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**COMMUNITY INTEGRATION IN ECOTOURISM:  
A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF TWO COMMUNITIES IN PERU**

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of Graduate Studies

of

The University of Guelph

by

ROSS E. MITCHELL

In partial fulfillment of requirements

for the degree of

Master of Science

May, 1998

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **COMMUNITY INTEGRATION IN ECOTOURISM: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF TWO COMMUNITIES IN PERU**

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University of Guelph, 1998

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This thesis investigates the hypothesis that a community, characterized as highly integrated in its respective ecotourism industry, will experience greater socio-economic benefits (especially employment, income and perceptions) compared to another community with relatively low integration. Household surveys, key-informant interviews and financial aspects of selected business in both communities were collected during 1997. Significant relationships were discovered for both perceived and actual benefits pertaining to community integration in ecotourism, especially equitable decision-making and sharing of employment and income. Taquile Island had a much greater degree of ecotourism control in terms of local participation in ownership and management. However, leakages of revenues from ecotourism activities were considerably high for both destinations. It was found that three factors greatly influence the successful integration in community-based ecotourism: 1) awareness, 2) unity and 3) power. This study concludes with a practical model for future research and development in ecotourism or other forms of community-based tourism.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is the culmination of almost two and a half years of study, proposal writing, data collection, analysis, write-up and defense. However, it would never have been accomplished without the assistance and encouragement of several persons that deserve mention.

To my thesis advisors, Dr. Don Reid and Dr. Harry Cummings of the School of Rural Planning and Development at the University of Guelph, and Dr. Paul Eagles of the University of Waterloo, I will be eternally grateful for their support from proposal write-up to thesis defense leading to this final document. Peter McCaskell of Computer Support Services at the University of Guelph is graciously recognized for his SPSS technical support, even while I was overseas during 1997. My sincerest thanks also go to all staff and students of the School of Rural Planning and Development for their constant encouragement and valuable comments, as well as for providing a place to call home for the two years spent here.

The International Development Research Center in Ottawa and the Latomell Research Scholarship provided funding for this research. Both deserve my sincerest thanks for having faith in my research concept and proposal. I also owe a debt of gratitude to The Mountain Institute of Huaraz and PROMPERU, both of which provided institutional support and helped to establish necessary contacts during the data collection phase in Peru.

To the residents of both Taquile Island and Chiquian in Peru, I wish to extend my gratitude for the warm hospitality I was given during the data collection phase. In particular, I wish to offer my sincerest thanks to Pablo Huatta Cruz and Jesus Flores of Taquile Island. Both acted diligently as research assistants and interpreters, and in the process of several months were to become close friends as well. Through them, I was able to interact with the community in a way that would have otherwise been much less satisfying or productive. Through our many conversations and early morning walks around the island come rain or shine, I was able to see the community from their unique Taquileño perspective for a short but impressionable while. I also wish to thank Christian Nonis and Padre Loits of Puno who provided me with a colorful and clearer picture of what Taquile Island is really all about. Their love of the community was always evident in our conversations.

Two other persons to whom I owe a debt of gratitude for their assistance in the data collection phase, and for sharing their expedience and ideas in this study, were Ankur Tohan and Miriam Torres of The Mountain Institute in Huaraz. In Puno, Eliana Pauca will be warmly remembered for her friendship, and for lending me her computer during my stayovers in Puno.

To my family, I wish to thank you for your continuous understanding in this lengthy research process. My son Ryan was born at the first research stages in October 1995, and along with my daughter Shirae were a source of inspiration with their laughter and wonderment. They tolerated my frequent trips to the field with a maturity beyond their few short years. Lastly, I would like to thank my wife and best friend Martha. She was my principal research assistant throughout this study, traveled and worked in both communities, and was my interpreter on numerous occasions. Even more important for me, her intelligence, patience, understanding, enthusiasm and support helped keep my feet on the ground. To her, I dedicate this thesis. *Gracias, amor.*

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# **Community Integration in Ecotourism: A Comparative Case Study of Two Communities in Peru**

*We walk shoeless and naked amidst a culture, a marvelous world.*

Father Pepe Loits

## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **BACKGROUND OF RESEARCH FOCUS**

Due to the importance of three major concepts that form the basis of this research - namely *integration*, *ecotourism* and *socio-economic benefits* - it is imperative that they be introduced and defined in this section. All three concepts will be expanded upon in the Literature Review (Chapter 3).

### **Integration**

Integration is defined as follows:

*v.t.* complete (imperfect thing) by addition of parts; combine (parts) into a whole.  
*v.t. & i.* bring or come into equal membership of society, esp. without regard to race or religion. (The Concise Oxford Dictionary 1982; 521).

Thus, if integration can be considered as more than just the sum of its parts, ideally it would indicate a sense of 'completeness'. Furthermore, true community integration would necessitate more than mere participation – the concept of 'equality' must be linked to fair, democratic and meaningful decision-making.

Equitable decision-making as Freire, Arnstein, Chambers, Cernea and others have elaborated at length would involve maximum community participation, necessitating community *conscientization*, community *control* and community *action*. Taken this far, integration could be

equated with empowerment or self-reliance, or the ability of a community to 'take charge' of its development goals on an equitable basis. The theory to be advanced, then, is as follows: if a community participates to the extent of true integration in its decision-making, then it has likely reached a high level empowerment. Moreover, this empowerment process should be paralleled by an equitable sharing of benefits. In addition, the catalyst to start the climb to integration may be equated to Freire's (1970) process of *conscientization*. That is, the community becomes 'self-aware' of its condition and the various internal and external control structures and forces.

The level of local participation could conceivably be partially measured by 'placing' a given community on Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation (discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3) or some other participation typology. Given that community participation is dynamic, then if a community is consistently operative somewhere in the top three rungs on Arnstein's model, it may be considered as an integrated community. That is, it would have demonstrated a mature social, psychological and political integration that may be partially measured by its perceived and actual social and economic benefits. However, other factors may complicate this assumedly desirable outcome, including property ownership, local elite domination, government policies and economic leakages. By an examination of certain socio-economic factors appropriate to the community, it may be possible to paint a broader picture and portray the level of integration by the community in its ecotourism activities. Constraints aside, it is likely that moving higher up Arnstein's ladder could lead a community to become more integrated in public decision-making processes.

For this research, true community integration in tourism decision-making would ideally necessitate the combination of the following conditions:

- 1) A broad-based, open democratic process.
- 2) A high number of participating citizens.
- 3) A high degree of individual participation (i.e. influence) in decision-making.
- 4) An equitable and efficient process.
- 5) A high amount of local ownership in the community-based tourism sector.
- 6) A process typified by a high longevity (i.e. not a 'once-off' event).



In actuality, it is likely rare that all of these conditions could simultaneously exist for a given community. However, they are useful measures of a community's attempts for empowerment or self-reliance, hence integration. In the final analysis, such information would prove more valuable than proving whether or not true integration has been achieved.

## **Ecotourism**

Although the term is in vogue, a perfect definition of ecotourism has yet to be formulated and perhaps never will. Presently, the term is used as a catchall applied indiscriminately to almost anything linking tourism and nature, such as 'green tourism' and 'ecological tourism'. There are many interpretations of ecotourism that are often based on specific activities or destinations to distinguish it from conventional mass tourism. One popular definition was coined by Elizabeth Boo (1991) as follows:

"Ecotourism is a means to appreciate the value of natural resources outside of traditional consumptive uses and to manage them for sustainable use." (Boo 1991;54)

The problem with this and other definitions of ecotourism is that they may be so broad and ambitious in scope that they lack focus. Ecotourism has been so over-promoted as a marketing tool or panacea to economic problems of developing nations that it may lose credibility. Jaakson (1997) has critiqued the current use of ecotourism as a concept and posits that *ethics* is its very essence, but which may not necessarily imply an ethic of nature or ecology. Since its application as concept, travel experience or industry has generated so much controversy, and because it is considered appropriate for this research, ecotourism will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 3. This said, the following definition is perhaps what ecotourism *ought* to be:

Ecotourism is both an activity and a desirable outcome that allows tourists to admire and learn about the natural and/or cultural attributes of a given destination, while contributing to its conservation and providing socio-economic benefits for local communities on a relatively equitable basis. (author's definition).

## **Socio-economic Benefits**

Although socio-economic benefits tend to be linked in reality, they are often considered separately in this research to facilitate their measurement – i.e. *social benefits* and *economic benefits*. Neither is considered to have greater importance than the other – on the contrary, an equitable balance of both types of benefits would be the ideal outcome for achieving long-term sustainability of the local tourism industry. An important distinction is made throughout the data analysis and findings between *perceived* benefits and *actual* benefits, both social and economic. In other words, there may be a perception of benefits but subsequent analysis may determine that actual benefits are minimal or lower when compared to other similar situations or conditions.

Social benefits in this research concern individual and community *well-being* in non-materialistic parameters; specifically, personal satisfaction and democratic, equitable participation in local decision-making. Such predominately qualitative benefits are measured in this research by individual and community perceptions as related to the local tourism industry. In addition, they are measured by the type, degree, intensity and equity inherent in local decision-making power and participation.

Economic benefits in this research are more quantitative in nature. For this research, economic benefits are principally local tourism-generated income and employment as related to the provision of tourism services in the two study areas. In addition, basic flows of goods and services, sales, profits, service ownership and revenue leakages that relate to the local tourism industry are measured to a certain extent. In particular, the relationship and effects of non-local tourism businesses on the local economy of the study areas in question are examined from both perceived and actual perspectives.

## **Socio-economic Effects of Ecotourism**

The importance of tourism to the world economy is undeniable. By the year 2000, tourism will be its largest industry in terms of employment and trade (Hummel 1994). The WTO predicts that international tourism arrivals will top the 1.6 billion mark by the year 2010 (WTO 1997). Especially in the developing world, one of the fastest growing segments of the tourism

industry is ecotourism. However, a common estimate is that less than 10 percent of tourist spending remains in communities near ecotourism destinations (Lindberg and Huber 1993).

Overall, a World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) study estimates that of \$55 billion earned by tourism for developing countries in 1988, about \$12 billion was the result of ecotourism (EIU 1992). However, there is growing concern that little of the revenue from ecotourism reaches local people. Tourism employs more than 127 million people worldwide, but some criticize that in developing countries local people normally work in menial, seasonal and low-paid positions, with managerial jobs going mainly to expatriates (Wheat 1994; 18).

There is still a scarcity of economic data at the community level regarding ecotourism projects in developing countries. Arfwedson (1994) mentions that our knowledge of long-term effects of tourism is incomplete or even nonexistent and asks:

“How does employment in the tourist sector affect traditional livelihoods and trades? Does the money earned by the local people lead them to enrich their cultural traditions, or reject them? And how do these factors affect the structure of local institutions, especially the household, the family and the community? In a word, what are the social and cultural costs and benefits of tourism to the host community?” (Arfwedson 1994;6)

## **Community Involvement and Ecotourism**

Many tourism promoters and researchers have called for sustainable development models that could help generate income for local people and accelerate regional development. It is almost indiscriminately claimed that *involvement* of local people in the development and management of tourism (and especially ecotourism or other forms of community-based tourism) in their regions would accomplish two goals; 1) to help sustain tourism, and 2) to provide socio-economic benefits.

However, there is limited empirical evidence that either goal could be achieved with the involvement of local communities. Moreover, most research to date on community-based tourism or the effects of tourism on local communities has been unclear about what may constitute local ‘involvement’ or ‘participation’. The type, amount, intensity and equability of

community participation all require closer examination if a given ecotourism project is to be praised as having achieved a high degree of local involvement.

Therefore, the intention of this research is to contribute knowledge regarding community involvement in the local tourism industry. The lessons learned here will lead to a potential model for communities and researchers that hope to practice or test sustainable forms of tourism.

## **LEADING TO A PROBLEM STATEMENT**

Ecotourism is based on the conservation of natural resources in conjunction with sustainable development. However, such resources are often utilized by surrounding communities for sustenance or income. One reason why so many ecotourism projects fail is that they may not have adequately taken into account the needs and support of local people.

Many have made the assertion that in order for ecotourism to be successful, local citizenry must be included in its development and management. Specifically, this would entail the encouragement of community participation at all levels of ecotourism policies and projects. Local people may participate in ecotourism in a number of ways, including: 1) early, ongoing and timely consultations, 2) promotion of community-based businesses and local employment in tourism activities, and 3) environmental and marketing training to protect the ecosystem (s) in question, yet create local economic benefits to encourage conservation.

For some researchers, community participation goes beyond scattered employment in low-paying and menial jobs, such as hotel workers and bus drivers (Arfwedson 1994). If most companies and agencies of ecotourism activities for a given area represent interests from outside the community, it is unlikely that the majority of tourism earnings and benefits will reach the local people. However, it may also be likely that more direct participation and control by the community in such activities may enhance the eventual long-term success of the ecotourism project or program, may be inherently more equitable in distribution of economic benefits, and may help to conserve the environment.

## **PURPOSE**

The purpose of the study is to examine in detail how a given degree of community involvement in ecotourism may affect its inhabitants from a socio-economic perspective. Particular emphasis is placed on if and how a community can benefit from being directly or indirectly involved in the management of ecotourism activities. In addition, the manner of community and individual resident involvement will be closely examined.

## **RESEARCH GOALS**

### **One**

To discover if the level of integration by communities in ecotourism activities can positively influence or enhance various socio-economic measures by a given community.

### **Two**

To provide information on how communities could be more thoroughly integrated in potential benefits from ecotourism, with generalities produced that would be applicable to other rural communities throughout the world.

### **Three**

To develop a model that would illustrate measurable components of community integration in a given ecotourism industry, and that could help guide research, planning and/or evaluation of community-based ecotourism projects.

## **RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

### **One**

To compare communities from the initial to current stages of tourism development by the use of tourism growth models.

### **Two**

To measure community satisfactions, attitudes and preferences with the ecotourism industry, and the role of residents employed in this sector.

### **Three**

To measure both actual and perceived economic benefits accruing to the community from ecotourism in terms of:

- ⇒ gross estimates and distribution of income flows and direct employment
- ⇒ profitability (hence, financial efficiency and effectiveness)
- ⇒ tourist expenditures (for verification of financial parameters)

### **Four**

To determine the level of community integration in ecotourism decision-making and management based upon measures of local participation.

### **Five**

To refute or affirm various hypotheses regarding participation in decision-making, distribution of economic benefits and other pertinent factors related to integration in ecotourism.

### **Six**

To design a model for community integration in ecotourism based on pertinent research findings that indicates how such integration determines (or could be used to measure) community planning efforts and socio-economic or environmental outcomes.

## **EXPECTED RESULTS**

There are several potential uses of the results that are expected to be obtained, as follows:

1. To understand the nature and source of a societal problem (namely, the effects of ecotourism on local communities), with the assumption that this problem can be solved with knowledge.
2. To contribute to existing theories of community-oriented ecotourism on a global perspective.
3. To formulate problem-solving interventions for other environmentally and culturally sensitive tourism policies and projects.

# **CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS AND QUESTIONS**

## **TOWARDS AN HYPOTHESIS**

Chapter 2 presents the research hypotheses and questions that provide the foundation for this research. Traditionally, tourism development has been based on the idea that ‘trickle-down’ effects will occur and benefit local people, when in reality it is usually those with the greatest access to power and resources (land, financial, etc.) that stand to gain the most. Increased and equitable distribution of revenues from ecotourism would give more incentive to local residents who may otherwise fail to support such initiatives. Nevertheless, the amount of revenues gained will depend to a large degree on the number of tourists visiting the community. Whether this amount of visitation is sufficient to meet community or government expectations for a given area must be studied on a site-specific basis. Every area differs in their collective wants and needs, as well as tourist demand due to perceived ‘attractiveness’ of the destination.

In terms of tourism employment, the creation of tourism-related jobs for local residents is a commonly cited ecotourism objective. Lindberg (1996;553) states that “this objective stems not only from the principle of equity, but from the principle that tourism jobs reflect a concrete benefit of conservation”. It was found that even a modest handicraft operation can generate a significant economic impact at the local level (ibid.;554-556). Lindberg (ibid.) summarized that ecotourism can generate local economic benefits and local support for conservation, but not necessarily financial support for protected area management.

One major concern is who receives the economic benefits, and how much? De Kadt (1992) suggests that the distributional aspects of tourism development have been all too frequently ignored. However, he also notes that it is naive to advocate local ownership versus foreign ownership without recognizing that the interests of a local elite are often more intimately bound with foreign interests than their co-residents.

As mentioned by Cater (1994), to ensure the sustainability of ecotourism development on the part of destination areas, perhaps the most vital principle is to increase local involvement.

In practice, however, it may not always be possible to pursue participatory approaches. The tourism planning and implementation process is influenced by political, social and economic uncertainties, so flexibility should be built into the system since maximum participation may be outweighed by other concerns. Another consideration is that the definition and boundaries of 'local' may not be consistent from one project to another, nor be uniformly matched by all stakeholders, including the communities in question, government agencies, the tourism sector and other entities. For example, local may be defined by some as regionally based rather than community based.

Nevertheless, it is likely that a high degree of local community involvement in ecotourism could achieve positive outcomes in terms of selected indicators (e.g. number of direct jobs created, revenues earned, community perceptions). What constitutes a 'high degree' of involvement can be defined in accordance with Sherry Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein 1969) and other selected indicators, which will be discussed in the literature review.

## RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

From a review of relevant literature that is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, it is indicated that ecotourism offers at least the *potential* to improve local economies while maintaining the natural resource base, especially through local resident involvement. Often the case has been made that as a less consumptive activity compared to mass tourism or other alternatives, ecotourism is a means to balance economic and environmental goals without damaging the sustainability of either. However, few studies have made concrete, empirical linkages between the profitability of ecotourism and local community participation, or sustainability of the resource.

Therefore, the hypothesis to be tested as stated in the null format is as follows:

There is no difference in socio-economic outcomes from ecotourism between one community characterized by a relatively **high** degree of integration in ecotourism management, when contrasted with another community distinguished by an opposing **low** level of integration.



That is, the highly integrated community would not be ultimately more successful in terms of beneficial outcomes. The null hypothesis, then, must be either rejected or accepted in this research. This theory rests on the assumption that ecotourism can be economically viable for local communities if two conditions are present:

1. There is a relatively equitable distribution of ecotourism benefits generated in terms of revenues and employment; and,
2. There is a relatively high degree of control by the community for managing and administering the ecotourism activities.

## **RESEARCH SUB-HYPOTHESES**

Several sub-hypotheses are tested in this research, to further refine the hypothesis and test its validity with demographic and tourism-related variables. These are stated in the null format:

1. *Perceived or actual economic benefits* are no greater in a community with a high degree of integration in ecotourism management, when compared to a community characterized as having low integration.
2. *Local control* of the ecotourism industry is no greater in a community with a high degree of integration in ecotourism management.
3. *Local participation* in ecotourism management (i.e. decision-making) is no greater in a community with a high degree of employment in its respective ecotourism industry.
4. Greater *individual earnings* in a local ecotourism industry are not related to a higher degree of control in its decision-making.
5. High local ownership and management of ecotourism-related businesses has no effect on *reducing leakages* of potential or actual ecotourism revenues.
6. *Native residents* are no more involved in ecotourism activities in a highly integrated community than non-native residents.
7. *Age* does not have any significant effect on control, management or employment in ecotourism.
8. *Gender* does not have any significant effect on control, management or employment in ecotourism.

## RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research questions can be placed in two tourism-related categories: 1) distribution of economic benefits and 2) participation in decision-making processes. Indicators for measuring the two categories are presented in Tables 2.1 and 2.2. The first table considers *financial aspects* of ecotourism in the two study sites, and the other table consists of questions relative to local ecotourism *decision-making processes*. It is realized that the communities selected differ in terms of population size, number of businesses and other important parameters. Therefore, the data is treated accordingly and either normalized by weighting or percentages; conversely, cautionary notes are mentioned where appropriate.

**Table 2.1** Financial Impacts of Ecotourism

### FINANCIAL INDICATORS

1. Principal types of tourism activities (guides, handicraft producers, restaurants, hotels, transport, etc.).
2. Percent of community directly and indirectly employed in tourism.
3. Number of visitors both annually and historically.
4. Average tourism expenditure per visitor (hotels, restaurants, guides, etc.).
5. Total revenues generated from tourism.
6. Costs of providing ecotourism services.
7. Amount of tourism-generated income that stays in community.

**Table 2.2** Community Participation in Ecotourism

**PARTICIPATION INDICATORS**

1. Where on Plog's Psychological Continuum can the community be placed?
2. Where on Butler's Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution can the community be placed?
3. What level of participation on Arnstein's Ladder can the community be placed?
4. Is there a tourism strategy in place?
5. Who is involved in the tourism decision-making process?
6. To what degree is their involvement in terms of numbers and intensity (or influence) of tourism decision-making?
7. What change in the amount and type of community involvement has occurred since the beginnings of tourism in both communities?
8. What degree of satisfaction do residents have regarding ecotourism?
9. What is the decision-making power structure in terms of representation by different age groups, women, locals vs. non-locals, etc.?
10. What degree of support have various agencies such as NGO's and local/regional/national government provided?

# CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

## INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores relevant literature that provides the foundation for the stated goals and objectives. *First*, community-based tourism and ecotourism are introduced and described. *Second*, some tourism growth and development models are explored that pertain to this research. *Third*, some concepts and theories of community participation are discussed. *Fourth*, community participation theory is linked to ecotourism. *Fifth*, some basic concepts and definitions of economic theory are explained as applied to ecotourism. *Finally*, major concepts and findings are brought together to make the case for community integration in ecotourism.

## COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM AS A RESEARCH OPPORTUNITY

### A Few Basic Definitions

#### Community

The determination of 'community' is a multi-disciplinary inquiry that takes into account many social, economic, physical, and administrative factors. Each particular study must define and apply 'community' to its appropriate circumstances. Since the concept of 'community' forms the basis for this research, a brief examination of what it may constitute is necessary.

Shaffer (1989) maintains that 'community' can be defined and studied from a qualitative, ecological, ethnographic, sociological and economic perspective (Shaffer 1989;2). He also suggests that a combination of approaches is needed to study a particular community comprehensively. The community is thus defined as:

“a group of people in a physical setting with geographic, political and social boundaries and with discernible communication linkages. These communication linkages need not always be active, but must be present. People or groups interact in the defined area to attain shared goals” (Shaffer 1989;4).

Obviously, a community is much more complex than a mere physical boundary enclosing some given space. Other definitions include the 'community of interest' or 'common cause', which consider those people who have shared interests. For most communities, several different social communities or communities of interest may exist for a given geographic space (Duggan 1994;10). Community has also been defined as "perception", "place", "an integrated social system" and an "open system with interrelated components affected by communication and interaction, and characterized by evidence of structure, order, diversity, and solidarity, among others" (Douglas 1996). Lastly, one useful conceptual definition that will inform this research is Freire's (1970) notion of community as people 'coming to terms with' and 'becoming aware of' their actual condition. Self-awareness will be discussed further in this chapter.

### Community Development

Development has been defined in many ways as well, but one of the better definitions is "altering the environment for the perceived benefit of human use" (Pinel 1996). Development may imply *qualitative* change instead of (or in addition to) quantitative change. Community development is a balance between process (means) and desired outcomes (ends). Douglas defines it as:

"A collective, voluntary, integrated, and democratic initiative in self-reliance, in, for, and by the community, which is characterized by a process of rational choice and action, which is both goal-seeking and goal-directed, is designed to enhance the community's welfare in terms of resources and opportunities, and which may bring about transformations in structures and interrelationships as well as institutional strengthening and capacity developing (ibid.).

This lengthy definition appears to be all-inclusive of major community development concepts and parameters. However, the assumption is that if something is amiss such as a non-democratic initiative, then it likely is not 'true' community development. There are many instances of communities or regions in developing countries where community development is being practiced, but decision-making may be less democratically oriented than westernized constructs. Community development depends to a large extent on various internal and external

influencing factors and is not a static condition. By at least attempting to meet some or all of the aforementioned 'conditions', the appropriate form of development can be decided by a particular community, since it is in their best interests to do so.

The concept of power relationships and influences within the community is important. Communities apply power to gain control for their own existence and vitality, but also to secure and maintain power bases (ibid.). For this research, a high degree of community development will be considered as "integrated, strategic, inclusive, participatory, decentralized, sustainable, and purpose driven" (ibid.), with particular emphasis on "integrated" and "participatory".

### Sustainable Development

The Brundtland Commission in 1987 proposed a widely recognized understanding of sustainable development as follows:

"Sustainable development seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future" (Brundtland Commission 1987;40).

The problem with this definition is that it leaves too much open to interpretation. For example, it does not distinguish between quantitative and qualitative development, let alone the difference between development and growth. Daly (1995) attempts to clarify these distinctions with his critique of 'modernism' due to excessive consumption by developed nations as follows:

"The path of economic progress must shift from the growth mode (quantitative increase in the resource throughput) to the development mode (qualitative improvement in the efficiency of use of an environmentally sustainable throughput). That is what 'sustainable development' must come to mean - i.e., more efficient digestion, not a bigger digestive tract" (Daly 1995;14).

Sustainable development, then, can be considered in terms of efficiency and equity rather than some desired quantity to be achieved.

## Tourism

According to van Harssel (1994), “tourism ... is the business of attracting visitors and catering to their needs and expectations” (van Harssel 1994;7). Tourists are defined as “those who travel for either leisure, recreation, vacation, health, education, religion, sport, business, or family reasons” (ibid.;7).

There is some debate in the literature whether or not tourism should be designated as an activity or a business/industry (Duggan 1994;14). Some economists argue that tourism is not a ‘proper’ industry since it does not produce a distinct product (Chadwick 1981 in Murphy 1985;9). However, local craft and souvenir manufacturing are examples of products principally destined for tourists. In addition, the very experience of travelling is a ‘product’ – people pay to see African elephants in the wild or visit ancient ruins in Central America, with their memories and photographs as the ‘take-home’ merchandise.

Others consider tourism as a resource industry, since it is dependent on the continued availability of those resources upon which it is based (Mawhinney and Bagnall 1976;383, in Murphy 1985;10). Since tourism is linked to the resource base and does involve business aspects, it can be considered as a renewable resource industry or sector.

## Sustainable Tourism Development

Sustainable tourism development is often used to refer to ‘ecotourism’ and other forms of alternative tourism. It is defined as a type of development that:

“connects tourists and providers of tourist facilities and services with advocates of environmental protection and community residents and their leaders who desire a better quality of life” (McIntyre 1993;16).

Sustainable tourism is more than just a beneficial economic strategy. To be truly beneficial, “it must also be dedicated to improving the quality of life of the people who live and work there, and to protecting the environment ... Tourism must be environmentally sustainable - in both the natural and cultural environments - to be economically sustainable” (ibid.;5).

## Ecotourism

The term 'ecotourism' is often interpreted by particular activities and/or areas to distinguish it from conventional or mass tourism. Unfortunately, the term is often indiscriminately applied to many different types of tourism. Although both private and public sectors use the concept, a standard definition of ecotourism still does not exist. Ecotourism has invariably been called 'alternative tourism', 'adventure tourism', 'soft tourism', 'green tourism', 'low-impact tourism', 'nature tourism', 'responsible tourism' and 'sustainable tourism', as well as a host of other terms (see Jaakson 1997;35). The term ecotourism has been accredited to Hector Ceballos-Lascurain, who defined it as:

**"Travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas" (Ceballos-Lascurain 1988).**

One key element missing in this definition is the concept of sustainable development, or encouraging the provision of socio-economic benefits for local communities. Some of the many other definitions of ecotourism are as follows:

**"A travel experience that contributes to the understanding and preservation of natural and cultural environments." (Mandziuk 1995;29)**

**"[A means to directly link] tourism activity with low impact use of the resource base, environmental conservation and sustainable economic activity." (Scace 1993)**

**"Nature travel that advances conservation and sustainable development efforts." (Boo 1990)**

**"A means to appreciate the value of natural resources outside of traditional consumptive uses and to manage them for sustainable use." (ibid.)**

**"An industry which claims to make a low impact on the environment and local culture, while helping to generate money, jobs, and the conservation of wildlife and vegetation." (PANOS 1995)**



“Purposeful travel that safeguards the integrity of the ecosystem and produces economic benefits that encourage conservation.” (Ryel and Grasse 1991)

Inherent to most of these definitions is the linking of low impact tourism (which may include culture and/or nature as the major attraction) with the provision of economic opportunities for local people. Ecotourism is increasingly being viewed by local communities, national governments, planners and travel agencies as a way to bring in revenues while promoting preservation at the same time. It is being pursued as a tool for sustainable economic development in rural areas of developing countries in particular due to badly needed employment and income.

Others feel that ecotourism encompasses more than travel to pristine natural areas. Not only the integrity of natural ecosystem must be respected in an ecotourism experience, but socio-cultural qualities of the tourist destination as well. To be successful, “ecotourism must promote sustainable development by establishing a durable productive base that allows local inhabitants and ecotourist service providers to enjoy rising standards of living” (Barkin 1996). Above all, ecotourism must be integrated with the needs and desires of local communities in order to be truly sustainable since it will likely fail without local acceptance and input. Ideally, it should strive for an equitable distribution of potential income and employment from broad-based democratic participation in addition to protecting the environment (ibid.).

Many would argue that the *raison d'être* of ecotourism is nature and its preservation. For the purposes of this research, ecotourism may also have a legitimate cultural focus since human settlements comprise a definable ecosystem. Unique cultures are often located in ecologically unique areas such as many indigenous communities of the South American Andes and Amazon Basin; other notable examples include the hill-top tribes of northern Thailand, the Masai of Kenya and the Inuit of northern Canada. In such areas, there is likely a dual purpose for visitors – to experience the natural surroundings and to visit native peoples. Therefore, ecotourism may also include the preservation of unique cultures.

It is also worth revisiting the critique made by Jaakson (1997) on the epistemology of ecotourism as introduced in Chapter 1 (pages 1-2). Jaakson convincingly argues that *all* tourism

can be considered as ecotourism, since every area visited by tourists is part of some ecosystem, and speculates that “deep spirituality ... is the motivation, conscious or subconscious, for all ecotourism travel” (ibid.;34).

Without belaboring the point, the following normative or idealistic interpretation of ecotourism builds upon the aforementioned definitions:

Ecotourism is both an activity and a desirable outcome that allows tourists to admire and learn about the natural and/or cultural attributes of a given destination, while contributing to its conservation and providing socio-economic benefits for local communities on a relatively equitable basis.

By normative, it is meant that this definition is goal-oriented or ‘what ought to be’. It is not the objective of this study to claim beyond reasonable doubt that the communities in question are engaged in ecotourism *per se*. However, for this researcher the *basic elements* of ecotourism are present and both communities appear to be striving to build a community-based ecotourism industry, founded upon unique natural and cultural attributes of their respective areas. For these reasons, it was felt important to apply the term and concept of ecotourism to describe the aspects of the local tourism sector inherent to both communities.

Nevertheless, for the sake of simplicity and since previous researchers or even the communities *themselves* that were studied may not agree with this rationalization of ecotourism, it is often interchanged with ‘tourism’ in this study if the application of *eco-tourism* may only create misunderstanding. In addition, a truly ‘successful’ ecotourism project or program is difficult to achieve in reality. Any type or degree of development will likely have some impact(s), whether minor or major, negative or positive, or otherwise. Perhaps the best we can do is attempt to minimize these impacts. In summary, it is worth considering the words of Kreg Lindberg:

“... because ‘true’ ecotourism (i.e., verifiably sustainable nature tourism) is comparatively rare, perhaps we are left with ecotourism as a goal.” (Lindberg 1996, as quoted in Barkin 1996)

## **Opportunities with Ecotourism**

The concept of sustainability has been applied to the ecotourism sector, and many assume an environmental form of tourism is preferable to so-called 'mass' or conventional tourism. However, authors such as de Kadt (1992) have ascertained that for tourism to be sustainable, the needs and long-term interests of communities within or near tourist regions must be considered. Ryel and Grasse (1991) believe the ultimate objective of any ecotourism plan should be to stimulate awareness of nature and minimize negative environmental impacts, while maximizing economic benefits for local people (awareness of *culture* could be added). However, as with true sustainable development, these seemingly conflicting objectives have been criticized as idealistic and unattainable by several authors (for examples, see Cohen 1989; Butler 1990a; Pigram 1990; Wheeler 1992). Nevertheless, there is much to be gained by at least striving to achieve such lofty ends.

Ecotourism projects should involve local people in the planning, development and management stages if they are to succeed. To maximize the positive impacts of ecotourism, residents must be included in the planning and development of ecotourism projects in the early beginning (Walker 1995). However, it is important that local populations "have a basic level of awareness of the potential benefits and costs" of tourism to successfully participate in the planning process (Woodley 1993;143, as quoted in Walker 1995).

Murphy (1985) considers that tourism development can be positive if the needs of the local community are placed before the goals of the tourism industry. In his view, tourism should be seen as a local resource to be managed for the common good, with future generations as the goal and criterion by which the industry is judged (ibid.;37). He presents persuasive evidence of the importance of participatory planning in balancing the physical and commercial orientation of much previous tourism development (ibid.).

Some of the benefits of tourism in general include the following:

1. High growth potential (predicted to become largest world industry by the year 2000) (Beekhuis 1981).
2. Tourism market comes to the producer (Jacobson and Robles 1992).

3. Potential to help diversify economies and employ a large work force relative to other industries (Pearce 1981).
4. Ability to stimulate economic activity and growth in isolated rural areas (Jacobson 1991).
5. Potential to promote preservation of natural areas and providing opportunities for environmental education (Jacobson and Robles 1992).

Considering ecotourism as a potential tool to provide economic benefits to rural communities in developing nations, the potential benefits of points #3 and #4 will be further explained in this literature review. However, it is worth mentioning that this list is not all-inclusive, nor are any of the other potential benefits any less important.

### **Shortcomings of Ecotourism**

Opportunities aside, ecotourism is not a panacea to economic problems of a particular region or country. As Cazes (1989;125) pointed out, there is really no example of significant size which clearly and completely meets the alternative tourism model (i.e. ecotourism or community-based tourism). Almost any form of tourism, ecologically or culturally based included, will likely have some degree of negative impacts. Downsides of the ecotourism industry include some of the following (Jacobson and Robles 1992;702):

1. Often provides an unstable source of income.
2. Substantial leakages of income out of host countries often occur.
3. Investments for infrastructure may be high.
4. Success, in form of too many tourists, can destroy the industry.
5. Environmental impacts from pollution and habitat modification are common.
6. Social impacts may result in cultural deterioration.

As in any development strategy, one significant problem with tourism is that ownership and control of the process may be preempted by local authority figures. This has been pointed out by several authors, including de Kadt (1992) who suggests:

“Calls for community participation gloss over the well-known tendency for local elites to appropriate the organs of participation for their own benefit. Many studies have demonstrated that those who are locally influential and wealthy will become the spokespersons for communities unless specific measures are taken to counter this pattern” (de Kadt 1992;72-73).

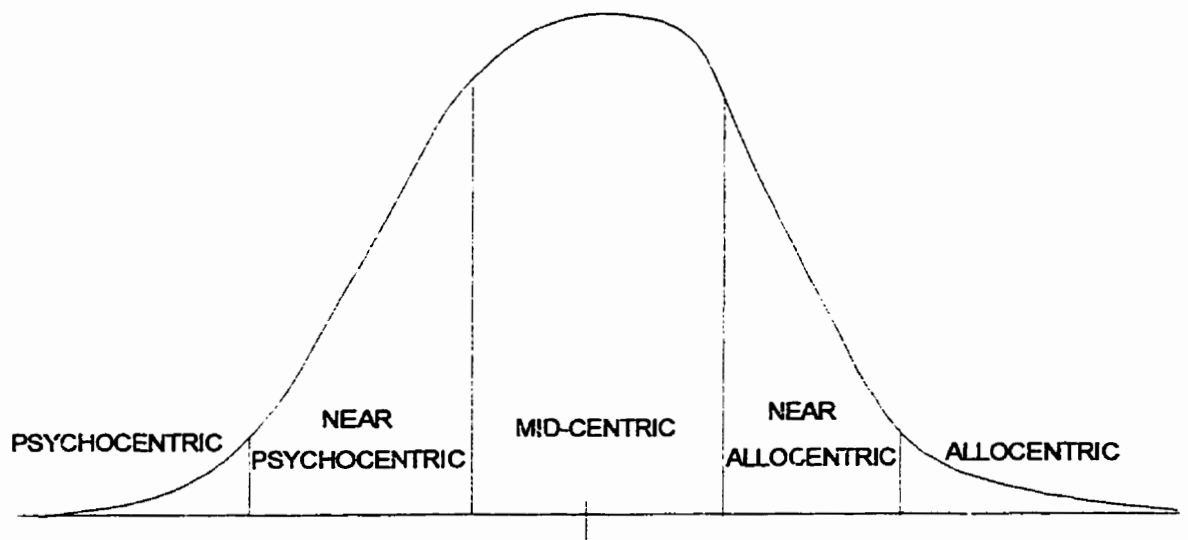
## **TOURISM GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT MODELS**

Tourism growth and development models have been in use for over two decades to indicate socio-cultural changes in communities. These ‘frameworks’ accept the premise that “tourist areas are dynamic systems and essentially pass through stages of life, much like a living organism. In other words, tourist destinations are born, develop, mature, and eventually decline” (Duggan 1994:30). Three appropriate models to describe tourism growth and development are Plog’s (1974) *Psychological Continuum*, Butler’s (1980) *Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution* and a *Conceptual Model of Program Development* by Reid *et al* (1993). They are useful to portray the potential trend for negative impacts as tourist destination areas experience continued growth in popularity, or perhaps as they move from an ecotourism to a mass tourism scenario.

### **Plog’s Psychological Continuum**

One scale that can be used to ‘place’ a particular community with a given degree of tourism is Plog’s (1974) Psychological Continuum as illustrated in Figure 3.1. Plog directly links the changing popularity of tourism areas with the psychology of people who travel. According to Plog, the Allocentric is characterized by an outgoing and self-confident personality, distinguished by adventuresomeness, self-confidence, and a lack of generalized anxieties, and who enjoy a sense of “discovery” (ibid.;56).

**Figure 3.1** Plog's (1974) Population Curve of Psychographic Groups



As the destination area continues to develop and attract more visitors, it moves towards the Psychocentric end of the scale (mass or conventional tourism); then, the Allocentric types are no longer interested in the area as the uniqueness and naturalness that originally attracted them has been lost. Plog maintains that “destination areas carry with them the potential seeds of their own destruction, as they allow themselves to become more commercialized and lose their qualities which originally attracted tourists” (ibid.;58).

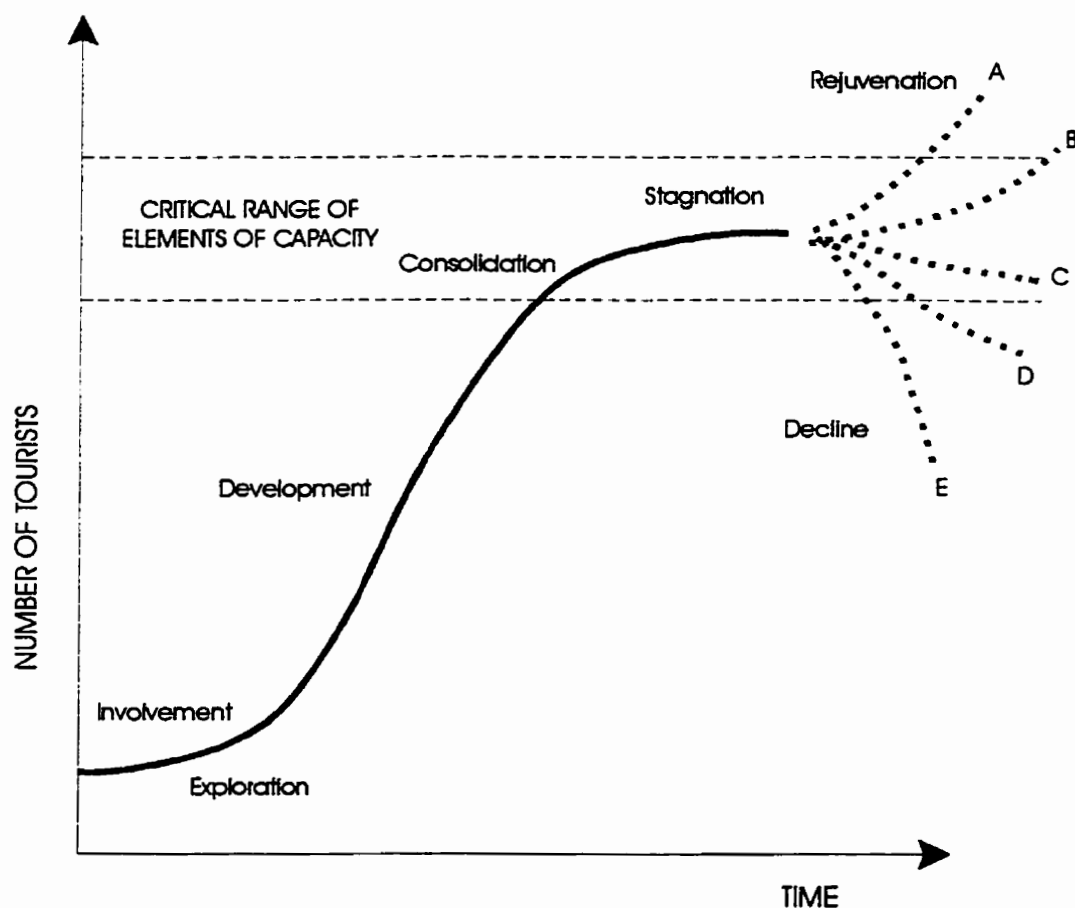
### **Butler's Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution**

Another scale to locate a given community in its respective tourism growth and development is Butler's (1980) Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution model, as illustrated in Figure 3.2. Butler suggests that destination areas pass through six stages, as follows:

1. exploration
2. involvement
3. development
4. consolidation
5. stagnation
6. decline or rejuvenation

Visitors are initially lured to a destination area by its unique natural and cultural features, with larger numbers of visitors restricted by accessibility, facilities and local knowledge. As tourism grows, significant changes begin to occur in the physical environment until eventually levels of carrying capacity (environmental, physical or social) are reached and the number of visitors declines. Butler suggests that rejuvenation of the tourism industry may occur, but in that “only in the case of the truly unique area could one anticipate an almost timeless attractiveness, able to withstand the pressures of visitation” (Butler 1980:9).

**Figure 3.2** Butler’s (1980) Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution



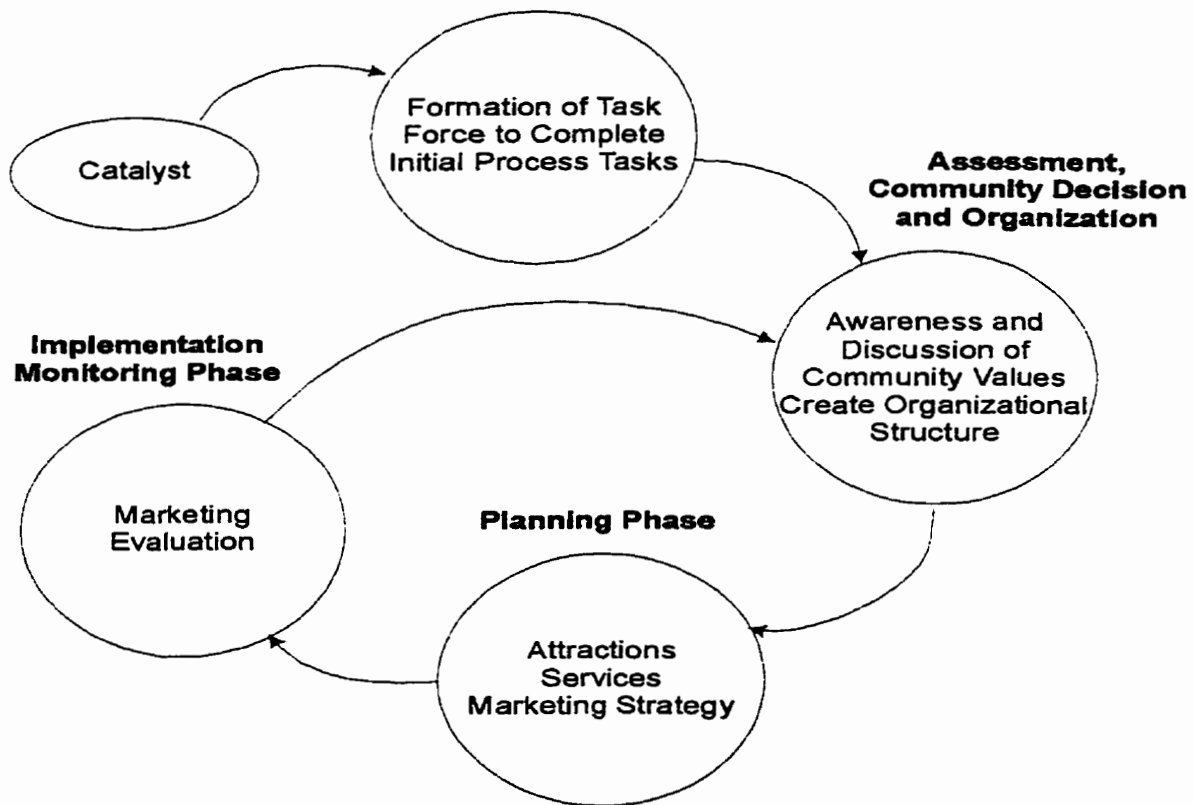
**Conceptual Model of Program Development**

In their examination of the potential for developing rural tourism in Ontario, Reid *et al* (1993) developed a model which “focuses on establishing the community values on which a

[rural tourism] project will depend, an assessment of the attractions in the area, existing services, marketing and organizational structure” (Reid *et al* 1993,viii). They suggested that efforts must be integrated and coordinated at local levels and include all those with a stake in tourism (ibid.).

Figure 3.3 outlines the general process of initiation by a community in a rural visitation program and the various stages of community involvement. In the first stage, the initial catalyst for development is “often a single individual or small group of individuals with a motivation of self-interest ... [but] it is vital that all citizens become actively involved in the decision-making and development process” (ibid.;73-74).

