a broader sense, but has less of an ability to address the intangible effects of tourism, such as cultural sustainability.

Despite the fact that some developing countries do possess a democratic system of government, many still maintain operation through a system of elitism. There is a concern that the "uneducated masses" might act through "strength in numbers" if given the chance, so their ability to participate in planning or access to resources is limited. Rather, power remains in the hands of a dominant class, who not only control decision making, but retain the majority of economic benefits through activities like tourism development. This is particularly common in cultures that exhibit a class hierarchy. Studies of tourism around the Indonesian capital of Java found community representation and involvement were primarily carried out by village heads, or "uppers," while "lowers" maintained an "unwillingness to ask questions and challenge superiors…stress[ing] harmony and…avoidance of conflict."[70] When elites do share the wealth, partnerships are often made with foreign stakeholders who not only control the industry, but make decisions based on outputs, rather than community objectives. While such elites or outsiders may incorporate some aspects of local involvement, this is more often a form of manipulation or token participation, or the involvement of a few in power, rather than outright public involvement in planning.

[69] Tosun, "Limits To Community Participation In The Tourism Development Process In Developing Countries," 621.
[70] Hampton, "Heritage, local communities and economic development," 739-40, 44.

Cultural Limitations

The United Nations suggest that a critical impediment to community participation, particularly in poorer countries, relates to a hierarchy of needs in which socio-political issues are less important than other more critical needs. In order to meet basic or felt needs necessary to survival in many of these places, community members do not always have the luxury of time or finances to participate in the development process effectively.[71] While increased participation arguably increases the likelihood of mitigating such issues, this is not always an easy or provable case to make. Still, this seems like a reasonable limitation to take into account, and could possibly be better considered by planners in directing the process. Cultural limitations, more than any other type, are likely to vary most from place to place, but they may also be the easiest limitation to adapt to. The final analysis will address examples of these limitations as well as illustrate how they could be overcome.

Criticisms of Participatory Planning in Developing Countries

Numerous criticisms exist in regards to utilizing a participatory planning approach in the TDP of developing countries, both in terms of how planners think and act. However, if how community participation is understood is flawed, it is only consistent that resulting implementation would be as well. As described earlier, while scholars have suggested that incorporating participatory planning in the developing world may help alleviate certain problems previously associated with tourism, few have actually gone on to try to understand how political, cultural and socio-economic conditions in these places may

[71] Tosun, "Limits To Community Participation In The Tourism Development Process In Developing Countries," 625.

impact its effectiveness there.[72] Additionally, though scholars have made numerous theoretical arguments for incorporation of community participation in the TDP of developing countries, few have gone on to answer more practical questions of how. Serious consideration requires answering questions of 'Who is the community?' 'How will participatory planning be initiated and by whom?' and 'In what form should it occur and is there just one or multiple approaches?'[73] Hence, it is clear the field of tourism planning may still be in its infancy in relation to this issue, grasping with the limits rather than actively forming solutions.

Another related issue widely discussed is the need for better understanding of inherent power imbalances and the role of elitism in the developing world. Mowforth and Munt, authors of Tourism and Sustainability: New Tourism in the Third World, suggest much of our understanding about how to carry out community participation in a given place rests with knowledge of the formation and role of local elites. As such, a participatory approach should not try to overly deviate from the established power system in an attempt to include everyone's opinion.[74] Others point out, "participation on a mass scale is an idealistic dream. In a representative democracy, it is impractical and unnecessary; in a political culture with a tradition of elitism, it is out of the question."[75]

These thoughts highlight the ever-present critique of Western planning in developing countries. Though issues such as elitism may be difficult to grasp or accept when many planners are taught to promote justice and equity, such concepts which sound

[72] Ibid., 613.
[73] Ibid., 617.
[74] Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World*: 259-62.
[75] Ibid.

good on paper are often less practical on the ground.[76] Mowforth warns that participation techniques, when directed by professionals from developed countries in particular, not only risk coming off as pretentious, but fail to truly take into account all the issues:

> *…the idea that a group of outsiders visiting for a short period of time can appreciate, let alone solve, the problems experienced by local communities is rather pretentious and patronizing, and suggestive of neo-colonialist attitudes.*[77]

Still, it may be unfair to be overly critical of planners simply because they are outsiders; in fact, local and regional planners do not always find success in attempting to solve the same issues.

Conclusion

Overall, despite its common use in various planning forums in the United States, applying participatory planning techniques to tourism development in the developing world is less accepted and clear cut. The reasons are numerous, ranging from political and cultural differences to professional ignorance or ineptitude. It is possible that experts have simply not managed to break free from developed world "constraints" to fully consider alternative possibilities for greater incorporation of local communities in planning. Such alternatives may best be integrated by looking for a new example to follow—not success stories from places with little connection to the developing world, but rather looking to communities that have maintained a collective system of daily life for centuries. Chapter 5 will provide a glimpse of one island that has done just that. But first, it is necessary to consider *why* community participation maybe so important to tourism planning and achieving an objective of cultural sustainability.

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[76] Ibid., 238-40.
[77] Ibid., 246.

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UNDERSTANDING CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY

Over the past several decades, growing concerns about environmental conservation and sustainability have made their mark on the tourism industry. From the development of ecotourism, to initiatives that aim to conserve water usage in hotels, much has been done to explore new ways to mitigate the negative environmental impacts of tourism. More recently however, industry stakeholders have begun to widen their focus, incorporating cultural conflict as an increasingly important area of impact.[78] Like ecotourism, some alternative or "softer" forms of tourism are now promoting cultural sustainability and preservation as both an ends and a means, recognizing that the sustainability of a business or tourism experience also requires a diligent preservation of the environment and culture on which it relies.[79] In 1996, the president of the World Commission on Cultural Development, Javier Perez de Cuellar, asserted in the report *Our Creative Diversity* that as a society, we must adopt new ways of thinking and acting, "The challenge is … to promote different paths of development, informed by a recognition of how cultural factors shape the

[78] Mike Robinson and Priscilla Boniface, *Tourism and cutural conflicts* (Oxon ; New York: CABI Pub., 1999). 289.
JiGang Bao and JiuXia Sun, "The impact of tourism development on the preservation of traditional minority culture - a case study from Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, China," in *International conference on "cultural tourism and local communities", Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 8-10 February, 2006.* (Madrid; Spain: World Tourism Organization (WTO), 2006), 66.
[79] Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World*: 66.

way in which societies conceive their own futures and choose the means to attain these futures."[80]

Mowforth and Munt suggest that social and cultural sustainability should serve as indicators by which these new paths of tourism development are measured. *Social sustainability* involves a host community's ability to deal with the population fluctuation that results from the cyclical nature of tourism. A common negative outcome of this kind of instability is the increased or out-right new creation of social divisions, not just between tourists and locals, but between various groups within the local community whose interactions with the tourist industry result in marginalization of some and increased benefits for others—often leading to discord, social disharmony or adaptation.[81] As Christine Landorf describes, social sustainability "assume[s] economic growth constrained by the requirements for equity, empowerment, cultural identity and institutional stability."[82] Still, though a society may be able to retain social harmony despite the intrusion of tourists, cultural alteration is possible when interaction and exchange of habits, customs and styles are introduced.[83] While culture necessarily changes and adapts over time, *cultural sustainability* aims to protect those elements which distinguish a group of people from all others, the local rituals, customs and norms that face uncertain futures when influenced by the different lifestyles of visitors.[84]

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[80] J. P. de Cuellar et al., "Our Creative Diversity," in *Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development* (Paris1996).
[81] Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World*: 106-8.
[82] Christine Landorf, "Managing for sustainable tourism: a review of six cultural World Heritage Sites," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 17, no. 1 (2009): 54.
[83] K. Pongponrat, "Participatory management process in local tourism development: a case study on fisherman village on Samui Island, Thailand," *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 16, no. 1 (2011): 58.
[84] Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World*: 109.

A study of cultural sustainability of course requires a definition and understanding of the term *culture*. Undoubtedly the idea of culture is constantly evolving and debated, influencing a wide variety of academic fields and cannot be covered in great detail here. However, this examination of culture and its preservation in the communities of developing countries can be loosely tied to Clifford Geertz' definition of culture; "an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life."[85] Furthermore, culture in this context can be broken down into material culture, the objects and artifacts associated with a peoples' way of life, and their intangible culture, including values and language. Therefore, cultural sustainability concerns itself with the dynamic adaptation and preservation of everything from architecture and craft objects, to the knowledge of how to create those things, the continuation of daily practices, the spoken and written language, and ideas of religion.

Cultural Conflict in the Tourism Industry

Mike Robinson, director of the Centre for Tourism & Cultural Change at Leeds Metropolitan University, notes the unique nature of tourism when he says,

> *Indeed, tourism is one form of human activity that thrives on the celebration and display of cultural differences; ranging from the exotic to the mundane, the meaningful to the menial and the immediate to the imagined. In other spheres of human activity cultural differences may be apparent but may be neither relevant nor emphasized, but in tourism cultural differences are packaged and supplied to provide emphasis, and this very process is so often at the root of conflict.*[86]

[85] Robin Koning, "Clifford Geertz's Account of Culture as a Resource for Theology," *Pacifica* 23, no. 1 (2010).
[86] Robinson and Boniface, *Tourism and cutural conflicts*: 21.

It is *how* these conflicts come about more specifically that lends itself to a consideration of the role of participatory planning. There are in fact numerous ways in which cultural conflicts occur, not just in a single moment or place, but over space and time. Robinson suggests that tourists act as "cultural prophets" that can serve as both initiators and inhibitors of change, particularly in "less culturally resilient destinations."[87] However, he goes on to point out that cultural impacts or conflicts between tourist and host communities should not be overly emphasized as direct, immediate or aggressive. Such face-to-face contact (usually in the form of tour guides, hotel staff, shop keepers, etc.) is actually quite limited. Rather it is the overall, long term effects which deserve greater consideration.[88]

On the other hand, it has been argued that tourists themselves actually play a fairly minor role in promoting conflict in comparison to other major players outside the destination community. Rather, outside actors, such as governments, public agencies and tourism operators, through various actions and policies, create outcomes that may provide the basis for cultural conflict.[89] While this may be true, evidence suggests that threats to cultural sustainability are not always so intentional or direct; rather they accumulate over time and are the product of multiple sources. Though often such threats are a byproduct of Western culture and ideals, host communities do not play a passive role. Without a doubt, the assault on culture can occur in numerous ways, both internally and externally, in

[87] Ibid., 5.
[88] Ibid., 9-10.
[89] Ibid., 290.

addition to the inevitable change which occurs in the absence of tourism; still, some amount of alteration is almost unavoidable between societies of vastly different cultures.[90]

Commodification of Culture

The tourism industry is made up of many processes and interactions that can generally be described through various cause and effect relationships. One such relationship relates to an exchange whereby the intervention of capitalism in developing countries translates into commodification or consumption of previously "non-consumable" elements.[91] Erik Cohen describes the process of commodification as the transformation of ways of life, traditions and the complex symbolism which supports these, into saleable products.[92] Furthermore, this "intervention" not only occurs at the private level, but rather is contributed to by much larger, more neutral, institutions as well, such as foreign governments and financiers like World Bank. The World Commission on Culture and Development noted, "Cultural expressions are being commercialized worldwide with scant respect for the communities in which they originate."[93] While the commodification of cultural may seem like an action initiated by the host community for visitor's consumption and host's benefit, many suggest the reality is based in the motivations of the tourism industry as a whole, and represents a distinct importation of capitalist ideologies (Figure 3).[94]

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[90] Mathieson and Wall, *Tourism : economic, physical, and social impacts*: 160.
[91] Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World*: 64.
Choibamroong, "A stakeholder approach for sustainable community-based rural tourism development in Thailand," 179.
[92] Erik Cohen, "Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 15(1987).
[93]al., "Our Creative Diversity," 195.
[94] Robinson and Boniface, *Tourism and cutural conflicts*: 11.
Bao and Sun, "The impact of tourism development on the preservation of traditional minority culture - a case study from Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, China," 66.

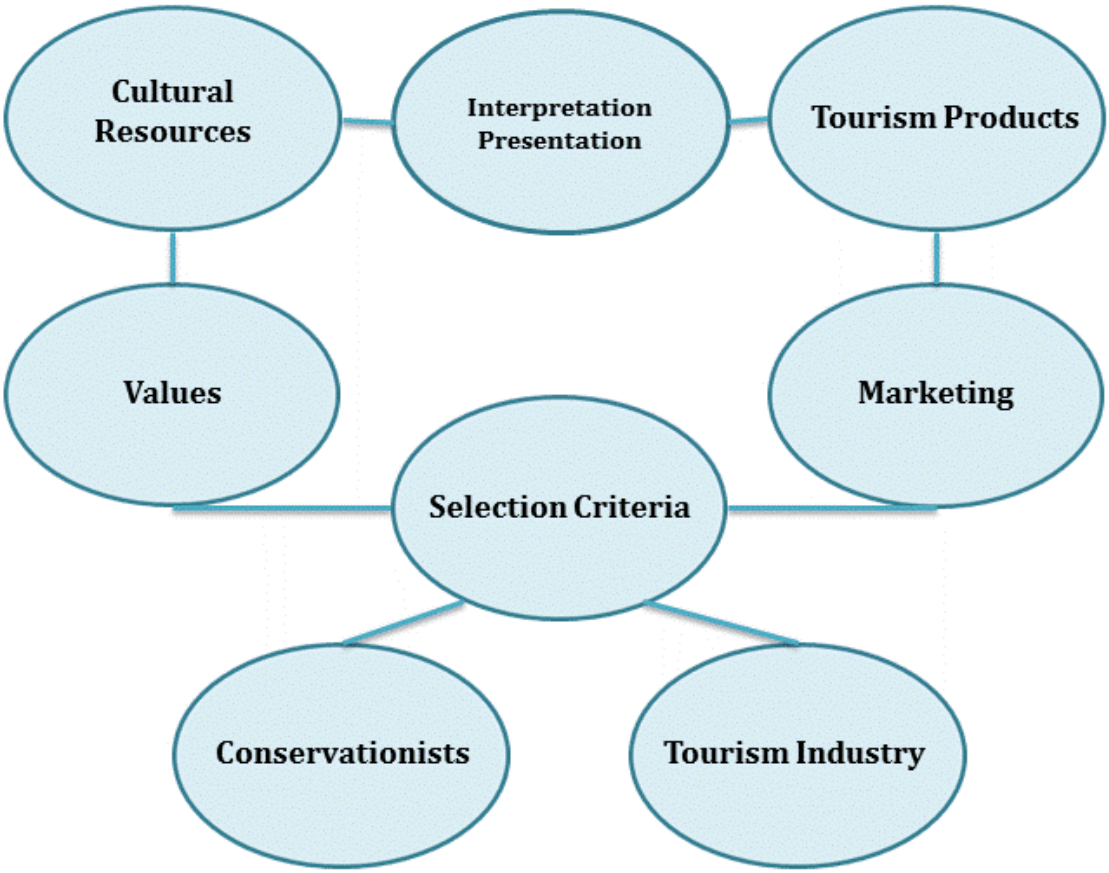

Figure 3: Transformation Process: From Cultural Resources to Tourism Products. *Source*: Adapted from Wahab, S. and J. J. J. Pigram (1997). Tourism, development and growth : the challenge of sustainability. London ; New York, Routledge (242).