**Figure 3.3 Conceptual Model of Program Development<sup>a</sup>**



As the community becomes aware of its values and aspirations, a broad-based organizational structure is created with a community tourism vision, goals and objectives. In the

<sup>a</sup> Source: Conceptual Model of Program Development, The Integration of Tourism Culture and Recreation in Rural Ontario, The Ontario Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation, Queen’s Printer, Reid *et al*, 1993, p.75



planning phase, a community-based tourism strategy is implemented. As training and other tourism-related activities develop over a given period of time (two years were used in the model), a marketing evaluation is carried out and the tourism plan re-assessed by the community.

It was recognized that since all communities are unique, individual steps will be implemented differently, especially if some communities are further along in visitation development. It was also mentioned that this schema can be used not only as “an implementation package but can also form the basis of discussion for determining if the community wishes to proceed with tourism development at all ... [or as] the basis for evaluation” (ibid.;78).

## **COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION**

This study is an examination of possible linkages between economic benefits and community ‘integration’ with respect to ecotourism activities. Relatively little empirical information exists regarding ‘integration’ in community development *per se*. However, several authors during the past forty years have examined community participation and its associated parameters, both in developing and developed nations. In particular, some have indicated how poor people may benefit from integrated and participatory decision-making in community planning, development and management.

Important works on this topic include Arnstein’s (1969) *Ladder of Citizen Participation Model*, Freire’s (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Chamber’s (1983) *Rural Development: Putting the Last First* and Cernea’s (1985) *Putting People First: Sociological Variables in Rural Development*. Due to the large amount of research that has been carried out on community participation, only some of the most appropriate works to this study will be examined.

### **Community Participation Critiqued**

#### Definition of Community Participation

Paul (1987) defines community participation as:

“an active process by which beneficiary/client groups influence the direction and execution of a development project, with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self reliance or other views they cherish.”  
(Paul 1987:2)

This definition recognizes that community participation is process oriented. It does not deny the importance of benefit sharing, but views community participation as a process that is germane to the issue of project sustainability. Community participation is often considered akin to ‘local participation’, which Cernea (1985) defines as:

“empowering people to mobilize their own capacities, be social actors rather than passive subjects, manage the resources, make decisions, and control the activities that affect their lives.” (Cernea 1985:23)

The empowerment aspect is important from a local control perspective. In theory, the people would be empowered to organize and manage their resources, to achieve long-term sustainable benefits for the community.

Acknowledging that community participation is a potentially desirable process or outcome, the next task is to critically examine its parameters as a concept. Firstly, to outline and discuss the principle advantages and disadvantages inherent associated with community participation. Secondly, to show how it may lead to increased community integration in local decision-making.

### Advantages of Community Participation

Paul (1987) has recognized several advantages of promoting community participation (CP) in development projects as follows:

1. instrument of empowerment, for equitable sharing of benefits
2. useful in building beneficiary capacity
3. may contribute to increased project effectiveness
4. potential for project cost sharing with people
5. may improve project efficiency

While CP may be used as a vehicle to achieve any or all of these objectives, the intensity with which it is sought in a particular project (or project stage) may vary greatly. The World Bank distinguishes between four levels of intensity in CP (Paul 1987), and Brandon and Wells (1992) have added a fifth (evaluation):

1. Information Sharing: reflects a low level of intensity, though it can have a positive impact on project outcomes; it equips beneficiaries to understand and perform their tasks better. Project planners/managers share information with beneficiaries in order to facilitate collective or individual action.
2. Consultation: beneficiaries are consulted on key issues at some or all stages in a project cycle; allows opportunities for beneficiaries to interact and provide feedback.
3. Decision-Making: beneficiaries participate in decision-making in project design or implementation, implying a greater degree of control or influence on project.
4. Initiating action: beneficiary groups identify a new need in a project and take the initiative for their own development; intensity of CP reaches peak.
5. Evaluation: participatory evaluation by beneficiaries can provide valuable insights and lessons for project design and implementation (information that otherwise is likely to remain unknown).

Of these five possibilities for CP, initiating action is often preferred to instill confidence and decision-making power in beneficiaries, since it takes a highly proactive approach. In reality, government and donor agencies often tend to pre-empt any initiatives beneficiaries may have taken in planning projects (Paul 1987). This unfortunate scenario is most likely to occur during the initial stages before the formation of beneficiary groups. One possibility to counteract this tendency is to start with a low level of CP intensity and gradually move up the ladder.

### Disadvantages of Community Participation

Despite the recent popularity of local participation, Cernea (1985) and others have argued that participation is still more myth than reality in rural development programs. Although

desirable from a community perspective, community participation also has its disadvantages, some of which have been recognized by Paul (1987) as follows:

1. Tends to raise expectations, which may be difficult to meet; also, organizing beneficiaries is a time consuming and complex process.
2. Risk of future and visibility of consequences of failure of CP are also high; emotional involvement of people attracts public attention.
3. Elite among beneficiaries tend to appropriate a disproportionate share of project benefits if there exists a considerable inequality of income and poverty.
4. A costly process; it takes time, money and skills to organize and sustain participation (short-term opportunity costs of organization and active participation can be quite high).

### Measures of Community Participation

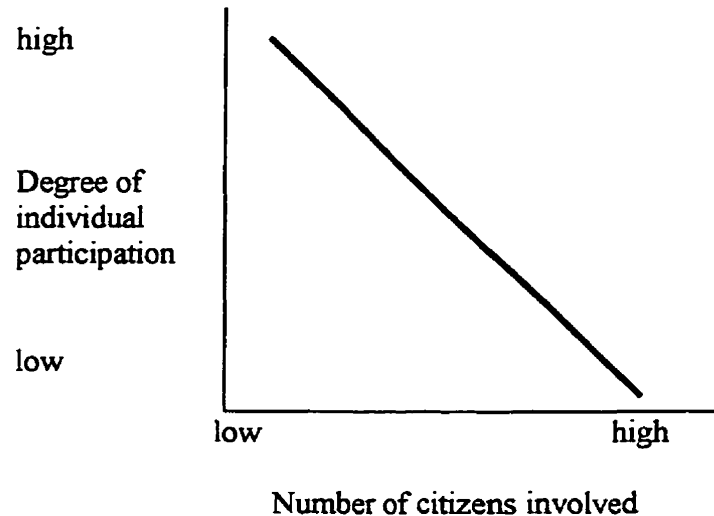
In a review of twenty-one selected case studies, Sewell and Phillips (1979) highlighted three fundamental tensions for the design and implementation of public participation programs:

1. *Degree of citizen involvement is high*, with two important factors (see Figure 3):
  - ⇒ the number of citizens involved.
  - ⇒ the degree of individual participation.
2. *Equity in participation*, defined as “the extent to which all potential opinions are heard.” It was observed that representation is more forthcoming from interest groups than from the general public.
3. *Efficiency of participation*. This is not just the amount of time, personal and other agency resources required to implement a public participation program. The authors emphasize the public view of interest, stating that their ongoing motivation relies on appraisal of how their views have influenced planning decisions, i.e. via an informed public.

According to their survey results, it is difficult to achieve a high degree of participation with large number of people because most techniques cannot facilitate both. In Figure 3.4, a high degree of citizen participation has a correspondingly low amount of actual numbers of citizens involved in the process (Sewell and Phillips 1979). In this scenario, the process would likely be

of a more personal nature with smaller groups, and individual voices would theoretically have more influence and control. Conversely, high numbers of citizens involved would lead to a decrease in the degree of participation, on the sole basis that it becomes increasingly harder to maximize individual participation in larger group settings.

**Figure 3.4** Degree of Citizen Involvement



In a study of resident preferences for future tourism growth and development in Huron Country, Ontario, Simmons (1994;100) found that a common element in survey responses was local control and ownership. It was also suggested that:

- Smaller scale operations offer greater opportunities for local investment and involvement.
- High efficiency may not be compatible with high and equitable levels of citizen involvement.
- Trade-offs in reality occur, “as planning moves from normative (policy) to an operational context” (ibid.; 100).

However, noticeably absent from this classification typology are two important considerations: 1) participation type and 2) participation effectiveness.

Simmons (ibid.) states that there may be a high degree of public involvement, but it becomes less useful or equitable if the process constrains or ignores this input. He also differentiates between program effectiveness and efficiency. That is, it may be a highly efficient program in the eye of the public, but the end result may be less than satisfactory in terms of real short and long-term achievements.

## **Community Participation Theories**

### Freire's Theory of Concientization

Paulo Freire's classic and influential book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970) spoke of the concept of *concientization* - the transformation towards empowerment when the community sees itself as a self-awareness raising vehicle. Freire makes the distinction between being 'accessible' to consciousness, and 'entering' consciousness, with the latter condition as a necessary prelude to empowerment of poor people. It is in the interests of the dominant elite within or outside of a community to maintain domination by dividing the 'oppressed'.

Freire's solution is not to 'integrate' the marginals or oppressed into the structure of oppression, but "to transform that structure so that they can become *beings for themselves*" (author's emphasis; ibid.,61). He asserts that the unity of the oppressed requires class consciousness, but that this must be preceded (or at least accompanied) by achieving consciousness of being oppressed individuals.

Although perhaps somewhat outdated, Freire's concepts still relate well to the idea of community-based development (i.e. *for* the people and *by* the people) and how community integration is so important if local aspirations and needs are to be truly achieved. However, Freire (ibid.;137-138) warns that often dedicated but naïve professionals tend to emphasize a focalized view of problems, rather on seeing them as dimensions of a totality, stating:

"In *community development* projects the more a region or area is broken down into *local communities*, without the study of these communities both as totalities in themselves and as parts of another totality (the area, region and so forth) - which in its turn is part of a still larger totality (the nation, as part of the continental totality) - the more alienation is intensified." (author's emphasis)

This alienation further divides people and keeps them divided, a condition especially acute in rural areas as Freire observes, especially when selected “leaders” are trained in development projects and manipulate the marginalized to their own advantage. Freire notes that by means of manipulation, the dominant elite try to conform the people to their objectives; “the greater the political immaturity of these people ... the more easily the latter can be manipulated by those who do not wish to lose their power (ibid.;144).” He suggests that only if we consider and treat the community as a whole, rather than the sum of its parts, can true dialogue and cooperation occur. This is perhaps the idealized attainment of true integration by all people within a given community.

### Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation Model

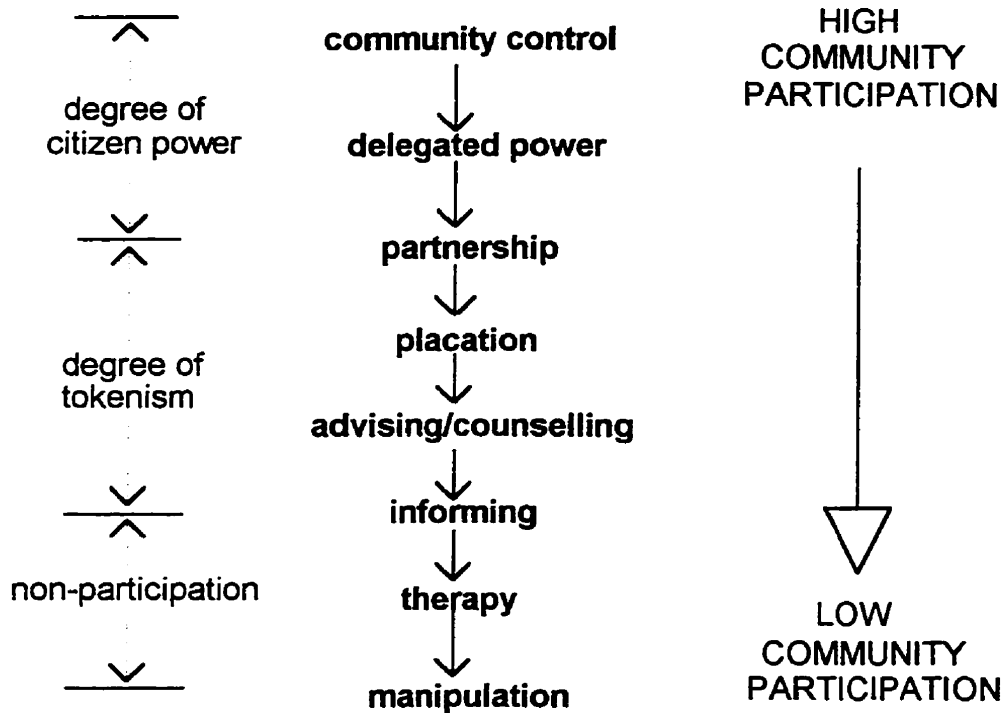
One analysis of citizen participation is found in the work of Sherry Arnstein, who wrote about citizen power in an article published in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners (1969). In the Ladder of Citizen Participation model (see Figure 3.5), there are eight rungs: the lowest rung is manipulation of the people by the “powers that be” with no real citizen participation. The next level is therapy, in which there may be a hidden agenda of teaching or improving citizens. As one continues to go up the ladder, citizen power increases until finally complete control is held by the citizens themselves in the citizen control rung.

Arnstein postulates that citizen participation is simply a categorical term for citizen power, meaning power-sharing. She defines citizen power as “the redistribution of power that enables the have-not citizens ... to be deliberately included in the future ... In short, it is the means by which they can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society” (ibid.;216).

Arnstein’s Ladder is not without its constraints. Some of them have been noted by Arnstein herself, as follows:

- the number of citizens included is not considered
- there is no analysis of significant roadblocks (paternalism, racism, etc.)
- there may be many less distinct rungs in reality, or many “combinations” of rungs for a given situation

**Figure 3.5** Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation



One important limiting factor in the Ladder of Citizen Participation is that there is no overt reference to *ownership* of services, only to the processes or the type of citizen involvement. There may be a high degree of citizen participation in the community decision-making process, but if local elite or foreign interests own major industries and land in the community, this participation will mean little in terms of economic gains.

Another criticism with the model is that *intensity* and *longevity* of citizen participation has not been adequately addressed. In terms of participation, local citizens may be placed fairly high up the ladder, but enthusiasm may wane over time, be lower than expected or be preempted by other concerns beyond the community's control, such as political and economic stability. Moreover, the citizens may have a high degree of control for a given time, but this may be of a temporal nature, or a 'once-off' event. Assumedly, the longer that citizen control is maintained in the decision-making processes of the community, the greater likelihood of success.

These drawbacks aside, Arnstein's Ladder is still a useful general representation of the mechanisms and effects of citizen involvement in decision-making. It can be used to examine



the community participation process in ecotourism, as well as any other economic sector or social program. Her model provides a gauge or barometer in which to place or measure citizen participation, as long as the aforementioned limitations have been adequately addressed.

### Participation Paradigm Shifts

Robert Chambers has written extensively about empowerment of impoverished people of developing nations. He recognized that 'participation' is experiencing a renaissance in the 1990s and describes a "paradigm shift" to "participatory development" (Chambers 1995;30) (Chambers defines 'paradigm' as a pattern of ideas, values, methods, and behavior which fit together and are mutually reinforcing). He suggests that there are three main ways in which participation is used:

- As a cosmetic label to make whatever is proposed appear good (e.g. 'ego'-tourism).
- As a co-opting process to mobilize local labor and reduce costs.
- As an empowering process which enables local people to do their own analysis, take command, gain confidence and to make their own decisions.

Chambers (1995) suggests that the shift from the paradigm of things (infrastructure and industrialization focus) to the paradigm of people entails great change, and argues that reversing power relations is both the key and weak link in achieving participation. He speaks of "upper" and "lowers", or the vertical relationships between people (elite to poor) or nations (North to South), suggesting that these patterns may be considered as a magnetic field where the magnets are mutually reinforcing in orientation (ibid.;33-34). Chamber maintains that participation which empowers "requires a weakening of the magnetic field at various levels, with scope for lateral linkages with peers, colleagues, neighbors, and fellow citizens (ibid.;34).

This paradigm shift, then, builds upon earlier works of literature on people and participation. In the following section, the concept of 'community integration' will be introduced that will serve as the basic framework for this research.

## **COMMUNITY INTEGRATION IN ECOTOURISM**

One of the more recent assertions is that in order for ecotourism to be successful, local citizens must be made part of it. This would entail the encouragement of community participation at all levels of ecotourism policies and projects. As mentioned previously, community participation or involvement may not necessarily signify community integration but could lead to such a scenario and will be explored as such.

### **Community Involvement in Tourism**

Community involvement in tourism development has become an ideology of tourism planning (Prentice 1993;218). One of the early advocates of participatory planning has been Peter Murphy, who developed a “community approach” (1985) and a “community driven” (1988) approach. Murphy argued for an issue-oriented involvement of residents at an early stage in the decision process (i.e. before commitments are made). His opposition to externally derived tourism development is shown as follows:

“The [tourism] industry possesses great potential for social and economic benefits if planning can be redirected from a pure business and development approach to a more open and community-oriented approach which views tourism as a local resource ... This will involve focusing on the ecological and human qualities of a destination area in addition to business considerations” (Murphy 1985;37).

Communities are ideally placed to receive and provide services for tourists if the appropriate infrastructure and tourist demand exist. Prentice (1993) states that “tourism is a developmental issue around which communities concur in view. If not, community driven tourism planning is likely to lead to inaction in the face of lack of local common purpose” (Prentice 1993;219).

Many feel that the tourism industry should not forget that destinations are essentially communities (Blank 1989; Brohman 1996). The new ideology of the 1990s (perhaps an extension of Murphy’s (1985) “community approach” to tourism) is “a community-based

approach to tourism development which considers the needs and interests of the popular majority alongside the benefits of economic growth” (Brohman 1996;60). Communities should be provided with opportunities to use their own resources and popular creativity to find locally appropriate methods of tourism development (ibid.;61). According to Boo (1990), local people may participate in ecotourism in a number of ways, including:

1. Early, ongoing and timely consultations with involvement by all parties.
2. Promotion of community-based businesses and local employment in tourism activities.
3. Education about environmental, training and marketing considerations that would safeguard the integrity of the ecosystem(s) in question and create local economic benefits to encourage conservation.

McIntyre (1993) has suggested that local planners should encourage community participation from the early stages of tourism planning to provide residents with realistic expectations. He suggests that a process of *consensus building* be applied to reach understanding and agreement on the most appropriate form and extent of tourism to be developed, and how communities can accordingly benefit (McIntyre 1993;28). The consensus building approach, however, is likely much different in developing countries due to the socio-cultural and political context affecting a community from within and outside.

Why would a local community be ideally situated for the planning and implementation of a tourism program? One reason is that a community depends on its environment for supplying basic needs to its people (food, water, shelter, and good health), so theoretically would be more likely to take an active interest in ensuring that impacts are minimized. Furthermore, tourism can provide an important source of revenue from employment and visitor fees. In addition, local knowledge and skills can be ‘exploited’ to the benefit of the tourism activities, such as using indigenous guides that know the area and its resources better than any outsider.

Haywood (1988) has argued that a community approach can legitimize tourism development, and speaks of the sharing of decision making. He suggests that community participation in tourism planning is a process that “involves all relevant and interested parties

(local government officials, local citizens, architects, developers, business people and planners) in such a way that decision making is shared” (Haywood 1988;106).

### **Rationale for Increasing Local Participation in Ecotourism**

Eagles, Ballantine and Fennel (1992) recognize at least three reasons to increase local benefits from, and participation in, ecotourism development:

1. It is equitable since conservation of the area reduces or eliminates traditional resource utilization.
2. When residents receive benefits, they usually support ecotourism (conversely, if they bear the costs without receiving benefits they often turn against ecotourism).
3. As consumers, the ecotourist often support the importance of tourism benefiting local residents.

Although it may be seemingly desirable to increase local participation, interesting questions are raised concerning the forms which local involvement might take. This deserves special attention in culturally sensitive settings. In a study of selected Balinese villages, Wall (1996) states that it should not be assumed that western notions of public participation can be readily transferred. It was argued that the Balinese have had little input into the development of tourism on their island (Picard 1992, as quoted in Wall 1996). For example, critical decisions on tourism development, such as the licensing of five-star hotels, has until recently been the prerogative of officials in the national capital, Jakarta (Wall 1996).

Nevertheless, several authors feel that the type of participation by locals in ecotourism must be appropriate to the particular community or region. For example, Brohman (1996) states that small-scale, locally owned developments and institutional mechanisms should be stressed “to create conditions under which strong social partners can participate in decision-making to enable a local consensus or ‘social contract’ to be constructed over how tourism and related development should proceed” (Brohman 1996;61,67). Thus, ‘appropriateness’ of participation

suiting to the locale and the desires of community residents, assuming sustainable development is being promoted, should form the rationale for equitable and sustainable development.

### **Constraints to Local Participation in Ecotourism**

Ideally, ecotourism should allow for a much higher degree of community participation than conventional tourism by involving local and family-based enterprises (Cater 1994). However, local involvement may be prejudiced by several factors (ibid.;72-75):

1. International organization of ecotourism. Most ecotourists originate from the more developed countries, with their tour, travel and accommodation needs largely coordinated by firms based in those countries;
2. Significant amount of foreign investment in ecotourism. Ecotourism is an attractive investment proposition and is becoming big business in Latin American and the Caribbean, especially in countries such as Costa Rica, Belize and Ecuador; and,
3. Loss of sovereignty over the land. For example, predominant foreign ownership of Belizean coastal developments implies a loss of control in local decision-making.

Other factors could be added, such as the lack of external capital and support that would provide incentives for communities to invest in tourism. For example, low-interest loans and community-based tourism policies could encourage local involvement in the tourism industry. A lack of prior experience with tourism planning is another problem for many communities. De Kadt (1992) observes that local experience with tourism is often “wholly lacking”, with people at the mercy of so-called “experts” (de Kadt 1992;73). These experts may be local elite or outsiders, but they may use their knowledge and contacts to take advantage of local communities.

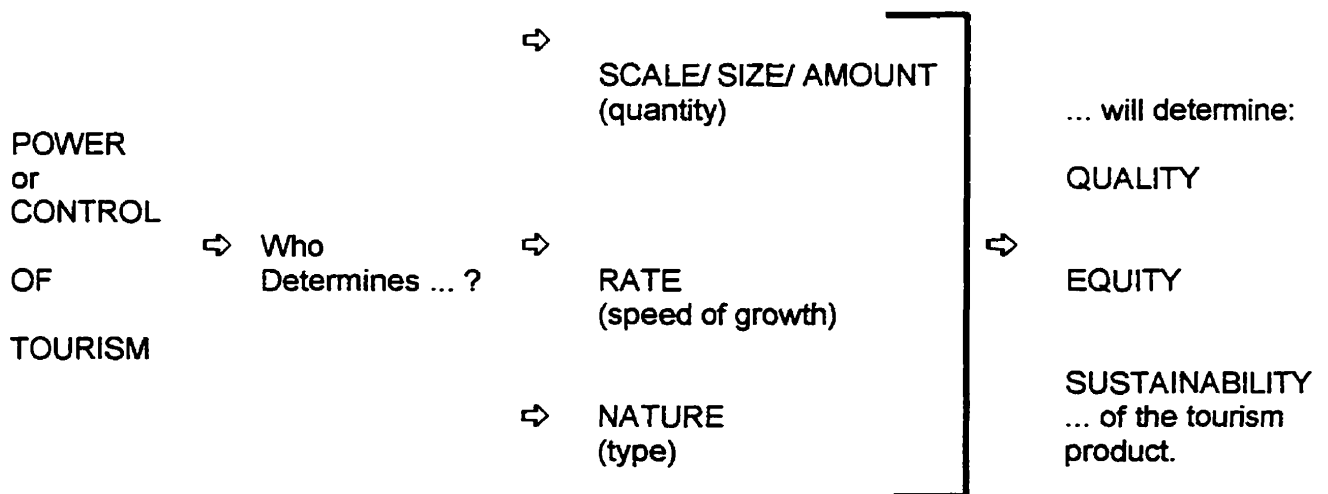
### **Involving Locals in Ecotourism Planning and Management**

Cater (1994) points out that to ensure the sustainability of ecotourism development on the part of destination areas, perhaps the most vital principle is to increase local involvement.

However, Butler (1990b) notes that it cannot be assumed that local interests and preferences will always be the most appropriate ones with respect to tourism development. He states that “many areas now regarded as poorly planned and developed have their origins in local residents involvement in tourism” (ibid.;16). Although Butler does not provide specific examples of what may constitute poorly planned and developed tourism enterprises, he states that in many marginal, poor, and undeveloped areas with few alternative sources of income, tourism is frequently welcomed. This is even so despite any problems tourism may create due to its high potential for economic returns.

There are several interesting points in Butler’s assertions regarding tourism impacts. Although he is referring more to mass tourism, Butler states that the key element is control or power, as portrayed in Figure 3.6. The question is “who determines the scale, rate, and nature of change?” A high degree of tourism development and/or management power by certain key actors, whether individuals or groups, will determine the quality, equity, and sustainability of tourism for a given area, whether it be negatively or positively.

**Figure 3.6** Major impacts of tourism (adapted from Butler 1990b)



This model by Butler demonstrates that impacts and effects of tourism are closely integrated and interrelated. As he mentions, “it is not possible to separate environmental effects from economic impacts in reality. Each impact, positive or negative, reacts with and affects

every other aspect of the destination area” (ibid.;16). Another point of contention is Butler’s assertion that “the only places which seem to have been successful in retaining quality and limiting numbers have made the paying return guests who receive luxury, privacy and high quality services” (ibid.;18).

De Kadt (1979) also mentions that the needs of local people cannot be isolated from wider socio-political considerations.

“Participation in tourism planning is likely to be meaningful only where popular participation in politics is acceptable to the government and is promoted as a counter weight to the power that can be mobilized by those who stand to gain most from uncontrolled development” (de Kadt 1979;10).

He also states it is essential that community interests be articulated from the moment potential projects are identified, and makes reference to Freire’s self-awareness:

“That usually means that *somehow* local people have to be helped to grasp the issues from *their* point of view, by a process of education and increasing self-awareness that Latin Americans have come to call *conscientisacion* [re: Freire]. Local community members would then need to be mobilized in active defense of their interests as they had come to see them. This is far from easy, especially if the wide sociopolitical context is unfavorable to popular demands” (de Kadt 1979;25-26).

The current trend is to incorporate resident input into destination area planning, because residents themselves are being increasingly seen as an essential part of an area’s hospitality atmosphere (Simmons 1994), or as the nucleus of the tourism product. Simmons feels that planning at the community level is vital if any region wishes to deliver tourism experiences which ensure both visitor satisfaction and ongoing benefits for local residents.

### **Community Unity and Power Relationships**

Community unity and power relationships and their linkages to ecotourism control (including ownership, management, employment and income) form the basis for this research.

There is a rich source of literature in both aspects (unity and power) to describe and evaluate community structures and processes. A few relevant concepts will be briefly examined as background to this research.

In his study of Chilean and Peruvian peasant farmers, Galjart examined the relationships and processes of rural community unity in cooperatives (Galjart 1976). Galjart considered solidarity as “the willingness to sacrifice resources or immediate gratification for the welfare of others, out of a feeling of unity ...[or] doing something for others without the prospect of material reward” (ibid.;102). He noted that power can be redistributed but a specialized skill cannot (e.g. handicraft weaving, mountain guide). Therefore, the scarcity of a given service that a person can provide may make it possible to claim a more than equitable share of the proceeds (ibid.;100).

Galjart also distinguished two types of solidarity: 1) mechanical solidarity, or sacrificing *resources* for a common goal, and 2) organic solidarity, or the sacrifice of *gratification* in order to preserve the unity of a group (ibid.;102). He postulated that a mixture of both types of solidarity is a functional requirement for development; that is, “members must be willing to strive for common goals and be able to accept a [re-] distribution” (ibid.102). Solidarity is not a static phenomenon, however. For example, Chodak (1972) observed that a growth in individualism is often accompanied by a decline in traditional (i.e. mechanical) solidarity, or a transition from ‘brotherhood to otherhood’.

The extent of community solidarity or unity may be positively or adversely affected by *power*, defined as the “ability to impose one’s will or advance one’s own interests” (Reed 1997, as adapted from West 1994). Community power has often been conceived of as either pluralist or elitist over the last four decades (Waste 1996). The elitist view assumes that political power is exercised by relatively few players. The pluralist view considers power as specialized – i.e. individuals that are influential in one public sector tend not to be so in another sector (ibid.). Elite realize that everyone benefits, albeit to varying degrees, if economic growth occurs within the community (Dye 1986). Local development is generally determined by the decisions of individual private entrepreneurs in the community who make primarily market driven decisions (ibid.; Douglas 1989).



As Reed (1997) pointed out, community tourism analysts such as Murphy (1985) tend to assume that the planning and policy process is a pluralistic one in which people have equal access to economic and political resources. Through her research on community-based tourism planning in Squamish, British Columbia, however, Reed (1997) suggested that tourism development requires a slow process of community-building, particularly when conventional stakeholders do not view it as a productive activity. According to Reed, the most active people in community decision-making and policy formation tend to be “local business people whose fortunes are tied to growth and the vitality of the community” (ibid.;371).

Dye went even further, suggesting that “only rarely do lower-income or minority group challenges succeed in modifying development policies” (Dye 1986;41). In this research, the influence of average or ‘poor’ citizens (relatively speaking, due to the rural, developing nation context) on the setting or implementation of tourism development policies is examined to determine if their voice has been heard. If so, has their collective or individual input resulted in a relatively equal distribution of economic or social benefits?

## **ECONOMIC PARAMETERS RELATED TO ECOTOURISM**

It is probable that tourism is more effective than other industries in generating employment and income in the less developed regions of a country where alternative opportunities for development are more limited (Archer and Cooper 1994). Therefore, the purpose of this section is to examine some of the more important economic factors and concepts that are linked with tourism. Some case studies, theories and mechanisms will be examined that address tourism or ecotourism activities from the perspective of local communities.

### **Related Literature: Economics and Ecotourism**

From a review of the relevant literature, it is apparent that ecotourism offers at least the *potential* to improve local economies while maintaining the natural resource base. The case has often been made that as a less consumptive activity compared to mass tourism or other

alternatives, ecotourism is a means to balance economic and environmental goals without damaging the sustainability of either. As mentioned, however, very few studies have been able to make definitive linkages between the profitability of ecotourism and local community participation. For example, Healy (1994) has noted that there is extensive literature on tourism and employment creation, but very few studies involving rural areas affected by nature tourism in developing nations (although this is changing rapidly).

Some notable exceptions of nature tourism economic analyses include Lindberg (1991;1993;1996) and Western (1982) in their respective analysis of fee-sharing systems. Others focusing on rural areas of developing nations include Place (1991), Healy (1988) and Boo (1990). Brandon and Wells (1992) discuss several case studies of park-related communities but offer little empirical data on how they have benefited economically (or failed to benefit) from tourism. One difficulty in conducting a tourism-based economic analysis is that there is no single comprehensive measure of a community's economic activity. In any study, the choice will be constrained by cost, data availability, and the questions being asked, as well as by the representativeness and accuracy of responses (Shaffer 1989;263,267).

One important concept to consider is the integration of an economy with its human, physical, and political environment. Daly (1991) has criticized basic economic analysis, or the typical circular flow diagram that rarely indicates the possibility of environmental interactions. He suggests that, "we must move away from that basic vision and consider the economy not as an isolated system, but rather as an open subsystem ... that lives off the total ecosystem through an exchange of materials and energy" (Daly 1991;13). Since ecotourism can encompass many economic sectors linked with environmental and community participation objectives, perhaps it is one alternative to move closer to Daly's cosmivision.

## **Distribution of Economic Benefits**

### Local Domination

One of the major issues that affects the sustainability of ecotourism, and perhaps even its credibility, is the distribution of benefits. Theophile (1995) has noted that "even when the

process is relatively decentralized and local communities have control, distribution problems exist” (Theophile 1995;27). A few individuals can dominate the ecotourism business and reap all the rewards. Generally, it is the citizens wielding enough power, connections and opportunism that stand to gain the most from tourism activities, and it is unlikely that they would be willing to share their economic benefits directly with the rest of the community (as also postulated by Freire).

Theophile feels that a fair distribution of economic gains is critical to any ecotourism project’s success or failure. If the majority of citizens feel left out of the process, it is unlikely that they will help contribute to its “success” (ibid.). In such a scenario, tourism benefits may continue, but only at the cost of alienating the local inhabitants by ignoring their needs and wants. In a worst case scenario, the tourism project may fail completely by deliberate sabotage, increased hostilities or collective indifference (ibid.).

Several authors such as Lanfant (1987) have criticized alternative tourism (or ecotourism) as a proposed panacea to the ills of society. One of the principle reasons for this criticism is the concern with exploitation of the economic potential by local elite in the community:

“Tourism development creates ‘winners’ and ‘losers’ among the local residents, often without a common acceptance as to the equity of such redistribution (of income and wealth). Alternatively, many of the ‘winners’ might be outsiders who are then viewed as exploiters of the native population and rapists of the land” (Lanfant 1987;9).

However, it should be recognized that almost any form of development will likely cause an inequitable distribution of revenues. Tourism development may be only one of several possible alternatives for local residents to find work, and may ultimately have fewer negative impacts compared to options that require intensive use of land and other resources.

There is also a cautionary note regarding the encouragement of local participation. Brohman (1996) asserts that unless specific measures are taken to encourage meaningful participation in community decision-making by members of the popular sectors (including traditionally disadvantaged groups), increased local participation may simply transfer control over development from one elite group to another (ibid;60). It stands to reason that if the

community has achieved a high degree of *control* over the tourism industry, rather than mere participation, local elite may wield much less power than would otherwise be the case.

### Local Inequalities

Traditionally, tourism development has been based on the idea that “trickle-down” effects will occur and benefit local people, when in reality it is usually those with the greatest access to power and resources (land, financial, etc.) that stand to gain the most. In an overview article on the socio-cultural impacts of tourism, Dogan (1989) argues that tourism can aggravate income inequalities. He stresses the need to differentiate between different host population groups, notably between those who are “better off” (who generally get more out of tourism) and the poor, whose life-style and culture is less like that of tourists, and who stand to gain fewer benefits from tourism (ibid.;225f).

Equality of economic benefits enjoyed from tourism may vary widely depending on several factors. Using the example of the handicraft industry in tourist areas, Healy (1994) observes that not all members of a given community may have the skill or inclination to make handicrafts or other tourist merchandise. He also suggests that some community members may already have more lucrative opportunities within the tourism industry (guiding, local transport, provision of food and shelter) or outside of it.

“As a result, creation of a new tourist-based industry can change economic relationships. For example, persons with unusual skills may earn disproportionately high returns” (Healy 1994;8)

Nevertheless, Healy recognizes that there are also positive aspects:

“[Although] revenue from producing tourist merchandise, along with other tourist-based income, can reinforce the traditional local hierarchy ... it can also greatly modify it ... Because capital requirements in making handicrafts are generally low, there are likely to be relatively more opportunities for entry by the poor than for more capital-intensive tourist sectors such as lodging and transport” (ibid.;8).

Therefore, although certain inequalities in a community may be in fact reinforced by tourism development, the potential benefits would appear to be outweigh the disadvantages. Increased and equitable distribution of revenue from ecotourism will give more incentive to local residents who may otherwise carry out unsustainable activities such as uncontrolled logging or poaching of wild animals, or simply not support any ecotourism initiative.

### Foreign Ownership of Tourism

One major concern in community-based tourism is who receives the economic benefits and how much. Bachmann (1988) ascertains that the chief beneficiaries of tourism development in the developing world are foreign capitalists, and the secondary beneficiaries are comprised of local economic and political elite. Tourists from abroad benefit from comparatively low prices in developing nation tourist destinations, while the local population is left with modest employment opportunities, the loss of economic and political decision-making, and predominantly negative socio-cultural effects from institutionalized tourism (ibid.;96).

Additionally, Wilkinson (1988) has argued that micro-states (small, developing nations) which become involved in tourism often find themselves enmeshed in a global system over which they cannot exercise control. They become the targets for what he refers to as *exogenous* decision making, as even those decisions governing the lives of local peoples are made elsewhere by other countries, multinational companies, or airlines (ibid.;158). So corporate and foreign control of tourism services may overwhelm even the best of intentions of local tourism planners and developers.

The lack of local control over tourism decision-making links up with the ideas of cultural invasion by foreign interests and local elite domination suggested by Freire (1970) and others. This would seem, then, to make a strong case for local ownership. However, de Kadt (1992) cautions that it would be naive to advocate local versus foreign ownership, without recognizing that the interests of a local elite are often more intimately bound with those of a foreign elite than with their co-residents. Again, if provisions are not made to increase local economic participation, there will be an increased likelihood of the domination of developing world tourism sectors by foreign interests (Brohman 1996).

## Tourism Employment

### Definition

Tourism is often considered as an export-based service industry, one that creates jobs in retail manufacturing, accommodation, transportation, advertising and a wide variety of other sectors. There are three major types of employment that may be measured to examine tourism-related economic effects on the community:

1. Direct employment: Those persons engaged, either on a full-time, part-time or casual basis, in the sales of merchandise or services to *tourists*.
2. Indirect employment: Those persons engaged, either on a full-time, part-time or casual basis, in the provision of supplies or services to *tourism businesses* (or those directly employed in tourism).
3. Induced employment: Employment generated by expenditures of employees or suppliers to tourism industry on *household* goods and services.

In this research, the focus will be on direct employment, although indirect employment will also be examined to a lesser extent.

### Effects of Employment in Ecotourism

The creation of tourism-related jobs for local residents is a commonly cited ecotourism objective. Lindberg (1996;553) in a recent study has mentioned that “this objective stems not only from the principle of equity, but from the principle that tourism jobs reflect a concrete benefit of conservation”. Another interesting finding was that even a modest handicraft operation can generate a significant economic impact at the local level (ibid.;554-556).

De Kadt (1979) mentions that “the most obvious and immediate benefit of tourism is the creation of jobs and the opportunity for people to increase their income and standard of living.” He goes on to add that tourism can generate considerable indirect employment, especially in agriculture, food processing, handicrafts, transport and distribution, and a range of local light manufacturing industries.

Many authors have lamented that jobs created through tourism rely heavily on low-skill, low-wage, seasonal and part-time (predominately female) labor (Ryan 1991). Still, Ioannides (1995) points out that this argument must be treated cautiously, since the types of jobs created should be examined within the context of each country's level of economic development. Tourism-related jobs in less developed parts of the world generally can and do pay higher wages compared to other sectors (ibid.;241).

It is difficult to obtain adequate and reliable data to measure the effects of tourism on employment in developing countries. Even where data are adequate, Harrison (1992) observes that since tourism cuts across many economic sectors, it is difficult to estimate the effect it has on employment (Harrison 1992;15). However, some studies have been conducted in an attempt to measure the importance of tourism in job creation. In Bermuda, tourism was responsible for the direct employment of almost two-thirds of the labor force in 1985 (Archer 1987).

In other Latin American nations, significant numbers of jobs have been created through *ecotourism*, notably Belize, Costa Rica, and Ecuador. Brown (1991, as quoted in Jacobson and Robles 1992) found that about half of the Tortuguero residents in Costa Rica were employed in tourism-related jobs through hotels, the Tortuguero National Park or a turtle research station. However, as frequently reported for tourist developments in developing countries (e.g. Mathieson and Wall 1982), a number of the administrative or other high paying positions were held by people living outside Tortuguero.

In addition, Place (1988) reported that primarily only four families in Tortuguero benefited economically from tourism in 1986. It was shown that social and economic costs have been paid by local people, such as the loss of income in traditional activities (collecting turtle eggs, harvesting lumber, subsistence agriculture), and which are a direct result of national park initiatives (Place 1991). From an environmental perspective, turtle egg collecting and timber harvesting has stopped elsewhere in Costa Rica, not because of park management but because the resource base has been destroyed (Eagles 1998).

## **Tourism and Inflation**

Several authors have noted that tourism can generate local social and economic costs. Lindberg & Enriquez (1994) discovered that the primary economic cost at the local level was found to be inflation, since tourism places demands on often scarce resources, including land and food. In cases where the benefits are not widely distributed, the authors state that some residents may actually be worse off with tourism than without. Tourism can lead to an increase in the cost of living and make resources inaccessible to local people. Inflationary pressures lead to increases in the cost of consumer goods, land and houses, thus making it difficult for some local people to remain in their community (Cater 1987;221).

## **Leakages**

Equally important is to estimate with as much accuracy as possible, given the various limitations of time and cost, the amount of tourism expenditure that stays in the community. Lindberg and Huber (1993) have stated that 'leakages' (defined as the amount of money that leaves the destination region to pay for outside goods and services) have not been adequately quantified. One common estimate is that less than 10 percent of tourist spending remains in communities near ecotourism destinations (ibid.;105). To some extent, this is simply due to the nature of the tourism industry; substantial funds are spent on marketing and transport before tourists even reach the destination. Butler (1992) has stated that in alternative tourism areas, the economies are normally very simple with high levels of leakage, thus retaining only a smaller amount of tourist expenditures in the area.

Again, it may be possible that leakages could be reduced substantially if local citizens are higher up Arnstein's Ladder, since it would be in the community's best interest to retain as much of the tourism-generated revenue for themselves. However, it is likely that more than citizen participation and control is required to reduce leakages. The communities would also need to formulate and strengthen collaborative linkages with outside governments and marketing agents, so that more revenues remain within the hands of the community and there is less reliance on external inputs to support the tourism industry.



Leakages may also be related to the policy of import substitution, or placing emphasis on domestic production to replace the need to import various consumption articles. Import substitution began during the 1950s when it was adopted by many Latin American regimes as the proper development strategy to reduce dependence on the so-called 'industrialized' nations (Hettne 1995;92-93). Initially, it worked rather well but eventually proved inadequate for two principal reasons: 1) the industrial process necessitated inputs which had to be imported, creating a technological and financial dependence, and 2) the pattern of income distribution in Latin America confined the demand for manufactures to a relatively small elite (ibid.).

In the context of leakages from tourism, it stands to reason that more money will remain in the community if tourists can purchase locally-produced goods and services. A policy of import substitution may help increase local revenues in certain areas that rely heavily on non-local goods and services. For example, native food could be offered instead of more expensive, imported items such as pop or canned goods.

### **Revenues from Ecotourism**

Ecotourism offers unique opportunities for local residents to profit from sales of services to outside consumers (tourists). The amount of revenues gained will depend to a large degree on the number of tourists visiting the community. Whether this level of tourism is sufficient or not to meet community or government expectations requires further study on a site-specific basis. Every community will differ in their collective wants and needs, as well as the 'attractiveness' of the destination for tourist demand. Healy (1994) mentions three major options for local capture of tourist revenues:

1. Local people can operate or work in establishments providing lodging, food, or services to the tourists;
2. Entrance fees to parks or historical attractions can be distributed to local governments or community organizations;
3. Local people can sell souvenirs, crafts or other merchandise to tourists.

With respect to the last option, it has been generally assumed without supporting evidence that communities may benefit from handicraft sales to tourists. Healy observed that, at least up to the time of his article (1994), there was no literature on the specific subject of tourist merchandise and nature reserves. He explained that craft producers find it worthwhile to produce even when returns seem too low to justify the effort, because they have the ability to work episodically:

“In the Peruvian Town of Taquile, for example, it is reported that despite rates of return that are normally much less than a dollar a day weaving output in Taquile and nearby communities has mushroomed in recent years. One reason is that weaving, despite its low rate of return, can be done during spare hours when there are no other cash-making alternatives” (Healy and Zorn 1983;7 in Healy 1994).

Tourism is an attractive option for less developed regions and countries due to its high potential for economic development. Generally, tourism requires lower per capita investment, lower technological and labor skills, and faces less protectionism in world markets than does manufacturing (Shaw and Williams 1994;27). Adding to this, de Kadt (1979) makes the following points regarding tourism revenues:

- tourism earnings are generally higher than other sectors, especially agriculture.
- secondary spill-over effects in other sectors, through increased demand for food products, souvenirs, and other goods (generates employment in agriculture, food processing, handicrafts, and light manufacturing).
- tourism may not only generate jobs, but also generates incomes for others (investors, landowners, banks, etc.). The government is also a major beneficiary through taxation (indirect taxes on goods and services purchased by tourists as well as direct taxes on income generated in the sector).

Munasinghe (1992) has observed that many parks are surrounded by poverty while the tourism business is controlled by a handful of the wealthy. Local communities generally lack the funds for proper management. Therefore, in order to compensate local people for the loss of use

of nearby resources and to obtain their collaboration in protecting parks, Munasinghe (ibid.) suggests that a larger proportion of tourism revenues should be recycled locally.

A related question is whether or not earnings from tourism improve the living standards of the host population. As Ryan (1991) points out, although wages from tourism in Gambia are higher than other sectors, they have not proven sufficient to better the country's standard of living. Nevertheless, Brohman (1996) suggests that the success of a tourism development strategy should not only be measured in terms of increasing tourist numbers or revenues:

“Tourism should also be assessed according to how it has been integrated into the broader development goals of existing local communities, as well as the ways in which tourism-related investments and revenues have been used to benefit those communities. Tourism development can indeed be positive for local communities if their needs and interests are given priority over the goals of the industry *per se*” (Brohman 1996;60).

### **Perceived Benefits**

Perceived benefits of tourism may differ quite radically from actual benefits derived from tourism activities. Long and Glendinning (1992) have expanded on the perceived benefits of community-driven tourism initiatives, which include policy implementation assistance, the generation of local enthusiasm, the avoidance of confrontation, access to local skills, identification of persons and groups involved in decision-making, the encouragement of long-term projects and the balance of physical and commercial orientations in development. Perceived benefits also include values and aspirations of local communities. Mandziuk (1995) stated that “resident participation in ecotourism projects can help to foster renewed pride in a community's natural resources, and local culture, traditions and heritage” (Mandziuk 1995;30).

Prentice (1993), in a study of resident's preferences in an upland area of North England (North Pennines), found that tourism may have been over-promoted as a means of economic development. The study was conducted to investigate the perceived need for and perceptions of economic development strategies, the perceived benefits and disbenefits of tourism, and preferences in the issue of jobs at the expense of the environment (ibid.;221). The findings from

this study were that residents generally 'perceived' tourism to be a beneficial sector of their economy, yet few households individually claimed to 'benefit' from tourism. Interestingly enough, it was discovered that beneficiaries are more likely to support tourism development and to see the disadvantages of tourism as less than do other residents.

Prentice concludes by stating that in contentious matters of tourism development, a community can be expected to divide in terms of whether or not its members see themselves as benefiting or "likely to benefit" (i.e. perceived benefits) from tourism development (ibid.;226). This may cause potential problems for community-driven initiatives, which rely on the homogeneity of view that communities are expected to arrive at by 'sharing' decision-making. According to Prentice, there is no guarantee that differences in opinions can be resolved without dissension between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (ibid.;226).