While some scholars assert that varying degrees of commodification exist along with varying levels of appropriateness or acceptability, of greatest concern here is what has been termed "reconstructed ethnicity." This form of commodification is commonly found in developing countries and consists of showcasing various indigenous or local cultural rituals, rites and festivals for the sake of economic gain, after being "reduced and sanitized" in the name of tourists' expectations. While this may be unacceptable to the host community, and can even breed resentment toward tourists or the industry as a whole, there is often a quickly established dependency that requires tourists buying of souvenirs, and therefore relenting on the part of cultural commodification or alteration.[95]

Examples of this process can likely be found in every destination across the globe, but in recent years, it has become particularly problematic in the Himalayas. Though the environmental impacts of tourism throughout the region have been clearly documented, particularly in relation to trekking and climbing, the area also experiences extreme socio-cultural impacts as a result of increased cultural and religious tourism. More specifically, monastic festivals and other religious events and sites, formerly a primary element of "social cohesion," are quickly taking on the secondary role as cultural product, to be sold and manipulated to visitors.[96] Anthropologist Myra Shackley explains,

> *Such large volumes of visitors change the character of the festivals, exclude local people, decrease local participation, and alter the function of the festival as a focus for social cohesion. However, monastic authorities often encourage these changes by practices such as selling tickets to tourists and ensuring…[they] get priority seating […leading to] local resentment…enhanced by culturally insensitive behavior from visitors.*[97]

[95] Robinson and Boniface, *Tourism and cutural conflicts*: 12.
[96] Myra Shackley, "Managing the Cultural Impacts of Religious Tourism in the Himalayas, Tibet and Nepal," in *Tourism and Cultural Conflicts*, ed. M. Robinson and P. Boniface (Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing, 1999).
[97] Ibid., 95.

Though popularity as a visitor attraction has led to certain modifications of traditional practices, particularly dances, some scholars have argued that tourism actually has the potential to preserve certain crafts and performing arts. Many dances and rituals are staged or altered from their original form to provide greater accommodation of tourist expectations, yet, the donations and admission charges for such events support the continual repair and replacement of costumes and masks necessary for cultural continuity.[98] While the extent to which this is occurring successfully is likely limited, tourism does present opportunities for the preservation of craft and to assist in these kinds of issues when thoughtfully planned.

Authenticity

Closely tied to the concern over commodification is the notion of authenticity. The search for "authenticity," particularly in tourism in the developing world has become an increasingly important concept and within it, the growing need for tourists to have authentic experiences becomes intrinsically tied to the sustainability of the industry in a given place. Though many believe certain forms of alternative tourism are able to successfully walk the line between authenticity and commodification, there remains a clear and obvious effect by the unrelenting intrusion.[99] A writer for the *Guardian,* Ros Coward, explains,

> *…the middle classes smugly believe that…problems are not created by their sort of holidays...The moral superiority of this tourism comes from the idea that it provides an experience of the authentic culture of the host country rather than its destruction*.[100]

[98] Robinson and Boniface, *Tourism and cutural conflicts*: 101-2.
[99] Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World*: 55-61.
[100] Ros Coward, "Sun, sand and encounters with otherness," *Guardian* 1996, 11.

One increasingly common form of purportedly low-impact tourism has been described as *zooificaton,* whereby the tourism industry utilizes native or indigenous peoples to display "unique" or "authentic" life ways. It is in fact not low-impact tourism at all, but rather demeaning and degrading to the people themselves, as displayers of culture, who receive little financial benefit or control of the process. Additionally, a byproduct of this form of tourism, "trinketization," traps these communities in the scheme as native people sell rudimentary crafts and souvenirs to visitors in order to make money, and ultimately become dependent on serving as objects to be viewed in order to maintain the income (Figure 4).[101] Furthermore, trinketization often affects not only the quality of craftsmanship, but its meaning as well by "divorcing" the art from local culture in favor of commercial production. [102] In many cases, these tribal people are actually removing vestiges of modern life (t-shirts and pants) for tourists in order to appeal to the need for authenticity, resulting in what has been called "misrecognition" in touristic discourse--essentially an allowance of misunderstanding on the part of both host and tourist in order to maintain certain notions of authenticity.[103]

> *In the Peruvian Amazon, women of the Yagua tribe make bags, hammocks, and jewelry for the tourists. They work hastily because they are being paid almost nothing. The traders make all the profits. Decoration is crude, the finish careless-'Well,' the women say, 'these people don't know any better*.[104]

[101] Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World*: 273-6.
Bao and Sun, "The impact of tourism development on the preservation of traditional minority culture - a case study from Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, China," 68.
[102] David Harrison, *Tourism and the less developed countries* (London; New York: Belhaven Press; Halsted Press, 1992). 20-1.
[103] Robinson and Boniface, *Tourism and cutural conflicts*: 166-7.
[104] Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and sustainability : New Tourism in the Third World*: 275.

Figure 4: Trinketization on the Floating Uros Islands, Peru.
Source: "Backpacking South America" http://ramblingsmac.blogspot.com/2010/01/day-13-uros-islands-taquile-island-peru.html

Conclusion

While it may seem worthwhile to suggest that certain indigenous cultures should not be a tourist experience at all, or that it may better preserve authenticity to maintain separation from Western visitors and alternative lifestyles, it brings up an interesting discussion as to who decides how host communities choose to support themselves financially, and what effects that may have on their authenticity or primitive nature. Still, as Mowforth points out, this issue is not made better by simply increasing the financial benefits to the community, but rather is more likely to be successful (and sustainable) when "the idea and impetus for [the tourist scheme] come[s] from within the community itself."[105]

[105] Ibid., 276.

This notion of community-based tourism (CBT) will be explored more in-depth later on as research reveals it may provide one of the best opportunities for host communities to direct and control the use of cultural resources in the face of tourism development. While CBT is becoming more widespread as a tourism planning and management approach, one of the oldest examples of its use can be found in the islands of Lake Titicaca, Peru, where the community on the island of Taquile have been struggling for control of their tourist trade for over thirty years.

5

CASE STUDY: TAQUILE ISLAND, PERU

The small island of Taquile, located within the Peruvian borders of Lake Titicaca provides a thoroughly unique example of community-based tourism and participatory planning in action. The island's two thousand residents are the face of indigenous Peru; Quecha-speaking Indians, decedents of the Incas, who have sustained a livelihood as potato farmers, expert craftsmen, and more recently, promoters of tourism.[106] Though isolated for centuries, they have cultivated their island's authentic Andean lifestyle, free of typical tourist amenities such as electricity and running water, into a model of community-developed tourism in which they plan, control and participate in every aspect.

Despite the general disdain for such native peoples by the more affluent, Creole Peruvians, the extremely poor community of Taquile initially developed their tourism industry through the sale of their prized red, white and black weavings, for which they are well known and continue to wear as part of their daily dress.[107] Over time, they have expanded their enterprise to include motor-boat construction and transport, bed and

[106] E. Zorn, "From Political Prison to Tourist Village: Tourism, Gender, Indigeneity, and the Nation in Taquile Island, Peru," in *Natives Making Nation: Gender, Indigeneity, and the State in the Andes B2 - Natives Making Nation: Gender, Indigeneity, and the State in the Andes* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005), 159. Luke Jerod Kummer, "JOURNEYS: TAQUILE, PERU; On a High Andean Lake, an Island of the Incas," *New York Times* (2006).

[107] Elayne Lesley Zorn, "Marketing Diversity: Global Transformations in Cloth and Identity in Highland Peru and Bolivia," *Dissertation Abstracts International. Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences* 58, no. 03 (1997): 126-30.

breakfast-type accommodations with local families, restaurants and a cooperative from which they sell the community's textiles.[108]

Still, over almost thirty years, their business has not been without struggle. Though government policies at the time of its inception largely supported their control of all tourism on the island, changes in administration have resulted in increased competition from outsiders looking to take advantage of the growing popularity of Taquile throughout the region.[109] Without much help from national leaders, the community has increasingly relied on the assistance of international NGOs in order to fight for recognition and the control they need in order to maintain the economic benefits of tourism and protect their culture.[110]

Though the island and its way of life have not been without change since the introduction of tourism, the community has been relatively successful in holding off many of the typical negative elements that accompany mass tourism. It has been asserted that this outcome is almost entirely a result of the strong community-oriented nature of planning and participation on the island. This is not a formal, outsider-directed process, but rather a continuation of traditional community structure and organization that has existed for centuries. Perhaps most notably, this approach has led to the sustainability and preservation of their indigenous lifestyle and long-standing traditions, as well as renewing a sense of pride in the local culture.[111]

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[108] Ibid., 126-7.
[109] Elayne Zorn, "Taquile, Peru: Model Tourism," *Festival of American Folklife* (1994): 22.
[110] Zorn, "Marketing Diversity: Global Transformations in Cloth and Identity in Highland Peru and Bolivia," 130.
[111] Elayne Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island* (Iowa City, IA: U of Iowa P, 2004). 17.

PART I: HISTORY

The inhabitants of Taquile Island have lived an isolated, yet self sufficient existence for over four hundred years, making it an unlikely place for tourism to develop.[112]/[113] However, the community unknowingly set itself up for potential success in tourism as early as the 1930's when it began acquiring the resources needed to purchase the title to all the land on the island.[114] While outsiders were generally unwelcome during the following decades, some, including Peace Corps volunteer Kevin Healy, would be influential in helping to convince the islanders of the economic benefits of textile sales to tourists and others.[115] In fact, even before tourism, Taquileans developed a community-wide effort to begin marketing their impressive weavings both in nearby ports and eventually, international handicraft markets.[116] By the mid 1970s, this limited exposure resulted in the arrival of small numbers of backpacking tourists willing to experience the rugged four hour boat ride and rough living conditions of the unspoiled island. In 1976, the tourist guide the *South American Handbook*, brought greater attention to Taquile as a destination.[117] Soon, foreign tourists began gathering in larger numbers at the dock in nearby Puno looking for a way to get to the island, and by 1978 various private Taquilean boat owners would form a cooperative to shuttle them back and forth. In 1982, virtually every family on the island played a role in one of 13 cooperatives, and islanders obtained an officially sanctioned

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[112] Simon Collins, "Living on top of the world," *Geographical (Campion Interactive Publishing)* 69, no. 2 (1997).
[113] In fact, during the 1930's the island's isolation proved ideal as a political prison for the deposed president, Sanchez Cerro (34:81).
[114] KevinZorn Elayne Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," *Natural History* 92, no. 11 (1983): 82.
[115] Ross E. Mitchell and Donald G. Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," *Annals of Tourism Research* 28, no. 1 (2001): 123.
[116] Zorn, "From Political Prison to Tourist Village: Tourism, Gender, Indigeneity, and the Nation in Taquile Island, Peru," 160.
[117] Zorn, "Taquile, Peru: Model Tourism," 22.
Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 83.

monopoly which allowed them to compete with other boats in Puno looking for a piece of the business.[118] At the same time, local authorities began authorizing the islanders to house visitors overnight in their homes, with 68 families taking part in 1978 and 207 by 1982.[119]

By 1990, tourist numbers to the island were growing and the islanders maintained control of most of the tourism services. But the early part of the decade would also see a sharp decline in arrivals thanks to a Peruvian civil war coupled with terrorism concerns.[120] Though the tourism industry eventually recovered, distinct changes in government business policies would ultimately alter the way Taquileans controlled tourism on the island well into current times.

Island Life

The island of Taquile maintains a unique way of life, making it an attractive destination for visitors from around the world. Its extreme location in the cold heights of the Andes, approximately 25 kilometers from the nearest port city, requires the islanders to nurture a sustainable existence in isolation (Figures 5, 6 & 7).[121] In addition to fishing, the Taquileans subsist on a highly developed system of agriculture, with 65% of their land reserved for the growing of crops.[122] Though the steep and rocky landscape would seem inhospitable to the task, the island is divided into single-crop terraced sections (*suyos*), which allow for rotation of staples such as potatoes, quinoa and barley.[123] Farmers

[118] Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 124.
[119] Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 83.
[120] Zorn, "Marketing Diversity: Global Transformations in Cloth and Identity in Highland Peru and Bolivia," 349.
Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 122.
[121] Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 121.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 81.
Collins, "Living on top of the world."