Both Madrigal (1993) and Lankford and Howard (1994) report a positive relationship between perceived personal benefits and beliefs about personal influences on tourism decision-making. Peace *et al* (1997) stated that those residents who may benefit from tourism (either because they or their family members are employed in tourism, or because they believe that its benefits outweigh the costs) are more likely to support and report greater positive (or negative) impacts from tourism (Pearce *et al* 1994;21).

Still, noticeably absent from these and other analyses is specifically how community decision-making in tourism planning and development may affect actual or perceived benefits. If a community truly participates in an integrated manner in its tourism industry, it may be that there would be both greater perceived and actual socio-economic benefits.

### **Lindberg's Mechanisms for Increasing Local Benefits in Ecotourism**

One recent study of the economic aspects of ecotourism is An Analysis of Ecotourism's Economic Contribution to Conservation and Development in Belize (Lindberg & Enriquez 1994). Lindberg in particular is one of the few authors that has researched how ecotourism can provide economic benefits for local communities. The Belizean case study found that tourism can make a significant contribution to communities as follows:

1. Low levels of benefits can make an important contribution to local economies.
2. Tourism often complements, rather than replaces, historic work activities.
3. Benefits can often be gained with relatively low levels of investment by residents.

Some of the mechanisms suggested by Lindberg & Enriquez (1994) for increasing local benefits in ecotourism are as follows:

- local ownership and management of ecotourism resource
- partial ownership, leasing, or profit sharing between tourism industry & residents
- local employment in tourism industry
- direct payments to communities from tourism revenues

Nevertheless, although this case study of ecotourism in Belize analytically demonstrates that ecotourism can be very profitable for local communities, it largely ignored the community participation process as a potential *key* to generating economic benefits.

## **SUMMARY: COMMUNITY INTEGRATION IN ECOTOURISM**

It may seem contradictory to encourage citizen participation, given all its constraints and opportunities, while at the same time expecting high economic returns. For example, Milne (1987) highlighted tensions in a study of the Cook Islands that may exist between different development goals and the role of different strategies in attaining them. The two major tourism objectives of the government were to maximize gross tourist revenue generation on one hand, while maximizing local participation on the other.

Milne described how intensification of development characterized by foreign-owned establishments with minimal local linkages might meet the first objective, but local control would be sacrificed. Conversely, encouragement of alternative tourist development would enhance local participation and reduce leakages, but at the expense of lower tourist expenditures (ibid.).

He suggested that an optional solution continues to lie along a path between the two roles. There may be some validity in Milne's argument for a compromise between maximizing local control and tourism revenue generation. However, few studies have empirically demonstrated that the promotion of locally-driven ecotourism with full community participation (hence, leading to integration) would either decrease or increase economic returns in terms of revenues and employment.

The concept of sustainability in tourism as linked to community participation has also not been highly developed. Among the criteria suggested by Long and Glendinning (1992;L.14) for sustainable tourism development, they mentioned that 1) tourism should be integrated with other economic sectors to bring maximum benefits to local communities, and 2) benefits should be fairly distributed, with economic benefits remaining within the locality. The authors also mention what is essentially the underpinning rationale for this research:

“... central to sustainable tourism is the host community, the contribution that they make to the tourism experience and the acceptance that they must share in the benefits. To achieve this there must be liaison with and the active involvement of communities in the planning, development, and management of tourism ... [and] to encourage an approach that will meet a broader range of community needs than purely job creation and income generation” (Long and Glendinning 1992;L.14).

For this research, one major determinant of the eventual outcome of a given community's involvement in ecotourism is how high up Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation that the community can be placed. If a community can be considered as having a high degree of participation bordering on local control, then positive outcomes should be expected as a result. Ideally, for a community to be truly integrated in its economy, and if ecotourism is to be considered sustainable, then all major factors would have to be enhanced: i.e. economic, social and environmental. As mentioned previously, the focus in this research is on economic outcomes, both perceived and actual. In addition, social outcomes are measured to a lesser degree concerning individual and community attitudes and perceptions of tourism, and measures of participation in decision-making. Environmental sustainability also merits equal treatment,

but it was felt that more detail and knowledge would be gained from concentrating on one main aspect of the sustainability equation.

This literature review has attempted to draw and link together several factors. The most important for this research are economic theory, power theory, community development and community participation (leading to integration) in ecotourism. This background has led to a hypothesis and several sub-hypotheses to be tested in this research. To re-state the main hypothesis: community integration in ecotourism decision-making will enhance the socio-economic well-being of the community, whether perceived or actual.

As Brandon (1996) suggests, “perhaps the single most important consideration in how ecotourism affects rural communities is the level and type of control which local people have in its development” (Brandon 1996;29). In other words, it is not only who makes the decisions but how they are made, how they are implemented and to what extent do the people participate in the distribution of economic benefits. How does local participation in the ecotourism industry affect the people’s means of livelihood and the equitable sharing of benefits? Is the level of local participation in decision-making of a consultative nature or has the community reached a level of *conscientization* that has given them control of their own needs, desires and destiny?

These are some of the questions that will be explored in the following chapters of this research. It is expected that a community with a highly integrated role in decision-making processes of the local ecotourism industry will achieve enhanced socio-economic outcomes.

## CHAPTER 4: AN OVERVIEW OF PERU AND ITS ECOTOURISM INDUSTRY

Chapter 4 is a brief summary of the case study context within Peru (see Figures 4.1 and 4.2. for maps of Peru). It is by no means definitive, due to the rich complexity of Peru's biogeographical, cultural, historical and political factors. Only those aspects relevant to this study are discussed to maintain focus on the research questions.

**Figure 4.1** Location of Peru within South America<sup>a</sup>



<sup>a</sup> Source: Rachowiecki, Rob. 1996. *Peru: A Travel Survival Kit*, Lonely Planet Publications, Australia. Reproduced by permission of Lonely Planet Publications and Rob Rachowiecki.



Figure 4.2 Detailed Map of Peru<sup>b</sup>



<sup>b</sup> Source: Rachowiecki, Rob. 1996. *Peru: A Travel Survival Kit*, Lonely Planet Publications, Australia. Reproduced by permission of Lonely Planet Publications and Rob Rachowiecki.

## PERU: GENERAL FACTS

### Geography

Peru is the third-largest country in South America and is bordered by five neighbours: Ecuador to the northwest, Columbia to the northeast, Brazil and Bolivia to the east, and Chile to the south. Total population is 22.6 million people (1993 census), of which over seven million live in the capital on the Pacific coast, Lima. Peru is politically divided into 24 departments (states) and the constitutional province of Callao.

The country has three distinct geographic zones: the *costa*, the *sierra*, and the *selva*. The *costa*, or coast, is a narrow strip between the Pacific Ocean and the Andes Mountains. It stretches from north to south over 2,200 km and its population is largely urban. In contrast, the *sierra* is dominated by the Andes. Almost half of Peru's population is found in the *altiplano*, or highlands of the sierra – mostly rural Indians or mestizos who practice subsistence agriculture. The *selva*, or jungle, is the beginning of the great Amazon Basin and encompasses more than 60% of Peru.

### Brief History (mid-1980s to present)

From 1985-90, disastrous economic and political policies by then president Alan García and his APRA government led the country to near-bankruptcy. Elected to power in 1990, the government of Alberto Fujimori had to contend with a legacy of hyperinflation, decapitalization, deep recession, destruction of much of the financial system and institutional decay (Paredes and Sachs 1991). The Fujimori administration launched a shock-treatment stabilization program in 1990 (the so-called *paquetazo* or 'Fuji-shock'), which was followed by extensive structural adjustment policies, re-insertion into the global economy and privatization of government-owned corporations such as national banks and public utilities.

Still, progress was slow and hardest hit were Peru's indigenous and rural poor. By 1991, large parts of Peru were governed de facto by terrorist groups, mainly *Sendero Luminosa* (or Shining Path) and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), and drug traffickers (ibid.). A significant number of the rural poor migrated or were driven down to the coast in the

years following violence and political unrest. However, by the mid-1990s the country was on a discernible path to economic stability and growth. Riding on a wave of popularity from the capture of terrorist leaders and bringing the economy under control, Fujimori was overwhelmingly reelected for another five-year term in 1995.

## **Economy**

Economic growth in Peru reached 12% in 1994 and 7% in 1995 (CIDA 1996). Despite this performance, economic recovery remains fragile. Peru is still plagued by serious income distribution problems and extreme poverty. GNP per capita in 1996 barely reached the 1965 level (ibid.). In 1995, the largest sector of the working population (about 33%) was involved in agriculture and fishing, but this produced only 13% of the value of the gross domestic product (GDP) (Rachowiecki 1996). Only 20% of the economically active population is adequately employed (CIDA 1996).

Income distribution in Peru is extremely skewed toward the wealthy minority. For example, in the mid-1980s, 35% of total household consumption was attributed to the most affluent 10% of the population (Paredes and Sachs 1991;53). There is also a high correlation between the distribution of income and the geographic distribution of the population. During the mid-1980s, seven out of every ten families of the poorest 20% of the population lived in rural areas (ibid.;53). In South America, only Bolivia ranks lower in terms of the UNDP's Human Development Index (CIDA 1996;88).

## **Selected Statistics**

Over half of Peru's population is indigenous (Indian) with 47% that speak Quechua (Rachowiecki 1996). The currency of Peru is the Nuevo Sol; in the early part of 1997 one \$US

was worth approximately S/2.50. Additional information from the 1995 UNDP Human Development Report<sup>e</sup> includes:

- 87% adult literacy rate (1992)
- 5.6 million people without access to health services (1985-93)
- 6.3 million people without access to safe drinking water (1988-93)
- 29% of population considered rural (1992)
- 72% of rural population living in poverty (1990)
- 2.9% of total land area considered arable (1992)

## **ECOTOURISM IN PERU**

Peru was a promising destination for ecotourists and adventure travellers in the 1970s. However, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the combination of economic and political instability, widespread terrorist activities and a serious cholera outbreak resulted in the virtual destruction of the country's tourism industry. For example, Peru was one of only three countries in the Western Hemisphere where arrivals actually declined over the 1980 to 1992 period (Blackstone 1995). Lack of government funding and/or donor support meant that tourism services and infrastructure were not upgraded or maintained. The former government agency FOPTUR (now PROMPERU), as the owner of extensive hotel and other tourism properties throughout the country, was essentially competing with the private sector (ibid.).

On the positive side, the country has been on a path of continued stability and has the potential to become one of the world's major ecotourism and adventure travel destinations (ibid.). Peru has enormous opportunities in all aspects of ecotourism, including nature watching, heritage and archaeology, trekking and mountain climbing, river trips and other activities. It is among the five countries with the greatest biological diversity in the world, likely the most diverse in terms of bird species (over 1,600) and third most diverse in mammals (ibid.).

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<sup>e</sup> Source: UNDP. 1995. Human Development Report. United Nations Development Programme. Oxford University Press, New York.

Peru also possesses some of the most exciting heritage resources in the world, such as the Inca ruins at Machu Picchu, the Nazca Lines and the Tomb of Sipan. The spectacular Huascarán National Park with more than 50 peaks over 19,000 feet (> 5750 m.a.s.l.) is an example of the abundance of opportunities for mountain-oriented tourism in Peru.

## **GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OF TOURISM**

Tourism has been identified by President Fujimori as one of the country's top four priority sectors (the others being mining, agriculture and fishing). Tourism has become the fastest-growing sector in Peru's economy, expanding an average 29% annually over the past four years (Boza 1997). However, it has been widely recognized that basic tourism services in Peru are either lacking or considered poor. For example, in the first half of 1997 the Tourism Protection Service had investigated more than 10,000 complaints from domestic and foreign tourists (El Comercio 1997a).

Jorge Shepherd, an economist with the World Bank, stated that two million new direct and indirect jobs could be created in the next five years in Peru if tourism services and basic infrastructure were improved (El Comercio 1997b). The Peruvian government was described as not having a "clear vision" with respect to tourism development. A "Master Tourism Plan" being prepared by Japanese consultants was criticized for its lack of private sector or even governmental awareness; "Japan does not make any significant tourism investments in the country [compared to how] Canada, Spain or even Mexico and Argentina could with their extensive tourism experience" (ibid.). The Peruvian state should recognize that local governments are the "true promoters of tourism development in their communities" (ibid.).

Barring the return of terrorism or other problems that have impeded tourism growth in Peru, one consultant recently suggested a high annual growth scenario of 18% additional tourists was likely (Blackstone 1995). According to the authors, this scenario would occur regardless of whether or not the government takes a 'proactive' approach, since it was apparent that demand for ecotourism will continue to grow (ibid.). This would represent international arrivals that

would exceed one million visitors by the year 2000. In 1997, there were 731,000 international visits to Peru (PROMPERU 1998). However, the actual number of vacationing foreign visitors is likely lower since this figure includes business visitors or those coming to visit family or friends. For example, it was estimated that 120,000 visitors (or 32%) in 1994 were foreign tourists out of a total of 376,000 (Monitor 1995).

In terms of conserving biodiversity, a national system of parks and protected areas is increasingly gaining importance. Despite many problems, Peru has set aside over 5.5 million hectares of land for protection representing 6% of the country. As of 1995, there were 44 formally created protected areas. Since 1991, protection has been legislated through the National System of Natural Areas Protected for the State (SINANPE). However, Peru has yet to develop a master plan that would effectively coordinate the national reserves, parks and sanctuaries. It was suggested that a 'high level of awareness' had to be created among the general population, and especially high-ranking officials in the government; without strong support at the highest levels, no positive action would occur to adequately protect natural areas (Blackstone 1995).

## **PLANNING FOR ECOTOURISM IN PERU**

In 1995, the World Bank sanctioned the report Ecotourism and Environmental Linkages in Peru: A Framework for Action carried out by Blackstone Corporation Resource Management and Tourism Consultants. The report strongly suggested that the government of Peru enact an action plan to meet the following three key goals:

1. Facilitation of the development of the country's nascent ecotourism industry with a supportive institutional setting, and sound policies and regulations;
2. Protection of the environment on which the ecotourism industry depends; and
3. Protection of local people's interests as tourism development occurs. (ibid.5)

Cuzco was recognized as one community that has "benefited significantly" from tourism development in Peru, but the Blackstone report claimed most other communities do not appear to

be benefiting from the industry, mainly due to low numbers of tourists (ibid.;4-29). Also, poor or non-existent educational and governmental support has resulted in a general lack of awareness and resources to develop tourism. A 'community action plan' was one alternative suggested to increase tourism participation in communities such as Iquitos, with government involvement "aimed at identifying community interests, potential development opportunities, training requirements, etc." (ibid.;4-29).

Regarding tourism opportunities for indigenous groups in the Peruvian Amazon, there was some discussion of cultural sensitivity related to local economic benefits. For example:

"It is certainly true that one cannot speak generally about 'creating economic benefits for local people' when . . . [they] may currently have no capacity for, or interest in, becoming entrepreneurs 'over night' . . . People can and should be brought in to the ecotourism industry, but only over time as the industry develops, and as their evolving interest levels and capacities warrant." (ibid.;4-13)

While understandable due to potentially damaging impacts on isolated indigenous groups, this hesitancy to involve local communities from the onset is highly protective of the established tourism industry. The concept that tour operators should be the first to develop tourism, and only once established would locals be asked to join in, definitely does not contribute to local sustainable development. However, the report also recognized that benefits accrued through the development of the Peruvian tourism industry "must be realized not only by tour operators, but by the local people" (ibid.;7), although it failed to provide details in how this could occur.

The Blackstone Report concluded with a recommendation to develop a national consensus on ecotourism by conferences, workshops and/or seminars (ibid.). There was recognition of the government's desire to see the public sector "drive economic development of the country", but the government "must [also] strike a balance in its approach to ecotourism" (ibid.;7-2). Peru's government was seen as critical in 'setting the stage' to support the private sector in developing the industry "to the benefit of both government and private sector coffers", but only by ensuring that the country's resources were not degraded (ibid.;7-2). Overall, the Blackstone report was quite informative with respect to the high potential for ecotourism in Peru.

However, there was conspicuously little mention of rural community involvement and opportunities to enrich *their* 'coffers', or how they could be made part of the 'stakeholder' consensus-building team.

## **NATURE- ADVENTURE TOURISM ANALYSIS**

In 1995, the Monitor Company conducted a national tourism survey of over 250 tourists in Peru. Its principal goal was "to analyze why the nature-adventure tourism market has advanced so slowly, and to suggest tourism strategies for the public and private sector to ensure development of the enormous tourism potential in the country" (Monitor 1995;2).

A nature-adventure tourist was defined as a traveller "that looks for active interaction with remote nature and/or indigenous cultures" (ibid.;11). Of the nature-adventure tourists that visit Peru, a total of 76% come to visit Machu Picchu, 61% for nature, 56% go trekking and 54% visit handicraft markets (ibid.). It was also found that only 10% (about 40 or 50) of North American nature-adventure tourism wholesalers control 90% of sales. The Monitor report did not perceive this to be domination of the Peruvian tourism market by foreign interests, but as an "attractive channel" to focus a national marketing strategy (ibid.;16).

The Monitor report stated that nature-adventure tourists are not *mochileros* or 'backpackers' (perhaps suggesting that backpackers have frugal spending habits, hence are less desirable as a marketing segment). American nature-adventure tourists were found to be more economically solvent and more educated than the 'average' tourist. During their stay, a typical nature-adventure tourist spends about \$1,650 US (\$104 US daily), or almost \$500 US more than conventional tourists (ibid.;12). Their average age is 50 years and they stay an average of 16 days, compared to 10 days for conventional tourists. They also stay in basic accommodations during at least part of their visit to Peru. In 1995, 35% stayed at least one night in a hostel, 25% stayed in a basic lodging (shelter) and 22% camped (ibid.;25).



The Monitor report classified the North American nature-adventure tourist to Peru into three distinct categories (market segments) based on their trip preferences and willingness to spend, as follows:

1. Economic: those tourists that want to experience the emotion of nature-adventure tourism, but by paying the lowest amount possible. Still, these 'backpackers' had a relatively significant expenditure of \$120 US daily.
2. Quality and Excitement: those tourists that are looking for a particularly exciting and unique experience, but without demanding luxury or sophisticated lodging and transport. This group was the largest in the American market, and their daily average expenditure was \$173 US.
3. Luxury: those tourists that want unique experiences with maximum comfort, and are willing to spend an average of \$271 US daily (ibid.;14).

The Monitor report suggested that the Peruvian government and businesses should concentrate their marketing and service provision efforts on "Quality and Excitement", at least for the short term. It was felt that the third tourist category desire a level of service that Peru was not capable of offering in the short term, but that the second category of tourists demand less and appreciate more the tourist resources that Peru has to offer (ibid.).

## **CHAPTER 5: TAQUILE ISLAND AND CHIQUIAN, PERU**

Chapter 5 introduces the two case sites in Peru for this research: Taquile Island on Lake Titicaca and Chiquian in the region of Huaraz. Two observations need clarification: 1) much greater information for Taquile Island was obtained compared to Chiquian, which explains the heavier concentration on the former in this chapter, and 2) Taquile Island is often shortened to 'Taquile' to reduce repetition.

### **THE TAQUILE ISLAND CONTEXT**

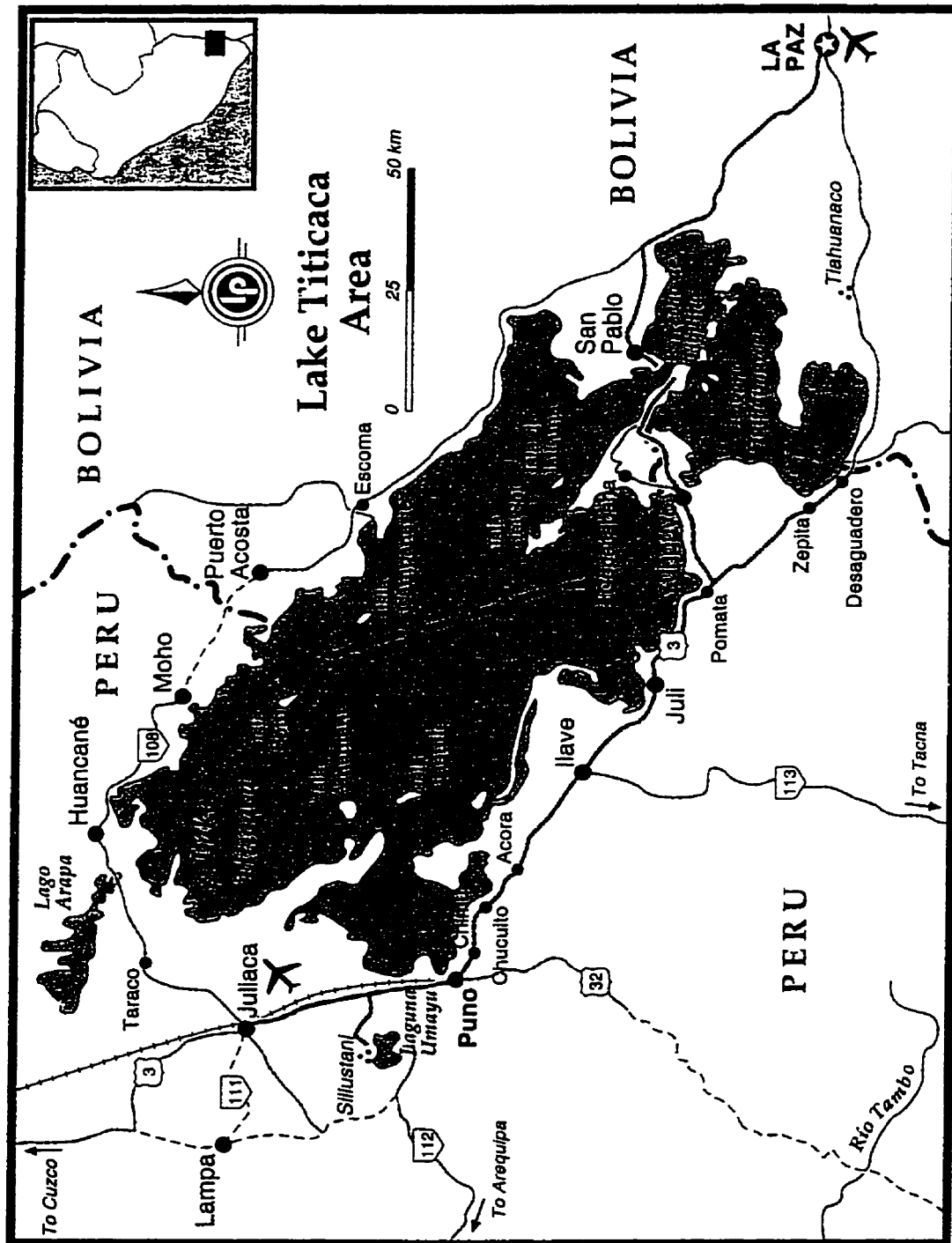
#### **Location**

Taquile Island is located in the Department of Puno in the extreme southeast end of Peru, on Lake Titicaca. It lies about 25 kilometers or 3½ hours by small motorized boat from Puno, the capital of the region with just over 100,000 inhabitants (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). Taquile has 1,401 people according to the 1993 census (several sources indicated the current population is about 1,850). According to local government officials, there were 400 houses on the island of which 350 were occupied. Situated at 3812 m.a.s.l., the surface area of the island is 754 hectares with 65% of the area that is cultivated (Valencia Blanco 1989).

Lake Titicaca is often reported as the world's highest lake (it is one of the world's highest navigable lakes). Although Taquile was not mentioned, Blackstone (1995) discussed its close neighbour Amantani Island in its report:

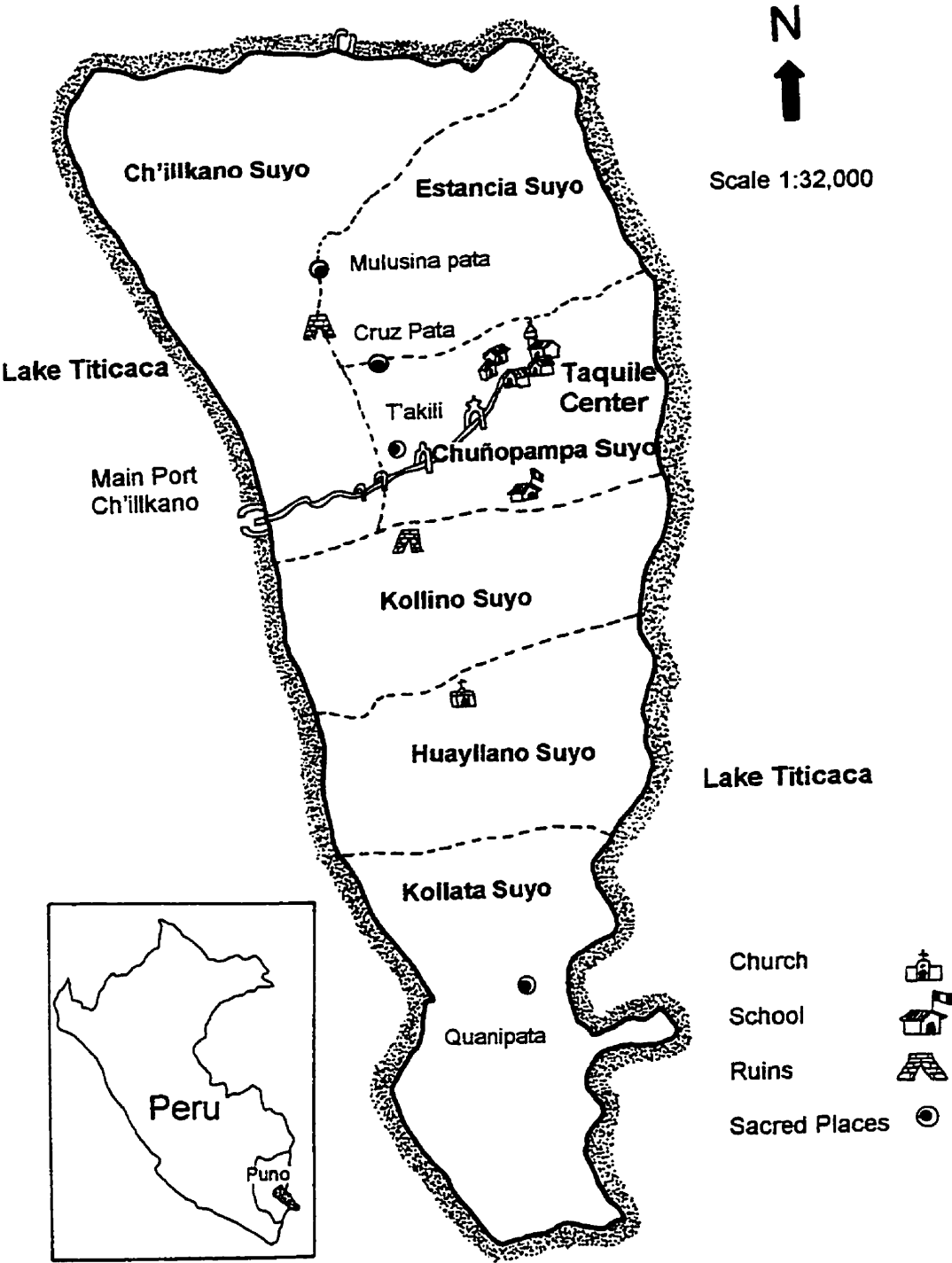
**"Both negative and positive comments were heard about the area, in terms of the impacts of tourism on the local people, notably with respect to the recently 'discovered' destination of Amantani Island. The fascinating traditional cultural setting has begun to attract many tourists to this extremely poor and isolated community, and some efforts are required to establish how the local people are faring in light of this" (1995;4-20).**

Figure 5.1 Map of Lake Titicaca and Taquile Island<sup>a</sup>



<sup>a</sup> Source: Rachowiecki, Rob. 1996. *Peru: A Travel Survival Kit*, Lonely Planet Publications, Australia. Reproduced by permission of Lonely Planet Publications and Rob Rachowiecki.

**Figure 5.2** Map of Taquile Island<sup>b</sup>



<sup>b</sup> Source: Adapted from Granadino, Cecilia and Cronwell Jara Jiménez. 1996. Las Ranas Embajadoras de la Lluvia. MINKA, Lima.

## Early History

The people of Taquile (or Taquileños) have developed a rich culture and are highly industrious in agriculture, fishing and weaving. All islanders speak a local dialect of Quechua, a native and official language of Peru. This contrasts with other primarily Aymara-speaking Lake Titicaca communities. Most Taquileños are Catholic but there is a sizeable minority that is Adventist, which dates back to a temple constructed in 1973.

Since the time of the pre-Inca Tiahuanaco culture, Taquile Island has undergone radical changes ranging from slavery and feudalism to private ownership under a democratic system. The first mention of Taquile was in 1580 when the Spaniard Pedro Gonzáles de Taquila acquired the islands of Taquile and Amantaní from Charles V, the king of Spain (Matos Mar 1957, as quoted in Prochaska 1990). From that point on until 1930, the islanders were ruled and forced to pay tribute to *hacendados*, or landowners.

From 1917-1931, the island was a place of exile for political prisoners. One infamous prisoner who stayed on the island from 1921-24 was Luis M. Sánchez Cerro, who later served as president of Peru during 1930-31. Cerro repaid his friendship with the leader of the community, Prudencia Huatta, by setting the process in motion for Peruvian *campesinos* (peasant farmers) to gain legal title to their lands. The egalitarian character of Taquileño society emerged from shared poverty when the Taquileños began to pool their savings and act collectively to purchase the island. After almost four centuries of persecution and a long judicial process, the inhabitants of Taquile finally acquired total ownership of the island in 1960 for 10,000 Soles (Valencia Blanco 1989;20).

## Local Government

The administration of Taquile is based on socio-geographical divisions and a unique combination of Inca and modern political systems. Geographically, Taquile has six distinct *suyos* or regions; a *suyo* is an Inca term referring to family groupings in specific areas. Each *suyo* is represented by 50 to 105 families. Each *suyo* belong to one of four distinct socio-geographical

areas called an *ayllu*. The *ayllus* are represented by a *varayoc* (or *jilakata*), the island's traditional and legal (male) authority figures. A *varayoc* is responsible for 'keeping peace' with respect to any land or other disputes and for managing communal work within his respective *ayllu*.

An elected Lieutenant Governor is the highest ranking authority on the island who is responsible for all public issues and who meets with local governments of Amantani Island and Puno. The next highest ranking officials are the Mayor and the President of Taquile. Together with the four *varayoc*, these main authorities form the *illicata* or local government of Taquile. All public positions are held for one year until new elections are held and others are called upon as candidates to replace those finishing their terms.

Nobody is a member of a political party on Taquile (Prochaska 1990). Taquile pertains to the district of Amantani and to the Department of Puno. According to Prochaska, there are no crimes on the island; "with the help of the authorities or in the assemblies on Sundays in the plaza, they generally resolve their problems and disputes" (ibid.;28).

### **The Beginnings of Tourism**

In the 1960s, the poorest Taquileños eked out a living by fishing from reed boats on Lake Titicaca. For cash, the men worked seasonally on coastal farms, in the southern copper mines and at odd jobs in nearby cities (Healy and Zorn, 1983). Until the 1970s, Taquile remained relatively isolated for the only way to reach the island was by the typical means of transportation: wooden sailboats. The Taquileños were too poor to upgrade their sailboats, even though other lakeside communities began to change to motorized boats (ibid.).

When the widely read *South American Handbook* described Taquile Island in 1976, foreign tourists began arriving on the dock at Puno, trying to book passage to Taquile. Private boat owners soon added the island to their tourist run on the lake. However, in 1977 the Taquileños proved their resourcefulness by pooling their savings and buying second-hand truck engines to power their sailboats (ibid.). Sailboat cooperatives were formed in early 1978, "with groups of 30 to 40 families ordering vessels from local boatwrights" (ibid.;4). Spare parts and

boat motors for six additional cooperatives were purchased with the help of a grant from the Inter-American Foundation, and the Ministry of Tourism and Peruvian Coast Guard licensed the Taquileños to carry travelers and to regulate fees (ibid.).

The islanders proved to be competitive with Puno boat owners and eventually displaced them by obtaining an officially sanctioned monopoly. By 1982, the number of cooperative boat transport groups had expanded to 13, with 435 Taquile residents (virtually every family represented) that shared boat ownership and management responsibilities (ibid.).

### **Weaving as Livelihood and Tradition**

The area surrounding Lake Titicaca has been an important centre for textile production for 3,000 years (Fini 1985). The residents of Taquile have long practiced weaving based on a combination of the Tiahuanaco and Inca cultures (Valencia Blanco 1989). One of the principal attractions for many tourists to Taquile are their extraordinary weavings, skillfully woven from sheep and alpaca wool and reflecting their socio-ecological vision. The clothing and other weavings of Taquile are among the best-made traditional clothes in Peru (Healy and Zorn 1983).

Although expert weavers, the Taquileños had little experience with organized textile sales until relatively recently. In 1968, the U.S. Peace Corps assisted the islanders to create a cooperative to market weavings. The *varayoc* sold new and used weavings on consignment in a Peace Corps-sponsored store in Cusco (a day's trip by bus or train from Puno) that was set up to sell goods from southern Peru's many artisan cooperatives. When the first sales produced \$150 US, a commercial 'boom' began and the islanders began commuting regularly to Cuzco on community-authorized sales trips (ibid.).

Three years later the Cusco retail outlet collapsed since a local manager had embezzled funds. The islanders began to use their market knowledge to sell weavings directly to tourists on the streets of Cuzco. They also found buyers and export distributors in the southern city of Arequipa and in Lima. Healy and Zorn (1983) stated that "by the mid-1970s, foreign buyers and Lima exporters were selling Taquile [weavings] to sophisticated crafts consumers in Western Europe and the United States" (ibid.;4).

Taquile's weavers eventually formed two community-run artisan stores (Manco Capac) to sell their diverse and increasingly numerous products. Everything was sold at a fixed price by the artisan cooperative, which also exported a small quantity of weavings. Taquileños also organized exhibits in Puno and were recognized as "one of the region's foremost and best-organized craft communities" (ibid.;7).

The handicraft industry has become a major component of their livelihood and lifestyle; most men, women, teenagers and children over the age of eight earn money by producing crafts. As of 1997, there were 270 members (each 'member' is actually one family). Cooperative administration changes every week and all members must work at least two weeks out of every year (and one week in the community restaurant). Prices are set based on the quality of workmanship and the amount of labour (ibid.). Prices are also fixed by all members to avoid competition in handicraft sales and a small percentage (5%) of sales is retained for cooperative maintenance.

### **Tourism Administration**

When tourists arrive on Taquile, a reception committee greets and registers them by age, duration of stay and nationality. The new arrivals are assigned accommodation with a local family in an adobe hut. According to the 1995 Puno Tourist Guide, 268 house lodgings with about 500 beds were available for tourists (this is grossly overestimated, since most tourists prefer to stay in houses close to the plaza).

There are several committees on the island that help to manage the daily tasks, such as housing, weaving, food and transportation. Special tasks such as construction or public maintenance are handled by volunteer work groups set up by the committees. Each restaurant on the island is owned and managed by groups of families. In addition, the tourists' demand for fishing stimulated the formation of two fishing cooperatives (Healy and Zorn 1983). The increase in revenues from tourist income encouraged household improvements (such as simple bedding gear, extra rooms and kerosene lanterns) which are inspected and approved by another



island committee (ibid.). Each approved household directly receives the tourist income from lodging (ibid.).

### **Type of Tourism and Tourists**

The rainy season is from December to April, so most of the tourism occurs during the dry season from May to November. The nights are often very cold, and the restaurant fare is limited to mostly locally produced potatoes and trout, as well as pancakes and imported rice.

In the context of the early 1980s, Healy and Zorn (1983) commented about the kind of tourists arriving and the experience awaiting them:

“... life [on Taquile] had changed little over centuries until it was recently discovered by a new breed of tourists, rugged, young travelers who are looking for the ‘unspoiled’ ... Taquile is an environment hospitable for only hardy travelers. There are virtually none of the standard tourist services ... Most visitors are backpackers in their twenties and early thirties. They wear down jackets, alpaca sweaters, and hiking boots. Invariably, they travel on a limited budget ... The island is 13,000 feet above sea level, an altitude to which few visitors are accustomed ... After arriving, they make a 45-minute climb up the side of a mountain along a winding stone stairway ... Like Taquileños, the tourists sleep on *tortora* mats [a Lake Titicaca reed] on earthen floors.” (ibid;3,5).

Some services have changed since 1983, including improved sleeping arrangements for tourists. Still, tourists that choose to spend the night on Taquile have to contend with basic conditions similar to twenty years ago when tourism began.

### **Evidence of Tourism Control**

Several authors have commented on the high degree of tourism control and management held by Taquile residents. It is worth providing a few samples to justify selection of Taquile as a community characterized by its high degree of integration in its respective ecotourism industry:

“Unlike virtually any other third world community that attracts visitors, the Taquileños have managed to develop their own facilities to exploit tourism. Until now, they have controlled the tourist trade, and they have reaped its economic benefits.” (Healy and Zorn 1983;3)

“The Taquileños have shown that tourism, at least on a small scale, need not be managed by outsiders and [be] culturally destructive. Though the islanders’ future is far from certain, they continue to build a community industry based on popular participation and equitable distribution of benefits.” (ibid.;10)

“The organization and administration of tourism on Taquile is unique. The community has maintained control over all stages of manufacture and marketing of the textiles ... Tourist transportation on [community-owned] boats ... guarantees that access to the island is controlled by the Taquileans themselves ... In ten years, Taquile has succeeded relatively well in *integrating tourism* with its traditional way of life ... The community’s position of control and the cooperative organizations allow a fairly egalitarian redistribution of benefits ...” (Prochaska 1990;101-102) (my emphasis)

“... the islanders are by no means content to let the world pass them by. When enterprising individuals from Puno began bringing tourists to visit, they fought the invasion. It wasn’t the tourists they objected to, it was the Puno entrepreneurs. Now the passenger boats to Taquile are owned and operated by the islanders themselves. This control enables them to keep tourism at what they consider to be reasonable levels. This may be the key to maintaining a respectful, cooperative relationship between locals and tourists - something sadly lacking on the floating islands of the Uros.” (Rachowiecki 1996; 217)

“If the communal system works harmoniously, it is ... because everybody, without exception, takes an active part ... The benefits are equally shared. As faithful to this [concept of sharing] as to community traditions, the Taquileños ensure an balanced and fair remuneration to each family.” (Nonis 1993)

“When the whole world lives in a period of extreme individualism, [Taquile] is a strange and fascinating place where the community still comes before anything else ... [and their] collective organization functions in perfect harmony.” (Rojas Casale 1997)

### **Additional Research on Taquile**

The book *Taquile en Lima* (Taquile in Lima) by Matos Mar (1986) relates the personal observations of seven Taquileño families who were the first to emigrate and establish a new life

in Lima. There were both negative and positive comments made concerning tourism on the island. A sampling of a few statements provides an idea of islander relationships to tourism in the context of the mid-1980s:

“It worries me a lot because my countrymen just farm and make weavings, although they earn more money by working in tourism than I do [in Lima]; but in time where are they going to be and how will they live?” (ibid.;390)

“[The weaving cooperative] is a business that has brought prosperity to many Taquileños.” (ibid.;394)

“[Providing] food and lodging is a good business. All of the families on Taquile participate in tourism.” (ibid.;396)

“There are rich Taquileños, some four or five maximum . . . To earn more, they bring ‘gringos’ to their house ...They profit by collaborating with them. On the other hand, other Taquileños don’t do this.” (ibid.;396-397).

“Some customs changed with the arrival of the tourists.” (ibid.;399).

“It is no longer like it used to be. The Taquileños have changed so much.” (ibid.;400)

“Progress on Taquile because of tourism and handicrafts seems very good to me, but I also think that ... tourism will fall one day. So they should prepare more for their future and their children ...” (ibid.;402)

“... if it weren’t for tourism [life] would be worse.” (ibid.;403)

In her unpublished thesis *La Mujer en el Proceso Productivo en la Comunidad de Taquile* (Women in the Productive Process of the Community of Taquile), Valencia Blanco (1989) described the high participation by women in decision-making of agriculture and textile production, as well as tourism. Taquile women also assume an important role in the social, political and religious aspects of the community. As an example of the high importance that women have in the local handicraft industry, it was found that women were responsible for up to 89% of the total monetary value of all woven textiles, and produced up to 80% of all articles sold (ibid.;76). Most of the cooperative registered members were men although the entire family

participates in handicraft production; “only 58 of the 345 members in 1989 were women, usually widows or women who lived alone” (ibid.;80).

Taquile was one of three Lake Titicaca communities studied by Claverias Huerse (1990) in *Cosmovision y Planificación en las Comunidades Andinas* (Cosmovision and Planning in Andean Communities). It had the highest monetary revenues of the three communities (64% of total annual revenues), mostly due to handicraft sales. However, Taquile was highly dependent on external markets due to textile requirements, i.e. the need to purchase natural wool and synthetic fibre. It also had to acquire more basic food items (e.g. fish, potatoes, onions) compared to the other lake communities. This was due to a shortage of foodstuffs for consumption since greater emphasis was placed on handicraft production.

Esparza Monroy (1996) described both positive and negative effects of tourism on Taquile in his unpublished thesis *Organización Social y Turismo en la Isla de Taquile* (Social Organization and Tourism on Taquile Island). In 1996, each tourist spent seven Soles (about \$2.80 US based on 1997 exchange rate), and an estimated 24,593 tourists visited the island. It was estimated that each family should theoretically receive 441 Soles (about \$176 US). According to Esparza Monroy, however, the impact of tourism on Taquile residents was creating a process “of social differentiation due to the unequal distribution of revenues” (ibid.;136).

## **Photographs**

Two perspectives of Taquile Island are shown in the following photographs. Figure 5.3 shows the natural beauty of the island, with Lake Titicaca in the foreground. Figure 5.4 is group of beautifully attired Taquile dancers during the May 1 Santa Cruz fiesta.

**Figure 5.3** Taquile Island<sup>c</sup>



**Figure 5.4** Traditional Dancers of Taquile Island<sup>c</sup>



<sup>c</sup> Source: Photographs by Ross Mitchell, Taquile Island, Peru 1997.

## **THE CHIQUIAN CONTEXT**

Chiquian was selected to compare ecotourism and community integration to Taquile Island. For this study, Chiquian classifies as a mountain community due to its relatively high altitude at 3374 m.a.s.l. and its importance as the 'gateway' to the Cordillera Huayhuash. Many visitors either start from or end their Huayhuash trips in Chiquian. It was selected over certain Huayhuash villages (e.g. Llamac and Pacllon) due to its wider diversity of tourism services, greater population size and recent focus on ecotourism events and employment.

### **Location**

Chiquian is about 110 km southeast of Huaraz (3-4 hours by bus) and 340 km northeast of Lima (see Figures 5.5 and 5.6). It is the capital of Bolognesi Province and part of the Ancash Department (of which Huaraz belongs to). In many respects, it is as isolated a community as Taquile Island considering that so few buses (generally dilapidated) arrive to the town from either Huaraz or Lima on bumpy, windy roads. It is a town surrounded by mountains and still a relatively arduous journey, even considering the recent road improvements from Huaraz.

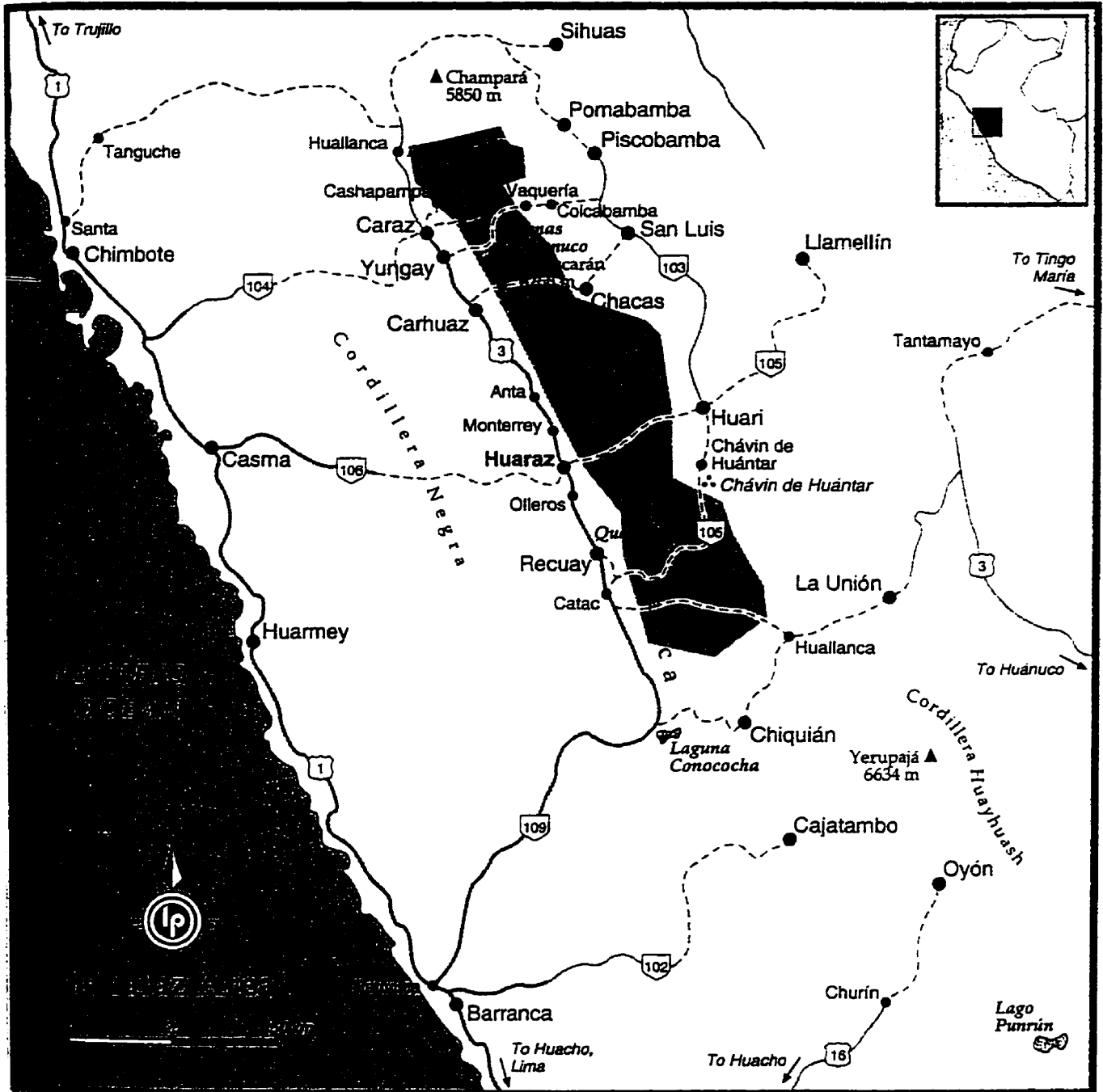
### **The People of Chiquian**

Chiquian has an urban population of 3,801 inhabitants (1993 census), and a further 957 are rural inhabitants (in this study, only 'urban' residents were surveyed). Huaraz, its closest neighboring city, has a population of more than 80,000 in comparison. There are a total of 1,204 households in Chiquian, which formed the basis for the general population survey.

### **Local Government**

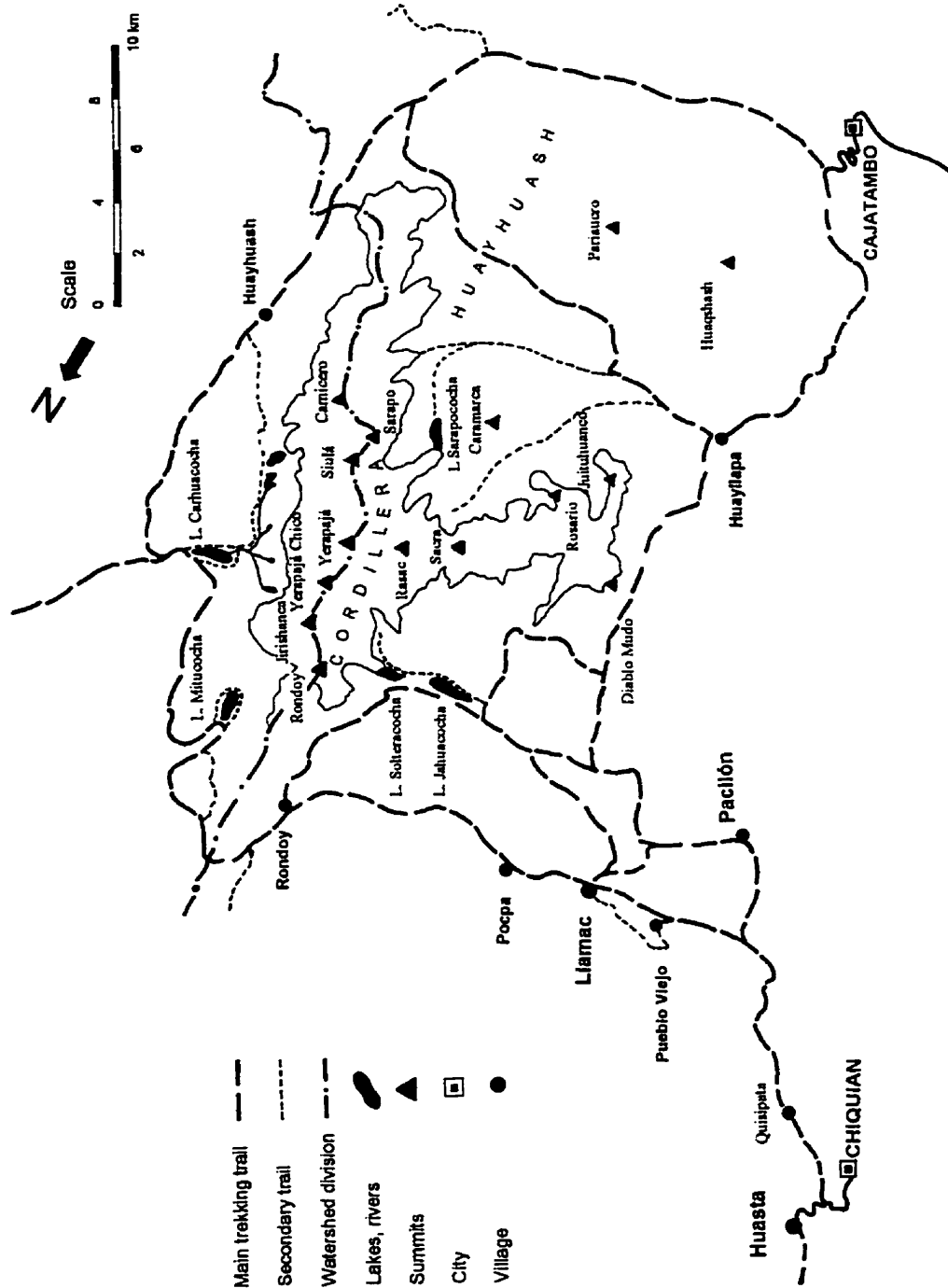
The government of Chiquian consists of a mayor and nine council members, with 20 people working in administration. There are five Commissions with three council members each, including a Tourism Commission.

Figure 5.5 Map of the Huaraz Region and Chiquian<sup>d</sup>



<sup>d</sup> Source: Rachowiecki, Rob. 1996. Peru: A Travel Survival Kit. Lonely Planet Publications, Australia. Reproduced by permission of Lonely Planet Publications and Rob Rachowiecki.

Figure 5.6 Map of Chiquian and the Cordillera Huayhuash\*



\* Adapted from Díaz, Felipe, 1998. Cordillera Blanca & Huayhuash. Información 1997-1998: Tourist Map. Turístico Kuntur S.R.L., Perú.



Other notable statistics of Chiquian District based on the 1993 National Census<sup>f</sup> are:

- 20.1% of population is considered as rural
- 86.7% speak Spanish, 12.4% speak Quechua
- 83.8% have no profession nor hold any office
- 13.9% are illiterate
- 51.8% of school age children (<15 years) have nutritional problems
- 29.8% of households are headed by women
- 3.1 is average number of children born to females >11 years of age
- 83.9% of households for entire province of Bolognesi are considered as poor

### **Ecotourism Potential in Chiquian and the Cordillera Huayhuash**

Most foreign tourists that come to Chiquian usually have one goal in mind – to trek or climb mountains in the nearby Cordillera Huayhuash. The Huayhuash is “virtually an undiscovered treasure” with its extensive “hiking and trekking routes, climbing attractions, archaeological sites, alpine lakes and cultural uniqueness” (Kolff & Tohan 1997;29). It has been recognized as one of the 17 most attractive places on earth as evaluated by outdoor adventure enthusiasts, and published by John Gillies of the Walt Unsworth Oxford Illustrated Press in London (Kolff & Tohan 1997).

#### **Bio-Physical Dimensions of the Cordillera Huayhuash**

Some of the more important bio-physical aspects of the Cordillera Huayhuash should not go unmentioned. The Cordillera Huayhuash contains 46 alpine lakes and has six peaks greater than 6000 m.a.s.l., including the second highest mountain in Peru, Yerupaja (6634 m.a.s.l.). It covers an area of 140,000 hectares and is 45 km long from north to south. There are two major watersheds in the Huayhuash, and approximately 82 square kilometers of permanently ice-covered terrain, including 113 documented glaciers (National Glaciological Inventory 1988, as quoted in Kolff & Tohan 1997).

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<sup>f</sup> *Source:* Resultados Definitivos de los Censos Nacionales: IX de Población y IV de Vivienda, Distrito Chiquian (pp. 39-56), 1993, Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática (INEI), Peru.

Two climatic zones can be distinguished which roughly correspond to altitude levels (Cerrate 1979, as quoted in Kolff & Tohan 1997). The first is the *puna*, which refers to the high-lying grasslands encountered at elevations of 4200-5100 m.a.s.l. where the climate is cold and dry. The second zone consists of mountain valleys between 2500-3200 m.a.s.l., classified as temperate to arid. The seasons are distinguished by their relative precipitation, with October to April as the 'summer' or 'wet' season with significant amounts of precipitation, and March to September as the 'winter' or 'dry' season, characterized by less rainfall (Kolff & Tohan 1997).

According to Kolff & Tohan (1997), "the ecosystems of the Cordillera Huayhuash represent a rare example of the high Andean ecology remaining in Peru" (1997;12). In a 1979 botanical study entitled *Vegetación del Valle de Chiquian*, 23 new species were named and a total of 1,100 species were identified belonging to 515 genera and 169 families (Cerrate 1979, as quoted in Kolff & Tohan 1997).

A significant ecosystem in the Huayhuash is the *quenual (polylepis)* forest only found at high altitudes. No other tree species in the world survives at the extreme heights where *polylepis* thrives, often as high as 4800 m.a.s.l. Moreover, *polylepis* "create a vital ecosystem which support a host of wildlife species" (Kolff & Tohan 1997;14). They harbor various species of birds which are threatened by extinction such as the Giant Conebill (*Oreomanes fraseri*) and the White-Cheeked Cotinga (*Ampelion stresemanni*). Unfortunately, "in the valley of Chiquian the majority of the *polylepis* forests are on the road to extinction" (Cerrate 1979, as quoted in Kolff & Tohan 1997). Cerrate associated this threat to "the indiscriminate use [of *polylepis*] for construction materials and preparation of charcoal and firewood, without worrying about planting new individuals" (ibid.).

### Tourism Flows and Employment Opportunities

The flow of visitors to the Huayhuash started in the 1970s, reaching its peak by the mid-1980s. From this point until approximately 1992, tourism virtually ceased in the Huayhuash due to terrorist activities of the Shining Path. With increased security in the area due to the decline of terrorism, tourism levels may now be superseding those of 10 years ago. One local expert

estimated that approximately 1,000 visitors came to the Huayhuash during 1996, staying an average of 10 days per person (Kolff and Tohan 1997).

With the return of tourism in the Huayhuash area, there are more opportunities for a greater number of local residents, especially in the mountain communities of Llámac, Pacllón and Pocpa, but for residents of Chiquian as well (many of which have originally come from these and other nearby mountain communities). The people working in tourism in the Cordillera Huayhuash valley and Chiquian are generally employed as porters, mule drivers and cooks.

In their report Initial Field Study of the Cordillera Huayhuash, Peru, Kolff and Tohan (1997) consider that well-managed community-based ecotourism is an important way to augment and sustain economic income over the long term for local people. However, it was found in this study that local people of the Cordillera Huayhuash “perceive tourism as only a means of economic benefits”, and in general do not have a well developed understanding of the industry (Kolff and Tohan 1997;61). In communities such as Llámac, there has been domination in the tourism sector by just a few families (ibid.). However, The Mountain Institute (TMI) is now working with local communities with a hoped-for outcome of a community-based ecotourism program and the eventual designation of the Huayhuash as a nationally recognized protected area.

### Present and Future Concerns for the Cordillera Huayhuash

There are many concerns about the future of the Cordillera Huayhuash and its unique socio-ecological characteristics. Tohan and Torres (1998) noted that the Huayhuash zone is quickly changing, due to the influence of external interests such as tourism and mining. They stated that such large-scale interests from outside mountain areas do not directly benefit local people, since benefit flow tends to leave the area. They mentioned that local communities have expressed their support for the creation of a protected area for two reasons:

1. They recognize the tourism potential of the area, and know that tourists want to visit undisturbed areas.
2. Local people are worried about the negative effects that mining brings; they want to be assured of clean land and water in the future.

The most well known mining contract in the Huayhuash was made between the Japanese-owned Mitsui Mining and Smelting Co. Ltd. and the communities of Pocpa and Llámac in April of 1995 (Kolff & Tohan 1997). Since exploration of an area that may encompass sub-surface rights of more than 100,000 hectares in the Huayhuash, a mining road was built to a drilling site only three kilometers above Jahuacocha Lake (ibid.). As of March 1997, an overall management plan to deal with potential conflicts from mining operations had yet to be developed.

### Other Tourism Possibilities

In addition to the natural beauty of the Cordillera Huayhuash, Chiquian and its neighboring towns offer other tourist attractions. There are some colonial churches in nearby Huasta and Aquia, thermal springs at Huallanca and several archaeological sites in the region. There are also two annual tourist events in Chiquian which will be discussed in the following chapters.

### **Huaraz and the National Park of Huascarán**

The influence of Huaraz and its coveted Huascarán National Park should not go unmentioned, especially since Chiquian is also part of the Ancash Region. Huascarán National Park has thirty glacier-covered peaks that rise to more than 6000 m.a.s.l., and covers an area of 3,400 km<sup>2</sup>. It has been declared a World Natural Heritage Site by UNESCO and includes the 6768 m Huascarán, the highest mountain in Peru.

In 1996, the National Institute of Natural Resources (INRENA), under the Minister of Agriculture and The Mountain Institute (TMI) co-published the Huascarán National Park Recreation and Tourism Plan. The Mountain Institute is “a non-profit, scientific and educational organization committed to preserving mountain environments and advancing mountain cultures throughout the world” (Torres 1996). The Huascarán Plan followed a participatory methodology which included workshops and consultations with rural populations and park visitors (TMI 1996). Some extracts taken from this plan are as follows:

- “More than 80% of tourism in the [Chavín] region take place inside the park, although its benefits are concentrated in the cities of the [valley] ... and especially in Huaraz.” (ibid.;10)
- 95% of foreign visitors to the Chavín Region visit cities in the Callejón de Huaylas (Huaraz mountain valley), and only 1% to Chiquian (Cordillera Huayhuash). (ibid.;42)

Considering the relatively high number of tourists that visit the area, people living in rural villages near or inside Huascarán National Park have been neglected from participating in tourism activities. For example, “although many people among the rural population provide services in the most visited areas [of Huaraz], their possibilities for development and decision-making have not been adequately developed.” (ibid.;10).

There is an obvious preference for tourism in the immediate Huaraz area compared to relatively more isolated Chiquian and Huayhuash region. It is also worth noting that Huaraz has a highly developed tourism industry compared to Chiquian. A total of 90 travel agencies, 89 hotels and hostels and 99 restaurants were officially registered in the city of Huaraz during 1996.

## **COMPARISONS BETWEEN TAQUILE ISLAND AND CHIQUIAN**

Taquile Island and Chiquian share many characteristics and differences which have been summarized in Table 5.1. Some may argue that neither site qualifies to be classified as ‘true ecotourism’, or that there are few commonalities in socio-cultural, political, historical, economic and even geographic characteristics. Moreover, there are considerably fewer tourists to Chiquian and the Huayhuash area compared to Taquile. Overall, though, it was felt that there was enough similitude between the two communities to satisfy the main hypothesis and research questions. At the very least, generalized comparisons between these Taquile Island and Chiquian are possible. However, caveats or clarifications will be mentioned wherever appropriate to interpret and/or apply the lessons learned.

**Table 5.1: Research Site Comparison<sup>8</sup>**

<b>SIMILARITIES</b>	<b>Taquile Island</b>	<b>Chiquian</b>
<i>Climate</i>	wet and dry seasons	wet and dry seasons
<i>Dominant languages</i>	primarily Quechua, Spanish is second language	Spanish (minor amount of Quechua)
<i>Ethnological composition</i>	Indian	mestizo
<i>Frequency of tourism</i>	year-round, but highest during dry season (May to October)	dry season mostly (May to September)
<i>Importance of tourism to economy</i>	very high importance	low to moderate importance
<i>Geographical isolation</i>	surrounded by water, but relatively easy accessibility by boat (3-4 hours from Puno)	surrounded by mountains, but accessible by upgraded road (3-4 hours from Huaraz)
<i>Diversity of tourism services</i>	high	moderate
<i>Closest major center</i>	Puno	Huaraz
<i>Major economic activities</i>	subsistence agriculture, provision of tourism services	subsistence agriculture, retail, government, guiding, weaving
<i>Pre-colonial legacy</i>	Inca influence high	Inca influence unknown
<i>Predominant religion</i>	Catholicism	Catholicism
<i>Production of handicrafts</i>	high – for tourists mainly	low – for export mainly
<b>DIFFERENCES</b>		
<i>Altitude</i>	3812 m.a.s.l.	3374 m.a.s.l.
<i>Population</i>	1,850 (1997 estimate); 350 households	3,801 (1993 census); 1,204 households
<i>Colonial history</i>	Spanish domination high	unknown
<i>Community interaction with external environment</i>	isolated community; low contact except for tourists	mostly accessible by road; moderate contact
<i>Geography</i>	Part of southern Andes - hilly, rolling; Lake Titicaca major influence	Part of central Andes - hilly, rolling.
<i>Level of community involvement in tourism</i>	appears to be high	appears to be low
<i>Type of tourism</i>	cultural/nature	nature (some cultural)
<i>Number of visitors</i>	relatively high	relatively low

<sup>8</sup> Source: Prepared from various sources including *Peru: A Travel Survival Kit*, 1996, Blackstone Corporation, 1995, and personal observations, Taquile Island and Chiquian, Peru, Ross Mitchell, 1997.

With respect to the application of ecotourism, there is no intention in this research of 'proving' whether or not either community can be categorized as ecotourism, or having *achieved* ecotourism, beyond a reasonable doubt. Actual tourism activities are less important in this research than how each community is involved in local tourism decision-making (if at all), and what socio-economic effects have resulted.

Nevertheless, there are recognizable elements of ecotourism inherent to both Taquile Island and Chiquian. Both areas are culturally and ecologically unique and tend to attract nature-adventure rather than conventional tourists, especially if stayovers such as camping or rustic accommodation are necessary. Both communities have not only local people employed in the tourism industry, but also local people concerned about protecting their land and culture from possible negative effects. In addition, conservation of both the natural and/or cultural environment is an important priority, as well as planning or organizational efforts to increase widespread economic benefits from tourism. According to Aguilar *et al* (1992), a program of ecologically-based tourism must not only be concerned with environmental criteria, but above all "incorporate the local population in direct and indirect activities derived from such tourism" (Aguilar *et al* 1992;36). This said, the designation of ecotourism is applicable for both areas based on this analysis and appropriate definitions and explanations as stated in Chapter 3.

## **Photographs**

Figure 5.7 shows a Chiquian donkey driver preparing his team with two tourists in the background. Figure 5.8 is Lake Jahuacocha, one of the principal attractions on the Cordillera Huayhuash trekking circuit.

**Figure 5.7** Chiquian Donkey Driver Preparing Team for a Trek<sup>h</sup>



**Figure 5.8** Lake Jahuacocha in the Cordillera Huayhuash<sup>i</sup>



<sup>h</sup> *Source:* Photograph by Ross Mitchell, Chiquian and Huaraz, Peru 1997.

<sup>i</sup> *Source:* Aldave, Roberto. 1994. Ecoventura 94. Foptur, Peru.



## **CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY**

Chapter 6 provides the rationale for the type of methodology used in this research. Figure 6.1 illustrates the methodology process in a basic flow diagram. From the literature review, a research hypothesis was developed and data collected in the Andean communities of Taquile Island and Chiquian using a variety of techniques. Survey data was entered using computer software (SPSS/pc). All key-informant interviews were translated from Spanish into English, then transcribed using a computer word processor. Data was then analyzed by statistical tests, key theme comparisons or other methods. Finally, relevant findings were obtained that led to rejection or acceptance of the null hypothesis.

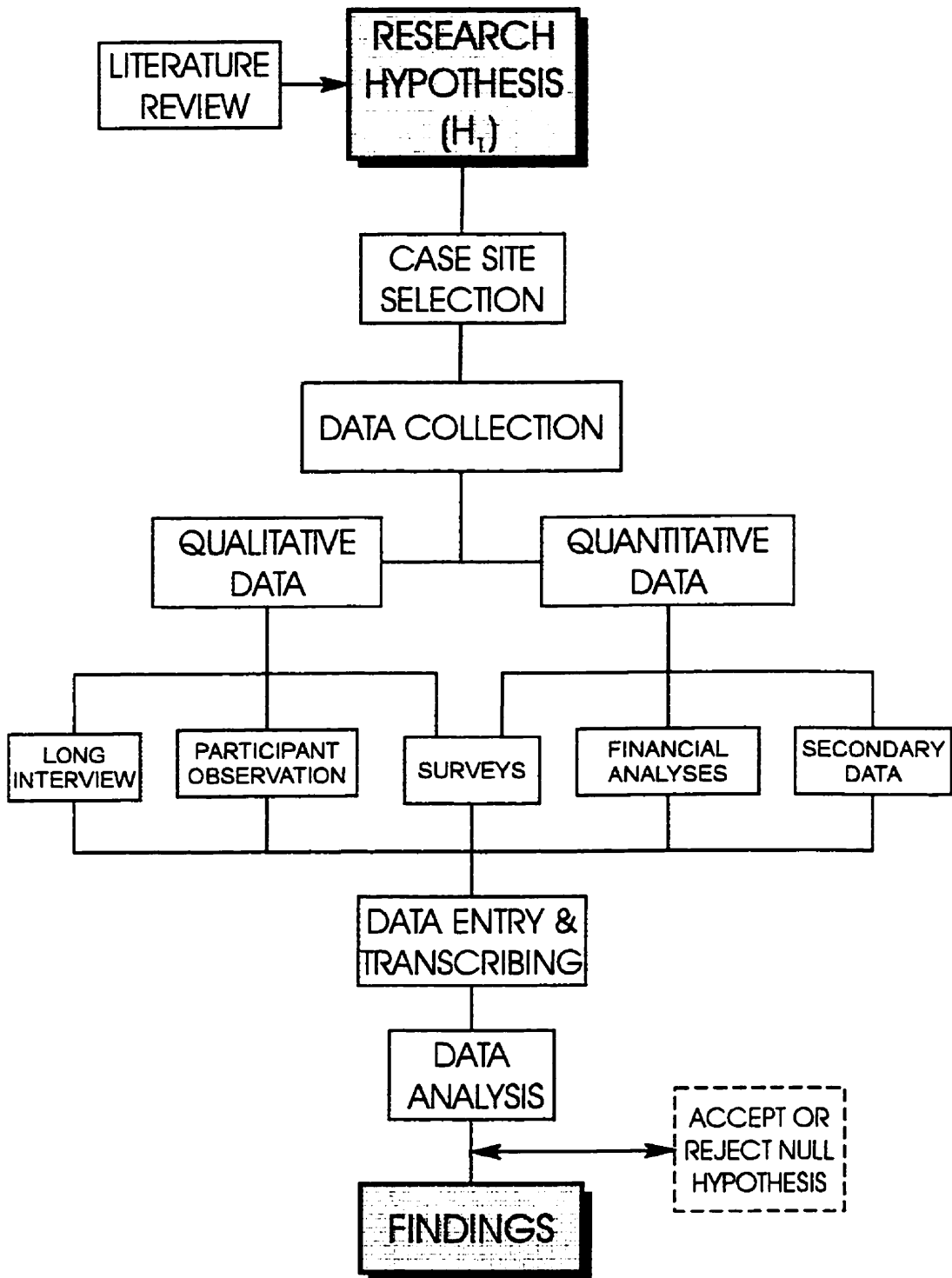
### **THE CASE STUDY APPROACH**

For this research, the case study approach was selected to examine and compare two communities in which ecotourism is an important part of the local culture and economy. The case study was felt to be the most appropriate and the most effective alternative for two main reasons: 1) a high degree of confidence is normally required for communities to accept an ‘intruder’ in their environment, and 2) a case study approach helps to understand the complex intertwining of socio-cultural, political, economic and environmental factors that might be ignored or misinterpreted by another methodology.

In addition, Guba and Lincoln (1981) stated several purposes that case study research may achieve:

- to chronicle events;
- to render, depict or characterize;
- to try out, prove, or test; and
- to instruct.

**Figure 6.1** Research Methodology Outline for Taquile Island and Chiquian Comparative Case Study



This case study will chronicle how ecotourism has developed in each particular area, characterize how ecotourism has affected the communities from a socio-cultural and economic perspective and test the validity of the hypothesis. This research should also educate planners, consultants and researchers of the potential benefits of incorporating local communities in ecotourism policies and projects.

## **RESEARCH DESIGN SPECIFICATIONS**

### **Research Significance**

The selected design can be considered as applied research for several reasons. First of all, the intention was to understand the nature and source of a societal problem (namely, the effects of community involvement in ecotourism), and it was assumed that this problem could be solved with knowledge. Secondly, due to the enormous potential for ecotourism growth in developing nations, it was felt that the results have societal importance. Thirdly, the results obtained should contribute to existing theories of community-oriented ecotourism to formulate problem-solving programs and interventions. Lastly, rigour and theoretical insight were applied to the problem.

### **Analytical Approach**

The chosen analytical approach was primarily deductive, since it began with a theory to be tested – that is, a high degree of community integration in ecotourism planning and management may have beneficial outcomes in terms of socio-economic factors. However, there was an important component of the research that was inductive or interpretive - the long or key-informant interviews.

The principal research design was a combination of descriptive and analytical study types. It was descriptive, since a given phenomenon was described with as much detail as necessary. It was analytical since various entities (i.e. both variables and indicators) were separated into their constituent parts to explain their functions, proportions, relationships and

other properties. However, part of the research was also exploratory since some terms of reference were difficult to define or obtain, especially for Chiquian. It was hoped to be able to 'see' and experience the 'world' of certain key informants, as they themselves perceive it to be, and to determine *their* perceptions of their involvement or attitudes to tourism. Finally, owing to the complexity of the research problem, a mixture of positivistic and phenomenological approaches was taken, but with a strong inclination to naturalistic or qualitative methodology.

### **From Hypothesis to Model**

The premise for this research was the formulation and testing of an exacting hypothesis (and several sub-hypotheses, or 'guiding hypotheses') with two distinct scenarios: a community characterized by its high degree of local integration in ecotourism, and its corollary of a community *not* highly integrated in ecotourism activities. The latter situation is more common, but the former is quite rare, especially in the developing countries where outside interests often influence or control tourism development.

However, it should be made clear that the guiding hypotheses were merely "tools to generate questions and to search for patterns" (Marshall and Rossman 1989;44). It was expected that some would be discarded and others added while in the field as other patterns of phenomena were encountered. Moreover, it was these research questions and patterns that would eventually lead to the development of a model for community integration in ecotourism, which is explained in detail in Chapter 10.

### **Design Type: Qualitative & Quantitative Research**

Various qualitative and quantitative techniques formed the framework of this study. These were compared and contrasted to corroborate, elaborate or illuminate the research. McCracken explains these techniques at great length (McCracken 1988;16-18) and summarizes major differences between them as follows:

1. Qualitative:

- goal is to isolate and define categories during process of research
- looks for patterns of interrelationships between many categories
- questions asked may cause the respondent difficulty and imprecision
- sample size is small (e.g. eight interview respondents or less)
- tends to be more intensive in its objectives

2. Quantitative:

- goal is to isolate and define categories as precisely as possible before study is undertaken, then to determine the relationship between them
- looks for sharply delineated relationships between a limited set of categories
- questions asked allow the respondent to respond readily and unambiguously
- sample size is generally large (sufficient to meet statistical rigour)
- tends to be more extensive in its objectives

### Qualitative Research

Due to the highly personal and sociological nature of the study, many of the chosen research techniques were qualitative in nature. McCracken (1988) asserts that applied social sciences invite qualitative research, i.e. the application of social sciences to the study and improvement of contemporary life depends upon an intimate understanding of people affected by a particular situation (ibid.;10). Although the qualitative methods used were time-consuming in both data collection and analysis, their benefits far outweighed their disadvantages. Application of qualitative methodology helped to test the validity of the hypotheses based on community and individual perceptions of values, power, relationships and other variables. Such factors are not easily tested by quantitative methods.

### Quantitative Research

In addition, quantitative research was employed to gather and analyze socio-cultural and economic data. The purpose of collecting quantitative data was not to complete a comprehensive in-depth analysis, but rather to provide a basic overview of the more important economic

considerations. Quantitative research took advantage of previously collected secondary data such as published literature, visitor records and other so-called 'hard' facts. It also helped gather data more easily measured and analyzed by such methods, such as distribution of income and employment.

### Triangulation

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), a qualitative study must prove credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. One important method to achieve these objectives is triangulation - the act of bringing more than one source of data to bear on a single point (Marshall & Rossman 1989). Triangulation combines several methods of research by using each to supplement and check up on the others. As Rothe (1994) suggests, "the strength of triangulation lies in the utility of locating and defining a problem ... [With] questionnaires, interviews and participant observation, we are able to describe the phenomenon from a perspective of aggregates, interaction and collective behavior" (Rothe 1994; 26).

For these reasons, triangulation was considered in the data collection and analysis design. There was also considerable overlap in the different approaches for a practical 'division of labour'. For example, one of the research questions was to determine the level of input by the community in ecotourism ownership and management. This entailed collecting and analyzing empirical data in terms of number of people employed, type of employment and other pertinent quantifiable factors. It also required interviews with community 'experts' and personal analytical observations to gain a broader perspective of perceptions and ideas. As McCracken (1988) says, "it is only after the qualitative investigator has taken advantage of quantitative research that he or she is prepared to determine the distribution and frequency of the culture phenomenon that has come to light" (ibid.;17).

### Comparative Research

The specific research design was a static group comparison as opposed to a random selection. The two main independent variables were the case sites, as defined by their respective

level of community integration in the local ecotourism sector, and were tested according to the dependent variables (or observations) as follows:

GROUP 1:        X            O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>2</sub> O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>4</sub> O<sub>5</sub>  
GROUP 2:    (Not X)        O<sub>1</sub> O<sub>2</sub> O<sub>3</sub> O<sub>4</sub> O<sub>5</sub>

*Where:*    X is a treatment or an independent variable (e.g. case site)  
              O is an observation or a dependent variable (e.g. perceived benefits)

Ideally, another independent variable would have been selected – i.e. high versus low tourist season - and research conducted accordingly during these two times of the year. However, budgetary and time constraints precluded the use of such an ‘interrupted time-series design’ (data collected during two or more periods). For this research, most data was obtained during the low tourist season instead of delaying until more tourists were available. Still, this was justifiable since the focus of this research was on a *community* rather than a tourist perspective. This meant that most data could be collected during any time of the year (i.e. with or without tourists), but acknowledging that more comprehensive data would have been obtained in the high season to verify resident perceptions or estimates.

### **Rationale for Case Site Selection**

The case sites, or two rural communities, were purposefully selected by pre-data collection visits to ensure their suitability. Their selection was largely based on the rationale suggested by Marshall and Rossman (1989;54). They state that the ideal site is where 1) entry is possible; 2) there is a high probability that a rich mix of many of the processes, people, programs, interactions, and/or structures that may be a part of the research question will be present; 3) the researcher can devise an appropriate role to maintain continuity of presence for as long as necessary; and 4) data quality and credibility of the study are reasonably assured by avoiding poor sampling decisions. By attempting to meet these objectives, a suggestion made by Dobbert

(1982) was considered paramount: namely, the best compromise is to include a sample with the widest possible range of variation in the phenomenon, settings or people under study.

Both sites were fairly accessible without major difficulties or costs to visit them. The principal limiting factor on Taquile Island was the predominance of Quechua. This was circumvented by hiring bilingual research assistants and translating the survey questionnaire into Quechua. Tourism was an important component to the general economy of each region. Both sites had a wide range of tourism activities, including cultural or heritage tourism, production and sales of local handicrafts, nature tourism and/or adventure tourism. Both sites tend to draw low budget and adventure tourists, especially since only basic tourism infrastructure exists in either community. Lastly, as a foreign researcher, it was necessary to 'blend' into the daily activities of both communities as much as possible to gain community trust. This was achieved on Taquile, but less so in Chiquian with its community-wide misgivings about strangers, perhaps related in part to the aftermath of the relatively recent traumatic terrorism period.

## **SAMPLING TECHNIQUES**

The data collection phase was carried out from December 1996 to September 1997. Approximately three months were spent living on Taquile Island and two months in the town of Chiquian, with repeated visits to both communities for additional data. The research collection in Peru also included visits to universities, government agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and informal interviews with various key-informants in Taquile, Chiquian, Puno, Huaraz and Lima. Other islands on Lake Titicaca were also visited to examine their tourism industry and make appropriate comparisons. These included the Uros (Floating Islands) near Puno, Peru and the Island of the Sun, Bolivia. A three-day trek near Huaraz using the services of a well-known guide who also works in the Cordillera Huayhuash was organized to explore main components of the trekking industry such as prices, supplies and equipment needs, and tourist or local attitudes towards tourism.



Three qualitative research techniques were used in this research. The first two can be categorized as Survey Research and the last as an Unobtrusive Technique: 1) Questionnaire, 2) Long Interview and 3) Participant Observation. In addition, two quantitative research techniques were used: 1) Financial Analysis and 2) Secondary Data. The type of data collected using these five different techniques is outlined in Table 6.1. The Questionnaire also had many quantitative-type questions related to income and employment.

**Table 6.1** Type of Data Collected

<b>TAQUILE ISLAND</b>	<b>CHIQUIAN</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 101 Questionnaires randomly selected (household level)</li> <li>▪ 9 Long Interviews</li> <li>▪ Financial data from 3 different businesses (tourist boat transport, handicrafts, restaurant)</li> <li>▪ Participant observation technique used to obtain data from community meetings, tourism activities and women</li> <li>▪ 10 tourist interviews</li> <li>▪ Secondary data material</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 136 Questionnaires randomly selected (household level)</li> <li>▪ 8 Long Interviews</li> <li>▪ Financial data from 2 different businesses (guiding, restaurant)</li> <li>▪ Participant observation technique used to obtain data from guide meetings, tourism activities and nature of trekking industry in Huaraz</li> <li>▪ 15 tourist interviews</li> <li>▪ Secondary data material</li> </ul>

### **Questionnaires**

The rationale for using a questionnaire was to obtain information in a reasonably objective manner that could be easily and quickly obtained, and that would verify many of the principal research questions. The type of questionnaire design was an important consideration. Firstly, any questionnaire must be custom-built to the specification of the given research purposes (Converse & Presser 1986). Secondly, a questionnaire may have a combination of open-ended questions (commentary-type responses) and close-ended questions (two choice, multiple choice, checklists, ranking questions and rating scales). Thirdly, a typical questionnaire tends to be more descriptive or analytical than exploratory.

The questionnaire was constructed using mostly different close-ended scales of mainly ordinal or nominal categories. However, it was also considered critical to determine how people think (in terms of differences of opinion and possible correlation), what is meaningful to them (by ranking priorities) and a measure of their attitudes about those aspects significant to the research questions (Reid 1995).

For these reasons, a Likert-type scale was created for three important groups of questions: 1) perceived economic benefits of tourism, 2) perceived community and individual participation in tourism, and 3) perceived negative impacts of tourism. Such scales are defined as “an assignment of numbers for the purpose of identifying ordered relations of some characteristics, the order having arbitrarily assigned and equal intervals but not an arbitrary zero point” (ibid.). Like the research hypothesis, these scales also use deductive reasoning. They were pre-tested beforehand with colleagues from the School of Rural Planning & Development at the University of Guelph to ensure that the items used were a measure of the same ‘family’ (i.e. shared commonalties).

The following section provides a brief description of the two types of surveys used in this study: 1) a General Population Survey and 2) Tourist Surveys. The principal definitions required for these surveys have been included in Appendix 1.

### General Population Survey

#### *Survey Type*

The objective of the general population survey was to measure local perceptions of the tourism industry, community participation, and ‘factual’ information related to employment and income (recognizing that income tends to be under-reported). As in any study, the given research environment predetermines the kind of survey and sampling procedures required. However, the chosen communities for this study had very distinct ethnic, sociological, historical and economic backgrounds in a developing nation context, thus required special consideration.

The inherent complexity and delicacy of certain research questions, and realizing that many respondents could not read or write nor had access to a telephone, necessitated the use of personal (face-to-face) interviews. Although time-consuming, the personal interview survey has

“the dual advantage of usually yielding the highest response rate of any survey mechanism and, given effective interviewers, of permitting the use of a rather lengthy survey instrument” (Sheskin 1985;15). It also had the advantage of being able to explain the meanings of words that might otherwise have been misunderstood, and allowed for control over respondent selection (ibid.).

### *Sample Frame and Size*

Other important issues were sample frame and size, which required balancing budgetary and time constraints with the desired level of accuracy. Several factors were considered before selecting the desired confidence interval. Firstly, the survey mechanism was made purposefully long and intensive, not to gather a large amount of data, but instead to produce a high *quality* of responses that would help answer the research questions. The drawback was that this greater intensity would be time-consuming in both the collection and analysis stages.

Secondly, the most important questions in this research were not various demographic parameters such as age, gender and level of education (although some of these were tested). Rather, the predominant focus was the community perspective in terms of attitudes, preferences, and beliefs, as well as community levels of income, employment and support related to tourism.

Thirdly, it was recognized that revenues in rural areas of developing countries are often earned by all family members for a given type of employment (particularly handicraft production, and provision of food and lodging in this research). Family income would have been difficult or even impossible to separate on an individual basis if so desired.

Therefore, it was decided that the sample frame would consist of all occupied households in both communities. The intention of this survey was to randomly select those respondents considered to be part of the population (with the exception of those less than 16 years of age). It was not intended to interview on the basis of one’s role in tourism decision-making or employment. However, it was necessary for each potential respondent to meet specified parameters for this research of being an appropriate household member and full-time resident of the community (see page 102 – Procedures, and Appendix 1 for further explanations).

The minimum confidence interval needed was initially established to be 90% ( $\pm 10\%$  level of confidence). At the household level, then, at least 89 representative respondents were needed for Chiquian (out of 1,204 households) and 75 for Taquile (out of 350 households). If a larger confidence interval had been desired, say 95%, then at least 291 surveys for Chiquian and 183 surveys for Taquile would have been required for a total of 474. For Taquile, this sampling intensity would have represented over half (52%) of all households, a very high level of accuracy that was deemed unnecessary for the amount of extra time and cost required to obtain the data. Sufficient extra households were surveyed in both communities that brought the confidence interval to approximately 92% ( $\pm 8\%$ ).

The survey was applied to a suitable household representative over the age of 15 years to be able to effectively answer relevant questions (see Appendix 1 for definition). It was deemed unnecessary to have a high number of respondents merely for the sake of increasing accuracy or to meticulously carry out detailed subgroup analyses on the basis of gender or other variables. Supporting or additional data was obtained through other techniques, such as the long interviews and secondary data analysis.

### *Sample Design*

The general population survey consisted of a probability systematic sample. First, maps were obtained for each community that indicated either the location of every household in the community (Taquile) or every block (Chiquian). Then a random number between 1 and 9 was selected, or a 'random start', and either the houses or the blocks were numbered. For Taquile, every 4<sup>th</sup> household was surveyed; for Chiquian, every 10<sup>th</sup> household was selected (these had to be counted on the each block). If the same corner, side or area of the community was being surveyed by this technique, it was recognized that bias may have been produced. To avoid over-sampling one area and under-sampling another, adjustments were made in the field by the survey team after consultation with the principal researcher, such as reinitiating the 'random start'.

### *Survey Tool*

A draft survey of approximately 70 questions was prepared before going to Peru in December 1996. It was first translated in Lima from English into Spanish, then later into Quechua while in Puno (most respondents on Taquile Island preferred the Quechua version, whereas all respondents in Chiquian preferred the Spanish version). The survey was translated using triangulation methodology to ensure interpretation subjectivity was minimized (i.e. it was translated back into English by a different person).

After a pre-test on Taquile Island of 10 respondents, the questionnaire was modified and shortened to about 55 questions (depending if respondent worked in the tourism industry). The same survey was given to each respondent; however, there were approximately twice as many questions for those employed in tourism. (see Appendix 2). The survey team consisted of one principle researcher and up to three research assistants (the entire team was fluent in Spanish, and two assistants on Taquile were local residents bilingual in both Spanish and Quechua)

### *Survey Criteria Summary*

#### 1) Level of Accuracy

- 90% C.I (confidence interval),  $\pm$  10% level of confidence (in actuality, was closer to 8% for both sites).

#### 2) Unit of Measurement (sample frame)

- all occupied households and their members within the adult population of both communities. It was not important that a potential respondent be engaged in a particular tourism activity, nor be the principal household decision-maker. On the other hand, it was recognized that individual income is often difficult to segregate in family-run businesses. Therefore, one adult representative member of the household was deemed appropriate to answer research questions on behalf of his or her family (see Appendix 1 for further explanation).

#### 3) Sample Size

- 101 surveys for Taquile (out of 350 households – 1,850 total population)
- 136 surveys for Chiquian (out of 1,204 households – 3,801 total population)

#### 4) Time of Survey

- survey was carried out in the wet season only (or low season); from January to March 1997 on Taquile and from March to May 1997 in Chiquian
- survey times adjusted to increase chance of being selected (e.g. early morning from 5:30-8:30 A.M. was used on Taquile since potential respondents were often working their fields in daytime)

#### 5) Survey Area

- Taquile survey based on six areas corresponding to six *suyos*
- Chiquian survey sectioned into eight 'neighborhoods' of approximately equivalent size

#### 6) Procedures

- every fourth house was sampled on Taquile, every tenth house in Chiquian
- next available nearby house was selected if respondent unwilling or no one available
- surveys were conducted door-to-door inside or near house of most respondents
- first adult family member to answer door was selected for interview if appropriate
- attempts made to interview both men and women equally by varying time of survey
- nature of survey and questions to be asked were explained to each respondent (on Taquile, customary gifts of coca leaves, bread and/or fruit were offered)
- interview generally lasted from 15-30 minutes

#### 7) Observations

- very satisfactory response rate for Taquile - only two persons refused to participate in survey; poor to fair response rate for Chiquian - approximately one out of every three refused to participate in survey
- Chiquian respondents were generally less open, less friendly and less knowledgeable about tourism issues compared to Taquile respondents
- more women were interviewed in Chiquian due to their greater availability; Taquile women generally were reluctant to be interviewed, especially if men were present

## Tourist Survey

In addition to the general population survey, some tourists were purposefully selected in both communities to comment on their expenditures and other feelings about the local ecotourism industry. It was hoped to interview at least 34 randomly selected tourists to obtain useful information on tourist expenditures during their stay in the community. However, the sample was unlikely to be considered random unless one could guarantee a given number of tourists (e.g. 8-10 per week) over an extended period (e.g. four weeks) at a given place and time (e.g. leaving boat or at end of trek).

Other considerations included which tourist to select – the first one leaving the boat? The first one willing to participate? The first person to understand Spanish or English? For consistency, a number of rules were drawn up that included conducting the interviews at the end of a trek or to the island, and choosing the first person willing to participate that was comfortable in either Spanish or English.

Unfortunately, fewer tourist surveys were completed than hoped due to two main reasons: 1) excellent data was obtained from various sources that rendered extra information redundant, or 2) unavailability of sufficient tourists. For Taquile, it was felt that the information gathered from council records, profitability studies and participant observation techniques was adequate for expenditure estimates (including 10 informal tourist surveys). As for Chiquian, there were insufficient tourists that had recently been to the Cordillera Huayhuash during data collection in either March, April or August 1997. Since only 15 tourists were surveyed in Chiquian, and due to the unavailability of supporting material (i.e. stayovers and expenditures), it was not possible to make comparisons between the two communities regarding true expenditures from a *tourist* perspective.

Nevertheless, some expenditure comparisons could be made on a community-wide basis from the other information obtained from tourists. The data collected was used to back up additional findings from key-informants, survey respondents and participant observation notes.

## **Long Interviews of Key Informants**

### Rationale

Perhaps the most important part of the field data collection and subsequent analysis were the Long Interviews. The objective of the Long Interviews (or semi-structured interview) was to obtain useful information of a 'qualitative' nature, based on the perspectives of selected key-informants of the local tourism industry. The Long Interview is a powerful technique to gain a clearer understanding of the beliefs and experiences of the actors in question. As McCracken states, "for certain descriptive and analytical purposes, no instrument of inquiry is more revealing ... this research strategy gives us access to individuals without violating their privacy or testing their patience" (McCracken 1988; 9,11).

Moreover, the cultural significance of the role of ecotourism and its effects on the communities were important factors best examined through personalized, informal discussions. It was felt that the Long Interview would effectively address two main objectives: 1) to help to focus the problem (research questions) on socio-cultural meanings, and 2) to discover, define, and test categories. The principal purpose of the Long Interview was to explore questions of 'why' and 'how' (i.e. process and rationale) and rather than 'how much'. The interviews helped to examine the decision-making processes in the community, especially attitudes and equitability concerning distribution of economic benefits from local and non-local 'experts' alike.

### Procedures

An Interview Guide was prepared to ask the following types of questions: 1) experience or behavior, 2) opinion or value, 3) feelings, 4) knowledge, 5) sensory, and 6) background or demographic (see Appendix 3). The purpose of the guide was to protect the main interview structure, so as to be able to attend to the immediate tasks at hand, while keeping in mind that it was necessary to capture context as well as ideas (Reid 1995). The Interview Guide was prepared based on some of the early results from the questionnaires on Taquile Island, then relatively equally applied to both communities.

An important interview principle for this research was McCracken's (1988) concept of "manufacturing critical distance", defined as "the creation of a critical awareness of matters in



which we have a deep and blinding familiarity” (Marcus & Fischer 1986; 137-164). This awareness was not easy to maintain during the interviews, but as McCracken acknowledges, those researchers working in another culture have a great advantage over those who work in their own, since virtually everything before them is mysterious (McCracken 1988; 22). That is, a foreign researcher should be able maintain greater focus since every verbal expression, gesture and other ‘cues’ may be considerably different and worth noting.

Nine key-informants were selected for Taquile and eight key-informants were selected for Chiquian for their insider or ‘expert’ knowledge of the local tourism industry. Table 6.2 is a list of the selected interviewees by their principal occupation, which shows a wide range of socio-cultural and economic backgrounds. A tape recorder was used to record most interviews. In a few cases, it was necessary to rely on note-taking if a tape recorder seemed obtrusive or consent was not provided.

**Table 6.2** Key-Informants Selected for Long Interviews

TAQUILE		CHIQUIAN	
town mayor	weaver	town mayor	local guide
varayoc (elder)	hotel owner (Puno)	hostel owner/manager	local guide
weaver and tourism founder	travel agent (Puno)	tourism promoter	guide and travel agent (Huaraz)
weaver and promoter	priest (Puno)	weaving association director	guide (Huaraz)
boat manager			

An interpreter and/or research assistant was present in all but four interviews. Each interview was conducted in Spanish by choice of each interviewee. Moreover, due to the fluency of the main researcher in this language, it was not absolutely necessary to have an interpreter but was preferred nevertheless for increased interpretive accuracy.

Respondents were briefed on the purpose of this study and the main questions to be asked (see Appendix 3). A typical interview took from one to three hours and was generally conducted in the home or office of each key-informant. Afterwards, all interviews were translated into

English and double checked for accuracy by triangulation similar to the questionnaire preparation using an independent translator. All interviews were then transcribed into a computer word processor program and analyzed for key themes or concepts.