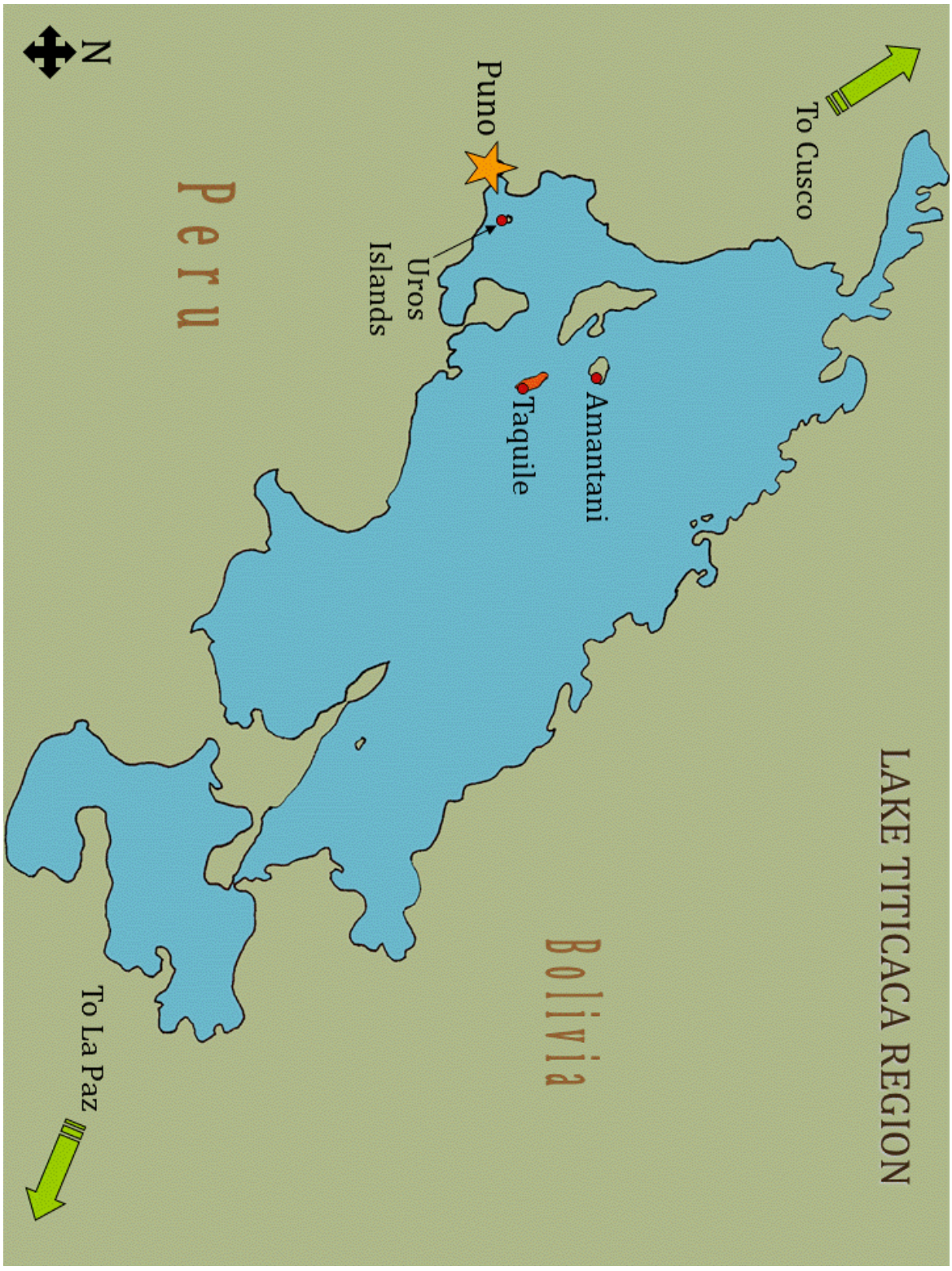

Figure 5: Lake Titicaca Region (not to scale).
Source: Created by author.

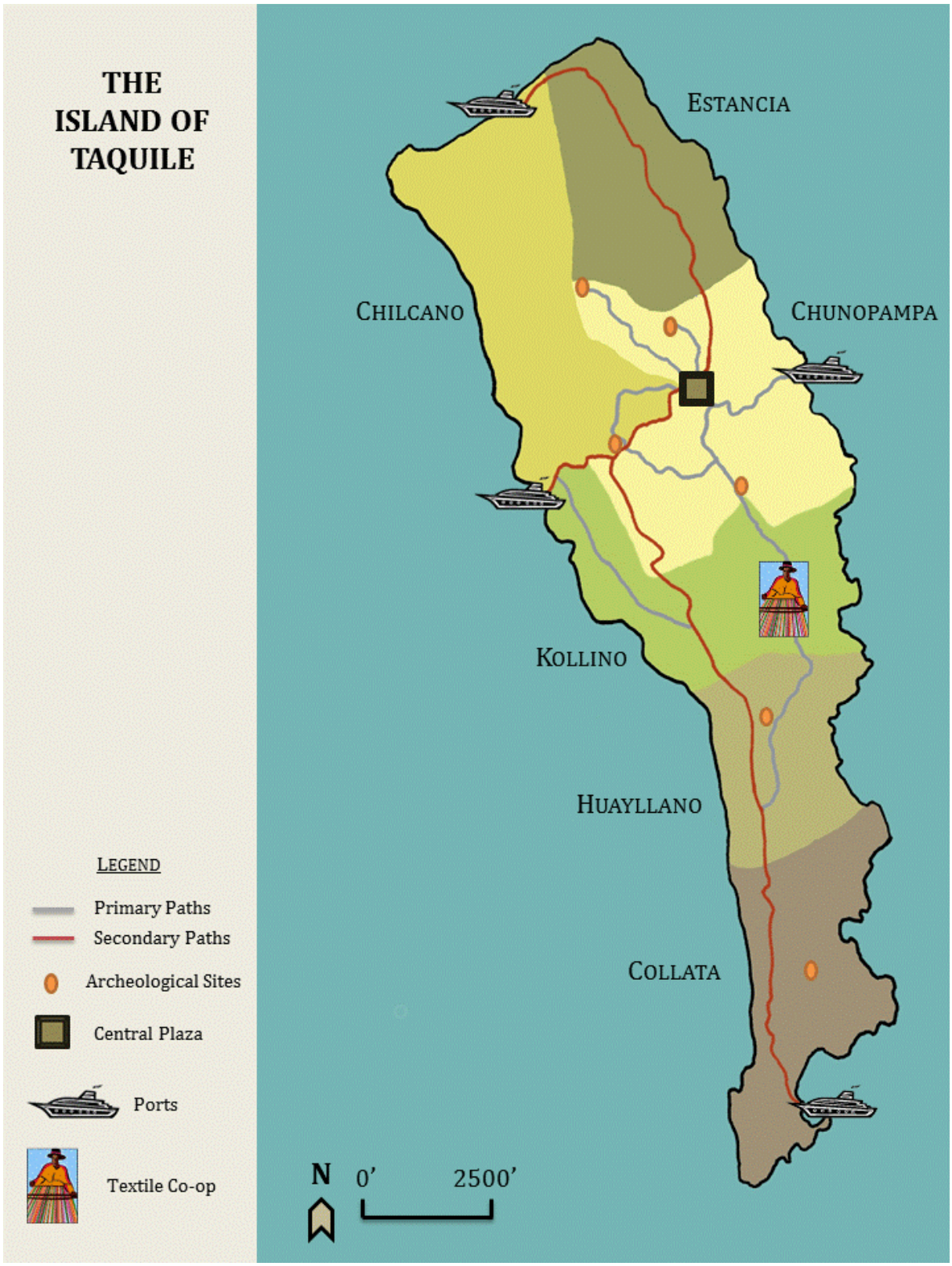

Figure 6: The Island of Taquile.
Source: Created by author.

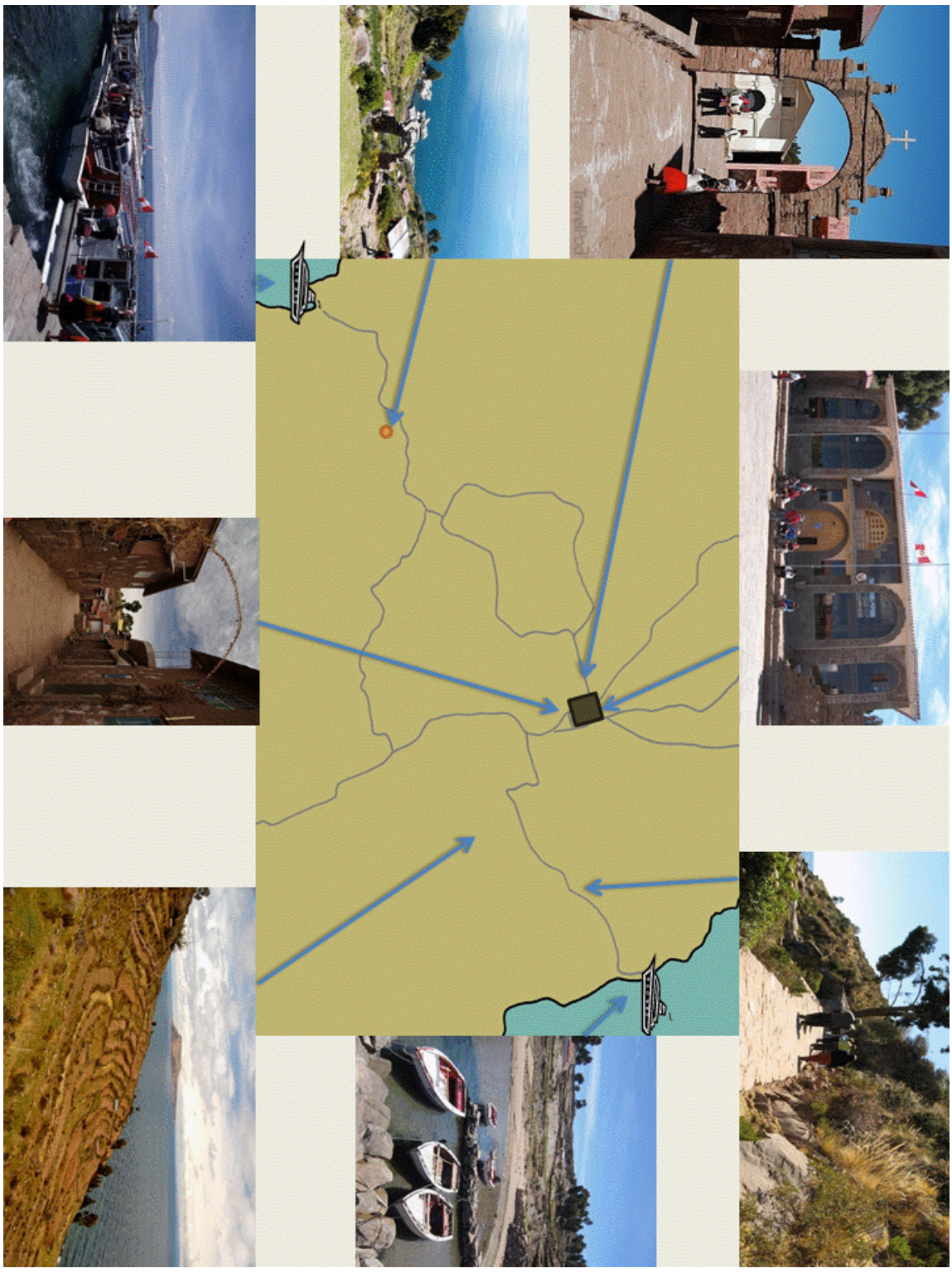

Figure 7: Local Sites on Taquile.
Source: Created by author.

maintain plots in each section, but grow and produce the food to be shared about the community rather than sold.[124] Without enough of a surplus to earn an income from crop sales, islanders have traditionally used a system of barter with surrounding islands for other goods, or earned supplementary income as seasonal migrant laborers in neighboring agricultural regions of Peru. However, with the introduction of tourism, Taquile has experienced increased population growth thanks to the reverse migration of islanders who had formerly moved to larger cities for better opportunities.[125]

Community-shared agriculture is only one example of their collective way of doing things. Much of the administration of the island is based on a combination of traditional and modern democratic political and decision-making systems. Local government positions are public, non-partisan, and based on single year terms with elections held annually. The leaders handle disputes and support weekly community-wide assemblies where issues are resolved and planning and decision-making is carried out.[126]

Much of the tourist draw to Taquile is to observe the islanders' indigenous way of life, seemingly frozen in time. Their brick and adobe thatched-roof houses coupled with a lack of electricity, running water and sewer seems both rustic and authentically Andean.[127] But perhaps most inspiring is the handmade red, white and black weavings that comprise the daily dress of Taquile (Figure 8). Though the creation of intricate textiles is a traditional

[124] Collins, "Living on top of the world."
[125] Zorn, "Marketing Diversity: Global Transformations in Cloth and Identity in Highland Peru and Bolivia," 149-50.
[126] Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 121-22.
[127] Zorn, "Marketing Diversity: Global Transformations in Cloth and Identity in Highland Peru and Bolivia," 149.

craft of many Andean highland communities, few continue to produce and wear their weavings, in favor of more western-style clothing.[128]

Figure 8: Man Weaving in the Traditional Dress of Taquile.
Source: Stem Productions. "Knitting on the Island of Taquile, Peru"
http://stemproductions.wordpress.com/2010/02/24/near-death/

Like other tasks on Taquile, weaving is a community-wide effort, with men learning to knit from a very young age and producing the vast majority of the textiles, and women

[128] Annelou Ypeij and Elayne Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," *European Review of Latin American & Caribbean Studies*, no. 82 (2007): 121.
Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 82.
R. E. Mitchell and P. F. J. Eagles, "An integrative approach to tourism: lessons from the Andes of Peru," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 9, no. 1 (2001): 10.

responsible for spinning the sheep or alpaca wool from which they are made.[129] As Vidaurri explains,

> *Historically, weaving skills were applied to production of their own traditional red, black and white clothing…their emblematic vestments, incorporate a wide array of icons that depict the Taquileno world. It is a visual language that speaks of social roles, age-related status and traditional knowledge of their environment.*[130]

Due to the extreme amount of time, effort and resources needed to create such intricate weavings, Taquilean textiles have traditionally been produced for personal and family use, for daily and festival related wear.[131] However, by the late 1960's, with the assistance of U.S. Peace Corp volunteer Kevin Healy, Taquileans began informally selling textiles to travelers in nearby Puno, and eventually developed a more formal community-driven cooperative to market their textiles to foreign exporters and buyers.[132] This meant big changes for the islanders; Healy notes, "The sales demonstrated that their everyday weavings were attractive to outsiders, especially tourists, and could produce regular cash income."[133]

The islanders' recognition of the value of their cloth as a commodity and source of wealth coupled with the increasing tourist traffic proved advantageous.[134] Though some worried that the commoditization of the textiles would lead to decline in quality or encourage cutting corners, degradation of the craft has been quite minimal.[135] While materials such as factory-spun or synthetic yarns have been introduced into weavings

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[129] Collins, "Living on top of the world."
[130] Cynthia L. Vidaurri, "MORE THAN JUST TOURIST CRAFTS," *American Indian (15280640)* 11, no. 3 (2010): 28.
[131] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 11.
[132] Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 82.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 155.
[135] Zorn, "Marketing Diversity: Global Transformations in Cloth and Identity in Highland Peru and Bolivia," 346.

produced for tourists, to lower cost and time consumption, Taquileans continue to produce high-quality cloth for personal use, to be worn daily and serving as a form of advertisement (Figure 9).[136] It has been argued that the continued production of these textiles in fact "reinforces local pride in dress, workmanship, and native traditions."[137] So much so, that the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) recently recognized Taquilean textiles as part of its *Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* listing, determining that their uniqueness and quality are worthy of protection and continued preservation.[138]

Figure 9: Woman Weaving on Taquile.
Source: Miller and Brown. "Amigos de Taquile." http://www.taquilefriends.blogspot.com

[136] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 155.
[137] Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 85.
[138] Francis Rainsford, "FREE-TRADE DEAL IS WELCOMED IN PERU," *Wool Record* 165, no. 3737 (2006): 56.

National, Regional and Local Tourism

The story of tourism development in Taquile is intrinsically tied to the larger history of the Peruvian tourism industry. In 1976, the population of Peru was 15.5 million people. By 2012 is has almost doubled, in addition to transforming from a largely rural nation to one of a more urban character.[139] Not only has the population exploded, but the World Tourism Organization predicts that by 2020, South America will become the second largest sub-region in international tourist arrivals, after North America.[140] Peru is a major contributor to this distinction; though the 1980's and early 1990's were a disastrous time for tourism in the country, thanks to poor political and economic policies, power instability, and even a cholera outbreak,[141] the later half of the decade was marked by precipitous growth in tourism, becoming the fastest-growing sector in the national economy.[142] Thanks to ample construction of necessary infrastructure and increased government incentives, Peru has been able to take advantage of its vast resources in heritage and ecotourism, including Machu Picchu and the Nazca Lines, and continues to work towards a more sustainable industry through the implementation of the National Strategic Plan for Tourism (PENTUR) in 2005.[143]

The island of Taquile is located in the Puno region, which includes Lake Titicaca, and represents a part of a larger tourist route that extends from Cusco through the Inca Trail to Machu Picchu, down to La Paz, the capital of Bolivia, which maintains the southeastern

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[139] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 8-9.
[140] Mitchell and Eagles, "An integrative approach to tourism: lessons from the Andes of Peru," 4.
[141] Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 121.
[142] Stephen F. McCool and R. Neil Moisey, *Tourism, recreation, and sustainability : linking culture and the environment*, 2nd ed. (Wallingford England; Cambridge, MA: CABI, 2008). 161.
[143] Ibid., 162.
Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 121.

border of the lake.[144] Despite being one of the poorest regions in Peru, and lacking the tropical climate found elsewhere, Puno is second only to Cusco as the most visited city in the country.[145] The large commercial center, with a population around 100,000, serves as the main port for the islands of Lake Titicaca and the jumping off point for various tourist excursions. Though in the past, tourist travel on the lake was limited, taking many hours by sail boat to get to Taquile, today visitors are able to visit multiple islands in only few days.[146] Anthropologist and long-time researcher on Taquilean weavings, Elayne Zorn, explains one such option,

> *A sought-after and widely advertised tourist trip consists of a two-day journey by motorboat that can be booked in Puno, the largest Peruvian city on the lake's shore. Normally, the tourists who take this trip first visit the floating islands of the Uros people, which are built from totora reeds. The tourists are invited to learn about the indigenous peoples' daily lives, and to buy handicrafts. The trip then continues to the island of Amantaní, where the tourists are offered a meal and a bed in the house of a local family. If they are lucky, they are allowed to dress up in local indigenous clothing and participate in a festival. The second day of the trip is spent visiting the island of Taquile. The tourists disembark at the western part of the island. Within two to two and a half hours, they are expected back at the dock, where the motorboats are waiting to take them back to Puno*.[147]

This trip highlights some of the ongoing competition among islands for the bulk of the tourist trade in the region. Though the Uros islands have always had high visitation due to their closer proximity to Puno, more recently, the islands of Taquile and Amantani have experienced strained relations, despite a joint district political status, as they compete for tourist dollars that are best gained through overnight stays.[148]

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[144] Ypeij and Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," 120.
[145] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 132.
[146] Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 82.
[147] Ypeij and Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," 119.
[148] Zorn, "Marketing Diversity: Global Transformations in Cloth and Identity in Highland Peru and Bolivia," 156.

Overall, Taquile has been far more successful thanks to both its community-wide participatory approach and the effects of greater isolation. The islanders recognize that visitors wish to see how they have traditionally lived and have fought to maintain the unspoiled nature of their island.[149] Unlike other host communities, particularly in developing world destinations, Taquileans' ability to control and plan the tourist trade has resulted in the maintenance of many economic and social benefits for the community. Surprisingly, the key to much of their success has been the lack of standard tourism services (that also accompany modernization) such as hotels, cars, electricity, and running water.[150] Rather than encouraging the common separation found between visitor and visited, Taquileans attempt to embrace their culture and tourism by having guests stay in their homes and take part in family meals. Though some wholly tourist infrastructure, such as shops and restaurants, have been introduced, especially to accommodate larger groups staying for shorter periods, the operation and profits of such businesses are shared and divided among the community.[151] Taquileans have also retained the role of interpreters of their island and traditions, be it through the performance of dances and festivals, textiles, or their Inca heritage.[152]

Development of a Community-based Tourism

To appreciate how Taquile has managed to successfully initiate and develop community-based tourism, it is necessary to understand how established societal rules and

[149] Collins, "Living on top of the world."
[150] A. A. de Vidas and M. F. Lanfant, "Textiles, memory and the souvenir industry in the Andes," in *International tourism: identity and change.*, ed. M. F. Lanfant, J. B. Allcock, and E. M. Bruner (London; UK: Sage Publications Ltd, 1995), 76.
[151] Collins, "Living on top of the world."
[152] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 13.
Zorn, "Marketing Diversity: Global Transformations in Cloth and Identity in Highland Peru and Bolivia," 155.

informal planning play a role. Though outsiders such as Healy were partly responsible for demonstrating the possibilities for tourism, particularly when coupled with equitable participation on the island, much of what they have achieved has been internally derived.[153] Local leaders, rather than formally-educated planners, have supported the continued use of long established power structures and democratic decision-making processes in order to achieve tourism planning and development that is consensual, transparent and equitable.[154] As with traditional tasks, the management of tourism on the island is highly dependent on division of work by committee. Volunteer work groups are responsible for handling food, transportation and maintenance. They also establish rules for tourist behavior and determine prices for various services.[155] The importance of community-wide participation cannot be understated; one study conducted during the late 1990's noted, "…Taquile residents highly participated in tourism service administration (79%) and community tourism meetings (96%)[…and] Most respondents agree (93%) that local authorities encourage participation in tourism meetings."[156] Though women have traditionally played a less vocal role in elections and community meetings, they are present, and more recently their participation in various aspects of both tasks and administration has increased (Figure 10).[157]

[153] McCool and Moisey, *Tourism, recreation, and sustainability : linking culture and the environment*: 169.
[154] Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 136.
[155] Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 84.
[156] Ypeij and Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," 121.
McCool and Moisey, *Tourism, recreation, and sustainability : linking culture and the environment*: 171.
[157] Ypeij and Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," 122.

Figure 10: Women in the Central Plaza.
Source: Dunn, Terry. "Taquile Island."
http://www.flickr.com/photos/terrydel/6269186619/sizes/l/in/photostream/

In addition to the established planning and decision-making processes, the element of land ownership is an essential one in the development of tourism on Taquile. By gaining legal title in the 1930's and 1940's, Taquileans are able to retain control and keep outside businesses and entrepreneurs at arms length. While land is divided and owned by individuals, communal understanding prevents anyone from selling their parcels to outsiders without the threat of expulsion from the community and loss of title.[158] Instead, the islanders own and operate an array of enterprises, either communally, through

[158] Zorn, "Marketing Diversity: Global Transformations in Cloth and Identity in Highland Peru and Bolivia," 143-52.
Ypeij and Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," 122.

cooperatives or as individuals, keeping economic benefits local. These include the textile co-op, lodging in family homes, boat operators and restaurants.[159] Not only do they regulate prices to avoid competition, but such services also provide a small portion of profits (5%) for community needs.[160]

Threats to Local Control and Transformation of the Industry

Despite early success in tourism that led to more positive recognition for the indigenous community, the 1990's brought about many changes that have had lasting effects on the industry in Taquile and throughout the Puno region. Though Taquileans have successfully prevented attempts by outsiders to introduce competing business *on* the island through land acquisition, changes in political policies, which eliminated their boat monopoly, have stripped the islanders of control over transpotation and access.[161] While government regulations did require that outside boats pay a docking fee to the island, the amount was incomparable to the money lost through competition, and was often ignored all together. In addition to being fairly passive people, Taquileans have resisted blocking outsider boats for fear that some income is better than no income at all.[162] However, outside agencies now largely determine the number of arrivals, how long they stay and what they do during their visit—a significant loss of local control and benefits.[163]

Though arrivals to the island have increased to something more reminiscent of mass tourism, non-Taquilean guides expect kickbacks for steering their groups towards

[159] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 13.
[160] Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 124.
[161] Zorn, "From Political Prison to Tourist Village: Tourism, Gender, Indigeneity, and the Nation in Taquile Island, Peru," 156-58, 62.
[162] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 133.
[163] Zorn, "From Political Prison to Tourist Village: Tourism, Gender, Indigeneity, and the Nation in Taquile Island, Peru," 162.

particular businesses,[164] and locals assert that the increased numbers have not resulted in increased profits.[165] By 2002, the islanders agreed to end all informal arrangements with Puno tour agencies. Unfortunately, the damage was already done; between 2000 and 2001, several reports noted that while nearly 40,000 tourists visited Taquile annually, only 10% were spending the night. Ultimately, they concluded that the "authentic" tourism experience was being diluted, and that tourists should be directed to other, lesser-visited islands such as Amantani.[166]

Taquileans struggled to regain control. In an attempt to maintain their way of life and hopefully their tourist appeal, the islanders continued to hold off electricity and running water,[167] despite the difficulty in marketing themselves without easy access to internet. Though they attempted to set up their own tourism office in Puno, time constraints made it difficult to maintain and the office ultimately closed.[168] On the island, some improvements were made, with the approval of island leaders, to allow for basics such as lanterns, washbasins and toilet paper for visitors in local homes.[169] Perhaps one of the biggest changes, however, has been increased education, particularly in tourism administration, thanks to the introduction of a high school, and a greater number of the younger generation pursuing higher education. In fact, the time constraints of managing tourism coupled with agricultural production have resulted in a slight decrease in the

[164] As of 2003, locals were "taking turns" by rotating restaurant service among the community to reduce the effect of such demands (42:134).
[165] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 131-34.
[166] Zorn, "From Political Prison to Tourist Village: Tourism, Gender, Indigeneity, and the Nation in Taquile Island, Peru," 164-70.
[167] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 8.
[168] Ibid., 135.
[169] Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 84.

importance and time spent weaving.[170] Though this is not entirely problematic from an economic standpoint, as there was something of an overabundance of textiles for sale at various times,[171] it is concerning when considering the continuation of culture and knowledge of the craft. Zorn, who spent decades visiting and living on Taquile to study their weaving, recognized the potential for loss and helped establish a museum on Taquile to preserve and display the legacy of their textiles for the community and tourists alike.[172] More recently, UNESCO's recognition of Taquilean textiles on the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* (formerly the *Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity*) resulted in a grant worth $80,000 from the Peruvian National Institute of Culture to assist with further preservation.[173]

Government Intervention

An important underlying element in the story of Taquile is the impact of government intervention, or in some cases, the lack there of. As Zorn explained, "the development of Taquilean tourism owes little to the Peruvian nation…bypassing creole elites in favor of relationships with gringos in private organizations and nongovernmental agencies."[174] While it is not uncommon for what is called "derivative destinations"[175] to receive less attention or even neglect by investors and policy makers, in some cases it can provide a better opportunity for local host communities to exercise control.[176] Though the

[170] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 6, 17.
[171] Elayne Zorn and Linda Clare Farthing, "Communitarian tourism hosts and mediators in Peru," *Annals of Tourism Research* 34(2007): 682.
[172] Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 85.
[173] Zorn and Farthing, "Communitarian tourism hosts and mediators in Peru," 683.
[174] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 131.
[175] Meaning, a secondary destination rather than one in its own right; for example, Taquile is a derivative destination of Machu Picchu or the Inca Trail.
[176] Ypeij and Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," 120.