## **Participant Observation**

Another qualitative method for this research was one widely used by anthropologists, rural sociologists, and human geographers - participant observation. According to Pratt and Loizos (1994), this method “entails the researcher becoming resident in a community for a period of many months and observing the normal daily lives of its members” (Pratt and Loizos 1992;63). In addition to helping to verify the data collected, it was useful to understand a relatively complex situation and to capture data from individuals who could not normally speak, such as women (especially in the case of Taquile), children and distrusting adults.

The main ways the participant observation technique was applied on Taquile Island and Chiquian were as follows:

- attending community or tourism committee meetings
- becoming an active tourist (e.g. staying in local accommodations, going on guided tours, bargaining for handicrafts and trekking)
- taking part in community festivals
- watching and note-taking while community residents provided tourism services
- chatting with children and women about their activities and attitudes towards tourism

Detailed notes were kept for each participatory situation as described, and recorded on a daily basis in a personal journal. This journal was of extreme benefit in interpreting, refuting, verifying, qualifying or adding to the data collected from all other techniques. For example, neither the household questionnaires nor the key-informant interviews were able to provide accurate, extensive information on the role of women in community decision-making. By participating as an observer in community meetings, more detailed, representative data was obtained that contradicted comments from many local respondents on Taquile Island (both men and women).

## Financial Analysis

Another quantitative method to obtain useful economic data were financial analyses of selected tourism businesses to examine associated costs and revenues. Some feel that any measure of economic benefits would have to include at least some assessment of profitability to be considered as such (i.e. total revenues minus total costs = profits). Residents may perceive themselves to be economically 'benefiting' from a given activity such as community-based ecotourism, when 'real benefits' may be much smaller if all costs are considered. For this research, the selected studies consisted of recording major costs and earnings of selected community businesses operating in the local tourism industry. The technique used was similar to financial accounting in the context of small businesses.

In this study, economic benefits were described as:

Gross amounts and distribution of income within the community. In other words, a measure of the income flows into the community, generated by tourists, but not a comprehensive measure of the real economic benefits (which would be net economic benefits).

A relatively simple financial analysis (as opposed to economic analysis) was carried out for three (3) typical tourism businesses of Taquile Island - a restaurant, boat operation and handicraft operation, and two (2) typical tourism businesses of Chiquian - a restaurant and guiding operation. This required simply accounting for major costs and earnings for each business. Only the results of the restaurants are presented in detail in this research.

Financial data was also collected for a third local business in Chiquian - a weaving association. However, although this business originally sold its alpaca wool clothing to tourists, most of their products are now shipped for export to Germany. Therefore, it was later decided not to consider this business as part of the tourism sector for Chiquian.

## **Secondary Data Collection**

Secondary data was an important part of this study, and was used to verify or reject information gathered from the other techniques, or to provide additional information. The most important sources were as follows:

- tourist records (stayovers, boat trips)
- census records
- other local, regional, and national statistics
- NGO documents
- newspaper and magazine articles
- published literature

## **DATA ANALYSIS**

As mentioned by Marshall & Rossman, “data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected data” (Marshall & Rossman 1989; 112). To analyze the data, several dependent variables were tested or compared as they relate to the independent variables (i.e. the two communities), as well as between each other. The main categories of dependent variables used were as follows:

- effects, both positive and negative, of ecotourism activities related to:
  - ⇒ socio-cultural factors
  - ⇒ economic factors
- perception of benefits from ecotourism
- involvement of local people in ecotourism management and employment
- distribution of economic benefits within and outside the communities

## **Quantitative Analysis**

Although the general population questionnaires asked both qualitative and quantitative type questions, the data was best analyzed using quantitative analytical methods. Moreover, the

information was analyzed primarily using descriptive techniques, referring to the descriptive procedures as suggested by Hunter & Brown (1991; 240-241). The majority of data obtained was either nominal or ordinal scale data, with some interval scale data.

Both quantitative and qualitative data collected from the research questionnaires were organized for analysis while still in Peru. Questionnaire data was coded in the field, i.e. all responses were assigned values. For example, a *yes*, *no*, or *not sure* answer to a given question (or variable) was given a code of 1, 2, or 8 respectively. Any missing data such as 'not applicable' or 'no comment' were coded as 96 and 97 respectively.

Data was later entered into a statistical software program (SPSS/pc 7.0 for Windows 95). General statistics generated were primarily frequency tables, bar charts, histograms, chi-square statistics and Pearson's correlation. Some means, modes and standard deviations were produced for relevant interval data. Much of the questionnaire data was analyzed with the aid of *The SPSS Guide to Data Analysis* (Norusis 1991).

### **Qualitative Analysis**

The key-informant interviews were analyzed using qualitative techniques, especially based on McCracken's (1988) Stages of Analysis. Key themes and concepts were searched within each interview, then the interviews compared to each other. The themes generated were then compared between each community to examine commonalities and differences. The long interview analysis is provided in Chapter 8.

Other qualitative analysis consisted of reviewing and extracting relevant participant observation notes from the daily journal. As mentioned previously, this information was primarily used to check the validity or add to long interview findings, questionnaire results and other data collected. This was particularly so where data obtained seemed suspect under the circumstances (e.g. individual influence in decision-making, role of women and children in tourism industry) or not available (e.g. indirect tourism jobs, competing areas). Participant observation notes are not treated separately in the data analysis and findings chapters, but do appear wherever appropriate.

## **STUDY LIMITATIONS**

The data collection phase of this research was not without its limitations or anomalies. Given the unique cultural context inherent to both communities as well as logistical or budgetary demands, certain sampling criteria or research techniques required modification while in the field. The most substantive limitations of this study are discussed in the following subsections.

### **Gender Differences**

More men (79%) than women (21%) were surveyed in the Taquile research questionnaires (n=101), yet more women (57%) than men (43%) for the Chiquian surveys (n=136). This was principally due to the natural timidity so characteristic of Taquile women - most preferred *not* to be interviewed if an adult male family member was present. This reluctance was noted even if when alone; a common response was “I don’t know much about tourism, but my husband does – you should ask him instead”, when in reality it is often the female members of the household that are more actively involved in handicraft production or other tourism activities and administration. For Chiquian, many of the men were away working in other areas at the time of the survey. Several different techniques were utilized when it became obvious early on that a gender imbalance was occurring (especially in the case of Taquile); for example, interviewing at different times of the day or week. However, it was eventually determined that this imbalance would have to stand given the limited timeframe to conduct this research and to gain more trust among female residents.

It is recognized that the number of females sampled did not match their actual proportion within the general population of Taquile (51% male and 49% female according to Esparza Monroy 1996). However, given the nature of the culture (i.e. a male-dominated society), the gender split is likely relatively close to the real decision-making apparatus in the community. That is, the sample selection was likely closer to their cultural reality.

Additionally, almost all members of every household on Taquile were employed or participated to some degree in the administration of tourism on the island, regardless of gender. Also, additional information such as Valencia Blanco’s work on women’s productive role in

Taquile society, Healy and Zorn (1983), Prochaska (1990) and personal observations recorded in a daily journal were taken advantage of in this research to interpret or clarify results, and to help draw conclusions wherever appropriate with respect to gender differences.

### **Tourism Employment Differences**

Another problem in interpreting the results obtained concerned the high numbers of employed residents in the local tourism industry on Taquile (98% of respondents, n=101), compared to relatively low numbers of tourism-employed residents in Chiquian (10% of respondents, n=136). It was initially believed that one of the major industries in Chiquian, an alpaca wool weaving association, would make for an excellent comparison to the weaving cooperative of Taquile Island. However, it was later discovered that most of the clothing is exported directly to Germany, and as such cannot be considered as a *tourism* business.

Community differentiation in tourism-based employment made some of the statistical tests impossible to carry out, especially direct comparisons between the two communities regarding questions of income, tourism control and ownership, and other economic issues. This meant that for many important questions, only one-sample tests could be used to examine the tourism industry in Taquile Island. It also meant that some results would have to be qualified.

### **Tourist Factors**

Two other major limitations affected certain interpretations in this research: 1) little tourist data collected, and 2) 'one-season only' data collection. For both situations, secondary sources needed to be consulted to obtain reasonable estimates, such as numbers of visitors and visitor expenditures. In reality, some figures obtained from these estimates may lower or higher than reported. However, since the focus of this research is on community involvement in tourism decision-making, it is less important than if only effects of tourists had been desired. All estimates were obtained from reliable sources or personable observation notes.

# CHAPTER 7: SOCIO-ECONOMIC COMPARISONS BETWEEN TAQUILE ISLAND AND CHIQUIAN

## INTRODUCTION

Quantitative and qualitative data for Taquile Island and Chiquian was collected from research questionnaires, selected businesses, secondary data, interviews and personal observations during 1997, and analyzed using appropriate methodology. This chapter is divided into three major sections: 1) *Research Questionnaire*, 2) *Supporting Economic Data: Taquile* and 3) *Supporting Economic Data: Chiquian*. Greater emphasis was placed on Taquile due to less economic data obtained for Chiquian (i.e. fewer respondents were employed in tourism).

The sections on tourism employment and income concentrate on questionnaire data from Taquile, since only 13 Chiquian respondents were employed in tourism (10%) and only 11 reported income related to tourism. Obviously, then, overall community income and employment is lower for Chiquian than Taquile. However, an examination of economic aspects from one community limited the type of statistical tests that could be carried out for tourism revenues and employment. Also, since much of the data obtained was either ordinal (scales) or nominal (categories with no inherent order), appropriate *non-parametric* tests were used to show trends or test differences. Non-parametric tests do not depend on assumptions about the precise form of the distribution of the sampled populations (Blalock 1960;243), as required for *parametric* tests. Reported income was of an interval nature (numbers with full arithmetic properties) and was treated accordingly as one-sample data. Supporting economic data on income and employment for both communities have been included following the research questionnaire results.

Unless otherwise indicated, percentages, statistical tests, figures and charts are based on the *Community Integration in Ecotourism Research Questionnaire, Taquile Island and Chiquian, 1997, Peru, Ross Mitchell* (see Appendix 2). Sample findings are based on n=101 for Taquile Island (population of 1,850) and n=136 for Chiquian (population of 3,801), and a confidence



interval of 90% ( $\pm 10\%$ ). Research questionnaire findings are referenced by their corresponding Section and Question Number (e.g. Research Questionnaire, Section 3-7).

A cautionary note is required in the interpretation of these results, they are reported for the community but refer to the sample survey. Considering that only sufficient numbers of respondents were taken to be reliable at the 10% level of confidence, then the results obtained should be treated with caution. However, it should also be noted that since the survey was conducted at the household level, and since 28.9% of all households on Taquile Island and 11.3% of all households in Chiquian were surveyed, then a very reasonable number of households in both communities were sampled.

## **RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE**

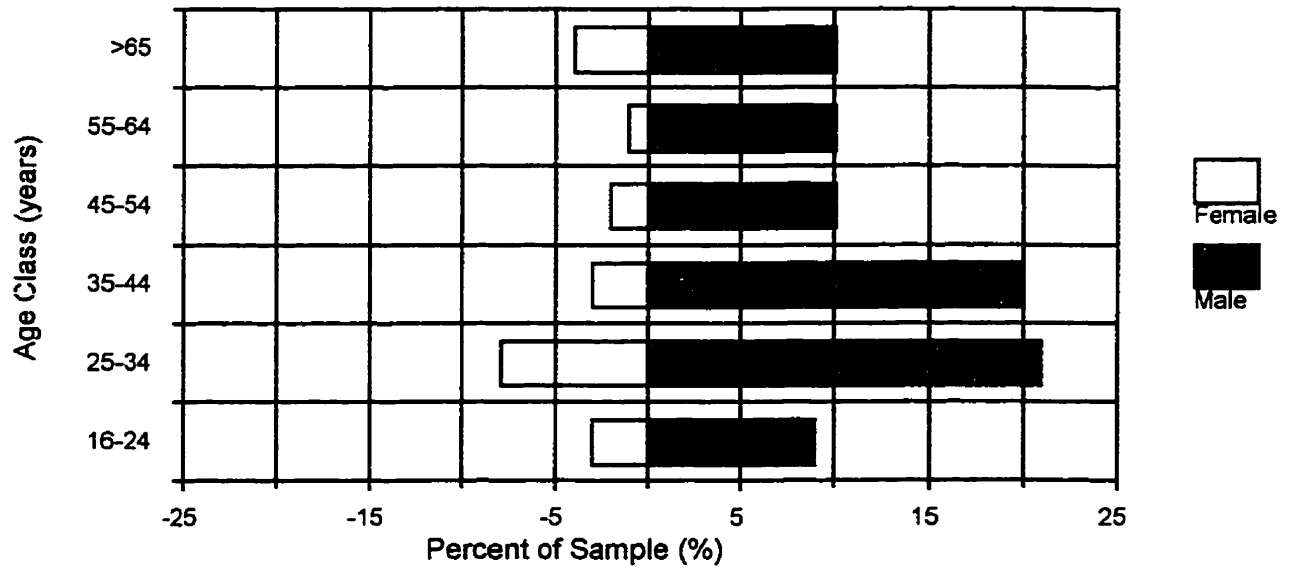
### **Demographic Factors**

#### Age and Sex

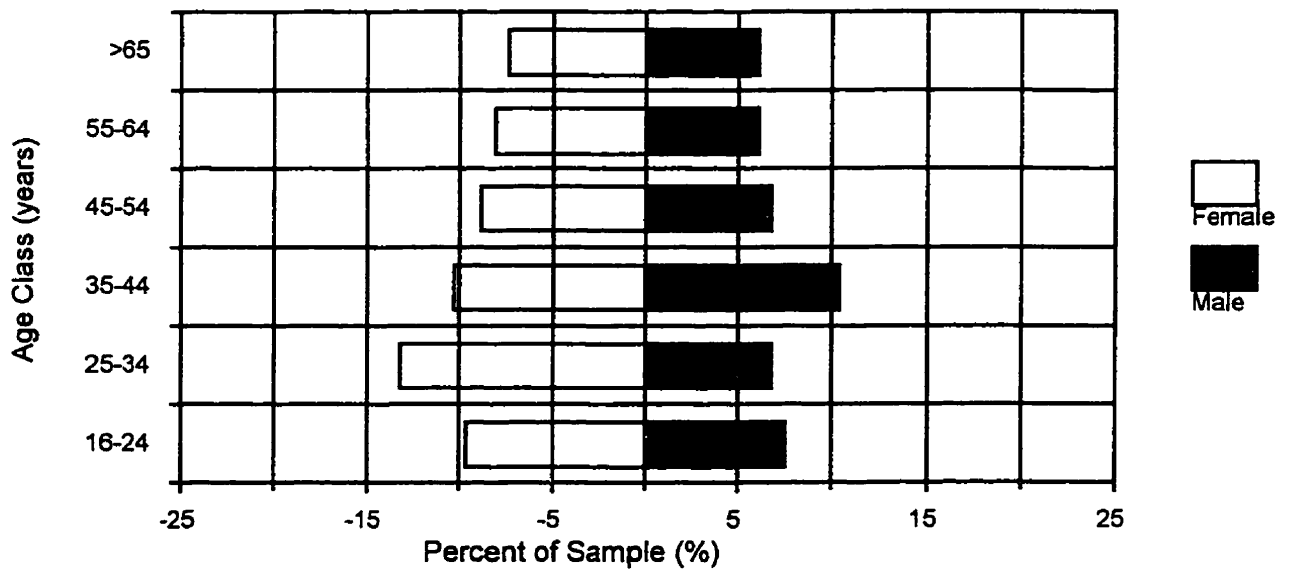
Population cohorts for Taquile and Chiquian respectively are illustrated in Figures 7.1 and 7.2 (Research Questionnaire, Section 1: Personal Data). It is clear that more men were surveyed in Taquile than in Chiquian (79% compared to 43% respectively). However, this anomaly reflects the difficulty experienced in surveying both sexes equally. Women from Taquile were reluctant to speak if an adult male family member was present, so only 21% surveyed out of the total sample were females. In contrast, more women than men were surveyed in Chiquian (57%) since their husbands were often away working on their farm holding. Women from Chiquian often demonstrated greater consent for an interview than Taquile women.

Ages were grouped into 10-year cohorts by gender from 16 years to over 65. For Taquile, a relatively large percentage (41%) consisted of males aged 25 to 44 years. For Chiquian, there appears to be a more normal distribution of ages grouped by sex. Although not shown, the mean age for both samples was almost identical (Taquile - 42.6 years, Chiquian - 42.4 years). The average number of children per family was also similar (Taquile - 2.9 children, Chiquian - 3.1 children).

**Figure 7.1** Age-Sex Cohorts for Taquile Respondents



**Figure 7.2** Age-Sex Cohorts for Chiquian Respondents

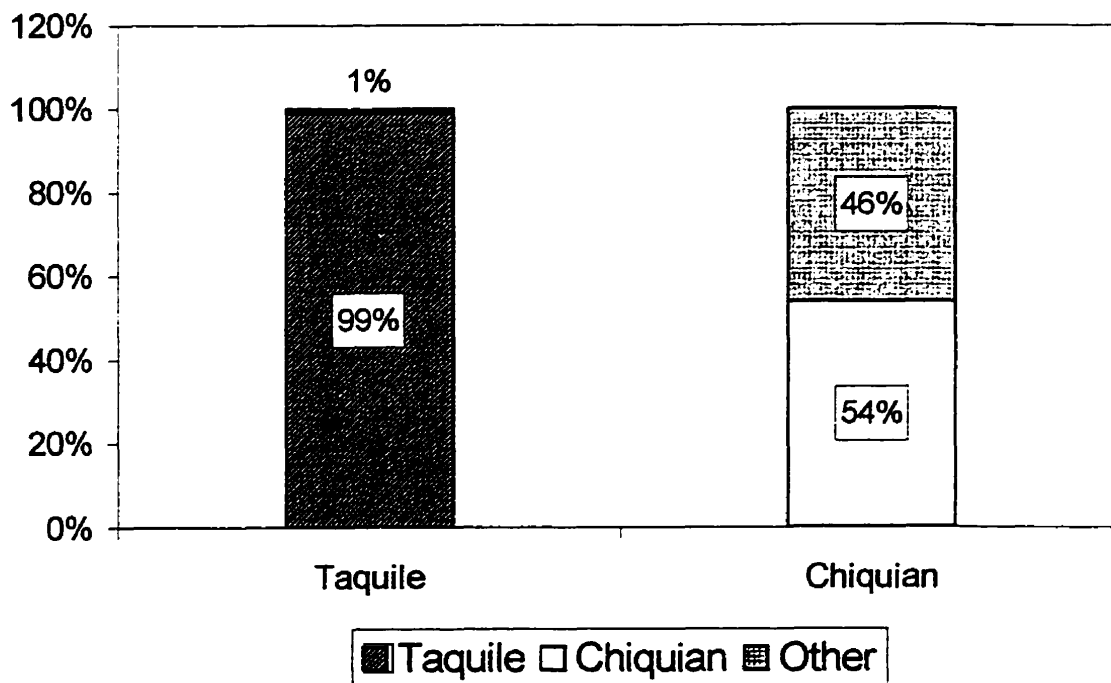


### Birthplace and Residency

Respondent birthplace is illustrated in Figure 7.3 (Research Questionnaire, Section 1-1a). Almost all adult residents on Taquile were Taquileños by birth (99%), whereas just over half of Chiquian residents were native to community (54%). This indicates a relatively high degree of migration for Chiquian and a very low degree of migration for Taquile, which was confirmed by key-informants.

Although only a slight majority of adult residents in Chiquian were native born, 82% were from the province of Bolognesi of which Chiquian belongs (Research Questionnaire, Section 1-2a). It was commented that people come from nearby communities or regions to look for employment in Chiquian or to provide a better education for their children. This migratory trend by rural people from other communities or villages to Chiquian has especially increased during the past twenty years or so according to certain respondents.

**Figure 7.3** Population Comparison by Birthplace



## Tourism Sample Factors

### Administration Role

Adult Taquile residents participate to a high degree in the overall administration of *social* or *political* aspects of their community compared to Chiquian residents (89% compared to 15% respectively). Many Taquileños have roles in local government or one of the several tourism committees. Most belong to the Manco Capac Cooperative, which requires a minimum three weeks of administrative work from every member (can be substituted by a close relative of a member). However, 7% of cooperative members did not participate in administration when questioned about their individual participation in tourism management. A total of 79% of adult residents on Taquile are involved in some capacity during the year in *tourism* administration compared to only 8% of Chiquian adult residents.

### Tourism Employment

Figure 7.4 illustrates levels of employment in tourism-related activities for both communities<sup>a</sup>. While 98% of adult residents on Taquile are gainfully employed at least part-time in tourism (especially in handicraft production), only 10% of Chiquian adult residents work in tourism (see Appendix 1 for definitions related to work). The overall unemployment rate in Chiquian was 43% of all adult residents due to a low amount of available work. Many people in both communities consider themselves farmers, especially in Taquile where all respondents reside on a small farm holding. In the Andes of Peru, farming is generally a subsistence activity, so it is not surprising that many residents of both communities work in non-agricultural related activities to supplement their incomes.

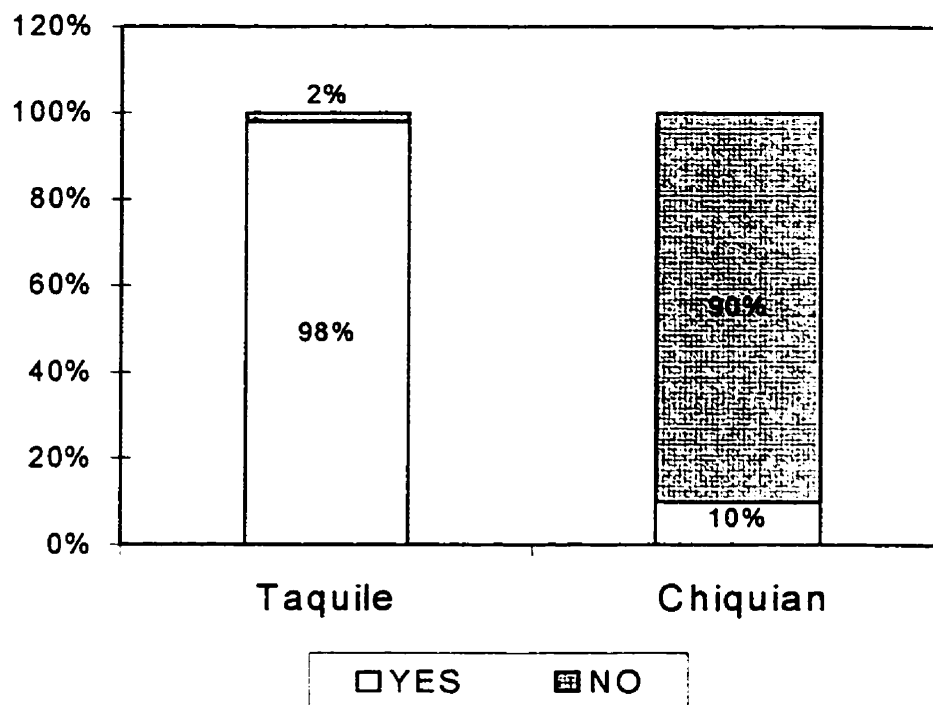
One major disparity between Taquile and Chiquian regarded whether those involved in tourism worked full-time, hourly or by contract (Research Questionnaire, Section 3-7). Most tourism-employed positions in Taquile are hourly-based (65%), whereas in Chiquian most jobs are predominately by contract (46%). Taquileños work part-time in the handicraft industry since

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<sup>a</sup> As a reminder, estimates of employment and other factors are based on n=101 for Taquile, n=136 for Chiquian. Unless otherwise stated, residents are those that live *full-time* in community for at least six months/year and are *adult* members (>15 years) of community.

weaving can be done in spare hours such as when tending domestic animals. In Chiquian, casual employment is typical for guides, porters, donkey drivers and other activities related to trekking and mountain climbing. For both communities, full-time employment is usually attributed to owners of restaurants, hostels, boats, and other potentially year-round operations.

**Figure 7.4** Percentage of Population Employed in Tourism-Related Activity

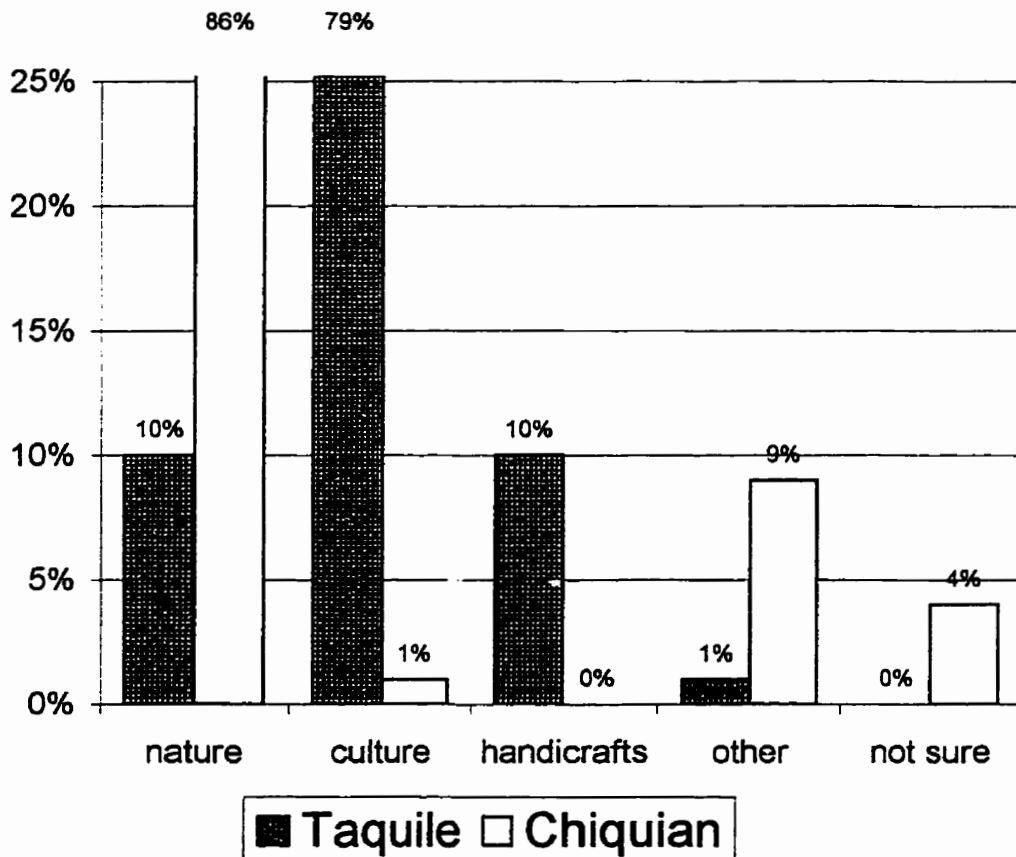


In addition, most adult Taquile residents work year round in tourism-related employment compared to Chiquian (Research Questionnaire, Section 3-8). Only 42% of Chiquian tourism positions continue during the six or seven month rainy season (from October to April), whereas 97% of adult Taquile residents work in tourism on a year-round basis. This demonstrates the highly seasonal nature of the industry in Chiquian. Since few tourists visit the Cordillera Huayhuash during the rainy season, most guides and donkey drivers have to dedicate themselves to agriculture.

## Tourism Perceptions

When asked why tourists come to visit their respective area (Research Questionnaire, Section 7-1), 79% of adult Taquile residents believed culture was the main attraction for tourists (see Figure 7.5). Taquile residents realize that tourists come to see their traditional clothing and customs, and that some may wish to experience local customs by staying first-hand with a local family. In contrast, 86% of adult Chiquian residents felt that nature was the principal feature attracting tourists to their region. The nearby Cordillera Huayhuash was acknowledged as the principal attraction at least for foreign tourists. Note that the largest bars in Figure 7.5 have been shortened to better distinguish shorter bars.

**Figure 7.5** Principal Reasons for Tourism in Taquile and Chiquian

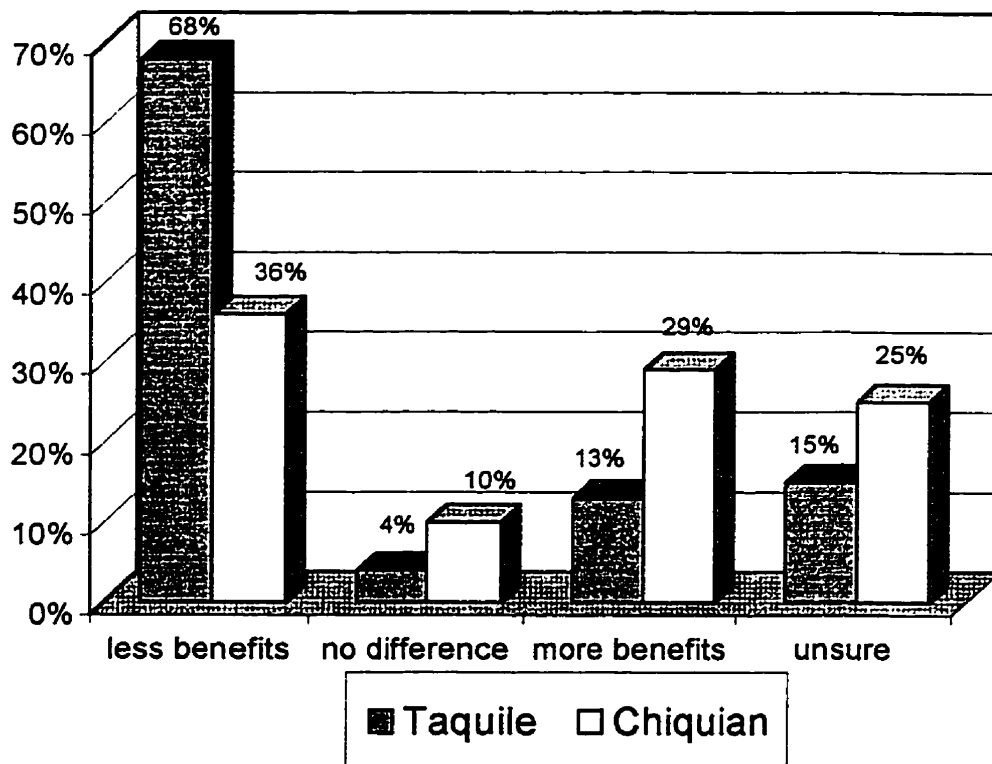


## Historical Changes in Community Economic Benefits from Tourism

Figure 7.6 illustrates perceptions of local economic benefits from tourism during the early 1980s (Research Questionnaire, Section 2-2a). More residents from Taquile than Chiquian felt there were fewer benefits from tourism during the 1980-85 Fernando Beluande government (68% compared to 36%). However, perhaps the worst period of Peru's economic and political history occurred during Allan Garcia's APRA government from 1986-90 (Research Questionnaire, Section 2-2b). Widespread terrorism and economic chaos at a national level were two major problems that were responsible for the decline of tourism in Peru in the 1980s and early 1990s.

It came as no surprise, then, that an overwhelming majority of residents in both communities perceived that there were fewer benefits from tourism during 1986-90 compared to 1996 (92% of Taquile compared to 67% of Chiquian; not shown). It was expected that Chiquian residents would have perceived fewer benefits during the APRA years since tourism practically ceased in the area, while it continued to a lesser extent on Taquile.

**Figure 7.6** Perception of Economic Benefits from Tourism during Beluande Government (1980-85) Compared to 1996

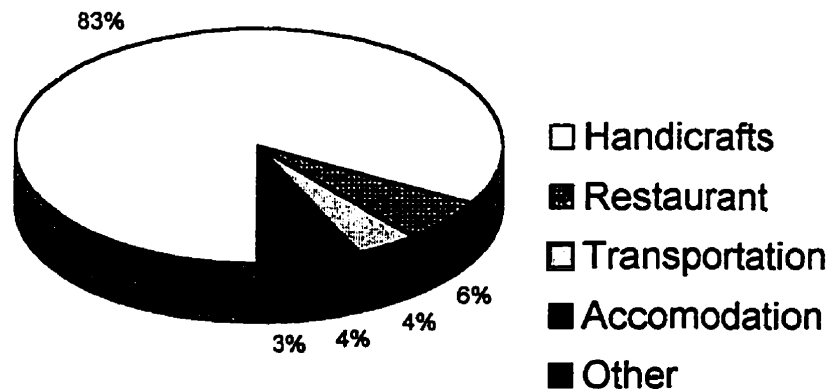


## Tourism Employment

There is wide diversity of employment in the tourism sector on Taquile Island (Research Questionnaire, Section 3-1). A surprising 98% of residents on Taquile work at least part-time in handicraft production and sales. Of those who considered themselves as 'artisans', only one respondent worked independently from the Manco Capac cooperative. In addition, there is a wide degree of overlap between employment sectors: 54% of Taquileños are members of cooperative tourist boat operations, 48% have accommodations for rent, 6% own a restaurant and 6% work in another tourism position (e.g. carrying cargo for tourism business owners, selling fish to restaurants, guiding). One person works casually as a registered local guide on the island. With one exception, all persons employed on the island in a tourism-related activity were Taquileño by birth (one non-native person was married to a Taquile-born resident).

Figure 7.7 shows what residents perceived to be their most important tourism-related job. A majority (83%) of adult Taquileños employed in tourism felt themselves to be artisans (Research Questionnaire, Section 3-2). Other important employment positions included operating or working in a restaurant, providing transportation and accommodation, and other assorted jobs. This question was necessary to distinguish types of employment since many held multiple positions or received income from different sources. It should also be noted that many residents felt tourism to be of equal importance as agriculture.

**Figure 7.7** Most Important Tourism Sectors on Taquile





### Type of Tourism Position

A total of 68% of adult Taquile residents work in a tourism-related sector on a part-time basis (Research Questionnaire, Section 3-7). To examine if there were any differences in the propensity to work full-time or part-time, employment distinguished by position type (full-time, hourly, contract) was compared by age and gender. The main statistical procedure used in this case was the one-sample *Chi-Square* test. This comparative test examines whether or not a relationship exists between two variables in the population from which the sample was derived. That is, it allows the researcher to ascertain the probability that the observed relationship between two variables may not have arisen by chance (Bryman and Cramer 1994;160). A major limitation is that it does not convey information about the *strength* of a relationship.

Application of the Chi-Square tests did not indicate that there was any significant association between position type and *age* (observed significance level of 0.853, n=97), or position type and *gender* (observed significance level of 0.556, n=97). That is, the majority of Taquile residents work on an hourly basis regardless of whether they are young or old, male or female. For example, 67% of adult males and 75% of adult females on Taquile work part-time. Controlling for income caused no significant change in the level of independence between these variables.

### Time Worked

On the other hand, a relationship was found among Taquile residents based on gender and the propensity to work longer days during the week (hence, year) in some tourism-related activity (Research Questionnaire, Section 3-8). A *contingency table* (display of the values of two or more variables) is illustrated in Table 7.1. To avoid empty cells (which would have violated one Chi-Square test assumption), time worked per season was collapsed into one variable (TIMESUM) for the entire year. The respective values were recoded into 'low' (works < five days/week) or 'high' (works five to seven days/week). The values indicate that most men (88%) worked at least five days a week in tourism, whereas just over half (56%) of females worked long weeks in tourism.

The Chi-Square test indicates that a significant difference exists between gender and the propensity to work longer in tourism for Taquile residents. If an observed level of significance is less than 0.05 (probability or  $p$ ), then the null hypothesis can be rejected that men and women work the same amount of time in tourism on Taquile. However, this may be a reflection of the greater amount of time that Taquile women need to spend in caring for their children and domestic chores. Also, men are more likely to work longer days during the week in tourism-related activities such as transport of tourists due to the cultural roles attached to such forms of employment.

**Table 7.1** Contingency Table Comparing Time Worked by Sex, Taquile

**TIMESUM \* Sex Crosstabulation**

			Sex		Total
			Male	Female	
TIMESUM	Low (<5 days/wk)	Count	9	7	16
		% within Sex	11.5%	43.8%	17.0%
		% of Total	9.6%	7.4%	17.0%
	High (5-7 days/wk)	Count	69	9	78
		% within Sex	88.5%	56.3%	83.0%
		% of Total	73.4%	9.6%	83.0%
Total	Count	78	16	94	
	% within Sex	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
	% of Total	83.0%	17.0%	100.0%	

Chi-Square Statistic: 9.753

Two-Tailed Level of Significance: 0.002

Distribution of Tourism Income

The distribution of direct income by tourism category or sector is illustrated in Table 7.2 and Figure 7.8. Eight categories of employment derive most or all of their income from sales to tourists. Total gross revenue for Taquile from tourism employment was estimated to be \$310,497 US, of which almost three-quarters (74%) was attributable to restaurant and boat transport earnings.

Visitor fees are community collected and shared revenues (in municipal services and improvements). Several categories involve group-shared revenues, such as the Manco Capac cooperative stores and community restaurant (5% of all sales are retained for cooperative maintenance); others may benefit several families, such as the accommodation rotation system and community-owned and operated boats.

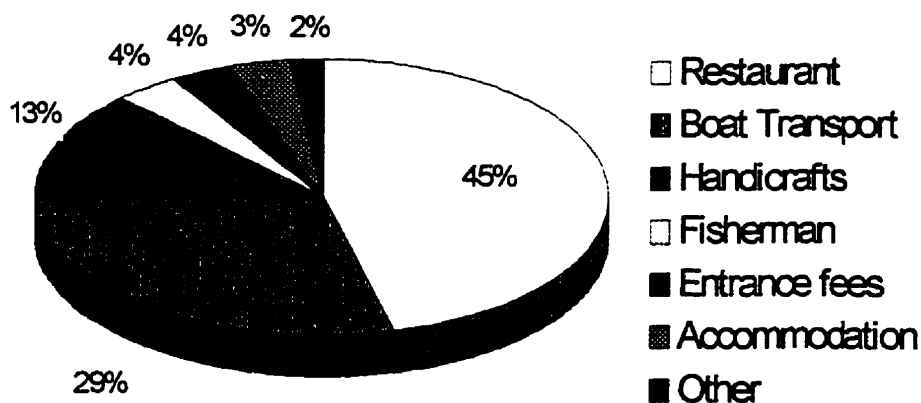
**Table 7.2** Financial Summary of Annual Gross Revenues by Tourism Sector for 1996, Taquile Island<sup>b</sup>

Tourism Sector	Quantity	Item	Sales/ Item (\$US)	Subtotal (\$US)	Total Sales (\$US)
<b>1. ACCOMODATION</b>					
a) one night	4,316	person-nights	2.00	8,632.00	
b) at least two nights (est.)	864	person-nights	2.00	1,728.00	
				10,360.00	10,360.00
<b>2. VISITOR FEES</b>					
	27,685	tourists	0.40	11,074.00	
				11,074.00	11,074.00
<b>3. BOAT TRANSPORT (Taquile boats)</b>					
	12,798	tourists	6.92	88,562.00	
				88,562.00	88,562.00
<b>4. RESTAURANTS</b>					
a) cooperative	1	community restaurant	17,645.00	17,645.00	
b) private	9	restaurants	13,864.00	124,777.00	
				142,422.00	142,422.00
<b>5. HANDICRAFTS</b>					
a) cooperative	2	stores	32,422.00	32,422.00	
b) private sales (est.)	25%	individuals	8,105.00	8,105.00	
	of above			40,527.00	40,527.00
<b>6. PORTERS</b>					
	8	porters	672.00	5,376.00	
				5,376.00	5,376.00
<b>7. GUIDE</b>					
	1	guide	416.00	416.00	
				416.00	416.00
<b>8. FISHERMEN (selling to restaurants)</b>					
	7	fishermen	1,680.00	11,760.00	
				11,760.00	11,760.00
<b>TOTAL GROSS SALES</b>					310,497.00

Nevertheless, single families own nine out of ten restaurants on the island. Likewise, 15 of 19 tourist boats have fewer owners than ten years ago when most were considered cooperatively owned with 30-60 families per boat. There is one local registered guide that works on a casual basis and earned \$416 U.S. in 1996 for his services.

Some caution is necessary concerning the validity of these estimates. Although they are derived from several sources, including questionnaire data, visitor records, financial analyses and participant observation notes, income is traditionally under-reported. Several anomalies were also observed. For example, visitor fees are not paid by all Puno guides, so actual fees collected may be less than estimated. Handicraft sales were based on only one month of observations, restaurant data from two businesses for a 'typical' month in the wet season, and boat revenues estimated from one 'typical' boat operation. Therefore, actual values may be higher or lower for certain employment categories.

**Figure 7.8** Percent of Gross Revenues by Tourism Sector for 1996, Taquile<sup>c</sup>



In addition, these estimates are gross revenues without any consideration to the costs involved in providing such services. For example, boat cooperative members and owners often

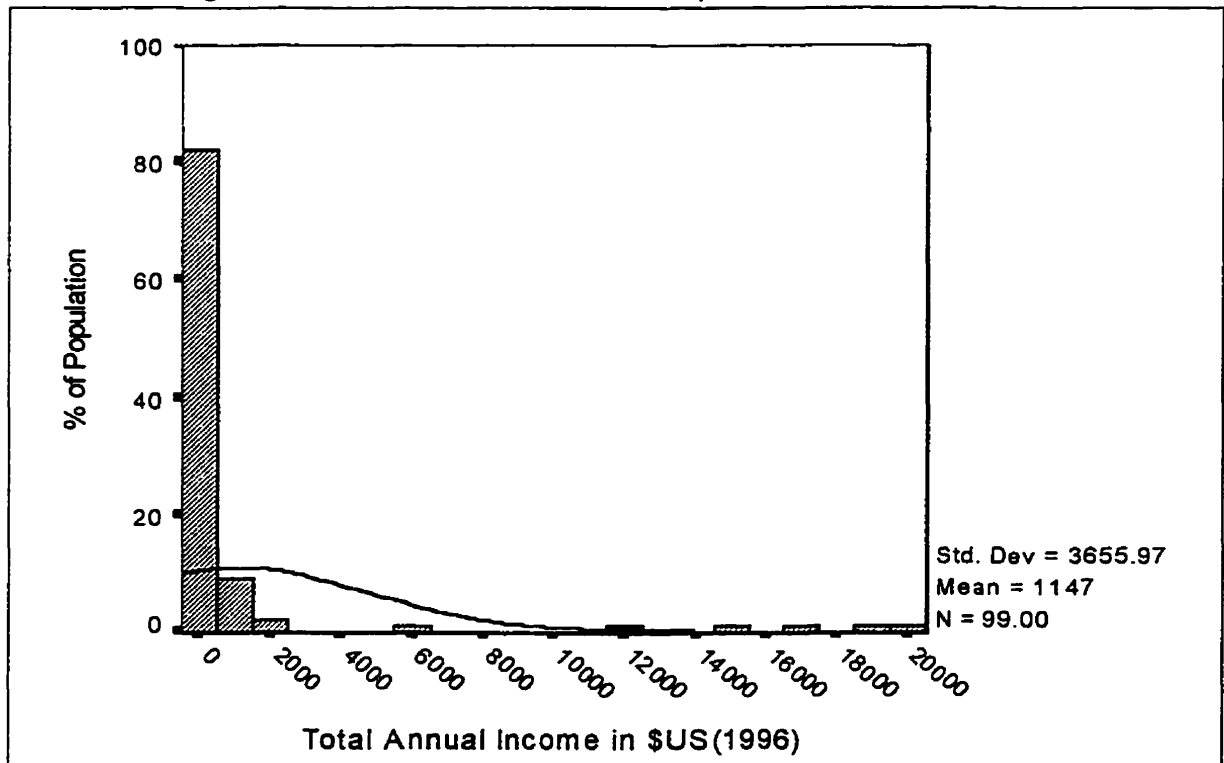
<sup>b</sup> Source: 1996 Visitor records, 1997 Research Questionnaire, and 1997 Financial Records, Taquile Island, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

<sup>c</sup> Source: 1996 Visitor Records, 1997 Research Questionnaire, and 1997 Financial Records, Taquile Island, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

indicated that maintenance payments and other costs are high, resulting in very low profits. Many respondents reported boat revenues, but few reported any direct income as boat members; any income reported was generally for the boat cooperative rather than for a given family or individual. Still, the results indicate a general pattern of income distribution from tourism-related activities on Taquile.

Based on the questionnaire results and excluding boat income (due to data unreliability), the annual mean (or average) tourism-generated revenue (or sales) per person was \$1,147 US (2,868 Peruvian Soles, or \$1 US = 2.50 Soles in January, 1997) for 1996. In addition, the standard deviation for income ( $s = \$3,656$  US) indicates an extremely wide variability. However, mean annual income is misleading since income distribution is very highly and positively skewed toward the higher earners (i.e. restaurant owners). That is, a relatively small minority of adult Taquile residents earned the majority of tourism income in 1996.

**Figure 7.9** Histogram of Income Distribution on Taquile<sup>d</sup>



<sup>d</sup> Source: 1997 Research Questionnaire, Taquile Island, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

Figure 7.9 shows the distribution of income among Taquile island households (n=99). Only 10% of the adult population gross more than \$1,000 US annually from tourism. Most adult residents (83%) make less than \$400 US annually from tourism (primarily due to handicraft sales) and a substantial 10% earn less than \$12 US annually from tourism. Therefore, a more representative statistic to the mean is the median income of \$187 US or the modal income of \$106 US.

A *one-sample t-test* (a parametric test used to determine if the mean of a sample is similar to that of the population) confirmed there was a significant difference in income distribution among residents on Taquile. The results from this test are illustrated in Table 7.3

**Table 7.3** One-Sample T-Test of Tourism Income Distribution, 1996, Taquile

One-Sample Test						
	Test Value = 0					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	90% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Total Annual Income in \$US	3.122	98	.002	1147.0606	536.9102	1757.21

Tourism gross income was also compared by various independent variables, such as gender, age, time worked and level of participation. Chi-Square tests on these variables were run after recoding income into two arbitrarily assigned categories: <1,000 Soles/year (\$400 US) = *low income*, and  $\geq 1,000$  Soles/year = *high income*. No significant differences were found, even after converting the high-income earners into missing values, reassigning codes and running the Chi-Square tests again. For example, only 25% of females and 20% of males earned 1,000 Soles/year or more (observed significance level of 0.707, n=99). Therefore, while income may not be evenly distributed among Taquile residents, it appears that the majority share low levels of income.

## Ownership and Management

While there may not have been significant relationships between tourism income and various demographic factors, there were major differences found between Taquile and Chiquian in the type of ownership and management of tourism services (Research Questionnaire, Section 4-1:3). A significant majority of 98% of Taquile residents (n=101) own at least *part* of their business compared to only 7% of Chiquian residents (n=136). However, of those Chiquian residents employed in tourism, a respectable 73% (n=11) own all of their business and 62% (n=13) are responsible for the management of all of their business.

In contrast, only 7% of Taquile residents employed in tourism manage *all* of their business. Yet, there is a very high degree of community management in Taquile's tourism industry since 93% of those employed (n=98) are involved in tourism administration at least part of the year. These differences may be related to the strong sense of communal ownership that still predominates on Taquile.

Within Taquile, local tourism control was tested by Chi-Square using various sample variables such as gender, age and income. After combining management and ownership to create a new variable CONTROL, it was then collapsed into two categories<sup>o</sup>: a) *low control* (a score of 1-3), and b) *high control* (a score of 4-8). For income, respondents were categorized by their respective tourism-related earnings as *low income* (< 1,000 Soles annually) and *high income* (≥ 1,000 Soles annually). No significant associations were found between most test variables and local control of tourism services with one important exception - income.

Table 7.4 indicates a wide income disparity among those employed on Taquile for the low control category, but a fairly balanced relationships between low and high income earners in the high control category. Most residents (75%, n=97) had relatively low control over their tourism services, but with correspondingly low incomes. Only 6% of residents had a combined high control and income level. Interestingly, 45% of low income earners shared high control with high income earners. It should be noted that even after recoding, one cell had an expected count less than five (which is normally a violation of the Chi-Square test assumption); however, since the observed count was five (5), the test was considered appropriate.

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<sup>o</sup> Four cases had a score of '0' and were considered as missing values to run the Chi-Square statistic.

**Table 7.4** Contingency Table of Annual Income by Local Control of Tourism Services for Taquile, 1996

**Total Income \* Tourism Control Crosstabulation**

Count		Tourism Control Recoded		Total
		Low	High	
Total Income < 1000 Soles	73	5	78	
Recoded 1000 Soles or more	13	6	19	
Total	86	11	97	

Chi-Square Statistic: 9.626

Two-Tailed Level of Significance: 0.002

Tourism Income Contribution to Household

Not surprising considering the high degree of tourism-employed residents on Taquile, 91% of Taquile residents (n=99) felt that tourism contributes at least some revenues to their total household income (Research Questionnaire, Section 3-3). This contrasts to a fairly significant 77% of Chiquian residents (n=135) who felt the same way. What is surprising is why so many Chiquian residents found tourism to contribute significantly to their household income, considering that so few were directly or indirectly employed in the sector. It has to be assumed either that 1) many *perceived* themselves (or their community) to be obtaining revenues from tourism when in reality they were not, or that 2) many considered *induced* employment or revenues in this question (i.e. selling household goods and services to those employed in the tourism sector).

Perceived Benefits of Tourism

Perceptions of benefits were obtained through the use of *Likert Scale*-type questions (Research Questionnaire, Section 7-A, 1-6). In a Likert Scale, individuals are presented with a number of statements which appear to relate to a common theme - they then indicate their degree of agreement on a five-point (or seven-point) scale, often ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree. On certain statements, negative wording was used to maintain respondent



attentiveness. In practice, however, this was a difficult concept for some people and often required repeated attempts until the question was understood. Percentages of perceived benefits from tourism with respect to both communities are provided in Tables 7.5 and 7.6.

**Table 7.5** Perceptions of Tourism Benefits for Taquile, 1997<sup>f</sup>

	Community Economic Benefits	Personal Economic Benefits Felt from Tourism	More Tourists, More Community Money	Tourism Benefits to Few People	Tourism Important Nationally	Tourism Earnings to Outsiders
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly Agree	43.6%	2.0%	40.6%	4.0%	41.6%	
Agree	48.5%	5.0%	55.4%	8.0%	55.4%	2.0%
Neutral	5.0%	4.0%	1.0%		1.0%	2.0%
Disagree	3.0%	53.5%	3.0%	36.0%	2.0%	51.5%
Strongly Disagree		35.6%		52.0%		44.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

**Table 7.6** Perceptions of Tourism Benefits for Chiquian, 1997<sup>g</sup>

	Community Economic Benefits	Personal Economic Benefits Felt from Tourism	More Tourists, More Community Money	Tourism Benefits to Few People	Tourism Important Nationally	Tourism Earnings to Outsiders
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly Agree	16.2%	6.6%	26.5%	15.0%	19.1%	5.1%
Agree	65.4%	50.7%	65.4%	65.4%	75.0%	42.6%
Neutral	8.8%	2.9%	5.1%		5.9%	14.7%
Disagree	8.8%	25.0%	2.2%	13.5%		33.1%
Strongly Disagree	.7%	14.7%	.7%	6.0%		4.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

<sup>f</sup> Source: 1997 Research Questionnaire, Taquile Island, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

<sup>g</sup> Source: 1997 Research Questionnaire, Chiquian, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

Interestingly, 89% of Taquile residents disagreed or disagreed strongly to the question “I personally do not benefit very much from tourism”, compared to only 40% of Chiquian residents who felt the same way. In other words, Taquile residents felt much more strongly that they obtained benefits from tourism (likely economic related, but possibly ‘social’ as well, or ‘instead of’).

Another revealing statistic is that only 12% of Taquile residents agreed or strongly agreed to “tourism benefits only a few people in the community”, compared to 79% of Chiquian residents. Therefore, most Taquile residents felt that there was a greater distribution of benefits from tourism. Also, only 2% of Taquileños agreed or agreed strongly that most tourism earnings go to non-local residents, compared to 48% of Chiquian residents. Both agreed or agreed strongly that the community benefits from tourism (92% in Taquile, and 82% in Chiquian respectively). With respect to missing values, all six questions in the “benefit” set were answered with the exception of Question 4; in this case,  $n=100$  for Taquile and  $n=133$  for Chiquian.

To find if significant differences existed between communities in the perception of benefits by residents, and since these were ordinal scales of categories that were independently and randomly sampled, the *Kolmogorov-Smirnov* (or K-S) non-parametric test was used. The K-S test is used to determine whether two samples are drawn from the same population where the samples are expressed in the form of cumulative frequency distributions (Fitzsimons 1996).

The K-S test results in Table 7.7 indicate that there is a very low possibility that the values corresponding to most variables for perceived economic benefits could have been drawn at random in the two communities. In other words, there are significant differences in the variables that are dependent on the population sample. The only exception is the significance of 0.198 displayed for “more tourists means more money for the community”. In this case, it must be assumed that any difference is attributable to randomness. That is, there is a high likelihood that the variable is independent in the population, or that there is insufficient evidence to reject the null hypothesis of independence.

**Table 7.7** Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test of Differences for Perceptions of Benefits between Taquile and Chiquian Residents, 1997

		<b>Test Statistics</b>					
		Community Economic Benefits	Personal Economic Benefits Felt from Tourism	More Tourists, More Community Money	Tourism Benefits to Few People	Tourism Important Nationally	Tourism Earnings to Outsiders
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	.274	.504	.141	.680	.225	.585
	Positive	.000	.504	.000	.680	.020	.000
	Negative	-.274	.000	-.141	.000	-.225	-.585
Kolmogorov-Smirnov Z		2.085	3.839	1.075	5.178	1.710	4.457
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.198	.000	.006	.000

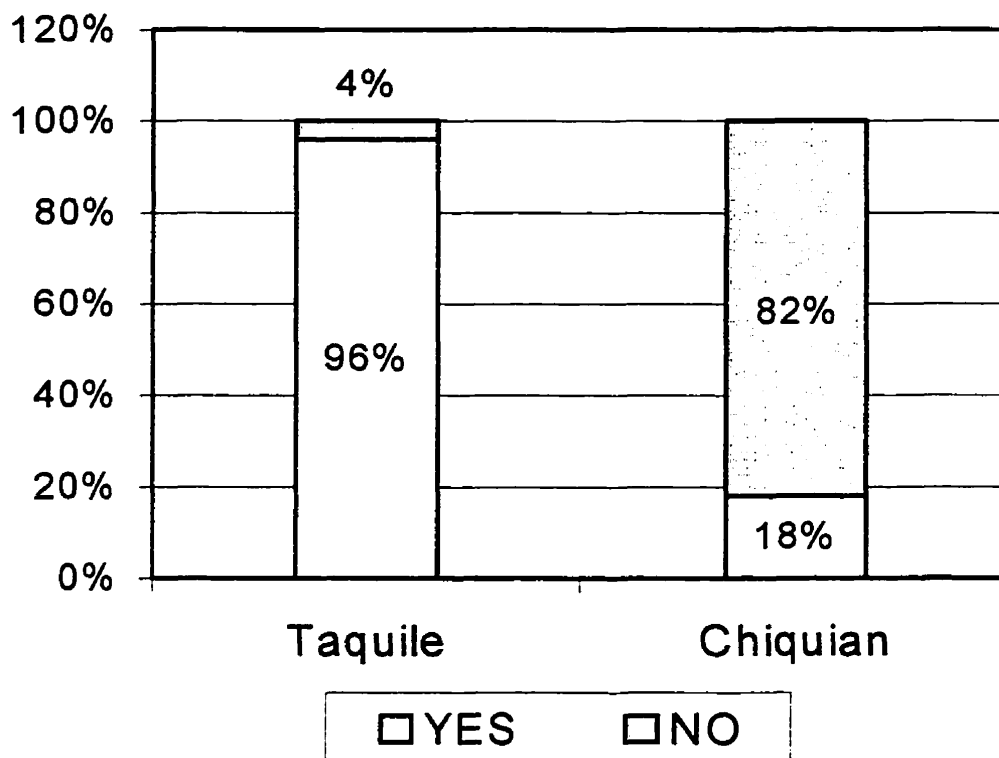
#### Participation in Tourism Decision-Making

Due to its inherent complexities of a largely phenomenological nature, community decision-making processes are difficult to measure by the use of questionnaires. Issues such as decision-making intensity and equability are probably better explored through more qualitative techniques such as participant observation and focus groups.

Still, basic information on community decision-making was collected based on individual participation in tourism meetings and attitudes towards participation in tourism management. The bar chart in Figure 7.10 indicates the participation rate of individuals in tourism meetings (Research Questionnaire, Section 7-5). A total of 96% of Taquile residents (n=98) participate to some degree in tourism meetings compared to only 18% of Chiquian residents (n=76).

However, this high degree of involvement for Taquile does not say much about the intensity of individual involvement, or the type of participation. Simply attending a tourism meeting was felt to be 'participation', regardless of whether a respondent had actively contributed to the discussion, plans or other particulars of the meeting

**Figure 7.10** Community Participation in Tourism Meetings<sup>h</sup>



When the crosstabs procedure was run comparing participation in tourism meetings against various demographic variables, some significant differences were found. However, these differences can be attributed to the overall community level of participation due to the extreme disparities in tourism involvement between Taquile and Chiquian, and may not have any association whatsoever with demographic variables.

For example, Table 7.8 indicates that significant differences in community participation exist between communities when controlling for age using Chi-Square. To avoid empty cells, the age values were converted into two groups based on the mean of 42.5 years: a) less than 42 years = *younger residents*, and b) 42 years or over = *older residents*). Based on this analysis, there would appear to be greater participation from younger residents in both communities.

On closer examination of the contingency table, however, tourism meeting participation is relatively high for *both* age groups in Taquile, and conversely relatively low for both age

<sup>h</sup> Source: 1997 Research Questionnaire, Taquile Island and Chiquian, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

groups in Chiquian. By controlling for *case site* (i.e. community), the levels of significance previously found changed to 0.445 for younger residents and 0.729 for older residents (i.e. no significant association exists of participation levels between communities based on age). This is an example of a *spurious relationship* (Blalock 1960;337-338), or one that exists when the relationship between two variables is not a 'true' relationship, but one that only appears due to a third variable (in this example, case site).

**Table 7.8** Crosstabs of Community Participation in Tourism Meetings by Age

**Participation in Tourism Meetings \* Case Site \* Ages Crosstabulation**

Count			Case Site		Total
			Taquile	Chiquian	
Younger (less than 42)	Participation in	Yes	54	14	68
	Tourism Meetings	No	3	61	64
	Total			57	75
Older (42 or over)	Participation in	Yes	43	10	53
	Tourism Meetings	No	1	51	52
	Total			44	61

Chi-Square Statistic: Younger: 75.003

Chi-Square Statistic: Older: 67.645

Two-Tailed Level of Significance: 0.000 (both age groups)

Similar tests were run using gender as the control variable to explore for participation differences. On Taquile, 95% of women and 96% of men participate in meetings; in Chiquian, 22% of men and 14% of women participate in tourism meetings. Again, significant differences were found when the communities were contrasted against each other, regardless of demographic or other variables. Therefore, participation level differences are a reflection of the community rather than age or gender of residents.

Intensity of participation in tourism planning and management was simply measured by asking respondents to list all types of meetings that they may have attended (Research Questionnaire, Section 7-5). Possible types of tourism meetings in the questionnaire were

categorized by their relation to: 1) occupation, 2) marketing, 3) community, 4) regional, 5) national and 6) other.

Local participation in these different types of tourism meetings was examined and significant differences found between Taquile and Chiquian by applying the Chi-Square test. This was especially true when controlling for gender. On Taquile, 92% of men participate (or have participated) in at least *two* tourism meetings compared to only 57% of women. In Chiquian, 15% of men and 5% of women participated to some degree in two or more meetings. Therefore, *gender* appears to play a relatively significant role in the variety (or intensity) of tourism meetings attended. This may be an indication that:

- 1) men have more spare time to attend such meetings,
- 2) men are more interested in tourism meetings than women, and/or
- 3) it may be a cultural role assigned to men

Differences attributable to gender are likely a combination of all three possibilities, but last one in particular is a characteristic common to traditional Andean cultures. These differences will be further explored in the following chapters regarding decision-making equability. Differences of association in the propensity to participate in a variety of meetings were also checked with the two age categories (younger and older) between Chiquian and Taquile, but fewer differences were noted within the respective case sites. For example, 86% of younger and 84% of older residents on Taquile have participated in at least two meetings related to tourism.

#### Perceived Participation in Tourism Management and Employment

Perceived participation in tourism management and employment was also determined by the use of Likert-type Scales (Research Questionnaire, Section 7-B, 1-6). Percentages of perceived participation in tourism management and employment for Taquile and Chiquian are provided in Tables 7.9 and 7.10 (n=101 for Taquile, n=136 for Chiquian).

**Table 7.9** Perceptions of Participation in Tourism for Taquile, 1997<sup>i</sup>

	More Involvement in Tourism Management	Community Independence in Tourism Manangement	Contentment with Participation Level	Tourism Managed by Tourism Workers Only	Promotion of Active Resident Participation in Tourism	Increased Participation in Tourism Would Not Increase Earnings
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly Agree	38.6%	36.6%	31.7%	7.9%	31.7%	2.0%
Agree	53.5%	56.4%	60.4%	24.8%	61.4%	5.0%
Neutral	1.0%	4.0%		6.9%	4.0%	3.0%
Disagree	6.9%	2.0%	7.9%	34.7%	1.0%	54.5%
Strongly Disagree		1.0%		25.7%	2.0%	35.6%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

**Table 7.10** Perceptions of Participation in Tourism for Chiquian, 1997<sup>j</sup>

	More Involvement in Tourism Management	Community Independence in Tourism Manangement	Contentment with Participation Level	Tourism Managed by Tourism Workers Only	Promotion of Active Resident Participation in Tourism	Increased Participation in Tourism Would Not Increase Earnings
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Strongly Agree	16.3%	14.0%	3.7%	5.2%	10.3%	2.2%
Agree	60.0%	64.7%	57.8%	45.2%	55.1%	14.0%
Neutral	4.4%	8.8%	13.3%	5.9%	12.5%	12.5%
Disagree	18.5%	12.5%	23.7%	37.8%	20.6%	61.0%
Strongly Disagree	.7%		1.5%	5.9%	1.5%	10.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Concerning tourism management, 92% of Taquile residents agreed or strongly agreed that they want to become more involved, compared to a respectable 76% of Chiquian residents.

<sup>i</sup> Source: 1997 Research Questionnaire, Taquile Island and Chiquian, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

<sup>j</sup> Source: 1997 Research Questionnaire, Chiquian, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

However, only 33% of Taquile residents felt that those already working in it should manage tourism compared to 65% of Chiquian residents. This reveals a greater desire for equitable involvement in tourism by Taquile residents. When asked if the local authorities are making efforts to encourage community participation in tourism, 93% of Taquileños compared to only 65% of Chiquianos agreed or strongly agreed. Finally, there were 19% more Taquile residents than Chiquian residents that felt they would increase their earnings with greater participation in tourism activities (90% compared to 71%).

Since there appeared to be major differences in perceived levels of participation satisfaction in tourism management between communities, the K-S test was used to compare the distribution of values. The results in Table 7.11 demonstrate significant or near significant differences between most variables. This confirms that Taquile residents feel satisfied with their levels of participation in tourism activities and management.

**Table 7.11** Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test of Differences for Perceptions of Participation between Communities

		<b>Test Statistics</b>					
		More Involvement in Tourism Management	Community Independence in Tourism Management	Contentment with Participation Level	Tourism Managed by Tourism Workers Only	Promotion of Active Resident Participation in Tourism	Increased Participation in Tourism Would Not Increase Earnings
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute	.223	.227	.306	.198	.276	.253
	Positive	.000	.010	.000	.027	.005	.000
	Negative	-.223	-.227	-.306	-.198	-.276	-.253
Kolmogorov-Smirnov Z		1.696	1.725	2.326	1.506	2.103	1.930
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)		.006	.005	.000	.021	.000	.001

### Planning for Tourism

There was little difference in perceived planning efforts for tourism in either community (Research Questionnaire, Section 7-2). Many respondents from both communities expressed



difficulties in understanding what a tourism plan or strategy entailed. Only 44% of Taquile residents believed that a tourism plan of some kind existed for their community. Likewise, only 50% of Chiquian residents believed in the existence of a plan or strategy for tourism (although many felt that Ecoventura was not just an event but a plan). A total of 41% of Taquile residents and 26% of Chiquian residents were unsure if such a plan existed.

### Perceived Support for Local Tourism

Support for local tourism was explained to survey respondents to be considered as monetary or altruistic motives from agencies and institutions (Research Questionnaire, Section 7-9). Perceived levels of support for local tourism in Taquile and Chiquian are shown in Table 7.12. The responses were converted into numeric values of support for tourism. Modal values (most frequently occurring) range in descending order from 5 (very high support) to 1 (no support). All *not sure* responses were assigned 0. The next column shows the percentage of respondents in agreement whether the corresponding institution highly supported the local tourism industry.

**Table 7.12** Perceived Level of Institutional Support for Tourism<sup>k</sup>

Institution	Perceived Level of Tourism Support					
	Taquile			Chiquian		
	Mode	High or Very High (% of sample)	Support Category <sup>l</sup>	Mode	High or Very High (% of sample)	Support Category <sup>l</sup>
Local Government	5	79%	high	2	30%	low
Travel Agency	1	22%	low	0	24%	low
NGO	1	13%	very low	1	4%	very low
Puno/ Huaraz Municipal Government	1	17%	very low	1	12%	very low
Regional Government	1	15%	very low	1	17%	very low
National Government	5	74%	high	0	21%	low

<sup>k</sup> Source: 1997 research questionnaire, Taquile Island and Chiquian, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

<sup>l</sup> 0-19% = very low, 20-39% = low, 40-59% = moderate, 60-79% = high, 80-100% = very high

One interesting observation from Table 7.12 is the perceived high level of Taquile tourism support by both local and national governments. A total of 79% of Taquile residents compared to 30% of Chiquian residents believed there was a high or very high level of support for tourism in their community. High public involvement in local decision-making regarding tourism and the combined financial and promotional assistance provided by President Fujimori in recent years have likely contributed to feelings of support. On the other hand, Chiquian residents perceived local and national support to be low, even with several initiatives in recent years to bolster tourism.

The low degree of support in all other categories for both Taquile and Chiquian appears to be consistent. A perception of low support concerning travel agencies may be attributable to the tourist market domination of Puno or Huaraz. Almost half (45%) of Taquileños felt that Puno travel agencies or guides provided no support whatsoever for tourism. Only 23% of people from Chiquian felt strongly that Huaraz travel agencies do not support local tourism.

**Table 7.13** Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test of Perceived Institutional Support for Local Tourism in Taquile and Chiquian

		Test Statistics					
		Community Support for Tourism	Agency Support for Tourism	NGO Support for Tourism	Huaraz or Puno Support for Tourism	Regional Support for Tourism	National Support for Tourism
Most Extreme Differences	Absolute Positive	.488	.154	.180	.180	.124	.519
	Negative	.488	.154	.180	.180	.099	.519
		.000	-.091	.000	.000	-.124	.000
	Kolmogorov-Smirnov Z	3.716	1.169	1.370	1.371	.944	3.954
	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.130	.047	.047	.334	.000

The K-S test results in Table 7.13 indicate that there is a significant difference between communities in the perceived level of local and national government support for tourism, with a higher level of support in Taquile. The variables appear to be related, which was further confirmed by a Spearman's Rank Correlation (-.510 correlation coefficient for community

support, -.590 correlation coefficient for national support). Spearman's Rank Correlation is a non-parametric measure of association for ordinal variables that indicates both strength and direction of a relationship between variables (Fitzsimons 1996).

## **SUPPORTING ECONOMIC DATA: TAQUILE**

Some of the supporting economic data for Taquile Island has already been presented in Tourism Income where it was combined with the questionnaire data. Additional data was collected on selected business for both communities. For the sake of brevity, however, only some of this data is presented in this section.

### **Number of Tourists**

The number of tourists arriving to Taquile Island has climbed significantly over the past five or six years. For example, the number of stayovers (minimum one night) jumped 262% from 1,649 tourists in 1992 to 4,316 tourists in 1996<sup>m</sup>. Of these stayovers in 1996, 47% were female, 53% were male and almost three-quarters were less than 35 years of age. The great majority of stayovers were from Europe. Only 5% of those spending at least one night on Taquile Island in 1996 were Peruvian citizens. From the 1996 Puno Coast Guard Records, there were a total of 27,685 visitors to Taquile Island.

### **Tourism Employment**

In this section, tourism employment is examined from a local geographical perspective for Taquile Island, including on-island and off-island jobs (by 'local', this would include Puno Region). A total of 98% of adult Taquileños were directly employed in tourism in 1997 based on the questionnaire data (see Appendix 1 for definitions of direct and indirect employment: in

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<sup>m</sup> *Source:* 1992 and 1996 Taquile Island Municipal Registrar, Peru

summary, direct employment = sales to tourists; indirect employment = sales to tourist businesses). Most children aged seven or more were also employed in handicraft production or some other aspect of tourism. Assuming approximately 20% of the population is less than seven years of age, or 370 children (estimate taken from another Andean community with Census data), then there would be 1,450 direct jobs (1,480 potentially employable persons\*0.98). However, this estimate does not differentiate between part-time and full-time jobs (Research Questionnaire, Section 3-7).

Since 35% of direct jobs on Taquile were considered to be part-time, then there were 508 part-time jobs (1,450 total jobs\*0.35). If it can be assumed that one average part-time job equals 0.5 full-time jobs, then there was a total of 1,196 *direct jobs* related to tourism [(508 part-time jobs\*0.5) + 942 full-time jobs]. The conversion factor of 0.5 seems a reasonable compromise given that many jobs may require a few hours of work each day (e.g. handicraft production, restaurant, porter), one week per month (e.g. boat transport), or some other time period that is often half the time as a full-time commitment.

In terms of seasonal factors of employment, *all* tourism positions on Taquile Island are year-round. However, certain sectors such as transport and restaurants provide service to fewer tourists during the rainy season from October to May. If anything, handicraft production likely increases during the rainy season during slack periods of agricultural activities, a point suggested by many Taquileños. Another important consideration is that many Taquile residents hold multiple positions. This is a reflection of their versatility and desire to be involved in the tourism industry as much as possible, as well as to supplement their incomes.

Table 7.14 illustrates the number of other jobs based on the tourism trade to Taquile. An estimated 212 *direct jobs* and 186 *indirect jobs* were based on the tourist trade to Taquile, for a total of 398 additional jobs. Although some of these positions may be considered as part-time (e.g. Puno taxi drivers that take tourists from hotels to dock to board boats), this cannot be assumed without a detailed study on each specific type of employment. Of this total, 375 jobs were off-island positions (primarily Puno). Therefore, the total number of *all jobs* (Puno Region, 1997) related to the local tourism sector for Taquile Island was 1,594, of which 75% were held by Taquile residents.

**Table 7.14 Other Job Estimates for Taquile Tourism Industry<sup>a</sup>**

Tourism Operation or Agency	Classification by Direct (D) or Indirect (I)	Total Operators	Employee Factor*	Number of Persons	% Related to Taquile Market*	Total Direct Jobs	Total Indirect Jobs
Independent guides (Puno)	D	20	1	20	75%	15	
Travel agency (Puno)	D	37	5	185	50%	92	
Private tourist boats (Puno)	D	43	5	215	42%	90	
Wool venders (Puno)	I	200	5	1000	10%		100
Misc. stores or venders (Puno)	I	250	5	1250	5%		63
Boat builders/carpenters (Taquile)	I	10	1	10	80%		8
Stores (Taquile)	I	6	5	30	50%		15
Misc. (e.g. taxis, tourism officials - Puno)	D	100	3	300	5%	15	
<b>TOTAL</b>						<b>212</b>	<b>186</b>

\* Multiplier estimates are based on personal observations or selected informants.

### Tourist Restaurant Financial Analysis

One private restaurant on Taquile was selected for a basic financial analysis (see Appendix 4 for details). Measurements of costs and sales were taken over a 30-day period in February 1997 (wet season). Capital costs were calculated by assuming the adobe-style building had an estimated life span of 25 years.

During the month selected, a total of 364 tourists were served; assuming that twice as many tourists visit Taquile during the dry season, then total customers annually would be 6,558. An average tourist consumed \$2.58 US worth of food and drink in this particular restaurant. Pop, mineral water and beer were the drinks of choice, which are purchased in Puno; other food preferred by tourists included eggs, jam, rice and noodles, also purchased in Puno; only fish, vegetables and herbal tea are locally obtained (meat is not served nor part of the traditional Taquile diet). Seven staff (relatives of the owner) were hired on a casual basis and often unpaid (contribution 'in kind'). For this analysis, then, wages were ignored. Considering other costs

<sup>a</sup> Source: Personal observations, Taquile Island and Puno, 1997, Ross Mitchell.

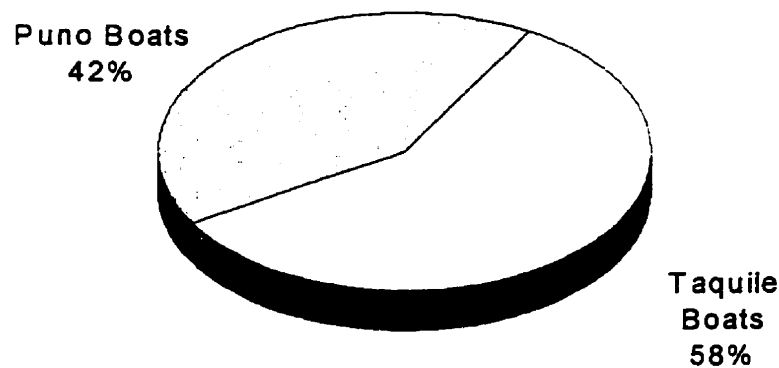
such as equipment, materials and supplies, the calculated annual profit was \$3,716.53 US. This indicates that a restaurant business can be relatively profitable on Taquile Island.

### External Influences and Leakages

A total of 37 travel agencies operate in Puno, of which an estimated half book clients to Taquile Island. The majority hire non-Taquile owned and operated Puno boats and guides. For example, a total of 62 boats took passengers from Puno to Taquile in 1996, of which only 19 were Taquile owned and operated.

Figure 7.11 shows that Taquile boats had a greater share of passengers in 1996 when compared to private boats from Puno (58% compared to 42%). However, private boats tend to gross more revenue than the cooperative Taquile boats. Some passengers will pay up to \$250 US for a fast private boat with a bilingual guide on an individual day trip. In contrast, the average passenger pays only \$8 US for a round trip on the Taquile cooperative boats.

**Figure 7.11** Boat Share of Passengers from Puno to Taquile, 1996°



The loss of income for Taquile residents from non-local travel agencies is demonstrated in the following example. In 1996, the owner of a Puno travel agency took 70 groups averaging

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° Source: 1996 Puno Boat Registrar, Peruvian Coast Guard, Puno, Peru.

15 persons per group to Taquile Island (\$45 US per person). The gross income from these trips alone was \$47,250 US, of which little was captured by local island residents. Some families with agency contacts benefited from having tourists stay in their homes. Clients with this particular agency, however, often camp in tents (i.e. no fee is charged nor obtained). The obligatory entrance fee of one Sol (\$0.40 US) was paid for each tourist, which would have contributed only \$420 US to the community. Private restaurants were selected over the community restaurant. Multi-lingual guides were hired and comfortable private boats taken from Puno rather than the slower, less reliable cooperative boats.

This illustration shows that leakages of potential income from tourism are high. Assuming that at least half of the Puno agencies (about 18) make at least 10% of the above sales, then an estimated \$850,500 US in gross revenues were obtained solely by taking tourists to Taquile Island. This is almost three times the gross income for all island residents in 1996. Moreover, it is likely much higher than estimated since the European and North American travel agencies, airlines and other related companies also profit from clients travelling to Taquile.

External influences also affect the restaurant and handicraft industry. As mentioned, all non-perishable food and drinks are purchased and transported from Puno. Also, 53% of those residents involved in the handicraft industry purchase their wool supplies from a mainland community or one of the non-local vendors that occasionally come to Taquile (Research Questionnaire, Section 5).

The Monitor report (1995) estimated tourist expenditures of \$103 US/day in Peru for 'nature-adventure' and \$107 US/day in Peru for 'conventional' tourists (ground expenses only, not air travel outside of country). Interestingly, conventional tourists appear to spend more on a daily basis, but as previously noted, nature-adventure tourists stay an average of six days longer in Peru. Since 4,316 tourists to Taquile Island in 1996 were over-nighters that spent approximately two nights each, it can be assumed that these were 'nature-adventure' tourists that accounted for gross revenue (local and non-local combined) of \$889,096 US ( $\$103 \text{ US/day} \times 2 \text{ days} \times 4,316 \text{ tourists}$ ). The other 23,369 tourists to Taquile Island in 1996 spent part of one day on the island and accounted for \$2,500,483 US of gross revenues ( $\$107 \text{ US/day} \times 23,369 \text{ tourists}$ ). Therefore, gross revenues for 1996 were \$3,389,579 US.

Local gross sales from tourism on Taquile Island were estimated to be \$310,497 US (Table 7.2). By ignoring other possible sources of leakages or revenues such as sundries and locally produced food, a rough estimate of tourism leakages for Taquile Island can be calculated. Simply dividing \$310,497 US into \$3,389,579 US ( $\times 100$ ) provides an estimate of 9% of total revenues that remained locally on Taquile Island. In other words, leakages from Taquile itself were 91% of gross tourism revenues in 1996. This is an admittedly crude estimate, but nevertheless it provides a general indication of the revenue leakages scenario for Taquile Island.

## **SUPPORTING ECONOMIC DATA: CHIQUIAN**

Several economic aspects are examined regarding the Chiquian ecotourism industry. Only a selected group of trekkers, guides, mule drivers and travel agencies were interviewed. Still, enough information was gathered to obtain at least rough estimates of economic flows from tourism in Chiquian. Most estimates are based on the local tourism sector, which includes the town of Chiquian itself and Huaraz, but not nearby mountain communities of the Huayhuash (no data was collected in these villages, nor indirect tourism businesses in Huaraz).

### **Tourism in General**

#### Number of Tourists

For the purposes of this study, visitors to Chiquian and the surrounding area have been classified into two distinct categories: ecotourists, or those who come to experience the natural beauty of the Cordillera Huayhuash and cultural tourists, or those who come to Chiquian to partake in local events or sightseeing. The majority of the research in Chiquian was focused on the first category of tourists, but some data was collected on cultural tourism as well due to its local significance. It was also recognized that so-called ecotourists may not directly contribute to the promotion of conservation and sustainable development. However, many have likely come to experience nature or participate in adventure tourism.



It was difficult to obtain accurate estimates of ecotourists coming to Chiquian and the Huayhuash area for two main reasons: 1) tourists may enter the Huayhuash from other entry points besides Chiquian, such as Cajatambo, and 2) unlike the Cordillera Blanca, there is no tourist registry for the area. Trekkers may spend limited time in Chiquian or bypass it completely. Based on general observations with local people employed in the tourism industry, the best estimate obtained was 800 ecotourists for last year (Kolff 1997), down slightly from 1,000 ecotourists in 1996 (Kolff and Tohan 1997).

Most ecotourists come to Chiquian on pre-paid tours arranged in Huaraz, Lima or Europe. North American agencies have not arranged tours to the Huayhuash in recent years, but at least one agency is promoting the Huayhuash for 1998. It appears that the majority of ecotourists book with Huaraz-based agencies, of which three agencies in particular have captured the greatest share of the Huayhuash market.

Based on participant observation, a reasonable assumption is that 25% of the ecotourists that go the Huayhuash are independent travellers. Such travellers do not book with agencies but may hire local guides and mules. In addition, perhaps 10% of the total number of ecotourist arrivals do not intend to use *any* local services, as evident from the occasional hiker who prefers to carry his or her own gear.

### Tourist Events

Local tourist events are not 'ecotourism' events *per se*, but *are* very important for the town and surrounding villages of Chiquian from both an economic and cultural viewpoint. The events attract principally domestic tourists rather than international tourists, although there is some in the latter category that attend. The Ecoventura festivals that ran from 1993 to 1996, and in a modified format in 1997, brought in upwards of 1000 tourists. The budgeted amount for Ecoventura in 1996 was \$27,000 (Aldave 1997); final costs were not obtained.

The Santa Rosa Festival occurs at the end of August and is considered very important for the entire province. One estimate is that approximately 5,000 tourists came last year, over half of which were former Chiquian residents (Marcedonia 1997). Other informants felt this figure to be exaggerated, however. Total festival cost can be more than \$40,000 US and is mostly paid for by

ex-residents (ibid.). Apparently, for an ex-Chiquiano to participate in the festival as a prestigious benefactor or *patrón* and wear the appropriate costume is a proud distinction. The festival cost is high since musical bands, costumes, decorations, food, alcohol and many other supplies and services must be rented or purchased.

Interestingly, the local economic impact from tourism-based activities is probably much greater for these cultural events rather than ecologically oriented tourism. This is because local services are greatly utilized by cultural tourists and local residents alike, including accommodation, restaurants, transportation and dry or fresh goods. In addition, the entire community and villagers from surrounding areas have a much greater opportunity to participate in the cultural events. An economic analysis of the local impact of these events was not conducted in this study, but it would be worthwhile to discover if culturally based tourism is more profitable and participatory than ecologically based tourism in the Chiquian region.

## **Tourism Employment**

### Trekking and Climbing

One major source of revenues for Chiquian and non-Chiquian residents is the trekking and climbing industry (or ecotourism from a marketing and perhaps ethical perspective). The ecotourism industry in Chiquian and the Cordillera Huayhuash is during the dry season only from the start of May to the end of September. There are only four or five formal travel agencies from Huaraz, at least two from Lima, and several from Europe that take clients to the Cordillera Huayhuash (the majority work in Huascarán National Park).

Most agencies have their own guides but may use local porters and donkey drivers from Chiquian, Llamac or Pacllon. Likewise, cooks and guides are generally from Huaraz. One Huaraz guide explained this as a way to “guarantee quality service”, indicating that local guides from Llamac or Chiquian may not be so reliable. Another guide from Huaraz hires family or friends from Huaraz on treks to the Cordillera Huayhuash. One registered guide from Chiquian has worked directly with a French agency for over 20 years. Other local ‘guides’ work without

official registration from the Ministry of Industry and Tourism. During the dry season of 1997, the first official travel agency began in Chiquian although it was closed during August.

### Hostels

There are five basic hostels in Chiquian. One hostel is mentioned in some guidebooks for Chiquian - the San Miguel. A single night stayover for one person cost \$8.00 US in the 1997 high season. Most foreign tourists that choose to spend a night at the end or start of a trek stay in this hostel. Tourist stayover numbers were not available, but it is possible that 50% of foreign tourists (i.e. 400) spend at least two nights in Chiquian, and most at this hostel. Based on this assumption, gross accommodation revenues for 1997 were \$6,400 US (dry season only). The owners indicated profits were very low due to rising property taxes and high maintenance costs.

### Restaurants

There are eight main restaurants in Chiquian, of which only three were used by foreign tourists at the time of data collection. One restaurant in particular received most of the tourists that chose to stay for breakfast, lunch or dinner. Most of the other restaurants were felt by some tourists and locals alike to be of dubious quality in terms of service and decor. However, since they were used by both tourists (especially Peruvian visitors) and local residents, they derive at least part of their income from tourism.

### Weaving

Apart from government positions, retail sales and agriculture, one of the main industries in Chiquian is textile production by the San Marcelo Association. Alpaca wool blankets, sweaters, ponchos and other clothing articles have been produced in Chiquian since an Italian priest began operations in 1973 with some local residents. The association initially sold its clothing to foreigners who came to trek or climb in the Huayhuash and often stayed in the parish dormitories. However, San Marcelo now exports most of its wool products directly to Germany. Only an estimated 5-10% of their sales are tourist-related, which is insufficient to classify it as a

tourism industry. At least two independent weavers in Chiquian also sell their products directly to tourists and retailers.

Still, some economic data obtained from the association was included in this research, since some general comparisons can be made to the Taquile weaving industry. Approximately 80 weavers work in the San Marcelo Association; they raise their own alpacas (about 400 head), which enables them to obtain most of their wool needs. This contrasts with Taquile weavers, which often purchase their wool from non-local Puno sources due to the short supply of available wool and the increasing use of synthetics. After washing and drying, the alpaca wool is spun using automated machinery and then knitted into sweaters and other articles mainly by women. On Taquile, the wool is handspun and all ages and genders participate in clothing production (although there is a distinction – males usually do most of the knitting and females do most of the weaving). Gross annual sales to Germany are about \$18,000 US (2,400 kg.) of finished clothing.

It is also worth comparing the two weaving entities on the basis of administration and employment. The San Marcelo Association has a three person Board of Directors, and its 80 workers are paid a daily rate based on their experience or level of production. The workers do not participate in decision-making aspects of the association. On Taquile, there are 270 members of the Manco Capac cooperative, which represent at least 1350 people or 73% of the island (considering three children and two parents per family). By cooperative law, one representative of each Manco Capac member must work in its administration for at least two weeks every year, including sales, accounting, maintenance and other activities. Manco Capac representatives also participate in weekly meetings and decision-making.

### Transport

There are seven bus companies that operate in Chiquian: five take Lima-bound passengers and two handle the Chiquian to Huaraz route. Only the latter two are Chiquian owned and operated. It is uncertain as to how many passengers may be considered as tourists, especially trekkers and climbers. However, based on participant observations, few bus companies take more than a handful of tourists on any given week. Organized groups generally arrive in mini-

buses owned and operated out of Huaraz. Economic data was not collected due to the very small number of tourists using local bus transport.

### Retail Businesses

According to the Chiquian Municipal Council, there are approximately 180 formal retail or service establishments (e.g. clothing, dry goods, restaurants) in town and 20 informal ones (e.g. market vendors). It is likely only half of these establishments sell fresh food and dry goods. In addition, there are five micro-producers of cheese in Chiquian - its cheese is renowned in Peru. The total cheese production is 50 kilos/day, of which most is sent to Huaraz to retailers. Some tourists purchase food and cheese in Chiquian, but it is uncertain as to the extent of sales or if they relate in any way to the tourism industry.

### **Tourist Restaurant Financial Analysis**

A financial analysis was carried out over a two-month period on one local restaurant (see Appendix 5 for further details). This restaurant served 2,102 customers in a five-month period from May 1 to September 30, 1997. Of these, 390 persons or 19% of all customers had come to visit the Huayhuash (mainly trekkers and climbers). The average amount spent was \$2.21 US per person. A financial statement for the entire year (1997) was conducted based on capital costs, materials and supplies, labour, taxes and total earnings (non-tourists included). An annual profit for 1997 was calculated to be \$2,499.49 US.

This indicates that a restaurant business may also be profitable in Chiquian. There was a difference of \$1,217.04, with the Taquile restaurant being more profitable. However, this may be attributable to the need to pay rent in the case of Chiquian.

## Tourism Employment and Revenues in Chiquian

### Local Jobs

Table 7.15 indicates the number of local direct jobs from people employed in tourism in Chiquian and estimated earnings. An estimated 90 persons are employed in Chiquian's tourism industry, or just over 2% of the total population. Most of these jobs are part-time; for example, guides do not work in tourism year-round and restaurant owners serve meals to non-tourists as well. The San Marcelo Association weavers, bus transport companies, cheese producers and other services were not considered although some sales may be tourism-related. Nevertheless, the figure obtained provides some detail of Chiquian's tourism industry.

**Table 7.15** Local Direct Tourism Jobs in Chiquian<sup>P</sup>

Sector	Number of Operators	Occupation	Persons Employed	Estimated Gross Revenues* (\$US)
1. Trekking or Climbing	20	donkey driver ( <i>arrieros</i> )	20	
	10	donkey or horse renter	10	
	3	guide	3	
	5	porter	5	
	1	cook	1	
<i>Subtotal</i>			<b>39</b>	<b>\$ 32,450</b>
2. Hostel	5	owner/operator and family	25	
<i>Subtotal</i>			<b>25</b>	<b>\$ 11,400</b>
3. Restaurant	8	owner/operator	8	
	8	cook	8	
	8	waiter/waitress	8	
<i>Subtotal</i>			<b>24</b>	<b>\$ 25,510</b>
4. Craft Production	2	independent weavers	2	
<i>Subtotal</i>			<b>2</b>	<b>\$ 2,640</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>90</b>	<b>\$ 72,000</b>

\* Estimates based on average daily wages, rental fees or annual sales.

<sup>P</sup> Source: Personal observations, Chiquian, 1997, Ross Mitchell.

### Travel Agencies

Three Huaraz-based travel or guiding agencies were interviewed their gross sales in 1996. They ranged from \$13,300 US to \$35,490 US, for a total of \$66,470 US. At least one travel agency from Lima and three others from Europe also conduct tours to the Huayhuash. Assuming that these four agencies gross at least the average of the three Huaraz agencies (\$22,157 US), then total non-local sales are an estimated \$155,098 US for trekking and climbing. Three local guides were also interviewed for economic data. Gross sales in 1996 ranged from \$3,445 to 11,000 US, and gross local sales were \$17,890 US. This is only 12% of the total non-local sales, so leakages are relatively high.

The effects of non-local agencies in the local ecotourism industry can be illustrated with this example. One Huaraz agency conducting tours to the Cordillera Huayhuash promotes a 19-day trip (starting and ending in Lima). Tour cost was \$700 US per person with 9-12 people per group. This included provision of camping gear, donkey drivers, donkeys, ground transportation, food and some other expenses. Minimal economic benefits would accrue to the town of Chiquian with this particular agency, except for a couple of meals in a local restaurant. All of the services used are non-local, and this agency chooses not to stay in Chiquian for “lack of suitable accommodation”. In their publicity material for this particular trek, there was little mention of local people that may be encountered or hired. However, they do suggest that they are concerned about environmental awareness - “We practice minimum impact camping when on treks to ensure protection to the environment”.

### Other Workers in Trekking and Climbing

There are several porters, donkey drivers and donkey renters based out of Chiquian (although not all are full-time residents – some come from smaller communities such as Llámac and Pacllón for the high tourist season only). A typical porter earns \$10 US/day, a donkey driver earns \$8 US/day and someone who rents donkeys earns \$3 US/day. However, most work for one or more of the agencies mentioned on a casual basis. Some of the agencies may choose not to hire from Chiquian, especially if they are more familiar with people from Llámac or one of the

smaller mountain communities. Due to possible overlap between agencies if wages were also included in this analysis, income for porters and donkey drivers was not calculated.

Most local guides and donkey drivers preferred to work independently. There was a general recognition that relatively steady employment can be obtained from collaborating with Huaraz and other agencies. Still, many felt that the wages paid were too low and that they would earn more independently if they could be assured of tourists.

### **Tourism Expenditures and Leakages**

In one example during 1997, two Canadian tourists spent \$450 US total during a 13-day trek and four nights in Chiquian. Of this amount, \$320 US or more than 70% benefited local businesses. The only exception was the food that they had previously purchased in Huaraz and Canada (freeze-dried items). However, it was also noted that many independent trekkers choose not to use local services such as donkey rentals. Therefore, while greater local benefits may be obtained by providing services to independent tourists, they may also be less since there is no guarantee of being able to capture such tourists.

It may be assumed that 25% of the total estimated tourists for 1996 (200 out of 800) were independent, the average trek is 13 days and the average *local* (i.e. Chiquian) expenditures per trek taken from this example was \$320 US. Therefore, the total local gross revenue for 1996 in Chiquian based on independent trekkers was \$64,000 US (including accommodation, food, supplies, local transport, etc.). Gross revenues (local and non-local) for independent trekkers would be \$90,000 ( $\$450/\text{trek} \times 200 \text{ trekkers}$ ).

Estimates for all other 'guided' or 'group-organized' trekkers and climbers can be calculated as well. The Monitor Company (1995) claims that an average \$103 US/day was spent on land expenditures in Peru in 1995. Therefore, total expenditures for the 600 other 'nature-adventure' tourists or 'ecotourists' (i.e. in this case, having booked with a major travel agency) travelling in the Cordillera Huayhuash would be \$803,400 US. It is likely that most of these revenues are non-local, since most organized treks use minimal services (if at all) in Chiquian. Therefore, this figure will stand as a relatively reasonable estimate of non-local expenditures.