Peruvian government has been more than willing to take advantage of Taquile's success, exploiting their image for the sake of tourism promotion in the region, they have also done little to help the community regain or maintain its control over the island's tourism business in the face of outside competition.[177]

While the Community Law of Peru supported and authorized a Taquilean monopoly on transportation to the island starting in 1982, Puno agencies argued, with the backing of President Alberto Fujimori, that waterways were property of the Peruvian state. The monopoly was revoked and the government took a "non-interventionist stance" in promoting free enterprise over protection of indigenous rights.[178]/[179] To make matters more difficult, Taquileans spoke the native Quechua language while government representatives, laws and regulations were in Spanish. Islanders often appealed to and relied on NGOs, the Catholic Church or even individuals who visited the island like Zorn and Healy to help them sort out the laws and fight outside agencies.[180]

Realizing they were quickly losing the transportation battle, and ultimately control of the tourism business, Taquile sent delegations to meet with various Peruvian agencies in 2000 and again in 2002 asking for assistance and an investigation into the ongoing issues. It was of little use; though the government agencies recognized that various changes were detracting from the "Taquile experience," and promised compensation and increased control, the outsiders were more concerned with undoing any elements of modernization on the island than assisting the islanders.[181] While Taquileans have received some help

[177] Zorn, "From Political Prison to Tourist Village: Tourism, Gender, Indigeneity, and the Nation in Taquile Island, Peru," 157.
[178] Ypeij and Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," 123.
[179] The required $.50 docking fee that was required was also rarely enforced by Puno Port Authority.
[180] Zorn and Farthing, "Communitarian tourism hosts and mediators in Peru," 681.
[181] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 134, 47-50.

through initiatives with various NGOs, few have been successful long-term due to difficulties in working with local authorities that only hold office for one year terms and elected officials who serve longer.[182]

Looking Forward: The Current Status

What has been discussed thus far roughly covers a period from 1970 to 2005, but Taquile continues to struggle with controlling tourism on the island and the demands of providing an image of authenticity in their forever changed world. While the general prosperity and newly acquired wealth that accompanies tourism has brought about social and cultural transformation it has also brought many benefits in terms of health and quality of life.[183] Therefore, it is necessary to examine the current status of life ways, social order and the tourism industry in Taquile over three decades after its introduction.

A study by Ross E. Mitchell noted several impacts of tourism on Taquile which most notably included increased consumerism, individualism and modernization, all of which are tied in some way to increased wealth.[184] Though as a whole, they continue to "distance themselves from the modern world," there is also an understandable need to relieve some of the daily hardships of life.[185] Tourism income has allowed for improvements to infrastructure, including new roads and buildings and more stable housing, but electricity, running water and sanitation remain limited.[186] They have been able to intensify agricultural production through the use of pesticides and fertilizers, but also have a safety

[182] Zorn and Farthing, "Communitarian tourism hosts and mediators in Peru," 683.
[183] Zorn, "From Political Prison to Tourist Village: Tourism, Gender, Indigeneity, and the Nation in Taquile Island, Peru," 156-8.
[184] McCool and Moisey, *Tourism, recreation, and sustainability : linking culture and the environment*: 173.
[185] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 11.
Goh Hwa, "The Islands of Titicaca: Portraits of Inca Descendants," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 83, no. 4 (2007): 190.
[186] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 137.

net in tourism revenue in the event of crop loss.[187] While televisions, computers and even mail service are still absent, some islanders now have cell phones.[188] But perhaps one of the most interesting changes has been the introduction of Spanish on the island, with many now fluent (particularly children), in addition to the native Quechua.[189]

While the physical and cultural changes described above are no doubt important to the strong concern over "authentic traditional life ways," arguably of greater significance to the continued success of community-based tourism on the island is the interaction amongst the community members themselves. Though certain elements, such as the cooperatives and the need to band together against outside competition has reinforced the communal spirit, in other ways economic opportunity has resulted in increased social stratification, undermining the tradition.[190] Unity can be quickly lost as inequitable distribution of economic benefits supports greater individualism. One example of this would be the decreased attendance of community assemblies or service in volunteer work groups by those who place running a tourism-oriented business ahead of community activities.[191] Still, many are quick to point out that Taquile has been fortunate in the ways tourism actually reinforces traditional values and encourages a stronger sense of identity. This is probably most evident in the thriving textile production, and the listing by UNESCO has only served to further instill local pride in Taquilean craftsmanship.[192]

One other important societal development has been the transformation of gender relations. While Taquile could be considered relatively democratic to begin with, especially

[187] Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 88.
[188] Hwa, "The Islands of Titicaca: Portraits of Inca Descendants," 190.
[189] Zorn and Farthing, "Communitarian tourism hosts and mediators in Peru," 684.
[190] Healy, "Taquile's Homespun Tourism," 89.
[191] Zorn, *Weaving a Future: Tourism, Cloth, and Culture on an Andean Island*: 142.
[192] Ypeij and Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," 125.
Zorn and Farthing, "Communitarian tourism hosts and mediators in Peru," 683.

in comparison to other peoples throughout the developing world, increased prosperity has resulted in greater education and participation in community affairs for women. Greater legitimacy and equality in power, when self-initiated, can only add to the success of a participatory planning approach.[193]

In terms of tourism, competition with other islands and Puno-based tourism agencies remains hostile. Guides have even begun to make degrading remarks about Taquileans and their weavings, encouraging tourists to shop and stay at other islands like Amantani instead of Taquile.[194]/[195] Decreased overnight tourists and an overproduction of textiles has limited the profitably of various enterprises, with restaurants being the most successful. Additionally, government regulations continually require larger, more expensive boats to carry tourists across the lake, which are often cost prohibitive for Taquileans. Most recently, Taquile has begun to reach out to more international alternative or ecotourism companies to coordinate agreements for prearranged groups, in hopes of developing a more sustainable approach that returns a greater portion of profits to the community.[196] In 2006, a Danish NGO began assisting Taquile with the development of new tourism plans to include a travel agency, ticket kiosk, website and better training for local guides (Figure 11).[197]

[193] Zorn, "From Political Prison to Tourist Village: Tourism, Gender, Indigeneity, and the Nation in Taquile Island, Peru," 156,77.
[194] It should also be noted that the level and type of tourism more recently has resulted in various negative impacts such as theft, drunkenness and other immoral elements (by tourists), which did not previously exist among the native population (34:90).
[195] Ypeij and Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," 124.
[196] Zorn and Farthing, "Communitarian tourism hosts and mediators in Peru," 684.
[197] Ypeij and Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," 125.

Figure 11: Taquilean-operated Ticket Kiosk in Puno.
Source: Kingsmill, Geoff. "South America Overland." http://dreamers1.com/americas/SouthAmerica/Newsletter8.Copacabana_to_Villa_General_Belgrano/Peru_Puno_3.JPG

PART II: PLANNING LESSONS FROM TAQUILE

Sustainable tourism development continues to have a growing association with the need for local community involvement. However, by and large, this conclusion is often framed in such a way as to assume external initiation by planners and government institutions of a formal planning process in which "the local population is passively waiting [for…] outsiders [to] present their plans." Taquile is a clear break with this line of

reasoning; not only because tourism development was initiated from within the community, but because they continue to endeavor to plan, manage and control that tourism rather than blindly participate.[198] In fact, tourism planning in Taquile has always been characterized by an informal, unstructured, yet participatory process, which was not conceived through a physical plan, but instead developed out of public discussion and a tourism "dialogue."[199] Despite the common misconception that such indigenous or developing peoples lack the education or know-how to spur community-based tourism on their own, the people of Taquile have been described as "full agents, knowledgeable, informed and capable of making decisions about the directions of the economic development on their island."[200]

As a model of such development, Taquile was part of a study which proposed a framework for community integration with the goal to "help guide planning, development, management, research, and evaluation of community-based tourism projects."[201] That framework suggested that successful community integration in the tourism development process hinged on three parameters: community awareness, community unity, and local and external power/control relationships. Mitchell and Ried hypothesized that "a community characterized as highly integrated in tourism decision-making would experience greater socioeconomic benefits over another community distinguished by a low level of integration."[202] They ultimately determined that residents of Taquile were "directly and highly involved in the tourism planning and management process," which

[198] Ibid., 119.
[199] Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 123-4.
[200] Ypeij and Zorn, "Taquile: A Peruvian Tourist Island Struggling for Control," 125.
[201] Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 113.
[202] Mitchell and Eagles, "An integrative approach to tourism: lessons from the Andes of Peru," 5-6.

characterizes strong integration.[203] While the complete results of their study will not be recited here, the framework provides a good foundation for a discussion of some of the keys to positive community-integrated planning; however, unlike their study, which emphasized an end goal of socioeconomic benefits, this analysis aims to focus on the cultural sustainability objective.

Based on the review of Taquile over time, the following are some of the internal and external factors which appear to have dictated, not only the success of community-based tourism planning in relation to Taquile, but also its effect on the preservation of Taquilean culture (Table 2).

Table 2: Elements of Successful Tourism Planning and Cultural Sustainability in Taquile

Community Awareness & Unity	• Buy in by the entire community • Shared values, goals and benefits • Continuation of traditional communal lifestyle
Degree of Participation	• Service administration • Decision-making • Equity/influence
Degree of Control	• Land • Businesses • Transportation • Cultural narrative
Decision-making Process	• Traditional • Democratic • Operational and Value-based • Long-term
Government Intervention	• Predominantly absent • Concern with authenticity over competition

[203] Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 115.

Internal and External Catalysts	• Serve as advocates, initiators • Encourage recognition of cultural value
Market Characteristics	• Largely determines level of tourism, type of product

Community Awareness & Unity

This is perhaps one of the most important elements to initiation and continued longevity of tourism and active planning. It implies the buy in of the entire community in order to recognize the shared values, goals and possible benefits of tourism. In many places these elements may have to be introduced, but in Taquile, this unity has been in place throughout its history; from gaining ownership of their land, to managing day-to-day life, to holding off the competition as tourism developed throughout the region. When positive results and benefits are achieved as a result of community unity, it ensures its continuation as a traditional part of Taquilean culture.

Degree of Participation

Studies like that by Mitchell and Reid suggest successful planning often results from a high level of community participation, particularly in terms of service administration, decision-making and the equity and influence of that participation. It becomes clear that when elements of participation decline, such as decreased attendance at community meetings or involvement in textile manufacture, fewer people have a stake in the protection and continuation of certain cultural elements.

Degree of Control

The influence of community-based planning is clearly tied to the degree of control over the features to be planned. This is another key factor for Taquile because history has shown that when the islanders were able to control their land, businesses, and transportation to the island, they were better able to plan and mitigate the negative effects of tourism. Not only is control important in minimizing the need to keep up with the competition through undesirable alterations, but it is also an essential part of determining their own cultural narrative and how that will be presented to visitors.

Decision-making Process

Almost any community will have a traditional decision-making process, which may or may not be democratic. In the case of Taquile, there seems to be evidence that continuation of traditional, even informal, processes result in greater longevity in terms of their ability to plan and gain community-wide support. Furthermore, the planning process is more culturally sensitive when planning takes into account operational as well as value-based concerns.

Government Intervention

It is likely impossible for any host community to initiate and sustain tourism without some form of government intervention, whether positive or negative. For Taquile, a lack of government intervention at first allowed for greater control and determination of what was best for the community. However, a similar lack of intervention became problematic when help was needed to deal with competing travel agencies. Additionally, government intervention can result in the introduction of national tourism goals that

override local objectives, such as the attempt to revert certain aspects of modernization for the sake of "authenticity."

Internal and External Catalysts

Perhaps more influential than government intervention is the role of internal and external catalysts such as NGOs and individuals like Kevin Healy. Catalysts can serve as advocates or facilitators, encouraging community awareness of the value of culture and helping to initiate various aspects of the tourism enterprise.

Market Characteristics

Market characteristics play a major role in tourism planning and development by helping to determine the kind of tourism to promote or attract and the "product" that will be sold. Over time, market characteristics have transformed the tourism of Taquile from backpackers, to mass day tourism, and now to a greater concern for more sustainable, alternative tourism. They have also had a strong impact on the production of textiles, its importance to visitors being tied to its importance to Taquileans. While there are many elements of the tourism market that are outside of a community's control, participatory planning helps determine how to deal with those elements and their effects.

While the factors discussed in the table are certainly applicable to the planning and development of other tourism destinations throughout the developing world, it is also important to note those characteristics that are unique to Taquile and clearly tied to its success. Some of those include the isolation and control associated with being an island, the direct ownership of all the land on the island, the strong tradition of communal action and decision-making, and the presence of a rare or noteworthy craft tradition. Rarely will such

circumstances all occur in one place. In fact, such a situation is not even replicated elsewhere in Lake Titicaca. [204]

Conclusion

It would be difficult to fully analyze every factor that has gone into and influenced the success of planning and tourism in Taquile without greater primary source research. Studies such as this one cannot tell the full story; rather long term, multi-decade analysis involving repeated visits that consider initial development and changing circumstances and conditions over time is necessary. Unfortunately, this is quite rare given that only a few community-based tourism initiatives have managed to succeed as long as Taquile, making research into success factors difficult to carry out. [205] Still, a single destination can provide important lessons for other host communities, not only in how to plan for tourism and cultural preservation, but also by highlighting where the breakdown in such an approach is most likely to occur. While the question of influence of a participatory planning approach and tourism on cultural sustainability on Taquile is undoubtedly up for debate, there is reason to believe that despite the decline in control over the industry and its benefits, the elements of strong community integration and participatory decision-making have led to better preservation of certain cultural components than might otherwise be expected. For better or worse, modernization and change occur over time, and it is difficult to ascertain how much of that transformation is attributable entirely to tourism. However, the continuation of traditional textile production and use, the limitations on modern

[204] Ypeij and Zorn note that Taquile's closest neighbor, Amantani, supports the importance of such differences, but in fact has fallen farthest behind in terms of tourism due to "less egalitarian" community participation. (47:122-3).
[205] Zorn and Farthing, "Communitarian tourism hosts and mediators in Peru," 674.

infrastructure such as electricity and sewer, persistence of communal management of daily tasks and decision-making, and even the reinforcement of cultural pride through tourism suggests that a substantial amount of cultural preservation has occurred. Mitchell and Ried summed up such a possibility well when they suggested,

> *In ethnic communities such as Taquile Island with unique traditional cultures, it is important for the residents to be active participants and beneficiaries of the industry, not simply cultural curiosities put on display by outside agents. Perhaps if residents of destination communities were more thoroughly integrated in tourism planning and management on a relatively equitable basis, they would also be more inclined to protect the natural and cultural resources that sustain their livelihood.*[206]

This concept will be explored further in the following chapter in the proposal of a more specific approach to the role of participatory tourism planning in the sustainability of host culture.