It may be assumed that the total local revenue estimate (\$72,000 US) for 1996 from Table 7.15 is more accurate than the \$64,000 US estimate based on two independent tourists, since more detailed measures were used or knowledgeable persons consulted. By ignoring other possible sources of leakages and revenues from tourists or indirect sales by local business to those selling directly to tourists (such as sundries and locally produced food), a rough estimate of tourism leakages for Chiquian can be calculated. Total land-based revenues (travel *to* and *within* the Cordillera Huayhuash) would be \$893,400 US (\$803,400 US for organized tourists plus \$90,000 US for independent trekkers). Simply dividing \$72,000 US into \$893,400 US ( $\times 100$ ) provides an estimate of 8% of total revenues that remained locally in Chiquian. In other words, leakages from Chiquian itself were 92% of gross tourism revenues in 1996 (trekking and adventure activities in the Cordillera Huayhuash area). This is an admittedly crude estimate, but nevertheless it provides a general indication of the revenue leakage scenario for Chiquian.

## CHAPTER 8: LONG INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

### INTRODUCTION

Long interviews with local tourism 'experts' or 'insiders' were carried out to either refute or verify the research questions and to contribute understanding and knowledge. Out of a total of 17 interviews, nine persons were selected due to their knowledge or involvement with the Taquile Island tourism industry and eight persons for Chiquian and its surrounding region. All interviews concentrated on the following sets of issues:

- History of tourism development in the area.
- Type and extent of community participation in employment and decision-making related to local tourism.
- Community solidarity and control regarding tourism issues and activities.
- Distribution and extent of perceived economic benefits related to tourism.
- Future outlook for tourism in the area.

With one exception, key-informants were men (although this was not by design) and were personally familiar with at least one component of the local tourism industry. Nevertheless, the interviewees were by no means a homogenous group. A high variability in social, cultural and economic characteristics between individuals demanded an equally diverse array of tactics with impromptu revisions, additions, or occasional deletions of certain interview guide questions. Yet given this diversity of backgrounds, experiences and methodology employed, there was a relatively high degree of unanimity on several salient issues. In addition, most respondents showed a very high degree of interest and openness during not only the interview itself, but also concerning the respective tourism industry and its effects on the local people.

This section, then, has two principal objectives: 1) to present a summarized sampling of commentaries from a select group from the community or tourism industry, and 2) to extract major viewpoints and themes produced and describe 'patterns' or 'trends' as appropriate to the research questions. Since the focus of this research is on local participation and socio-economic

effects of community-based ecotourism, only related responses will be discussed. There are four sections as follows:

- 1) Description of the Local Ecotourism Industry
- 2) Community Participation in Ecotourism
- 3) Perceived Economic Benefits of Ecotourism
- 4) Community Satisfaction with Ecotourism

Each section has been further divided into Taquile Island and Chiquian. Subsections are indicated by appropriate headings that stay consistent between the two cases. It is worth repeating that this section draws on perhaps the most informative material collected for this study. The wealth of information gathered goes well beyond the scope of this research and enough evidence was provided to draw significant conclusions. For specific questions asked of most respondents, refer to the Interview Guide in Appendix 3.

## **LOCAL TOURISM DESCRIPTION**

### **Taquile Island**

#### Reasons for Tourism

When asked what brings visitors to Taquile Island, there was consensus that it was principally for cultural reasons. For example, “[tourists want] to experience our local traditions and live like we do”, or “they want to see something native, stay in our homes, see our customs, see how we cook”. Taquile was perceived as “one of the few places that maintains its original authentic identity”. A strong sense of cultural identity was expressed by most respondents; “we still place values on our customs. In [other Lake Titicaca communities] there is no tourism because they don’t value their customs ... they’ve lost the use of traditional clothing”.

Handicrafts were also recognized by many respondents as important for attracting tourists. In one case, Taquile was compared to the handicraft market community of Otavalo in

Ecuador; “they [too] have valued their identity. It’s interesting that they also specialize in weaving and commercialized it”. Another respondent commented that “everything that we wear ourselves is also sold as handicrafts”. This indicates that their handicrafts are both functional and (potentially) profitable, which distinguishes them from souvenirs manufactured and primarily sold to tourists. It also demonstrates that ‘commodification of culture’, if it can be called that, need not be degrading.

The natural aspects of Taquile were also recognized by some respondents as being an important draw for tourists, especially its “beautiful scenery”. One observation was that most tourists tend to conglomerate in the main plaza, but by doing so “[they] haven’t seen anything, haven’t seen Taquile ... [they should] get to know the island and its beautiful beaches”. The travel agent felt that the people on neighboring Amantani Island may be more spiritual than the Taquileños but that both islands are unique and beautiful.

### Tourism Awareness

Several individuals were perceived to be responsible for influencing the establishment of tourism on Taquile Island. Most Taquileño respondents asserted that “the first founder [of tourism] was Francisco Huatta, then Alejandro Flores and Pedro Huille”. The former director of FOPTUR [ex-National Tourism Agency of Peru] in Puno was credited by Francisco Huatta of giving Taquileños the idea of bringing in tourists; “we met with FOPTUR to discuss this idea when I was Deputy Governor in 1963”.

Kevin Healy, the American Peace Corps volunteer that first came to the island in 1968, was accredited for his important role in tourism development; “he helped us to organize ourselves”. Mr. Healy was reverently referred to by local respondents as *Bendito*, which in Spanish means ‘holy’ or ‘lucky’. At first, Mr. Healy took handicrafts from Taquile to the United States to sell on their behalf; later, his role would become much more direct. He returned in the early 1980s and helped procure financial support from the Inter-American Foundation for improved boat motors. After the motors were donated, the community “insisted upon having the existing boats changed into cooperatively owned ones”.

The importance of one other individual was also mentioned – Father Pepe Loits, a Catholic priest from Belgium who first arrived on the island to give mass in 1973. In the words of one respondent:

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

In Father Pepe Loit’s own words, “when I read this [article on the first visit by French tourists] in 1975, it surprised me because we were making Taquile known internationally ... That’s when we, not I or anyone else [individually], prepared with the Taquileños to decide [the course of] tourism”. Christian Nonis, another Belgian and owner of a Puno hotel, was accredited with having helped the Taquileños protect their interests in tourism; “they asked me to go to Lima [to speak on their behalf]. So I went to have them recognized as a community and so their boats would be the only form of transport to the island”. The high degree of community trust placed on Mr. Nonis was demonstrated when he was provided with land and built the only non-Taquileño owned house in the 1980s.

Many acknowledged that the people themselves were an integral part of their own tourism development, although there were many misgivings initially. After the arrival of the first tourists, “the people were afraid so we told everybody that it was going to be good and bring us money”. With community approval, the first artisan co-operative began in 1984 with 20 members; “the community was no longer against the idea”. Some residents travelled to Cuzco, Lima or even Europe to promote their island. For example:

“In 1975, I went to [handicraft] expositions in Puno, Cuzco and Lima, and showed people on a map where Taquile was.”

“We went to London with the Tourism Committee [in 1985] ... after this visit, English tourists began to arrive more frequently.”

“We went to festivals [to dance and play our traditional music] in Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, England ... we came back feeling satisfied ... [that] we had promoted ourselves.”

Certain individuals also went to Lima to personally speak with ex-president Fernando Beluande and current president Alberto Fujimori to obtain national recognition and support for their tourism industry. It would appear that the tourism experience has given some people the opportunity for increased international travel, something not otherwise available to rural folks.

### Tourism Changes

Tourism has undergone many significant changes on Taquile Island according to most respondents. The first few tourists had to travel by sailboat, but by the time tourism began to increase significantly in the late 1970s, the islanders had organized themselves with motorized boats, tourism committees and an accommodation rotation system. One respondent summarized the tourism pattern over the past twenty years as follows:

“Taquile didn’t always have tourism. It really began in 1978 ... In 1980-81, tourism really began to open up and the community became more organized ... In 1986-87, tourism began to make significant changes on the island ... [with] about 25 houses that took turns for accommodation and two restaurants ... During the [ex-President] Alan Garcia years, tourism declined and five of our boats were sold due to high maintenance costs ... With [current President] Fujimori, tourism reappeared ...”

Some felt that tourists spend less time on Taquile now compared to the early 1980s “when they used to stay one or two weeks, even a month”, and also purchase fewer handicrafts. It was noted that the modern tourist usually returns in the afternoon to Puno, with minimal cultural interaction; “they stay grouped together in the plaza [center] ... the plaza is like a magnet”. Another respondent noted that tourists should “go to the other side at the beach where there are few tin roofs. It’s beautiful there”. Tourism preferences or habits have changed too. For example, “tourists used to eat in the homes of families. They ate really well ... *mate de muña* [local herbal tea], *quinoa* soup [an Andean grain], fried fish ... now tourists only eat in restaurants”.

The type of tourist coming to Taquile has changed as well. From the perspective of one non-local respondent:

“The backpackers came to Taquile first, the adventurers, because Taquile had developed by itself ... Backpacking type of tourism is highly respected by the people – it looks for [close] contact with people ... They are being replaced by what I would call Three Star tourism ... [who] are the worst. They want everything at low prices . . . are egocentric, and they want to exploit to the maximum ... It’s more important to these tourists to say ‘I have gone’ ... [than] to meet the people.”

The original tourism was quite informal, without guides and few services. As one respondent noted; “this was the period of backpackers and hippies looking for an adventure”. Changes over the years have occurred in the kind of tourists. The Puno travel agent mentioned that about 70% of his clients going to Taquile Island were into adventure tourism, including “esoteric [or spiritual] tourism and weaving”, and were mostly European. One respondent added that the younger tourists were more interested in local customs, whereas older tourists had less contact and stayed only a couple of hours. A typical visit now consists of lunch in a private restaurant, a quick walk to the plaza for some photographs and to browse the handicrafts, then back to Puno on a privately owned boat. As one key-informant noted, “[tourists] prefer to be where most of the services are, but do not wish to spend too much money”. The majority of tourists are Europeans, “mainly Italians, Germans, French, and a few Canadians, Australians and Israelis”. Other respondents were not sure what countries the tourists were from, but there was general agreement that “not many Peruvians come”.

## **Chiquian**

### Reasons for Tourism

Some of the respondents noted two major types of tourism in Chiquian: 1) trekking or climbing in the Cordillera Huayhuash (nature-based tourism or adventure tourism), and 2) community festivals. In Chiquian, several events were responsible for promoting tourism as an economic alternative for the region. The first occurrence brought awareness to the outside world

of the Cordillera Huayhuash when a plane carrying European tourists crashed in the 1940s (unable to be confirm actual date). Several European tourists were killed on the way from Lima to Iquitos. Mountain guides from Huaraz were hired to locate the wreckage and some relatives of the missing joined the search. It is ironic that such a tragic event would bring favorable international attention to the relatively remote region.

Shortly afterward in 1954, one local guide assisted in the exploration of the Cordillera Huayhuash with an Austrian-German survey team. In the years to come, adventurous mountain climbers began arriving to tackle the many peaks of the beautiful Huayhuash. One respondent suggested that trekking started to take off in the early 1980s. This may have been partly due to the availability of improved hiking equipment such as lighter boots and tents.

One respondent was personally involved in early documentary filmmaking of Chiquian and the Huayhuash from the 1970s until recently. The first documentary of the area and the Cordillera Huayhuash route was filmed with a handheld Super 8 camera in 1970, then shown at the Cine Club in Lima. Because of this showing, “it brought a lot of attention – the scenery, the customs of Chiquian – it had a great impact”. Two other locally produced documentaries were *Tinkunaqui* in 1975 (Quechua word for “Meeting Place”) and *Chiquian es un Espejito del Cielo* in 1993 (“Chiquian, Little Mirror of the Heavens”). The 35-mm film *Tinkunaqui* was about the Santa Rosa Carnival; according to the filmmaker, this event “brings people to the mountains from Lima, other countries [and] those who left Chiquian before”.

Trekkers and mountain climbers came in increasingly greater numbers, “especially from 1980-85”, but dropped off completely during the nation-wide terrorism period of the late 1980s to early 1990s. With the decline of terrorism and the publicity of last documentary mentioned, a new festival called *Ecoventura* (Eco-Adventure) began in 1994. According to the founder of *Ecoventura*:

“[*Ecoventura*] was an incentive for bringing visitors to Chiquian. The City of Huaraz has always had attention, like their Alpine Week ... We had to compete with them. [*Ecoventura*] was formed for cultural, adventure, and ecotourism reasons ... The ‘canto provincial’ was part of it [a traditional song played with Andean instruments]... We wanted to promote Chiquian so that money would be invested in it.”



The founder also attributed the creation of Ecoventura to the “enthusiastic” but “unorthodox” ex-mayor of Chiquian, César Fernandez Callupe. The two men and a few others took a trip to the Huayhuash in 1993 “to promote the Huayhuash, [which was] the jewel in front of us [Chiquian]”. Apparently, it was still a dangerous period, “[but] it was worth running the risk to promote tourism in the area”. They met with the people of Llámac and discussed the potential environmental damage from proposed mining exploitation. Upon their return, the film *Chiquian, Reflection of the Heavens* was produced and Ecoventura was initiated. The first Ecoventura ran for a weeklong period in May of 1994 and essentially reopened the Huayhuash to trekkers and climbers. The event attracted corporate sponsorship from Pepsi and other companies, as well as institutional support from PROMPERU, the Peruvian national tourism agency (formerly FOPTUR until 1995). Journalists were invited and national media coverage helped put Chiquian ‘on the map’.

Ecoventura was an ideal venue to promote the area for outdoor activities such as trekking, climbing, horseback riding and mountain biking. Chiquian and nearby communities were also given the opportunity to show themselves as worthy places to visit for their unique customs, excellent cheese, many historical sites and other heritage tourism possibilities. According to its founder, “it finally broke the Callejón de Huaylas chain [the mountain valley north of Huaraz]. It showed that there was something more than just Huascarán National Park”. Unfortunately, a bitter dispute in 1996 between the Ecoventura founder and the new Chiquian Municipal Council resulted in the festival management takeover by the municipality. However, since Ecoventura was also legally registered as a tourism promotional company, the original name was dropped.

Another important tourism event that some respondents mentioned as important for the town was the Santa Rosa Carnival. It begins on August 30 of every year and attracts mostly friends, relatives and former residents of Chiquian. The celebrations were temporarily moved to Lima during the terrorism years of the late 1980s, “but even with the fear, the subversion, the fiesta continued ... In Chiquian, it involved total participation of the community”. Although it may be debatable whether this cultural festival can be classified as a ‘tourism’ event, one must recognize that many fiestas and carnivals in Peru have a very large domestic tourism market. A

few examples are the *Inti Raimi* (Sun Festival of the Incas) of Cuzco, the *Candelaria* of Puno and *Carnaval* in Cajamarca.

### Tourism Changes

Most respondents were of unanimous opinion that tourism has progressively increased, but has not yet reached the levels of visitors during the early to mid-1980s. A common theme was “tourism used to be better here – there were more tourists, and more Peruvians than foreigners. Peruvians came here to tour [the neighboring communities] of Aqui, Huasta, see the *Puya raimondii* plant [a rare native bromeliad that grows to 10 meters] and our local folklore traditions”.

Most respondents noted that local tourism was devastated by terrorism activities from 1988 until 1993. Virtually no tourists came to trek or climb in the Huayhuash at this time and most of the local guides and porters went to Huaraz to find work. One local business owner mentioned that several violent altercations occurred in Chiquian and the Huayhuash area during this period between the military, national police and terrorist groups.

According to one respondent from Huaraz, there is still a safety image problem affecting tourism in the Huayhuash. A recent incident in 1996 was mentioned in which an Israeli trekker on the south end of the circuit was killed by a group of robbers, although it was recognized that this was most likely an isolated case. One respondent felt that fewer tourists came in 1997 for two possible reasons: 1) the four-month hostage taking incident, from December 1996 to April 1997, at the Japanese Embassy in Lima by terrorist members of the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement (MRTA), and 2) the adverse climatic effects of El Niño. Both events attracted international media coverage so it is likely that some tourists cancelled plans to visit the area.

Some distinguished the type of tourists by their respective preferences. Those that prefer local sightseeing and participating in local cultural events were predominately Peruvian. On the other hand, most said that tourists coming to trek or climb were foreigners (mostly Europeans according to some guides). There was some dissension as to whether the clientele is older or younger than before, but it was recognized that some trekkers come on an independent basis (i.e.

without travel agency support). Several respondents were nostalgic and expressed a desire to see the return of a strong domestic-base market to the Chiquian area as in the 1970s and 1980s.

## **COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM**

### **Taquile Island**

#### Tourism Plan or Strategy

One difficulty that some respondents had for both communities was in distinguishing between plan and strategy. The former suggests a formalized process with clearly stated goals, objectives, actions, and targets to reach a given alternative, whereas a strategy is often considered as 'planning' in a less rigorous or formalized sense. It was explained that the existence of a tourism plan or strategy would signify organizational efforts, either formal or informal. Most felt that a formal tourism plan did not exist for the island. For example:

“No, the authorities are only interested in collecting money.”

“No, not in writing, only in conversation.”

“They have short-term plans but no long term ones which is typical of the Quechua mentality.”

However, it was recognized that since the beginning of local tourism many community discussions had been held to permit tourists on their island and offer or improve services. Ex-governor Francisco Huatta established laws in the 1970s that everyone must participate in tourism and wear their traditional clothing. The weekly meetings with the local government, the various tourism committees, and community tourism regulations provide a clearer picture of how the Taquileños have 'planned' for tourism.

Many felt that the traditional ways of working on the island were important to explain their history of community action. One respondent mentioned that Taquileños must respect traditional 'rules' of working, such as the *ayni*, “[which is] an obligation, an interchange of

energy from person to person ... I will help you to build your house but you know that you must help me to build mine". It was made clear that their system of working together was unique; "perhaps they have some aspects of socialism or communism, but ... they don't have anything to do with the ex-Soviet Union ... they possess their [own] identity".

### Community Participation

There was unanimous agreement that community participation in Taquile tourism is high. For example, "everybody must decide what to do together ... everyone works for the community". It was made clear that, until recently, all residents had to be a member of the boat and handicraft cooperatives. Another commented that "everyone has the same opportunity to participate in tourism" and that "everyone votes in the cooperative elections".

However, several respondents indicated that events over past few years have changed this sense of community solidarity or kinship. The biggest factor for change may be the privatization of previously community-owned tourism enterprises. A majority of boats and restaurants are now owned by only a few families. Some of these owners are more interested in profits than the interests of the community, as evidenced by this comment; "[One Taquile boat owner in particular] doesn't think like a Taquileño; he is [an example of] what's ruining the people". Another respondent felt that the 'communal' designation was perhaps more capitalistic in reality; "all that they say is community-owned isn't so. They get together but at times it is one person who leads". In addition, the accommodation rotation system has changed considerably, as tourists now prefer to stay close to the main services. The Puno travel agent felt that "flexibility" was needed on the part of the Taquileños:

"It seems O.K. to me how the Taquileños manage [tourism] and what they have to offer, but they have to be flexible in the [accommodation] rotation system. I think that you can't oblige a tourist to stay in a house that may be several kilometers away [from any services]."

### Encouragement of Equitable Participation

According to the Taquileño respondents, total participation of all community residents is encouraged in local politics and tourism activities. For example, every community leader must

be elected by all community residents. No authority can hold the same position of power more than once a lifetime. The democracy inherent in tourism decision-making extends to the various committees and cooperatives as well. For example, with regard to the Manco Capac handicraft administration:

“The whole community elects them, not just the members. We take five candidates with good previous experience, then we select two [for president and treasurer]. Their duties [or term] are for one year.”

However, upon closer examination of the responses, this perception of equitable democracy is not the same for everyone. Firstly, it is the authorities that initially decide which candidates are suitable for the different positions, “depending on their past experience and character”. Afterwards, the community votes on the candidate of their choosing. Secondly, and perhaps more damaging to the concept of impartial power sharing or gender equality on Taquile, women have never had authoritative power on the island. When asked why this is so if everyone is encouraged to participate, some suggested that women have been too timid until recently to speak out publicly and are just now starting to get involved in public decision-making. One Taquile respondent assured that “now it’s possible [for women to be elected] – they are more vocal, they can be mayor or governor”.

Others were more realistic about the role of women in public decision-making:

“When we [men] have a position of authority, our wives work with us as well ... They go to the Sunday meetings where they listen, then go to their houses and make comments. They don’t say a word publicly but they know. They also have a say in the Women’s Club and the Maternity Center.”

It was added that women are supposed to attend the public Sunday meetings but can only discuss their specific concerns on Wednesdays. One respondent suggested that “women didn’t want to get involved until lately ... [but] they have to have their opinions and have to think”.

Lastly, there was also concern expressed that certain authorities may abuse their power by favoring certain interest groups; “some authorities are receiving bribes or favours, like

sending small groups overseas”. Another concern for many was the government funded hostel. According to a local resident, it was built without proper consultation and community-wide consent by FOPTUR. This was an unusual decision in a community characterized for its seemingly transparent and consensual decision-making.

### Local Control in Tourism Industry

The question of who controls the Taquile tourism industry generated mixed results. Most Taquile respondents felt they still maintained control of ‘their’ tourism industry although they acknowledged that this control has deteriorated lately. Non-Taquile respondents were somewhat more pessimistic; “it’s incredible that in only three years everything on Taquile has changed”. The same respondent felt that local tourism control has dropped “from a scale of eight to ten [for high control] to about a four and going down quickly”. Another gave the community a ranking of six or seven on a theoretical control continuum. Many referred to the following two factors as responsible for the loss of control:

1. Privatization – The community has reluctantly accepted the private ownership trend that began with President Fujimori in the early 1990s. A national law was established that made illegal any form of monopolization over a given industry, including community-owned businesses. One respondent criticized the government’s failure to recognize the uniqueness of Taquile’s situation, explaining, “the boats were communal – they gave service to the community ... [and] it’s a source of basic revenue for them ... But the agencies began to interrupt this until we made a blockade [in 1990] and everyone went down to the port [in Puno]”. The argument was not accepted, however, and the first privately owned Puno boats started to arrive. The same respondent summarized the current situation as follows:

“I don’t get involved any more since they have a free enterprise system now. It’s a market that can’t protect them since the [cooperative] system had become symbolic – the Taquileños had to participate [in the free market] when it became privatized. There is no longer the system that the community does it for the sake of the community.”

The trend to private ownership has carried over to other services such as restaurants and accommodation. Furthermore, most felt that the Puno travel agencies have cornered a fair share of the tourism market for those wishing to visit Taquile. Tourists often travel to Lake Titicaca

islands in faster, more comfortable Puno owned and operated boats, are accompanied by Puno guides and in some cases stay in tents rather than local houses. One local resident claimed “the travel agencies have ruined things a lot ... They go down to the Puno dock and take the tourists [instead of us]. They ruin our culture”. Another said that “what has hurt us are the Puno [travel] agencies ... they don’t do anything except cheat us”.

2. Ineffectual Leadership – Although residential participation in public decision-making is highly encouraged, Taquileños look to their leaders to set an example. According to one respondent, Peruvian government advisors come and encourage what they perceive to be high priority for projects, then pay wages in a direct circumvention of traditional decision-making and work-sharing. Some attributed the allowance of these ‘outsiders’ in community affairs to timid or acquiescent leaders. For example, when referring to the island’s Governor during 1997, one respondent commented “he’s a little shy, he doesn’t speak out”. Another respondent said the following:

“The authorities sometimes don’t carry out their intentions. [they] might not work or may be absent ... Our custom here is that the authorities must be personally involved in everything. If the people leave [the island], the authorities are failing.”

Although current authorities were perceived as “good” and “they are interested in tourism”, some past authorities were considered selfish or greedy. One person claimed that to be an authority changes your personality “because of individualism and the tourism influence”. In one instance, an ex-authority tried to expropriate community funds to send his three children to secondary school, instead of buying books for the community as planned. This was seen as an unfortunate new trend; “I swear to you that before a Taquileño never thought of doing such a thing. It’s ‘I used to think of my community first, but now I think of me’ ”.

## **Chiquian**

### Tourism Plan or Strategy

Most key-informants felt that a formal tourism plan did not exist for Chiquian and its region. Nevertheless, a local authority was quick to point out that a tourism plan was in the

process of being prepared at the time of the interviews:

“We don’t have a structured plan ... [but] we are continuing in favor of tourism ... [and] the Municipality has a commission working on this plan to be presented at a later Council session ... It is going to be for everyone to review and perhaps give some advice to improve it. I imagine that it will be about 10 pages.”

This proposed plan will encompass other districts of the region as well, such as Aquia and Pacllón. The most important aspect of this plan was “tourism promotion and tourist circuits that have to be opened eventually”.

A local organization for guides, porters and donkey drivers began in Chiquian during 1997 with about 20 members initially, and called *The Cordillera Huayhuash Mountain Climbing Provincial Association*. This was a clear attempt to organize for tourism, with their principal motive as stated “to improve tourism service quality in the Cordillera Huayhuash region” and “to guarantee tourist security”. The association was not at all independent, though, since it was created by the Chiquian Municipal Council through its Tourism Commission.

One person questioned the need for this organization, considering that a similar one was created in 1996 with the assistance of the Casa de Guias and the Regional Board of Tourism in Huaraz. The same respondent gave several possible motives that might explain why the new association was considered necessary:

1. The older association was comprised of members predominately from the smaller mountain communities of Llámac and Poepa rather than from Chiquian.
2. It was formed without the support of the Municipality of Chiquian.
3. The new organization was an attempt to wrest control of tourism services from Huaraz and provide more local benefits.

Some guides considered a tourism plan as one individually prepared on a business level rather than as a community effort. Planning for tourism was obtaining adequate supplies and personnel to prepare for tourists in the season ahead. For example:

“I have to make a plan to inform the Ministry of Tourism. If they increase taxes for donkey drivers, porters, cooks, then I have to tell [the French travel agency



that hires me] so that I can increase my wages ... the [trekking] groups come in the first days of June but tourists sign up only a few days before, so you can't plan more than a month ahead.”

The Ecoventura events held at the end of May were considered by some as tourism promotional events. Moreover, its founder felt that this event involved the community in planning for tourism:

“A journalist wrote ‘Ecoventura is everything that signifies an organization’. They have everything in Huaraz ... but they don't have an organization that plans tourism with the people [like ours]. There isn't any coordination in Huaraz ... they're not organized.”

### Community Participation

There were opposing views over the issue of community participation in tourism activities. Some felt that participation has been increasing, especially for community festivals:

“There's more participation now – the high schools, the public institutions, all participate in preparing some kind of event for the tourist, like Ecoventura. It's one's duty to demonstrate the traditions of one's town or area.”

Others felt that only those working in tourism are actually participating, since most people are either busy working in agriculture or are simply not interested. Those that were involved in providing tourism services were also criticized by some as unorganized; “we should communicate more among ourselves so as not to lose any work [in tourism]”.

Certain respondents felt that greater community participation in tourism was a distinct yet still distant possibility for Chiquian. Typical comments were “we are just starting to promote tourism”, or “the people have yet to see tourism as an alternative ... [i.e.] as a way to improve economically, socially and culturally.” One respondent summed up the lack of participation by the general public as a consequence of terrorism, but that great potential existed for tourism; “we are just starting to awaken to a new phase”.

### Encouragement of Equitable Participation

There were few examples of equitable participation in tourism management provided by respondents. As one guide from Huaraz stated, “the work [in tourism] is shared. There is enough [work]”. Many considered equitable participation as ‘being employed in tourism’ rather than by their degree of involvement in tourism decision-making. Nevertheless, most responses seemed to indicate that participation in the Chiquian tourism industry is highly selective and geared toward those working in the industry. Some felt that the agencies from Huaraz and other areas are also selective of which local services or products (if any) they will use in Chiquian.

Equitable participation in local tourism management appeared to be illusory. Participation was described as attempts to organize and better prepare those already involved. The Municipal Tourism Commission was apparently meeting with hotel and restaurant owners, transport companies and other local tourism businesses. The new guiding association was also seen as a way to promote greater local participation. However, one local guide mentioned that to belong to the organization required being a resident of Chiquian, determined by how long one had lived in the town. This requirement obfuscated the fact that many working in the trekking industry lived in Chiquian for the high season months; also, residency status was not so important according to the Tourism Commission itself. Short courses were also being offered by the Ministry of Tourism in conjunction with the Casa de Guías but some experience as a porter, guide or cook was required to ‘participate’ in them.

### Local Control in Tourism Industry

The question of local control over the tourism industry was discussed in vague terms or left unanswered. For example, recent organizational attempts for tourism were perceived as evidence of increased local involvement. Still, some recognized that approval for such organizations must come from Huaraz and Lima. The mayor of Chiquian discussed this issue as follows:

“The only thing we are doing as a Municipality is to coordinate with the Regional Tourism Board [in Huaraz]. Nevertheless, we have to coordinate with the Municipality of Paclón ... Paclón is organizing for themselves, and we for ourselves, but we are collaborating because the work demands it.”

There was little indication that local residents have ever been in control of the local trekking and climbing industry. However, some expressed a positive perception regarding the influence of Huaraz in the setting of prices to be paid and the hiring of porters, guides and/or donkeys. Travel agencies from Huaraz and Europe were often praised for bringing many foreign tourists to the region.

External influence on local control was also evident from an interview with the director of the San Marcelo Weaving Association. This local enterprise produces alpaca wool hand knit clothing and provides employment to about 80 people in Chiquian. At first glance, they would appear to have high control with a board of Chiquian residents and their own alpacas for raw material. Nevertheless, they are dependent on non-local decision-making since there is only one buyer - a parish in Germany who sets the prices and quantity ordered each year. Few sweaters and blankets are locally sold, "except for a few tourists in the summer", leaving them highly vulnerable to fluctuations in external demand.

The Ecoventura events were also dependent on outside entities as well as a few local residents. National and international sponsors (e.g. Pepsi, Inca Cola, Faucett Airlines), government agencies, national media, marketing firms and others were involved in the three previous Ecoventura events from 1994-96. A well-known luxury hotel in Miraflores (Lima) owned by a former resident of Chiquian donated space for press conferences in support of the events. Administrative control of Ecoventura (and possibly profits too, although this was denied) rested with its founder:

"We hired different people to cook, be waiters ... but we needed a house to coordinate the event, so we used my father's house. It was big enough with an excellent view of the Huayhuash. We had to use it, since Chiquian doesn't have a big restaurant for so many people ... We've gone from small to large ... I've invested a lot of my own money in this [company/event]."

Lastly, the years of terrorism have created an image problem regarding safety for foreign trekkers and climbers. Even some guides had to leave the area during the late 1980s due to the inherent dangers. As one guide noted:

“The Shining Path came to Llamac, came after me because I started to work in tourism. They told me not to work with foreigners, because they hate them ... [So] I came to Chiquian, bought a house [and] worked in the Cordillera Blanca.”

With the negative publicity from international media coverage, tourism plummeted and the work was “paralyzed” until the last few years.

## **PERCEIVED ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF TOURISM**

### **Taquile Island**

#### Distribution of Tourism Economic Benefits

In general, there was shared agreement that the entire community of Taquile is benefiting from revenues earned through tourism, but less unison on who is benefiting most and by how much. Tourism revenues were perceived as important for purchasing material goods (e.g. noodles, sugar, coca leaves). It was noted that the majority of residents have benefited from handicraft sales, free boat transport and entrance fees collected for community projects. Private sales are prohibited by a community law and handicrafts must be sold at fixed prices. There are no private shops, “so there isn’t any competition. It’s like ‘we must share our daily bread’ ”.

Nevertheless, private sales were generally admitted to being done on occasion; “it is not only me ... some people take their weavings to the restaurants [to sell for them] if they have to go to Puno, [but] I don’t do it openly, only sometimes”. A non-local respondent suggested that “now foreigners come to buy weavings and since my price is lower [than the cooperative store] I tell them to come to my house and buy from me. This system has broken the harmony”.

Interestingly, tourism had achieved the same level bestowed upon traditional agriculture, but many recognized its greater revenue potential. For example, “both are important, but handicraft making is more important for the money it brings”. It was also noted that tourism revenues may fluctuate but agriculture production will continue to provide for the family; “agriculture is more important than handicrafts because you don’t always sell something. But we can eat [our food that we grow]”.

Still, the negative side of the local tourism industry on Taquile's economy was also mentioned by several key-informants. Tourism revenues are perceived as decreasing in recent years for several reasons, including:

- declining handicraft sales
- unfavorable exchange rates
- leakages to outside agencies
- increasing private ownership of tourism services

For most respondents, growing 'individualism' or 'opportunism' has changed the perception of community economic benefits. As previously mentioned, the majority of the Taquile tourist boats and restaurants are now privately owned. Revenues from entrance fees, accommodation and the communal restaurant are still collectively earned and shared, but the traditional collective ownership system is beginning to wear away according to some. One non-local respondent mentioned, "it's a little sad because I thought it was going to last longer. It was in the writing".

#### External Factors Affecting Economic Benefits

The primary external influence on the local tourism industry was perceived as travel agencies and guides from Puno. Certain agencies were refusing to pay required entrance fees and often taking tourists to preferred homes and restaurants with reliable services. Some noted the Puno guides may "take advantage" of the Taquileño shyness and lack of English, thus directing and profiting from tourists. In the few years that have passed since private boats from Puno were legally allowed to take tourists to the island, "the most shrewd on the island and the travel agencies are [now] getting an enormous part of the earnings". In one way or another, all local respondents expressed the following criticism regarding the Puno travel agencies:

"They are eating our bread. Why do they make profits in dollars and we receive little?"

Several felt that President Fujimori's government has had some impact on the local tourism industry. Fujimori came to Taquile in 1994 after being personally invited and promised to build a hostel for tourists that would be administered by the Taquileños. Although this promise was complied with, it was done so by paying wages to those involved and completely ignored the work philosophy 'for the sake of the community'. In addition, the type of construction, and even the very existence of a hostel, went against the type of tourism desired by visitors and residents alike. One local resident made this comment:

"I don't like [the hostel] and neither do the tourists. They want to see something native and stay in our homes, see our customs, see how we cook."

The hostel had not gained much local support at the time of interviews (two years after its construction) and was perceived as 'the building that FOPTUR built', even though selected Taquile residents were directly involved in its construction. Tourists had yet to stay there in the two years since construction completion, although the mayor mentioned that a date would soon be set for its official inauguration.

Apart from the issue of accommodation, Fujimori was positively perceived by most as having helped to promote local tourism. This was somewhat surprising since his government was also responsible for changing national laws in support of a free market system. Private ownership had been encouraged and circumvented community laws declaring only cooperative boats would be allowed to take tourists to Taquile. This has negatively affected communal ownership and traditions according to one respondent. Still, few key-informants made any connection to the effects of national policies in support of privatization and individualism on community unity.

## **Chiquian**

### Distribution of Tourism Economic Benefits

Responses were for the most part ambiguous about the question of whether or not tourism is economically benefiting all Chiquian residents. It was recognized that tourism *may* create jobs

and spread revenues throughout the community. Most felt that those benefiting most were “those who are [already] working in tourism, that have burros”. Local authorities and guides suggested that further efforts to increase employment and income should be placed on these individuals.

Most interviewees suggested that Chiquian has few services to offer tourists, an important factor in tourist or travel agency decisions to spend any time there. One respondent claimed there are more tourism services now; “the tourists used to stay in the houses of guides and donkey drivers ... [but now] more restaurants and hotels have opened in Chiquian”. While this may be true, most key-informants felt that trekkers may bypass Chiquian without spending the night. One Huaraz-based guide declared that “we leave in a mini-bus from Huaraz, eat lunch in Chiquian [but leave right away], because there aren’t any good hotels there”. Tourists that do stay prefer one hostel in particular, although some other basic accommodation exists in town. The same applies for local restaurants; one in particular was preferred according to a non-local guide and verified through participant observation.

Some interviewees expressed the loss of income from independent tourists. For example, one guide said, “those [trekkers] that go on their own don’t bring any money for us. They only stay a night in Chiquian but they don’t hire official donkey drivers”. Another person reiterated this comment; “there are clients that have tents and set them up on the outskirts of town so they don’t have to pay for a room ... However, most stay here in the [main] hotel”.

### External Factors Affecting Economic Benefits

There was a clear perception that Huaraz has heavily dominated the local tourism industry. Some respondents claimed that trekkers and climbers often book with Huaraz-based companies, go with Huaraz guides and cooks, and use supplies purchased from Huaraz. A few local guides and porters capture the occasional independent tourists (hence, a greater share of revenues), but agencies from Huaraz, Lima, and even overseas normally hire personnel on a day rate basis for Huayhuash trekking expeditions. At least one local guide worked directly with an overseas agency and felt positive regarding his relationship with them:

“I must not give any problems to the French agency. Occasionally other [tour] groups come, but they don’t provide me with regular work every year. However, the French groups have given me work for more than 20 years.”

One respondent from Huaraz suggested that relying on hiring personnel and supplies in Chiquian would be too risky, whereas Huaraz offers all that is needed and can be hired or purchased on short notice. There was concern that adequate quantities of food may not be available even in Chiquian since it remains relatively isolated from Huaraz. Even independent trekkers generally bring their own food and supplies. Another problem mentioned concerned effective communication; most communities of the Cordillera Huayhuash have no telephone, fax or any other reliable communication system (however, there is one telephone in Pacllón and public telephones in Chiquian).

Still, not every external influence over the tourism industry in Chiquian was perceived as negative. It was explained that the Tourism Regional Board (part of the Ministry of Industry and Tourism of Peru) and the Casa de Guías in Huaraz give training courses to aspiring donkey drivers, porters, cooks, and guides to better their quality of service. Certification is provided upon successful completion assuming sufficient work experience has been obtained. Although these courses were meant for those already working in trekking and climbing, they were felt to help residents of Chiquian, Llamac, Pocpa and other communities in obtaining work with reputable agencies.

## **COMMUNITY SATISFACTION WITH TOURISM**

### **Taquile Island**

#### Community Support for Tourism

According to local respondents, Taquile residents unanimously support tourism even more so now compared to its early beginnings when there was reluctance to accept visitors. Three main themes were generated in this particular questioning:



1. Self-esteem – It was evident that Taquileños are extremely proud of their island and their traditional ways. However, one respondent made a strong assertion that “they will never be *too* proud. They feel united with the world and have a love of the earth ... their traditions are a part of their identity”. Community self-confidence is inherent by the general acceptance to wear traditional dress on a daily basis. Also, some previous authorities have personally traveled to Lima and spoken with at least three Peruvian presidents in the last 70 years - this indicates a relatively high degree of confidence.
2. Publicity – Many respondents stated that they are looking for ways to make more tourists and countries aware of Taquile and to increase their market share. The general attitude is that everybody must get involved and spread information about the island.
3. Affinity – A close community bond with tourism is undeniably evident. Some disagreed if there is less harmony now but most felt that a strong connection still exists between island residents and the associated tourism industry. Again, the comment “tourism is our industry” illustrates this point from a Taquileño perspective.

### Socio-environmental Effects or Impacts

Most key-informants agreed that tourism has brought changes to the way of life for Taquile residents. These changes are of a predominantly cultural nature, but environmental changes have occurred to a lesser extent as well (mostly littering, but also neglect of agriculture due to demands of weaving). Three principal factors were recognized as responsible for cultural and environmental impacts as follows:

1. Individualism – Many interviewees felt that individual ownership is adversely affecting the work-sharing ethic common to Taquileño society.

Traditionally, duty to one’s family and to the community was considered of equal importance. This blending of family and community values is akin to an Andean version of socialism, although one key-informant felt their socio-political system was more complex and unique than such categorizations. For example, all families on Taquile own their land and the majority grow their own crops; they are also free to pursue business or personal interests on or off the island. These anomalies are indicative of a market-oriented, democratic society, but one that is also strongly linked to community goal-setting and communal action.

Now, the general perception is that a growing number of residents are pursuing individual material wealth as free enterprise and consumerism spread. Reciprocal work sharing systems such as the *ayni* and *minka* are still practiced by the majority of residents, but payment is often demanded for community projects now. Individualism has spread throughout the island and affected many residents. For example, one key-informant

deplored the growing number of children that are begging for money or candy from unsuspecting tourists. It was suggested that a one dollar tip from begging is more money than the average family earns in a week from tourists staying in their houses.

Another felt that individualism was directly due to the tourism influence combined with the national economic situation (e.g. recession, inflation, devaluation). Still, this was not perceived as negative but rather as opening a window of opportunity; “because of [tourism] and the [Puno travel] agencies they have more money and can import many things”.

2. Modernization – Most respondents noted that several changes have occurred over the past two decades since tourism began.

One of the biggest changes was the introduction of boat motors to reduce travel time for tourists. Still, it was not until the early 1990s when modern technology began to significantly affect life on Taquile according to the non-local key-informants. Major changes included a community telephone, solar lighting, television sets and use of pesticides. For many, perhaps the greatest visual change was the introduction of tin roofs to replace the traditional straw thatching. Corrugated tin was considered better due to its quick installation and low maintenance; hence, most Taquile houses now have tin roofs. However, there was general agreement that the roofs are not aesthetically pleasing to most tourists. Options such as painting the roofs were being considered to minimize negative perceptions.

Modernization of Taquile is also evident in new types of packaging and materials reaching the island. This was perceived by some non-local respondents to be creating environmental damage. For example, pop is an import commodity that is brought over from Puno to meet tourist demand. It was noted that empty bottles are often used by children as toys and later discarded. A weekly clean up has been insufficient to gather all bottles. Currently, non-biodegradable garbage is incinerated in the open air but this practice may have to change if the volume increases substantially. As for new materials, synthetic wool is gradually replacing the traditional use of sheep and alpaca wool in the handicrafts. Simpler patterns and techniques may earn greater revenues but quality of workmanship has deteriorated compared to twenty years ago according to many.

3. Globalization – Non-local interviewees noted that globalization is affecting Taquile.

Globalization is the shrinking or eliminating of recognizable geophysical, socio-economic, political and other boundaries. Vast improvements in transport, communication and education combined with a more benevolent world and the international travel boom have made previously remote or dangerous areas quite accessible. It was observed that extensive media coverage of Taquile since the mid-1970s has opened its unique culture ‘hidden’ from the world, causing an annual influx of thousands of foreign tourists. A few Taquileños themselves travel frequently to Europe and North America on promotional tours (i.e. to dance at folklore festivals and to sell weavings). This fast pace of change is worrisome to many key-informants who believe the island has become more cosmopolitan and risks losing its traditional sense of identity.

## Economic Changes

According to one interviewee, money was a relatively new commodity for most islanders when tourism began. Since the local economy was based on subsistence agriculture and fishing, and because they were so isolated from mainland Peru, money was of little use to most residents. Hard currency was needed only to purchase sugar or coca leaves (which are chewed) or to make house improvements. To obtain cash, Taquile men had to look for work in Puno and Arequipa as farm laborers; they occasionally went to Puno to sell cows for meat or stems of colle (local shrub) for firewood. Several Taquileños moved to Lima on the coast in search of full-time work and a better education for their children.

Tourism made it possible to stay on the island and earn sufficient income for the family. It was recognized that the formation of the artisan cooperative in the 1970s and increasing sales of handicrafts in the early 1980s brought new sources of income that could be shared by everyone. Revenues collected from tourists for transport to the island, entrance fees, stayovers and the community restaurant contributed to both individual and community wealth.

Some felt that the islanders have learned enormously about consumerism and the market economy due to tourism. A few interviewees went so far as to suggest Taquile is now dependent on tourism. There is money readily available to import televisions, radios, dry foods, fertilizers, pesticides, building materials and other so-called 'luxury' items previously unknown to most islanders. Accessibility of new materials has caused some cultural changes, but such transformations were not considered entirely negative by one key-informant; it was suggested that it is up to the Taquileños to decide for themselves what degree of change is acceptable. For example:

“There was a period when the influence of tourism was so strong that everybody was weaving and nobody farmed. But they still had to eat. The good thing is that they maintain their cultural identity and their principles ... [Still,] we shouldn't impede what they want. It would be a crime if we prevented contact from the rest of the world and turned Taquile into a living museum.”

Nevertheless, some dissension was noted regarding recent economic changes, although less from the fact that certain families earn more than others than from a growing disregard for

local customs and reciprocal sharing systems. One respondent noted that material wealth is now accumulating with the spread of television antennas and solar panels. Traditional weaving patterns are also being modified or substituted to increase individual production.

Lastly, several key-informants directed their blame at the Puno agencies for negative changes to the local tourism industry. According to some (also verified through participant observation), entrance fees were not always paid. In addition, some favoritism has been demonstrated when Puno guides direct their groups to certain families with 'quality' accommodation or food. Private restaurants compete to such an extent for tourists that a temporary rotation system had to be imposed in 1997 by the restaurant committees. Houses located more than a fifteen-minute walk from the plaza do not receive many (if any) visitors as they once did. Some interviewees noted that the community restaurant rarely receives group tourists from Puno anymore since food quality may fluctuate. It was also claimed that Puno agencies pay low fees to the Taquile boat operators. All of these factors have contributed to economic changes in the community.

### Community Unity

Most key-informants agreed that there was more unity before on Taquile Island, which parallels the perceived decrease in control. Diminishing unity was seen as linked to economic interests, such as increasing individualism, external leakages to Puno agencies and businesses, and other socio-economic factors. Private ownership of previously community-owned services and attitudinal changes were often blamed for changes in unity. When questioned about the new anti-monopolization laws, one local resident made a strong assertion regarding community solidarity:

“[President] Fujimori has his law, but here we have our own. Here the custom is that you have to work as a group ... by tradition. Before anything else, the people have to be united.”

This sense of unity was not equally shared by all those interviewed. According to one non-local respondent:

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

### Expectations for Tourism in Community

The local authorities were very optimistic about the future of tourism on Taquile. However, the general perception was one of cautious optimism. More tourism was desired but not at the expense of traditional customs and community laws. Promotion of Taquile and training young people to be guides were suggested as necessary. The travel agent mentioned more flexibility was needed, stating “cooperate with us or we go elsewhere”. The older generation is concerned that Taquile has become tourism dependent. For example:

“As for the future of tourism, we have to keep it going. Perhaps there will be changes. However, we shouldn’t neglect our agriculture, nor our weavings and education.”

Overall, most felt that tourism would remain important in the local economy, but there was also concern to regain control. One respondent put it quite succinctly when asked about the future for tourism on Taquile:

“They [the Taquileños] are going to lose [more] tourists every year. The individualism process is not going to end. The only escape for them is to look for measures to make change happen more slowly ... This can be done with a little help ... you have to conscientize the people.”

## **Chiquian**

### Community Support for Tourism

Chiquian residents were generally perceived to be somewhat “isolated” or indifferent towards tourism, although one key-informant felt there was less hostility and more willingness to help tourists than before. In his opinion:

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

However, the same respondent felt that there was very little knowledge about tourism in the community. Another felt that local residents do not place as much importance to tourism as they once did; “they used to sell blankets, ponchos ... now, nothing like that exists”.