Figure 12: Flute Player on Taquile.
Source: Hwa, Goh. "The Islands of Titicaca: Portraits of Inca Descendants." *Virginia Quarterly Review* 83, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 188.

[206] Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 137.

6

A Community-Integrated Participatory Planning Approach

The case study of Taquile presents just one example of the potential for development that exhibits a strong degree of community participation and integration in the planning, implementation and management of tourism, but it can by no means serve as a perfect model. In fact, it appears as though so few communities have utilized a participatory approach that it is difficult to say with great certainty that participatory planning always leads to success in terms of economic benefits, sustainability, or cultural preservation. However, by studying certain aspects of those examples which do exist, it is hypothesized that *incorporation of a participatory planning approach in the tourism development process has the best potential to promote cultural sustainability when it takes place within or coincides with the process of community integration.* While many scholars have examined and studied the process of community-integrated planning, particularly the need for capacity building, few have gone on to fully elaborate how such a process is carried out or how it can be manipulated to achieve certain benefits such as a cultural sustainability.[207] This chapter will seek to provide such a framework, exposing the key differences between conventional tourism planning in developing countries and the suggested alternative process of Community-Integrated Participatory Planning (CIPP). The CIPP process will then be illustrated to show the primary steps, secondary elements, barriers to success and opportunities for cultural enhancement.

[207] Tosun, "Stages in the emergence of a participatory tourism development approach in the Developing World," 334.

Conventional Planning vs Community Integrated Planning

As was briefly described in Chapters Two and Three, conventional planning in developing countries is increasingly dissimilar from that of more affluent nations, particularly in terms of stakeholder or community involvement. Planning in the developing world is generally characterized as top-down, centralized, yet lacking in coordination with other government agencies. Additionally, tourism planning often exhibits a singular focus on the development of physical infrastructure and attractions, failing to address the important political, economic or sociocultural issues to which such planning is intrinsically tied. Though often described as "strategic planning,"

> *…a means of guiding resource allocation to enhance long term organizational performance [which…] implies a formal, goal-oriented process driven by consideration of multiple situational influences, critical stakeholder values and attitudes, and the long term impact of decisions,*[208]

in reality such planning is associated with numerous flaws, including an over reliance "in the ability of a comprehensive physical 'masterplan' to solve all urban problems."[209]

In a discussion of tourism planning near several World Heritage Sites in Indonesia, Dallen Timothy explores the established roles of the various sectors, noting that the government is responsible for proposing, initiating and managing tourism development, while the private sector is expected to fund or invest in the development, and the locals are simply there to "create a pleasant atmosphere for tourists." (Figure 13)[210]

[208] Landorf, "Managing for sustainable tourism: a review of six cultural World Heritage Sites," 55.
[209] R. Marks, "Conservation and community: the contradictions and ambiguities of tourism in the Stone Town of Zanzibar," *Habitat International* 20, no. 2 (1996): 268.
[210] Timothy, "Participatory planning. A view of tourism in Indonesia," 380.

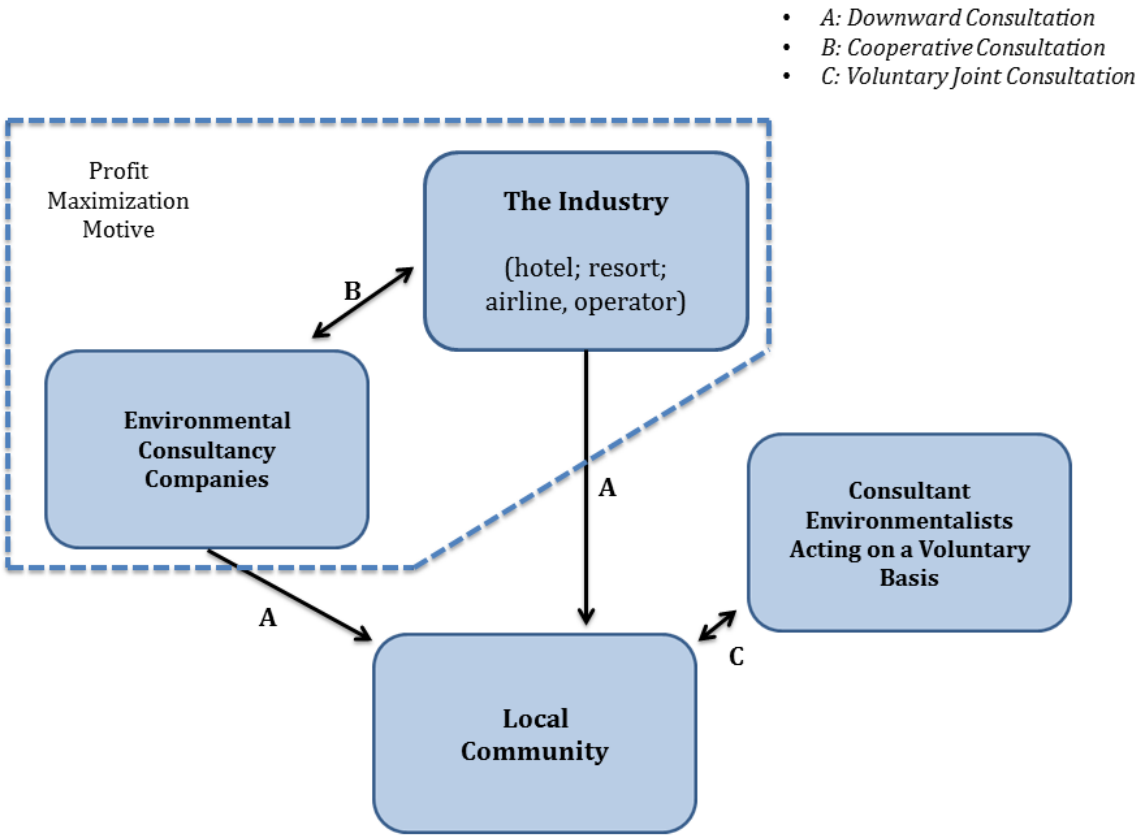

Figure 13: Conventional Forms of Consultation amongst Stakeholders.
Source: Adapted from Mowforth and Munt, *Tourism and Sustainability: New Tourism in the Third World*: 213.

Such an understanding of how the planning process is carried out is not uncommon and provides a clear link to the disenfranchisment of local people and a disconnection from their culture. Despite the presence of operational guidelines developed by UNESCO for the management of World Heritage Sites in particular, but which could undoubtedly serve a greater role in international tourism planning expertise, little guidance is provided to give

practical application to such concepts of "planning, implementing, monitoring, evaluating and feedback."[211]

Though certain aspects of conventional planning have their merits, the notion that tourism industry representatives and national governments should serve as the predominant drivers of planning and decision-making is not conducive to sustainability, cultural or otherwise. Rather, envisioning a development model that grows out of more "bottom-up" processes and emphasizes a strong level of involvement by local people is the new frontier in tourism planning.[212] Though "community-based tourism" (CBT) as a term is something of a misnomer, implying a type of tourism rather than the management approach it is, its possibilities as an alternative to the more common service administration dominated by outsiders is gaining ground. The Thailand Research Fund, a network which promotes tourism research, defines CBT as

> *…management by the community on the foundation that local people own and have a stake in the natural resources in their community[…and] makes use of existing resources - be it historical heritage, cultural traditions, natural resources - in tourism management with regard to carrying capacity. The approach also calls for the capacity building of local people to enable them to plan, implement and make decisions and to contribute to community development and sustainable development.*[213]

Community integration refers specifically to the initial steps of CBT, and implies not simply encouraging community participation in a planner or outsider-directed process, but rather instilling the drive and capacity for the community to actually direct and maintain that process themselves. To successfully reach long term sustainability goals requires the

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[211] Landorf, "Managing for sustainable tourism: a review of six cultural World Heritage Sites," 58.
[212] Mitchell and Reid, "Community integration: Island tourism in Peru," 114.
Hampton, "Heritage, local communities and economic development," 740.
[213] Choibamroong, "A stakeholder approach for sustainable community-based rural tourism development in Thailand," 175-6.

involvement of the community in every stage of the planning process, along with awareness and education of how to best do so. By incorporating community integration with tourism planning, individual and community attitudes and perceptions can be enhanced and lead to development that is more consistent with broader community values and ideals, more likely resulting in "cultural vitality" and sustainability.[214]

Various studies (including this one) have attempted to identify the primary factors or criteria that lead to successful CBT, including:[215]

- *CBT should practically involve the broad community*- This necessarily differs from place to place, based on traditional decision-making systems, but ideally means a high number of participants from all genders/economic classes as possible, taking part not just in the provision of tourism service, but in its planning as well. Tourism initiatives which have limited participation by the community are more likely to fail when problems arise. As an example, a community-based tourism program in Plai Pong Pang, Thailand was initiated by a local leader but had limited community involvement, including involvement by political coercion. Those in control encouraged modification to homes and promoted excursions that disrupted traditional agricultural practices, ultimately leading to conflict and interference by opposing villagers.[216]
- *Benefits gained from CBT should be distributed equally throughout the destination community*- Problems arise when tourism produces an increased economic

[214] D. Hainsworth, "Sustainable cultural tourism development and local communities country presentation: the case of Kazan Hamlet, Thua Then Hua Province, Vietnam," in *International conference on "cultural tourism and local communities", Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 8-10 February, 2006.* (Madrid; Spain: World Tourism Organization (WTO), 2006), 73.
[215] Rocharungsat, "Community-based Tourism in Asia," 65-6.
[216] Choibamroong, "A stakeholder approach for sustainable community-based rural tourism development in Thailand," 178.

disparity as a result of limited numbers participating in tourism services and even fewer receiving adequate benefits. Successful CBT is an outcome of broad involvement that often results from broad distribution of benefits that make it worthwhile. The small fishing village of Koh Yao Noi initiated ecotourism within their community as a way of protecting endangered fisheries and promoting conservation of the fishing tradition. They also determined that ten percent of the tourism profits would go towards a community development fund as a way of providing benefits to those not directly involved in the tourism businesses.[217]

- *Good and careful management of tourism is significant*- Tourism can not simply be planned once, it must involve continuous management and alteration, which is done well when communities are educated on the costs and benefits of tourism development beforehand. The village of Mae Kam Pong, also in Thailand, spent two years researching and educating the community, building capacity and organizing a pilot program before it was ready to be fully operational.[218]
- *CBT should have strong partnerships and support from within and outside the community*- Few communities have the resources to successfully develop tourism in a bubble. Rather, stakeholders within the community must work together to identify and utilize local resources while also building partnerships with local governments and NGOs to assist in other areas. *The Project for Recovery of Life and Culture* is part of a network of community development organizations in Thailand helping multiple villages develop community-based tourism, in part by learning from each other.[219]

[217] Ibid., 176.
[218] Ibid., 177.
[219] Ibid.

- *Uniqueness of place should be considered to sustain the destination*- Community-based tourism will not be successful if there is no reason for tourists to visit one place over another. Natural and cultural resources can be a good jumping off point for developing a tourism product or experience that highlights the community's unique qualities. Taquile recognizes that not only are its textiles unique, but valuable to those outside the community. As a result, they recognize the continuation of the practice is important to the sustainability of their culture and their tourism enterprise.
- *Environmental conservation should not be neglected*- Like cultural preservation, environmental conservation plays a major role in the sustainability of a tourism enterprise. Without it, communities risk not only depleting the area of resources that make tourism possible, but that also make life viable for locals as well. Water resources in particular can be highly important to the operation of local agricultural practices, but may be easily exhausted by large numbers of western tourists without proactive steps to control usage.

It must also be understood that every potential tourism host community has unique characteristics—"structure, goals and themes…growth patterns, cultural values and stages of development"—which must be taken into account. An appropriate but thorough framework should provide general guidelines, but also allow for the incorporation of distinct techniques to address individual circumstances.[220] The following chart, outlining

[220] Rocharungsat, "Community-based Tourism in Asia," 69.
Wahab and Pigram, *Tourism, development and growth : the challenge of sustainability*: 172.

the *Community Integrated Participatory Planning Approach* is a recommendation of one such framework (Figure 14).

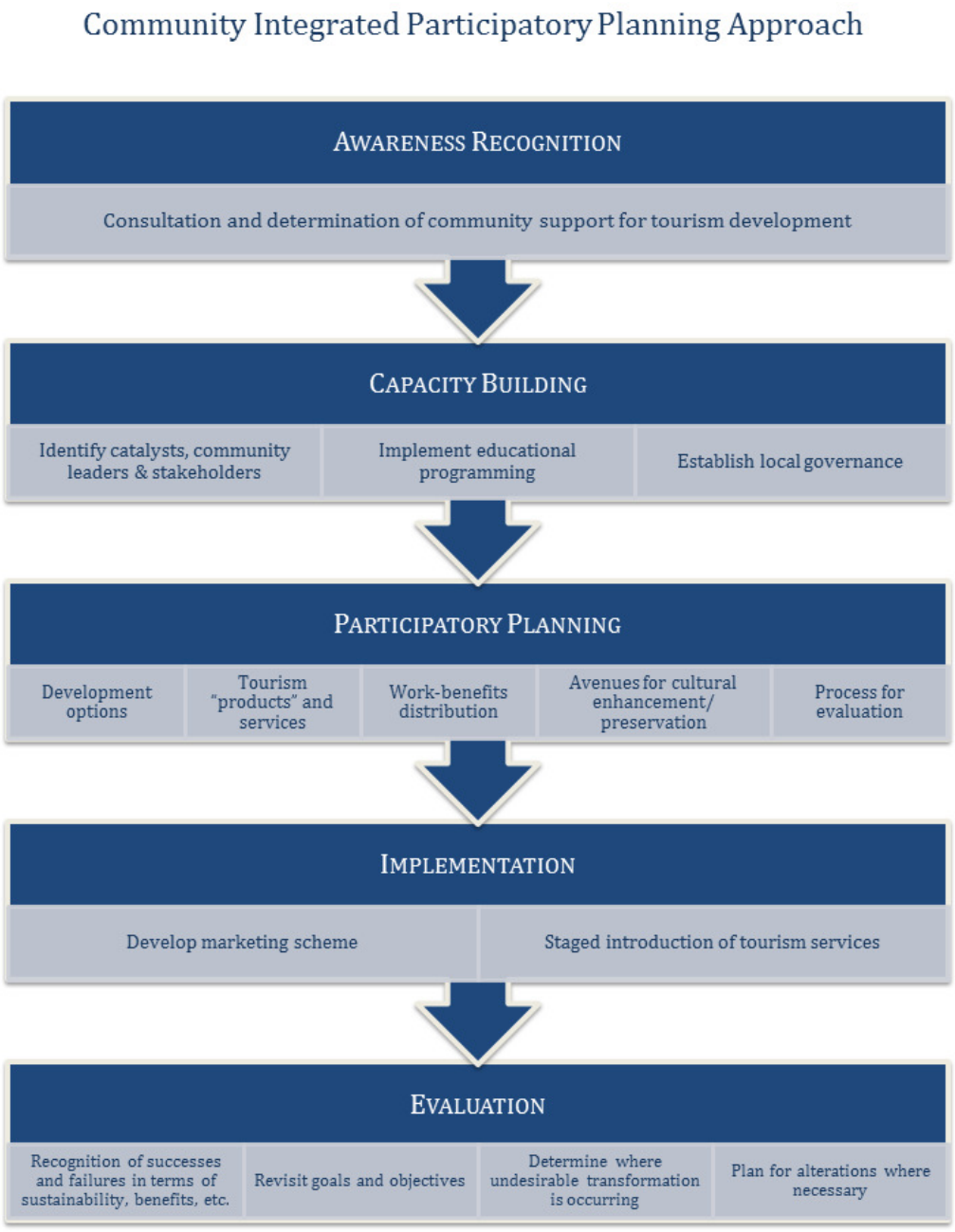

Figure 14: Community-Integrated Participatory Planning Approach.
Source: Created by author.

Figure 14 shows the general steps of the CIPP process in addition to examples of secondary components which could occur within each. The following section describes

more specifically the purpose of each stage, roadblocks that may arise, and how each step fits into a larger goal of cultural sustainability.

Awareness Recognition

This first step is fairly basic, but one of the most important in that it requires a consultation (usually with planners) or determination (by the community themselves) of the community's support or desire for pursuing tourism development. This is essential because it is highly unlikely that future development will be successful in achieveing a strong degree of community involvement or equity in control if only a few support it from the get-go. This is a step that is rarely taken in traditional tourism development where a developer may purchase land or make a deal with the national government and then proceed in their best interest rather than that of the local community.

One study regarding CBT noted the importance of allowing members of the community, rather than outsiders, to initially direct the focus towards tourism development.[221] This points to the need to place as much control and influence with community members from the beginning, allowing tourism to be a self-realized goal, rather than an idea recommended by planners. Though it is generally best if the *Awareness Recognition* stage is initiated within the community, it is also possible that outside catalysts, such as Kevin Healy in Taquile, can help initiate ideas of community development without directing it. In Taquile, Healy helped to draw awareness to the value of their textiles and assisted with developing a market where they could be sold, but he did not push for the initiation of tourism. Rather, the community determined later on to more fully pursue a potential tourism enterprise after backpackers were already showing up. Clearly,

[221] Rocharungsat, "Community-based Tourism in Asia," 67.

if there is not community-wide support at this stage to pursue development further, it is best that tourism be abandoned or revisited at a later time.

Potential Roadblock: It is very difficult to gain consensus or 100% willingness to participate in any kind of initiative, and even more so in cultures (common to the developing world) which exhibit reluctance to openly express opinions. Cultivating a thorough understanding that *everyone* will be affected should development move forward may be the best way to encourage buy in and adequate participation from the majority of the community.

Capacity Building

If strong support for tourism or community development is present, then the second stage, essential to host communities in developing countries, is *Capacity Building*. Capacity building is not about training individuals to work in the tourism industry, but rather empowering them to engage in planning and decision-making as a community.[222] Specifically, this is the stage at which community integration occurs by bringing together all citizens and building their capacity to control and manage tourism in a unified way, understanding the importance of community participation, rather than acting as individuals.[223] In many cases, residents have little to no understanding of the intricacies of the tourism industry and how it will affect them. This stage addresses that lack of knowledge before development is pursued. Self-reliance is key, establishing a base for tourism to occur that is better able to handle or mitigate negative impacts.

[222] Moscardo, "Community Capacity Building: an Emerging Challenge for Tourism Development," 8. Dahles and Keune, *Tourism development and local participation in Latin America*: 159.
[223] Pongponrat, "Participatory management process in local tourism development: a case study on fisherman village on Samui Island, Thailand," 71.

The capacity building stage has three important sub-parts: identifying catalysts, community leaders, and stakeholders; implementation of educational programming; and establishing a form of local planning governance.

- *Catalysts, community leaders and stakeholders:* These people play an important role in unifying the community throughout the tourism process and serving as an organizer or mediator with outside stakeholders. It is important to identify someone who can lead and serve as a trustworthy advocate of community values. These people should self-identify and in many cases will already serve in this capacity. One case study out of Thailand also found that foreigners living within the community may be active leaders as a result of previous familiarity with notions of tourism and community participation.[224]

- *Educational Programming:* It will likely be necessary to take steps to educate the community and increase understanding of concepts such as tourism impacts, costs and benefits, working within a communal organization/structure, and appropriate planning techniques. This is also a good opportunity to begin establishing community goals, objectives and values, and identifying existing and needed tourism resources. Seminars, discussion sessions, and even "exchange visits" to observe other communities involved in tourism are all ways in which educational programming can occur.[225] This step also

[224] P. Phayakvichien, "Grassroots cultural tourism in Thailand," in *Cultural tourism and poverty alleviation: the Asia-Pacific perspective. World Tourism Organization Seminar Proceedings, Siem Reap, Cambodia, 8 June 2004 and Hue, Vietnam, 11-12 June, 2004* (Madrid; Spain: World Tourism Organization (WTO), 2005), 90. Pongponrat, "Participatory management process in local tourism development: a case study on fisherman village on Samui Island, Thailand," 70.
[225] Hainsworth, "Sustainable cultural tourism development and local communities country presentation: the case of Kazan Hamlet, Thua Then Hua Province, Vietnam," 77.

provides the basis for beginning to consider how tourism will affect local culture and how the community will handle the impact.

- *Local Planning Governance:* One element of community-integrated participatory planning is establishing an alternative decision-making and administration framework to traditional government planners, NGOs and outsider industry representatives. Though these groups may play a role in the tourism process, they should not be the primary guiders of it. Rather, communities may need to establish their own form of governance which allows for incorporation of traditional forms of decision-making and high community involvement. Research suggests that sustainability and success of tourism development is greater when existing community structure is strengthened rather than altered to fit developed world notions of democracy. For example, a community-based ecotourism initiative at the Bouma National Heritage Park in Fiji was close to self-destruction thanks to the introduction of western entrepreneurial management by a development agency, which directly competed with traditional values and decision-making systems.[226] While in some cases, such as Taquile, strong, consensual organization may already be present, other communities may find it useful to clarify their decision-making strategy and/or establish some sort of community tourism management board.[227]

Potential Roadblock: Problems often arise when outside professionals do not adequately understand the role of established power imbalances and local elites in the planning

[226] T. A. Farrelly, "Indigenous and democratic decision-making: issues from community-based ecotourism in the Bouma National Heritage Park, Fiji," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 19, no. 7 (2011): 820.
[227] Hainsworth, "Sustainable cultural tourism development and local communities country presentation: the case of Kazan Hamlet, Thua Then Hua Province, Vietnam," 79.

process. While it is often best to support local/traditional governance and decision-making, attempts to recognize and understand social dynamics may prevent exacerbating existing inequalities through tourism development.[228]

Participatory Planning

The way in which communities carry out the primary stage of participatory planning, and the issues that are addressed, are what make the CIPP approach stand apart and serve as a useful tool for promoting cultural sustainability. This part of the process involves complex levels of decision-making and addresses many issues, which will necessarily vary from place to place; although, research into success factors for community-based tourism suggest certain aspects should be universal. How decisions and plans are made will also depend on the pre-established governance system and may range from a formal, committee-oriented style to more informal community meetings.[229] Among other place-specific objectives, the planning phase should seek to:

- *Establish specific short term and long term goals*: In developing countries and communities that tend to be more impoverished it is often difficult to see past the short term economic benefits of tourism. Yet, the entire community should take part in establishing both short and long term goals and objectives both for the community and tourism, in terms of economics, the environment and cultural sustainability. Without goals, it is difficult to evaluate successes, failures and impacts. For example, the hamlet of Kazan in Thua Thien Hue, Vietnam, as part of their community-based tourism initiative, identified development objectives such as “expanding local economic

[228] Landorf, "Managing for sustainable tourism: a review of six cultural World Heritage Sites," 56.
[229] Farrelly, "Indigenous and democratic decision-making: issues from community-based ecotourism in the Bouma National Heritage Park, Fiji," 824.

opportunities, revitalizing threatened cultures, increasing awareness of sustainability issues [...and] improving local governance."[230]

Potential Roadblock: In communities which do not have a tradition of strong, consensual decision-making there may be a tendency to focus goals in ways that result in short-term, personal economic gain, rather than long-term communal benefit.[231]

- *Determine a range of possible development options:* By taking into account the goals, values, and resources explored during the capacity building stage the community can then start to determine what kind of tourism development is best suited for them. This may include leisure, eco- or heritage tourism, and should also take into account carrying capacity in terms of visitor numbers.

- *Identify potential tourism "products":* Once the form of tourism is determined, the community can then begin to decide what products and services they have the ability to offer, which ideally revolves around products and services they can control. These may include restaurants, homestay programs, nature-based excursions or heritage and craft-based displays such as markets and festivals.

- *Distribute service management/administration duties*: If tourism is to be truly community-based, then decisions must be made about who will do what, and how everyone can be involved. A high level of involvement is also important in terms of shared benefits.

[230] Hainsworth, "Sustainable cultural tourism development and local communities country presentation: the case of Kazan Hamlet, Thua Then Hua Province, Vietnam," 76.
[231] Rocharungsat, "Community-based Tourism in Asia," 64.

- *Develop a system for equitable division of revenue/benefits*: Sudden increased economic profits from tourism development provide many benefits, but can also serve to increase or jumpstart socio-economic disparities among community members.[232] Determining how involvement translates to economic benefits before they arrive is the best way to ensure an equitable division of revenue, which encourages continued, widespread involvement in the industry and its success.[233] In one initiative, a certain percentage of profits from tourism automatically went to the most needy of the community.

- *Provide for evaluation techniques*: In any planning process there should be a point in which those involved evaluate the successes and failures of the plan, take into account unexpected roadblocks and make changes where necessary. Setting a schedule for such an evaluation during the planning stage is a good idea and can connect to specific goals on a timeline. Evaluation could informally occur through weekly community meetings, like in Taquile, but should probably also take place less often through a more formal participatory appraisal.

- *Identify or establish opportunities for cultural enhancement and preservation*: There are numerous ways this can occur; in some cases tourism itself is seen as an opportunity to renew awareness or preservation of certain cultural elements and may be pursued for that reason. On the other hand, there may be less interest in utilizing

[232] Hainsworth, "Sustainable cultural tourism development and local communities country presentation: the case of Kazan Hamlet, Thua Then Hua Province, Vietnam," 74.
[233] Pongponrat, "Participatory management process in local tourism development: a case study on fisherman village on Samui Island, Thailand," 72.

culture as a tourism product, but still a desire to preserve it in the process. Certain elements of the CIPP approach serve to reinforce local culture, such as the continuation of traditional structures and decision-making systems and the possibility of emphasizing certain rituals or folkways as tourism products, but there are other ways communities can place an emphasis on and plan for cultural sustainability:

- Determining which cultural elements can contribute as a "cultural resource" for the sake of tourism, and which elements should remain sacred practices of the community.[234]

- Establishing price guidelines and standards for authenticity of cultural resources (such as quality of weaving and textile manufacture in Taquile).

- Providing protection or incentives for architectural conservation.[235]

- Maintaining traditional life ways, such as agriculture, as an alternative to tourism.

Potential Roadblock: In many areas it may be problematic in terms of time restraints to expect that citizens can continue to carry out traditional tasks and businesses in addition to actively participating in aspects of tourism planning or development. However, continuation of alternative life ways is essential not only in terms of cultural sustainability, but as a way of maintaining diversified income streams to counterbalance periodic declines

[234] Hainsworth, "Sustainable cultural tourism development and local communities country presentation: the case of Kazan Hamlet, Thua Then Hua Province, Vietnam," 74.
[235] Bao and Sun, "The impact of tourism development on the preservation of traditional minority culture - a case study from Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, China," 68.

in tourism business.[236] With agriculture making up such a prominent part of Taquilean life, for example, major changes in the balance of time spent maintaining tourism instead could result in the need to import food.

- Establishing instruction for community members (particularly younger generations) by community members to revive and maintain knowledge of cultural practices, such as song, dance and crafts.[237]

Such steps not only help reinforce the importance of local culture, but help to mitigate impacts from tourism before they take place.

Implementation

Once adequate planning as been carried out the community can then begin to market and implement their tourism services. Depending on certain settings, such as isolation and income, marketing can be difficult, particularly when there is a significant level of competition with other nearby destinations. As was observed in Taquile, lack of internet or a tourism agency outpost made it difficult to attract tourists to the services specifically controlled or owned by Taquileans. This is one scenario where developing partnerships with like-minded tourism companies can be beneficial in helping to get the word out and facilitating tourist arrivals.

It is unlikely that many communities will have the resources to fully develop all their services and attractions before business takes off. Rather, implementation is best

[236] Pongponrat, "Participatory management process in local tourism development: a case study on fisherman village on Samui Island, Thailand," 71.
[237] Hainsworth, "Sustainable cultural tourism development and local communities country presentation: the case of Kazan Hamlet, Thua Then Hua Province, Vietnam," 87.

carried out in stages, which has the added benefit of allowing for monitoring and adjustment as issues arise. This may mean starting out with only a few homes that can house overnight stays and increasing based on demand, or cultivating set times or agenda for tourists to visit before opening the area up to year-round visitation. The timeframe in which implementation can occur will necessarily vary from place to place based on various factors at the start of the process. Additionally, it may be difficult for communities to accurately predict how tourism numbers will affect existing infrastructure and facilities, so planned limitations on arrivals could help prevent overwhelming restricted or inadequate systems such as waste, water, sewage and electricity.

Evaluation

Though already discussed briefly in the planning stage, it is worth revisiting the concepts of monitoring and evaluation as part of the final stage of the CIPP process. While the approach is laid out here as a method of mitigating the cultural impacts of tourism, it is equally important to have a way of assessing economic and environmental aspects as well. Though it is often easy for outsiders to take note of changes or negative impacts occurring in a destination area, those familiar with local conditions are usually best able to monitor and manage the effects of tourism.[238]

Evaluation should consistently revisit goals and objectives established during the capacity building and planning stages as a means of measuring the success of tourism initiatives and overall sustainability. Evaluation should take into account unexpected consequences of tourism and determine ways to correct those areas that are lacking. In

[238] Richard Margoluis and Nick Salafsky, *Measures of success : designing, managing, and monitoring conservation and development projects* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 1998). 7.

particular, changes in visitor numbers will likely have the greatest effect on alterations, but factors such as market variations may influence change as well.[239] When assessing tourism development, communities should consider not only the success of tourism in terms of benefits and visitor numbers, but also the success of maintaining their traditional culture, as they almost always influence one another. Failure of one or both may mean a decision to end tourism development in the area, or simply a re-visioning of how it should be carried out. In any case, changes should be determined and managed by returning to the participatory planning or even capacity building stage to maintain full community involvement in the process and investment in its success.[240]

Discussion

There is of course no way to create a framework that can seamlessly take into account every roadblock or limitation, and perhaps most difficult to account for is the role of regional and national governments, which are highly variable from country to country. Despite the ability of many small communities to maintain a moderate to high level of control over tourism development in the area, such initiatives, even in Taquile, do not occur in a vacuum. In particular, it seems the more successful community-based tourism becomes, the more likely government representatives will look to take advantage of such success either through increased taxation or encouragement of other tourism operations which actually serves to decrease control and increase competition.[241] Furthermore, many national governments maintain political-power systems that encourage feelings of

[239] Peter E. Murphy, *Tourism : a community approach* (New York: Methuen, 1985). 28.
[240] Choibamroong, "A stakeholder approach for sustainable community-based rural tourism development in Thailand," 184.
[241] Phayakvichien, "Grassroots cultural tourism in Thailand," 91.

inadequacy among citizens, particularly the lower classes, limiting expressions of disagreement with government policies and competency in local planning. This is the challenge of something like the CIPP approach-- developing community integration through capacity building in such a way as to overcome notions of powerlessness or ineptitude among host communities.

Additionally, any new framework comes with built-in conditions and limitations in an attempt to address rather specific situations instead of poorly conceived universal solutions. This requires answering questions like "What kind of communities are best suited for the CIPP approach?"; "What type of tourism is best suited for community-based management schemes?"; and "What is the role of planners or outside NGOs?" Obviously the best answers to these questions come after years of implementation and experience in the field, however, some suggestions are proposed here.

In terms of community settings, it appears that most examples of successful (or the most successful of those that exist) community-based tourism take place in smaller, rural villages that are more likely to be home to a singular ethnic group or indigenous community that not only share a common culture, but are more likely to work and carry out consensual decision-making for the good of their community. As one tries to apply the CIPP approach to more diverse urban areas, issues of control and participation are more difficult to manage and the notion of 'what is culture?' becomes amorphous. Beginning to apply participatory planning approaches like this one on a larger scale would likely first require changes in planning policy and assistance at the national level.

As far as the type of tourism best suited for a CIPP approach, alternatives to mass and leisure tourism, such as heritage and cultural tourism or ecotourism are ideal. This is

primarily because visitor numbers on the scale of mass tourism may be more than a single community can handle or plan for in terms of carrying capacity. Additionally, tourism products or attractions (such as with heritage tourism) should be similarly important to both the hosts and visitors, so their protection is less of a fight. Furthermore, in terms of cultural sustainability, when tourism success is tied to continuation of culture and notions of authenticity, the community is likely to take greater pride in its care and even renew interest in aspects of their culture that were formerly being lost. For example, the Dai Villages in Xishuangbanna, China have been able to successfully promote their minority culture through tourism development, recognizing the exceptional value of those elements once thought ordinary. As a result, traditional song, dance and folk art have been revived, not only as a tourism product, but in the form of cultural preservation as older community members return to educating younger members in the various crafts and customs.[242]

Another question to consider is whether CIPP will only work prior to the introduction of tourism development in an area, or whether it can be implemented after the fact. While there could always be a possibility of going through the CIPP process post-initiation of tourism activities, and then simply making changes to existing infrastructure or tourism services to fit new plans based on participatory decision-making, it may be more difficult to convince business owners to relinquish some individual control for the good of the community after the fact.

Finally, with a community-based planning and management scheme, what is the function of planners, outside professionals and NGOs? This approach definitely requires a rethinking of traditional roles. Rather than guiding or directing the planning process in a

[242] Bao and Sun, "The impact of tourism development on the preservation of traditional minority culture - a case study from Xishuangbanna, Yunnan, China," 66-7.

way that suggests outsiders know what local communities need, outside actors can best serve as facilitators of involvement and capacity building, providing the framework within which local communities plan and make decisions themselves. At this point in time it seems as though NGOs and outside consultants are more likely to have an understanding of planning consistent with the CIPP approach, though ideally future development in the field of planning within developing countries will allow for successful partnerships with national and local agencies as well. Success in tourism and cultural sustainability ultimately hinges on finding the balance between external support and local participation, working to incorporate modern life with preservation of traditional culture and life ways.[243]

Conclusion

Despite more recent changes, the community-based tourism of Taquile, along with several other initiatives mostly throughout Asia, demonstrate that community integration in planning for tourism plays a critical role in promoting cultural sustainability. The CIPP approach seeks to combine their successes and failures with a greater understanding of economic, cultural and sociopolitical characteristics unique to the developing world in order to provide a framework for future initiatives in similar settings and the flexibility to adjust to individual circumstances. While each step of the process is important, the initial phases of awareness and capacity building are what set this approach apart from the conventional planning paradigm. These steps seek, not to create a tourism destination where one did not exist previously, but to provide opportunities for community development and economic betterment while preserving the spirit and culture of place.

[243] Okech, "Socio-cultural Impacts of Tourism on World Heritage Sites: Communities' Perspective of Lamu (Kenya) and Zanzibar Islands," 350.

Overall, this approach could serve as a necessary first step in the evolution of participatory planning and tourism development in the developing world.

7

CONCLUSION

> *Tourism, as a vehicle for development in developing countries, should be an evolutionary process of change to a better future. It should create a structure that aims to create a steady and balanced rate of change. Such rate of change has to be consistent with the prevailing socioeconomic, politico-cultural, educational, organizational and environmental conditions in the destination, because development starts with people and not with the goods.*
>
> -Salah Wahab*, Tourism, Development and Growth: The Challenge of Sustainability*

Despite its numerous commonly associated negative impacts, tourism does have the potential to generate many benefits for developing countries when properly planned. In fact, many could argue its greatest impact *should* be change or the transformation of the quality of life of those closest to its development, the destination community. However, that transformation should not be ad hoc, but rather requires guidance and planning to successfully achieve economic, environmental and cultural sustainability. While current tourism planning procedure, whether it is government-initiated or consultant-assisted, largely fails to realize such goals, there are possibilities for an alternative process that takes into account values beyond financial gain.

Though it is important that planning consider all the impacts of tourism, including environmental degradation, conflict, disruptions to daily life and disillusionment, cultural sustainability appears to have received little attention thus far. Furthermore, tourism planning techniques in developing countries remain behind the times, failing to meet the

call for more sustainable development. But solutions are not easily found, in large part because of the operational, structural and cultural limitations present throughout the developing world. Though some critics have suggested that planners and consultants from more affluent countries have little to offer in terms of answers, there seems to be some necessity in taking responsibility for the role of outsiders in creating cultural conflict in the first place; as planners, developers and tourists. As tourism brings benefits to destination communities, it also invariably alters the culture and way of life of unique peoples around the world. Though the example of Taquile shows that it may be possible to halt this alteration or at least moderate and plan for it in a sustainable way, it also highlights an alternative method for doing so. Despite the long held notion that these communities are incapable of planning and directing their own futures, advances in tourism planning have revealed the benefits of tourism development that originates with the host community rather than in spite of them. With a better understanding of the unique characteristics of developing countries, planners can help facilitate the initiation and participation of communities in integrated tourism planning. Such an approach is likely to be more effective in achieving cultural sustainability, an objective which benefits the community and the preservation of global heritage as a whole.

One of the most important elements of successfully carrying out the planning, development and implementation of tourism is the understanding that every community is unique and so is the necessary approach to planning there. This makes it difficult to design a singular technique or approach to serve as a guide, but it does point to the need for further study and research into how traditional decision-making systems can influence modern planning practices. The CIPP approach as outlined here is only meant to provide a

jumping off point, an accretion of ideas on what has been effective thus far. Further research would require real-world application and continued assessment over many years.

Within the context of participatory planning, the participants should have the greatest influence on how the process is carried out, reaching the level of self-mobilization rather than token participation. This may throw into question the role of consultants and government planners, not only in the developing world, but those from more developed countries as well. Yet, Mowforth and Munt were correct in noting that not only is it unrealistic to believe outside professionals can drop in and spend a few weeks solving all the problems, but that such thinking only encourages the notion that host communities and local people are somehow incapable. The story of Taquile does a good job of busting that myth.

Taquile has no doubt served as one of the best models for community-integrated tourism planning and development. It stands apart, not just because a planning approach was successfully implemented there, but because in the continued utilization of their communal structure and management system they have made a profound argument for the importance of maintaining these unique traditional cultures. Despite the initiation of tourism development, the increase in overall wealth and better quality of life, their community has continued to produce a craft worthy of the UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage lisiting, leading to more opportunities for community development.

While tourism is not necessarily the answer for every culture in danger, it can provide resources that allow for renewal of traditions that have been lost or are dying out by reviving knowledge and pride in the production of craft and folkways. This will not happen by accident, however; rather it is through careful planning and identification of

cultural sustainability as an important objective by the community that such a transformation can occur. Without this initial step, cultural elements are more likely to become a tourism product devoid of values, meaning or interpretation.

What becomes evident through a study like this one is that regardless of the best efforts of professional planners from around the world, planning for tourism development will continue to be stunted as long as those operational, structural and cultural limitations remain common. Furthermore, participatory planning may never be a viable approach for many circumstances and destinations. However, it is often those places which have the most to lose in terms of their cultural heritage that also have the best chances of pulling together to make community-integrated tourism planning a success. As the most isolated parts of the world begin to homogenize it is of growing importance that the cultural elements which define the vast multitude of religions and ethnicities are not only recognized, but preserved.

Despite the lack of clear solutions, it is apparent that tourism development in developing countries cannot continue without planning and guidance. Such a route places many of the most fragile places on earth on the fast track to environmental degradation and cultural uniformity. Tourists can do their part to minimize impact, but ultimately the success and sustainability of the industry rests with the national governments and the ability of planners to aid in the meaningful participation and control of tourism development by those it impacts most, the local community. This study has been limited in many ways, but perhaps most problematic is the lack of good information from the viewpoint of the planner from the developing world. This is in part due to issues with translation, in that only English sources were used, but also because concerns of cultural

sustainability and community involvement are not yet on the radar of many of these places. That evolution will likely be most important to the future of tourism planning and the preservation of culture in the developing world; recognizing the necessity for host communities to have a meaningful impact on development that affects them and the opportunity to share and preserve their culture and heritage for future generations.

The field of tourism planning is vast and ever more complicated as it seeks to encourage sustainable development, mitigate environmental degradation and promote cultural preservation in a quickly globalizing, homogenizing world. There are many problems but few solutions which can resolve every issue. Rather, advances in tourism will require setting objectives and developing answers at the local level through techniques which represent the diversity of a given community. Participatory planning should not be the answer because of its common use throughout the developed world, but it could be the answer because of its allowance for individuals to have a say in tourism development, in their communities and through their cultures. If participation occurs through a process of integration, the role of planners and professionals may change, but the futures of the host community will benefit in more ways than one. The goal of cultural sustainability is not to forever halt the modernization of some for the benefit of the rest, but to provide an avenue for human development and global enrichment through the preservation of pride in one's heritage, "because development starts with the people and not with the goods."[244]

[244] Wahab and Pigram, *Tourism, development and growth : the challenge of sustainability*.

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