Those that significantly support tourism were deemed to be owners and employees of tourism-related businesses, and the Chiquian Municipal Council. This is understandable given the low numbers of jobs in Chiquian. One key-informant felt that the nearby communities of Llámac and Pocpa support tourism, especially since most local guides, donkey drivers and porters come from these two villages. An additional explanation for industry support is that trekkers have a more visible presence in these smaller villages on the circuit, whereas tourists may not be as noticeable in busy Chiquian (although minor compared to the modern bustle of Huaraz).

Local political support for tourism would seem relatively high by the growing interest in forming tourism committees and holding ‘ecotourism’ events, but there was some discontentment expressed about government commitment. The former mayor was considered very supportive of local tourism, since he had helped to create and organize the first community ‘ecotourism’ event. Some felt that the current municipal government is neither supportive of tourism or the community in general. There was a sense that tourism should be supported not only by the local government but by all residents of Chiquian.

### Socio-Environmental Effects or Impacts

Three socio-environmental factors emerged from the long interviews regarding tourism in Chiquian, as follows:

1. Emigration - One cultural factor that was perceived to affect residential perceptions toward tourism was the large degree of emigration from neighboring towns and regions to Chiquian. Lack of homogeneity among residents in terms of birthplace may be partly responsible for the general lack of overall support. There may be significant socio-cultural differences in language, skin color and/or level of education that make it difficult

to achieve consensus on tourism-related issues. In addition, residents may spend only part of their time in Chiquian, or just long enough to provide an education for their children. These factors may contribute to feelings of indifference about the community.

2. Terrorism – Several years of terrorism not only effectively eliminated tourism as an economic option for Chiquian and the Cordillera Huayhuash, it created difficulties for residents to openly welcome strangers again. There was a sense of fear and suspicion from some key-informants (and many questionnaire respondents), perhaps attributable to the aftermath of a very traumatic period. Therefore, the image of safety may not only be important from a national or international perspective, but from a local one as well.
  
3. Preservation – Most respondents were concerned with the preservation of the Cordillera Huayhuash to maintain its international reputation for excellent trekking and climbing. One potentially destructive possibility is the Mitsui mine in which exploration activities have already created some private roads. There is dissension over this issue between residents of Llamac, which generally support the mine, and residents of Pocpa which for the most do not according to some key-informants. The Llamac support may stem from the hiring of several residents for survey work.

Expanding on the last issue, the proposed road from Chiquian to Pacllón was generally supported since it would increase accessibility, yet still maintain the integrity of the Huayhuash trekking circuit (according to interviewees). However, most respondents felt opposed to a road that would lead deeper into the Huayhuash itself, such as to scenic Jahuacocha Lake. Some agreed that this potential road would likely diminish *foreign* demand for nature or adventure-based tourism in the area. On the other hand, one local guide actually supported the idea since it was felt the road would increase *domestic* tourism, hence employment. Many recognized that Peruvians in general prefer sightseeing rather than specialized tourism such as mountain climbing. This could be due to a lack of awareness of nature-adventure tourism possibilities combined with its generally higher costs involved compared to mainstream tourism.

The preservationist attitude expressed by most guides would see the Cordillera Huayhuash made into a National Reserve, but not a National Park such as Huascarán. The latter was perceived as possibly limiting the type of activities by local people and tourists alike (i.e. farming, fishing, making campfires). The reserve designation was felt likely to protect the area from outside interests, such as potentially destructive mining activities that could pollute lakes and rivers, but would still allow local people to sustain themselves.

Additional environmental impacts were perceived as directly related to tourism activities in the Cordillera Huayhuash. There was some concern that certain guides (although not tourists) from Huaraz were damaging the area by leaving litter on the trails, bringing live animals for food and using non-biodegradable detergent. Several actions were suggested: e.g. placing interpretive signs on trails and distributing brochures to tourists and guides regarding correct hiking procedures.

### Economic Changes

Tourism has helped create some local jobs and brought in revenues for certain Chiquian residents, but it was uncertain whether the entire community was profiting from tourism. The general perception was that tourism is on the mend but yet to reach the higher levels of tourists experienced before terrorism. The domination by Huaraz agencies of the local tourism industry was blamed for low profits. Also, most residents have yet to perceive tourism as an economic alternative.

### Community Unity

Chiquian appears to be divided about its own sense of unity. Some said it was a unified community while others disagreed, which suggests a general lack of harmony. Several reasons have contributed to a perceived lack of unity, which can be measured in terms of organizational strength i.e. poor organization or low support for solidarity on a given issue may equate with disharmony (or disunity).

The growing emigration trend in Chiquian has weakened community solidarity according to one key-informant. There is a sense of *trying* to self-organize for tourism but without achieving broad-based support within the community. Some believe that jealousy or laziness hinders the improvement of services, or that the mining issue causes division among neighboring communities. Whatever the case, little evidence was demonstrated from key-informants that would indicate community unity in Chiquian was anything other than low.



### Expectations for Tourism in Community

In general, there was guarded optimism for tourism as an economic alternative in Chiquian. For some, it was merely a question of a few more services and better organization to attract tourists. For example, a local hostel owner felt that just a few more bathrooms were needed. For others, it was considered crucial to raise local awareness about tourism and protect the Cordillera Huayhuash from mining interests. Education and involvement of youth in tourism activities was often mentioned; “the young people should take care of tourism”. Many felt that proactive support for tourism was needed from both residents and government officials alike. One respondent felt that people would invest in Chiquian given strong political will and community support, both of which were lacking in his opinion.

Overall, there was agreement that tourism is in its infancy stage in Chiquian, lacking not only adequate tourist services but also sufficient local awareness about possibilities for involvement and employment. Tourism was perceived as a means to generate jobs and income; “Huaraz lives by tourism; we can too”. However, few specifics were provided on the type and degree of tourism needed for Chiquian, or on how local residents could participate in tourism decision-making, if at all. External support from Lima travel agencies and embassies was suggested as one possibility to promote and improve tourism organizational efforts in the region, rather than an intensification of local efforts. However, this was also the case for Taquile Island residents.

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

From the preceding long interview analysis, several key themes and concepts were generated. In McCracken’s fourth stage of interview analysis, the themes are generally categorized for each sample (i.e. community) to facilitate a comparison in the fifth and final stage. Therefore, to reduce repetitiveness due to the inherent overlap of this chapter with the socio-economic analysis, these themes have been summarized in Table 8.1 and will be discussed in Chapter 9 along with other major findings.

**Table 8.1 Major Themes from Taquile Island and Chiquian Key-Informants<sup>a</sup>**

<b>THEME</b>	<b>Taquile Island</b>	<b>Chiquian</b>
<b>Principal tourism motive</b>	Culture (nature to lesser degree)	Nature/adventure (culture to lesser degree)
<b>Catalysts</b>	Several local and non-local figures, including three foreigners and three local residents	Plane crash raised awareness of area to outside world; two individuals mainly responsible for increasing national attention with recent ecotourism events
<b>Tourist type</b>	Mostly foreigners; Backpackers, mid-scale tourists	Mostly foreigners; backpackers, mountain climbers
<b>Tourism beginnings</b>	mid-1970s, but highest numbers reached in 1990s	mid-1950s, but highest numbers reached in early 1980s
<b>Tourism changes</b>	Tourism has increased to near mass proportions	Tourism returning after near standstill for several years
<b>Tourism plan or strategy</b>	No formal plan, but collective and basic strategic decision-making	No formal plan or strategy, but starting to organize
<b>Participation in tourism</b>	Wide variety of high participation; collective consciousness about tourism	Local businesses and special events only
<b>Equitable participation</b>	Highly and legally encouraged, although women left out of public decision-making	Not encouraged; selective participation
<b>Tourism control</b>	Originally high control has decreased to moderate level partly due to: a. privatization b. ineffectual leadership	Low control with outside domination of local tourism industry
<b>Distribution of tourism economic benefits</b>	Most residents benefiting, revenues decreasing; many tourism services; agriculture considered as important	Most residents not benefiting; few tourism services; normative expressions of high potential for community-wide benefits
<b>External factors</b>	Puno (travel agencies); Fujimori-led development	Huaraz (travel agencies); government and private organizations
<b>Community supportive of tourism</b>	Unanimous support; three factors include: a. self-esteem b. publicity c. affinity	Selective support; local authorities and businesses interested, but residents indifferent
<b>Social effects or impacts</b>	High impacts from tourism: a. emergence of individualism b. modernization c. globalization	Tourism attitudes have been affected by: a. emigration b. terrorism
<b>Environmental effects or impacts</b>	Same as social effects or impacts, especially b. and c.	Mining exploitation in Cordillera Huayhuash; need for preservation
<b>Economic changes</b>	Introduction of monetary system; consumerism linked to increased revenues; Puno agencies blamed for negative effects	Some revenues and jobs, but most residents not benefiting economically
<b>Community unity</b>	Strong but declining unity linked to diminishing control	Divided opinion over unity, but marked pattern of disharmony and conflict
<b>Optimism for tourism</b>	Highly optimistic, but concern to maintain traditional ways; regaining control and education important	Guarded optimism; tourism in early stages of development; community awareness and outside support needed

<sup>a</sup> Source: Personal interviews, Taquile Island and Chiquian, Peru, 1997, Ross Mitchell.

# **CHAPTER 9: RESEARCH FINDINGS**

## **INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, principal findings from the preceding data analysis will be discussed and linked to relevant theories. There are five main sections as follows:

- 1) Tourism Description
- 2) Community Integration
- 3) Local Economic Benefits of Ecotourism
- 4) Demographic Variables on Economic Benefits and Participation
- 5) Conclusion

The final section explains the results of the research hypotheses that were tested. The findings have led to a potential model for further research in community-based ecotourism, and described in Chapter 10.

## **TOURISM DESCRIPTION**

One of the principal objectives in this research was to compare both communities by the use of tourism growth models. Findings on the type of tourism and how it has changed in each community during the past three decades were primarily based on the questionnaires, long interviews, participant observation and secondary data (especially visitor records for Taquile).

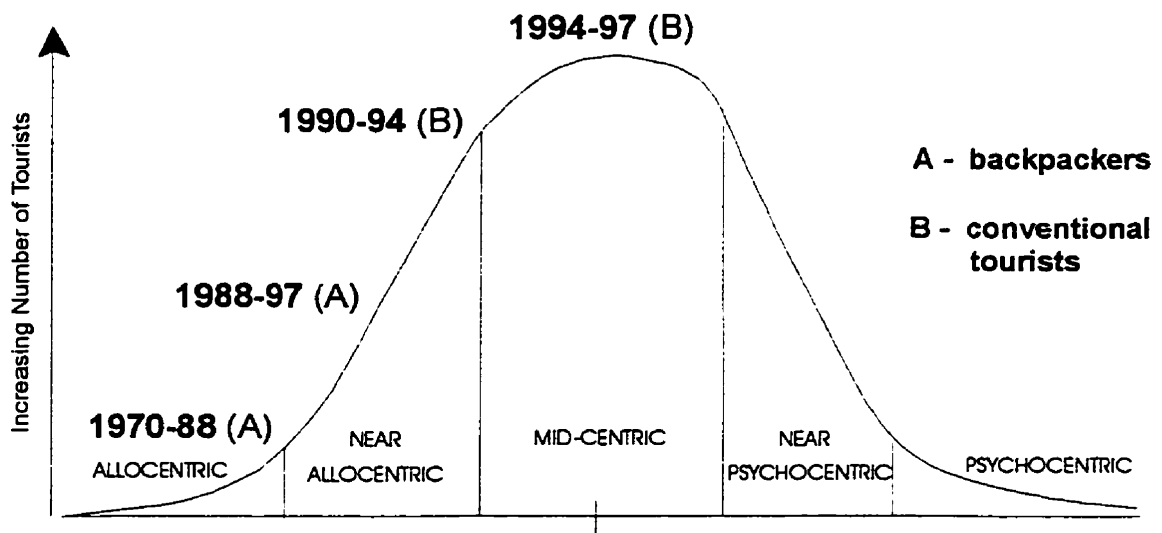
### **Type of Visitors**

Figures 9.1 and 9.2 indicate changes in almost three decades of tourism for Taquile and Chiquian in a modified and conceptual version of Plog's Psychological Continuum (1974).

## Taquile Island

Figure 9.1 shows the five different stages that tourist types may pass through for a given destination. First come the Allocentrics, or 'explorers' starting on the lower left-hand corner (this is a reversal from Plog's version, since Allocentrics began on the right-hand side – however, it was felt that Plog's representation is less clear), followed by the Near Allocentrics, the Mid-Centrics, the near Psychocentrics, and finally the Psychocentrics, or extremely conventional tourists. As one goes up the vertical scale on the left-hand side, there is an increasing number of tourists as the Allocentrics give way to more conventional tourists arriving in greater numbers, and as the destination increases in popularity. However, eventually numbers of visitors begin to decline as the destination becomes 'over'-developed and less attractive to all but the most extroverted and gregarious of visitors (i.e. those seeking maximum services and comfort).

**Figure 9.1** Changes in Tourist Types on Taquile from 1970-97<sup>a</sup>



The years on the bell-type curve correspond to the range of years that this particular type of tourist (Allocentric, Mid-centric, etc.) first appeared on Taquile Island. Actual numbers of tourists are not indicated since it is a conceptualized diagram of change in different types of

<sup>a</sup> Source: Adapted from Plog 1974, and based on Healy 1983, Esparza Monroy 1996, 1996 visitor records and 1997 interview and survey data, Taquile Island, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

tourists over time. The years roughly correspond to a given tourism type when reading across and next to the indicated range.

The first tourists to arrive on Taquile were the adventuresome Allocentrics (backpackers or *mochileros*, shown as 'A'). These so-called 'discoverers' continued to visit the island throughout the 1980s. Community records show that 5,300 tourists visited Taquile between January and August of 1982, an average of more than 750 per month, and usually stayed two or three days (Healy and Zorn 1983:5). By 1988, conventional style tourists started to displace some of the backpackers, shifting the spectrum to the Near Allocentric category.

After the decline in visitors to Taquile and the rest of Peru due to terrorism, the cholera outbreak and other causes during 1988-94, tourism rebounded and visitors could be grouped into two distinct categories by preferred experience: the Mid-Centrics or (conventional or 'quick visit' tourists, shown as 'B') and the Near Allocentrics (backpackers, stayovers, or overnights, also shown as 'A'). In 1994, there was a significant upswing in numbers of visitors. A total of 10,639 tourists visited Taquile Island in 1994, a jump of 2,732 tourists (35%) from the year before and 24,293 tourists came in 1995 (128%) (Esparza Monroy 1996). These rising numbers of visitors, along with increasing tourist services, have pushed the Mid-Centrics to the top of Plog's tourist type spectrum.

The differentiation in these two tourist categories can be explained by number of stayovers and total annual visitors to Taquile Island (from 1996 visitor records), Kevin Healy's description of tourists to Taquile (1983), Esparza Monroy (1996), participant observations and interviews with tourists and travel agencies (in 1997). Out of an estimated total of 27,685 visitors to Taquile in 1996, 4,316 or 16% spent at least one night on the island. It can be assumed that *all* overnights were backpackers due to the modest services available to meet their needs, whereas *most* day visitors tend to be more conventional in their demands. However, an estimated 25% of day visitors (or 5,842) could also be classified as overnights due to their quest of a 'spiritual' or 'ecological' nature, or their "ecotourism ethic" as elaborated by Jaakson (1997). Such visitors were often European or North American backpackers on extended holidays. Some were so-called 'esoteric' tourists on a mystical or spiritual tour with certain travel agencies in Puno and abroad that specialize in trips for those interested in 'soul-searching', or esotericism.

Therefore, assuming that overnighers or *potential* overnighers are motivated by a relatively strong ecotourism ethic, then an estimated 37% or over one-third of total travellers to Taquile in 1996 can be categorized as Allocentrics or Near Allocentrics. The latter category was described by Plog (1974) as those who, though not ‘discoverers’ (those first to explore an area), still appreciate a sense of ‘naturalness’. Today, however, few ‘pure’ Allocentric types visit Taquile as its uniqueness that originally attracted them has started to vanish by increasing numbers of tourists. Tin roofs have replaced the traditional thatching, private restaurants have replaced homestyle cooking and the main plaza has become a central hangout with minimal cultural interchange. The increasing availability of services and ease of access to the island has pushed most overnighers into the Near Allocentric category.

On the other hand, the remaining 67% (about two-thirds) of travellers to Taquile were the Mid-Centrics, or those that appreciate some facility development such as restaurant, stores and improved accessibility. Most travellers in this category prefer a quick visit to ‘sample’ the local culture, take a few photos, eat a ‘typical’ lunch and return to Puno in the afternoon. As a cautionary note, there may be some overlap between the two principal categories. Nevertheless, they help to describe how tourism demands and the tourists themselves going to Taquile Island have changed since its early beginnings.

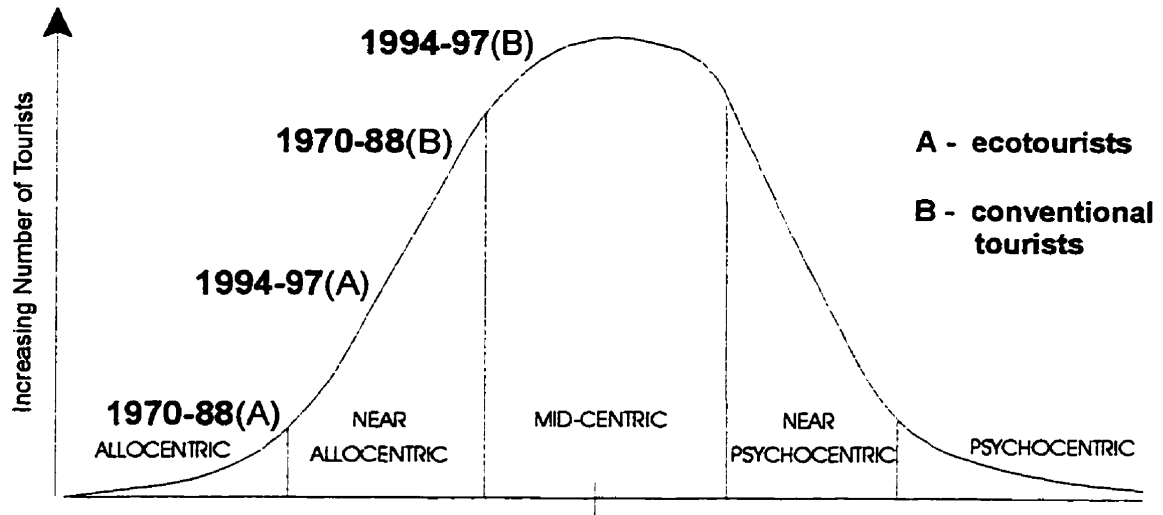
### Chiquian

In some respects similar to Taquile, Figure 9.2 illustrates two categories of tourists that have visited the Chiquian area since at least 1970 (mountain climbing started in the 1950s but was infrequent until the 1980s). Firstly, the Allocentrics or ‘ecotourists’ that seek solitude and minimal services (shown as ‘A’). Allocentric types are starting to shift into the Near Allocentric category (i.e. relative isolation is still preferred but some basic services such a one-night stayover in a hostel and arranged group trekking may be expected).

Secondly, the Mid-centrics or conventional tourists are those that participate in cultural events such as the Santa Rosa Carnival – they expect some degree of developed tourist services such as restaurants, hotels (or hostels) and opportunities for social activities (shown as ‘B’). Numbers of tourists from both categories dropped off to near zero during the terrorism years

from 1988-93. Both have rebounded with recent ‘eco-cultural’ events and the upsurge in trekking.

**Figure 9.2** Changes in Tourists in Chiquian from 1970-97<sup>b</sup>



The major difference between both communities is that the two types of visitors have been part of the tourism scenario in Chiquian for at least 30 years, whereas for Taquile tourism began with Allocentric types – the *mochileros* of the seventies; the conventional tourists came much later near the beginning of the 1990s.

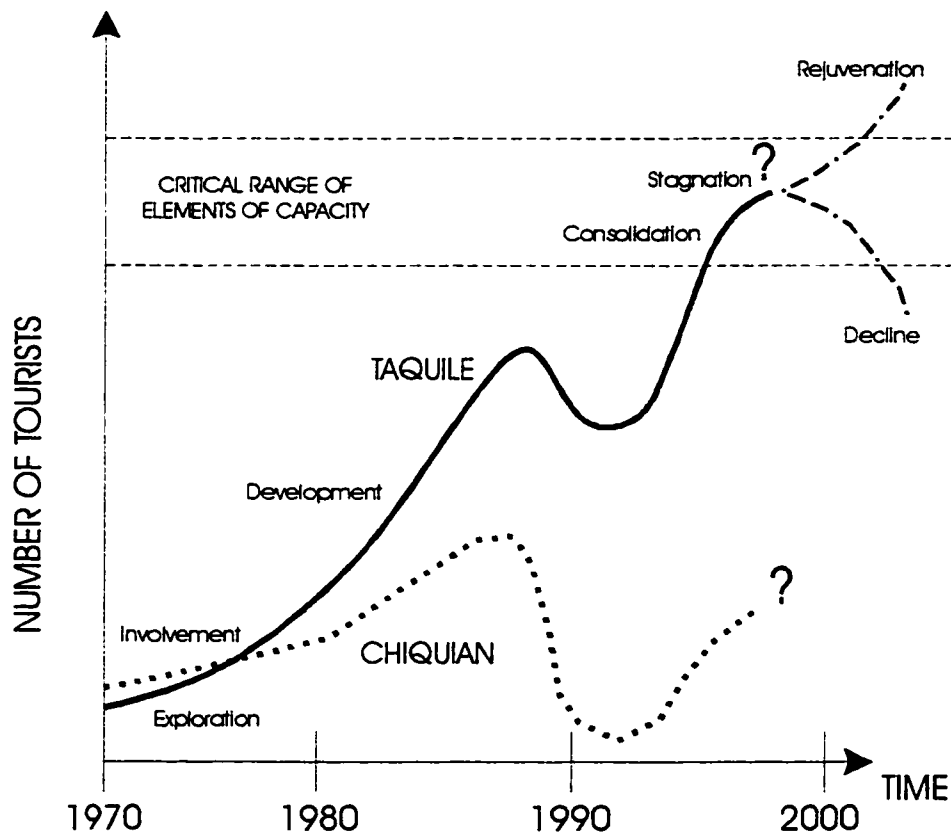
### Evolution of Tourism

Tourism changes in Taquile and Chiquian during the past three decades are conceptualized in Figure 9.3. This diagram has been adapted from Butler’s (1980) Tourist Area Cycle of Evolution and was primarily based on interview and secondary data. In 1970, Taquile and Chiquian were still relatively new destinations, although a limited amount of mountain climbing activity and domestic tourism occurred in the latter community.

<sup>b</sup> Source: Adapted from Plog 1974, and based on 1997 interview and survey data, Chiquian, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

In the first of six possible stages, Exploration, unique natural and cultural features inherent to both sites initially attracted visitors. Numbers remained relatively small, restricted by lack of accessibility, proper facilities and national or international awareness of their existence. As word spread during the latter part of the 1970s, both areas were visited by a growing number of tourists, especially Taquile due to its proximity to the so-called 'gringo trail' (combination of road, rail and boat) linking Lima, Cuzco and Puno (Peru) with La Paz in Bolivia).

**Figure 9.3** Tourism Cycle of Evolution for Taquile and Chiquian<sup>c</sup>



By 1988, violence from terrorism began to spread throughout Peru, but it affected the Huayhuash region much more negatively than Taquile. Tourism declined somewhat in Taquile and dropped to near zero levels in Chiquian. By 1994, tourism had started to pick up again in

<sup>c</sup> Source: Adapted from Butler, 1980 and based on Healy 1983, Esparza Monroy 1996, 1997 interview data and visitor records, Taquile Island and Chiquian, Peru, Ross Mitchell.



Chiquian but fell short of the numbers of tourists experienced in the early 1980s. Visitor numbers to the Huayhuash may have declined somewhat in 1997 compared to the year before according to local experts, possibly due to the combined effects of El Niño and the MRTA (Tupac Amaru) terrorist takeover of the Japanese Embassy in Lima in December of 1996.

In comparison, tourism on Taquile by 1997 appears to have risen to Butler's "Critical Range" in terms of negative social and environmental effects, as well as declining visitor satisfaction. This conclusion is based on long interview and participant observation data rather than detailed measurements. Site specific analyses were not carried out in either community of bio-physical or social carrying capacity, nor of tourism demand. From the citizen standpoint, tourism has had minimal impacts on either local culture or environment. For example, when asked if tourism was responsible for any negative impacts (social or environmental), 84% of Taquile respondents and 90% of Chiquian respondents disagreed with the statement (Research Questionnaire, Section 7, C-1).

Still, many key-informants claimed that tourism has caused certain problems for both communities, but especially so in Taquile due to its higher visitation numbers and relatively fragile setting (e.g. limited space and resources, dependent on lake for transport and food). Some tourists and agencies interviewed prefer to visit other nearby islands (e.g. Amantani, Islands of the Sun and Moon, Suasi) due to the increasing amount of congestion and litter on Taquile. This would indicate that local tourism demand is relatively elastic, although many Taquileños feel that their island is so unique that it will continue to draw more visitors by reputation alone. Increasing litter, poorly marked trails and mining activities in the Huayhuash may also cause visitor numbers to the Chiquian area to decline. Tourism demand is also relatively elastic since there are other unique areas for hiking and climbing in the nearby Cordillera Blanca.

Therefore, at this stage it is uncertain to which direction tourism will take in either area – either rejuvenation or decline. From the perspective of local residents, both communities would prefer tourism to continue expanding. For example, 93% of respondents in both communities hoped for tourism to increase even more in 1997 compared to the previous year (Research Questionnaire, Section 2-4). Still, it will require more than just an expressed wish on the part of residents for tourism to continue on a steady path of growth. Definitive steps or processes would

have to be established to assure sustainable rejuvenation or continued growth, which would necessitate long-term, participatory planning.

For Chiquian, there is little evidence to suggest that the community has incorporated a comprehensive and participatory tourism planning strategy, instead, most efforts to date have consisted either of a promotional nature or categorized as short-term and selective. On Taquile, tourism administrative efforts appear to have been better organized, but demand substitution from competing islands is starting to affect tourist arrivals to Taquile (tourism planning efforts by both communities will be discussed in the Community Integration section).

The “truly unique area” or a site categorized as having a “timeless attractiveness” that Butler (1980;9) claims as necessary to “withstand the pressures of visitation” may not be sufficient for rejuvenation to occur. This is especially the case given the current context of competitive markets, unfavorable tourism policies, socio-economic instability, lack of community support or other internal and external factors. Nevertheless, it is possible that Taquile, with its higher perception of community support and benefits due to tourism, and combined with past achievements based largely on community awareness, solidarity and sharing of power, may have a greater likelihood of rejuvenation in its tourism industry compared to other island communities of Lake Titicaca or relatively neglected and isolated communities such as Chiquian.

## **COMMUNITY INTEGRATION**

The long interview analysis in Chapter 8 brought out several key themes or measures that may be used to determine and compare associated levels of community integration in ecotourism. By theme comparison between communities, it will be possible to draw conclusions to many of the research questions and hypotheses. Major themes have been selected and grouped in this section as follows: 1) tourism awareness and planning, 2) community unity and action, and 3) community power or control. These themes are by no means definitive of integration in community-based ecotourism. Several other factors beyond community control such as tourist

demand and national government policies may also be influential, even critical to the ultimate success of the project (whether measured by longevity, equitability or other parameters). Nevertheless, these themes stand out due to their repeated mention and elaboration by key-informants in both communities (Chapter 8), as well as their examination in parts of the socio-economic analysis (Chapter 7) and other relative case site research (Chapter 5).

Themes such as ‘awareness’ and ‘planning’ are grouped together due to their inherent similarities or relationships. For example, a community that becomes aware of its present situation (e.g. poverty) and possibilities for tourism (e.g. unique natural and culture features) may plan for tourism as a result of this state of awareness, assuming of course that favorable conditions exist (e.g. accessibility, basic services, competitive prices, marketing, etc.). In addition, a ‘unified’ community will likely participate to a high degree in a given set of activities or ‘actions’ if it is in their vested and collective interests to do so. Communal action, hence participation, may be both *caused by* and the *cause of* community solidarity.

### **Tourism Awareness and Planning**

Various persons have played important roles in the planning of tourism for both communities, but obviously with a much greater intensity and level of personal involvement on Taquile Island. Certain individuals did more than promote the island and its unique culture to the outside world: they helped prepare the local people by a deliberate process of awareness raising or *conscientization* (re: Paolo Freire). They were primary ‘catalysts’ or driving forces that helped local residents to determine the kind and degree of tourism desired based on local needs and aspirations. Shared characteristics of these individuals included:

- 1) Achieving legitimacy in the community
- 2) Assuming an activist or advocate role
- 3) Building on community strengths
- 4) Clarifying possibilities
- 5) Having sense of passion for work and community

Initial suspicions about tourism changed to outright support when its economic benefits became obvious from transport and accommodation revenues, and handicraft sales. Kevin Healy, Father Pepe Loits and Christian Nonis were welcome outsiders that helped raise awareness about tourism possibilities and the resultant cultural adaptations. Locally, the determination of ex-governor Francisco Huatta and a few others persuaded residents of the economic advantages of tourism by insisting on total participation in the provision of services, without having to change their traditional customs. These tourism 'founders' recognized that cultural preparation was a necessary prelude before accepting 'live-in' tourists with their foreign dollars and customs. Taquile was arguably able to accommodate tourism with a certain degree of success due to these awareness-raising efforts. In a relatively short period, tourism activities would reach the high status bestowed upon traditional agriculture.

Since its beginning, tourism planning on Taquile has been a participatory, albeit unstructured process. A tourism 'dialogue' was conceived and established through public discussions and entrenched by community laws – still, most residents willingly accepted such laws as a sense of duty to the community, which is characteristic of the Quechua mentality. Local planning has not been confined to operational issues but normative (or value-based) planning as well. Taquile took the initiative and decided for themselves what type of services they would offer tourists, who would be involved, how they would participate in decision-making and to what extent benefits would be shared.

In comparison, both Chiquian residents and authorities alike appear to be relative novices in the planning and development of tourism. Tourism in Chiquian has been influenced by at least a couple of tourism catalysts – a local promoter and an ex-mayor. Unfortunately, their initiative was not perceived as a 'community' effort and was relatively short-lived. Tourism 'planning' by local residents has been selectively favoring those already involved in the local tourism industry.

Recent organizational attempts have included one specific group of local residents that work in the nature-adventure industry. The level of disorganization in the early stages of the association was demonstrated when those members that belonged to another organization were encouraged to join the newly formed group, but for objectives that were somewhat vague and overlapping. An example of the organizational ambiguity is that the association was not

established for tourism alone, but included funding for local sports and cultural initiatives. Perhaps the Chiquian municipality felt its scope would be too limiting with tourism as the sole objective. It is also questionable as to whether this new group was even needed, considering that a similar organization had been formed almost two years before. It is quite plausible that the local government felt left out of the previous organizational process, or that Chiquian interests were not adequately represented in their estimation.

In terms of Ecoventura, many residents felt it was not a community-based plan since it had been largely created and controlled by one local family. Moreover, the event had minimal public participation in the setting of its goals and desired outcomes. For the 1997 tourism season, a similar event was put on by the Municipal Council after a bitter dispute over ownership and accountability, but apparently met with limited success from minimal sponsorship and disinterest from the media and tourists alike. Still, there has been high local control for this event on a largely individual basis at least.

It appears, then, that Taquile has incorporated community tourism awareness and equitable sharing of power to a much greater extent than Chiquian. That is, the resilient Taquileños have directed their own tourism development through community self-awareness and self-reliance. Freire (1970) made the distinction between being *accessible* to someone else's consciousness and *entering* one's own consciousness. Through various catalysts, the islanders were not merely led to improve their condition; they were helped to lead themselves. Initially, at least, Taquile appears to have entered consciousness whereas Chiquian is still struggling to define its needs and aspirations regarding tourism.

### **Community Unity and Action**

Both communities differ substantially by their respective level and intensity of community unity and action (participation) in the ecotourism industry. On Taquile, there has historically been such a strong interaction between community unity and communal action that both were considered as one and same. This cannot be said of Chiquian for either situation.

Overall, the Taquileños are quite organized for tourism and participate in its activities to a high degree. The Taquileño nature may be best stated as ‘humble but collective assertiveness’, a formula that has aided them in regaining control of their land and resources since the 1930s. The participatory nature of the Taquileños was described by one key-informant as “collective consciousness”. This perhaps approximates the “organic solidarity” described by Galjart (1976;102), in which gratification is sacrificed to preserve the unity of the group. Until recently, tourism benefits have been shared by all community residents for the “sake of the community”.

In addition, certain events have demonstrated the high degree of unity amongst Taquile residents. For example, their solidarity was exemplified during a 1990 fight on the Puno docks with travel agencies trying to wrest control over the right to take passengers to the island. This community action concurred with the assertion made by Galjart that an obvious common opponent can also underline the identity of interests and lead to increased solidarity (ibid.).

However, tourism employment and control is becoming more selective on Taquile. The long interview analysis showed that community solidarity has deteriorated in the past few years due to growing individualism, consumerism and globalization. As Chodak (1972) observed, a growth in individualism is often accompanied by a decline in traditional solidarity, or a transition from ‘brotherhood to otherhood’.

As for Chiquian, a perceived high level of community support for tourism was not matched by the lack of unity expressed from survey respondents and key-informants alike. Even public events such as Ecoventura have created a perception of high community participation when in reality only a select few have been involved in its management. Chiquian, too, appears to be selective in tourism management, although to a much greater degree than Taquile. It can hardly be equitable if only selected residents are invited to participate in tourism meetings or that are encouraged to offer tourist services. For example, training opportunities in trekking and climbing are not currently extended to those lacking experience (i.e. newcomers), which most guides felt to be justifiable. It is likely that this was to protect their vested interests in maintaining control and receiving economic benefits.

## Community Power or Control

As discussed in Chapter 3, much of the current literature advocates local ownership and control if ecotourism and other community-based tourism projects are to succeed. Community elite may circumvent local or non-local attempts for equitable participation in tourism decision-making. In practice, what often goes unheeded in the study of the effects of ecotourism on communities are power or control relationships, both within and external to the community.

In this research, complete (i.e. total and equitable) integration of the community in ecotourism decision-making was considered the ultimate objective that would lead to enhanced socio-economic outcomes, hence greater sustainability. What was less clear initially, however, was how to describe and explain respective levels of integration in terms of community power relationships and scope of public participation. The local power structure and processes for both communities were much more complex than had been initially assumed, and deservedly merit ample explanation in this section.

### Measures of Decision-Making Power

As explained in Chapter 3, Sewell and Phillips (1979) mentioned three measures or “fundamental tensions” of public participation: 1) *degree of citizen involvement* (defined as both numbers of citizens and degree of individual participation), 2) *equity in participation* (i.e. equitable decision-making) and 3) *efficiency of participation* (i.e. the degree of influence on decision-making or planning). These measures can be applied to Taquile and Chiquian to compare their respective levels of citizen participation in tourism decision-making (hence, citizen power).

First of all, the degree of citizen involvement in ecotourism decision-making on Taquile Island compared to Chiquian is very high, not only in terms of numbers involved (i.e. quantity), but also in the type of participation (i.e. quality). Taquile had a very high level of individual involvement in a wide variety of decision-making possibilities, including tourism service administration, communal ownership of the local handicraft industry, and community tourism meetings. The long interview analysis showed that participation the political administration of Taquile has not only been encouraged, but also considered as one’s duty.

Secondly, there appears to be greater equitability in community decision-making on Taquile, considering that 96% of its residents (n=101) have participated in tourism meetings, whereas only 18% of Chiquian residents (n=136) have participated in tourism meetings. The equitability of public participation in community politics is questionable, though, since Taquile women have a token role in determining policies or any other visible public decision-making (except as related to caring for children and family). Traditional authority structures have inhibited extensive participation by females in meaningful decision-making. It is a male-dominated industry in terms of power, albeit with a strong female component in tourism employment, especially weaving. Also, if there was true equity in decision-making then women would be encouraged to speak out on issues such as making improvements to tourism services.

Thirdly, participation on Taquile appears to be more efficient than Chiquian when considering how the public's view of interest may have influenced planning decisions. Local authorities may be quickly removed from their positions if poor decisions are made. Annual democratic elections on Taquile reduce the possibility of autocratic decision-making, of which the current mayor of Chiquian was accused by many residents and key-informants. In addition, the Taquile public is consulted in weekly forums and special meetings on all major issues that may affect their livelihood or community and individual values.

Nevertheless, participation in community meetings was often considered as 'attendance' by both Taquile and Chiquian residents alike. By participant observation techniques, it was found that mere attendance by residents did not signify that soft-spoken or less visible members of the community were heard. The public meetings on Taquile, for example, were more often used as informative sessions that detailed upcoming projects and achievements over the previous week, rather than requests for public input on important issues.

### Elitist vs. Pluralist Power

Both Chiquian and Taquile local decision-makers fit the pattern of elitist power discussed at length by Dye (1986) and others. The assumption in the elitist approach is that a relatively small group of individuals exercise control over dominant resources and personnel, and controls the outcome of all key decisions within the community (Waste 1986). For both communities, a



small group of elected members have made and continue to make most developmental and allocational decisions, with some community input encouraged at public meetings or private sessions with local government officials.

This contrasts with the pluralist view in which power may be specialized – individuals that are influential in one sector tend not to be so in another sector (Waste 1986). Authors such as Jamal and Getz (1995) have made the assumption that “no single organization or individual can exert direct control over the destination’s development process” (Jamal and Getz 1995:193). On the contrary, several key elite in both communities were responsible for tourism development, and in the case of Taquile since the conception of tourism to the island. Tourism was pushed for its economic possibilities against the will of many residents who opposed it in the beginning. Both past and present leaders fit conceptualizations of how local elite value growth; such elite realize that everyone benefits, albeit to varying degrees, if economic growth occurs within the community (Dye 1986).

Still, there are major differences in the two communities concerning elitist power. On the positive side, there is a strong tradition of consensual, democratic decision-making on Taquile (at least for men). Weekly meetings are held to ‘inform’ the people of recent events and future plans. Most posts cannot be held for more than a year, which allows more people to participate as community leaders. Authorities are not only expected to lead but to participate in the very decisions they make. Any leader can be dismissed for incompetence or other factors.

Tourism on Taquile has become such an important part of daily life that it has become interwoven with local politics. Taquile is self-governed by representational democracy that encourages participation in public decision-making. For example, representatives of the various tourism committees and the local government are annually elected by all residents of legal voting age. The data analysis demonstrated that there is high participation in terms of attendance at weekly community meetings, special meetings and annual elections. One example is the relatively high tourism participation in administration activities; at least one family member of those in the weaving cooperative must take an active part in its administration for three weeks of the year.

Reed (1997) felt that tourism development requires a slow process of community-building, particularly when conventional stakeholders do not view it as a productive activity. The principal 'stakeholder' in the example of Taquile was the entire community, and it took several years until most people were convinced of the benefits of tourism. Until the 1970s, 'handicrafts' were mostly clothes to be worn and tourists were considered as unwanted strangers, not potential clients.

On the other hand, local tourism development in Chiquian has been selective and controlled by key players. Local development is generally determined by the decisions of individual entrepreneurs in the community who make primarily market driven decisions (Dye 1986; Douglas 1989). The most active people in community decision-making and policy formation tend to be "local business people whose fortunes are tied to growth and the vitality of the community" (Reed 1997). In Chiquian, previous tourism events and recent organizational efforts have involved those persons that stood to gain the most in terms of economic and social standing.

One additional point concerning power should be made that relates to local policy making. As Reed (ibid.) and Dye (1986) have pointed out, there is a difference in the types of policies that may or may not involve the community at large. These are developmental (policies that directly enhance the economic status of the community), allocational (policies that involve public services provided by local government) and organizational (policies that deal with issues of who will make decisions in the community and who will take responsibility for them). It is likely that the first type of policy is related to community awareness raising, and is influenced in a major way by conventional elite (Reed 1997). Organizational policies will likely be affected by community cohesiveness (unity or solidarity), as well as the form and extent of democratic structures and processes. From the long interviewee analysis, it is apparent that Taquile has involved its citizenry in all three types of policy decision-making to a much greater extent than Chiquian. This is true not only in terms of tourism development and management, but for all public issues and activities.

### Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation

For illustrative purposes, it is worthwhile to place each community on Arnstein's (1970) Ladder of Citizen Participation. It is important to examine how community control has changed since tourism began. Figure 9.4 is a conceptual representation of power changes in Taquile and Chiquian over a twenty-year period. The specific placement on Arnstein's scale and subsequent explanations are largely based on information obtained from long interviews and participant observation. The dashed lines are merely to indicate a trend to increasing or decreasing participation levels.

**Figure 9.4** Community Changes based on Arnstein's Citizen Participation Ladder<sup>d</sup>

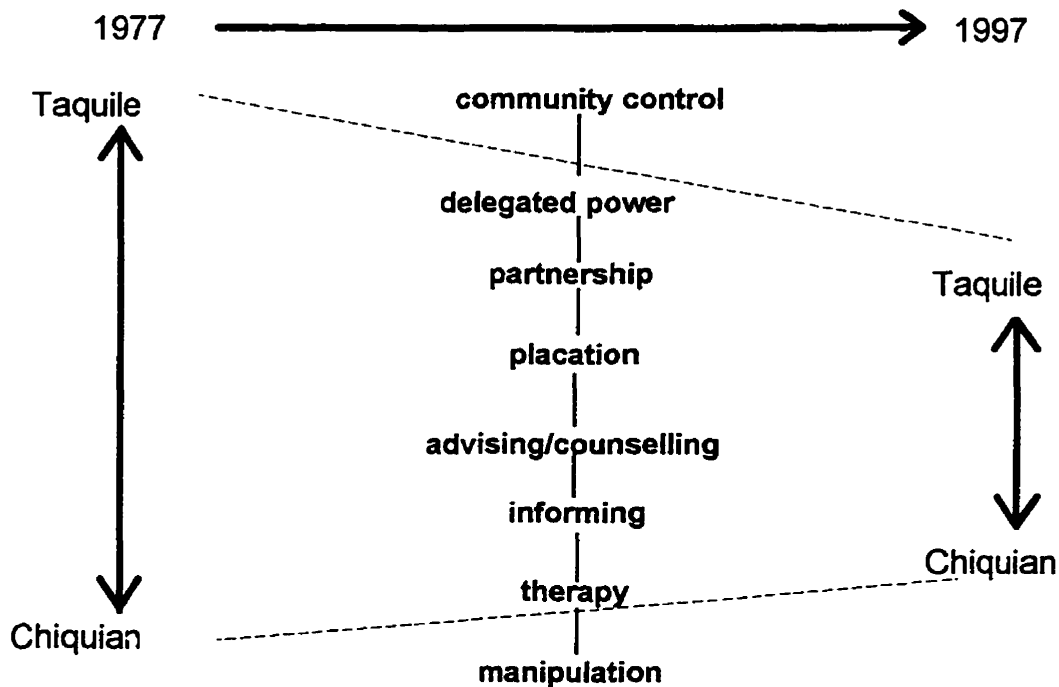


Figure 9.4 illustrates that the degree of community control in tourism planning and management was markedly different. In 1977, Taquile was initially located near the top end of the scale at Community Control. Most residents participated on a relatively equal basis in

<sup>d</sup> Source: Adapted from Arnstein 1969 and based on 1997 interview data and participant observation, Taquile Island and Chiquian, Peru, Ross Mitchell.

providing transport, accommodation and selling handicrafts to the visitors. They have also set the agenda, intensity and direction for tourism. At the time, no outsider boats were allowed to bring tourists to the island, a situation that lasted until 1990.

Twenty years later in 1997, control had dropped significantly to the Partnership or Advising rungs. Puno travel agencies and increased competition from nearby islands have taken away a significant degree of control and business. Now tourists often take non-locally owned boats with English-speaking guides and select certain families over others. Real decision-making power and financial benefits are being shared with non-local agencies, albeit on a reluctant or even indifferent basis.

In 1977, Chiquian was at the bottom end of the scale in the Manipulation category. Only a handful of local guides and porters were working in the Huayhuash, and most of these were from the smaller communities of Llámac and Pacllón. Tourists usually booked their trips in Huaraz or elsewhere, and local porters and donkey drivers were generally contracted on a 'need' basis by non-local agencies.

Twenty years later, citizen involvement in Chiquian-related tourism activities has slightly increased to between the Therapy and Informing rungs, due to community-wide tourism events and meetings. Also, training courses for local and non-local residents and some local organizational efforts are taking place more frequently. However, most trekkers and climbers book with Huaraz, Lima or European-based agencies, due to the unavailability or unawareness of local guides and agencies. In addition, the average resident still has minimal awareness of the tourism industry and few opportunities to participate in its management and potential benefits. The average citizen has little opportunity to influence any programs designed for 'their' benefit.

One anomaly should be pointed out based on the Taquile Island situation. It would appear that industry success is not always correlated with more and equal sharing of control. As Taquile has become more successful in its tourism industry, citizens have lost some control and moved down on Arnstein's Ladder. It is likely tied to the increasing effects of 'market forces', including declining local (Taquile) ownership of tourism services and supplies. Presumably, collaborative linkages with other government agencies and tourism marketers would be needed

for Taquile to regain tourism control and obtain a greater, more equitable share of economic benefits.

## **LOCAL ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF ECOTOURISM**

### **Distribution of Benefits**

Brandon (1996), de Kadt (1979, 1992) and others have suggested that community control of tourism may not be an equitable process or lead to widespread distribution of benefits. At first glance, the case of Taquile would appear to reject the notion that benefits from ecotourism are not equally distributed. Almost everyone on the island receives some remuneration for tourism, albeit relatively low income from occasional handicraft sales or provision of lodging. As Healy (1994:141) has noted, income from handicraft production offers several advantages:

1. Artisans obtain cash income while remaining in the rural setting. This has alleviated pressure for permanent migration to Lima and other Peruvian cities (as occurred in the 1950s and 1960s).
2. Handicraft production on the island is episodic, allowing the producer to work on the item during slack periods between other tasks.
3. It tends to be equitable, in that it can provide a cash return for women, children, the handicapped and the elderly. All segments of Taquileño society work in handicraft production; there are gender distinctions only in the kind of handicrafts produced.

Interestingly, the tourism industry on Taquile developed as a result of handicraft sales, not the reverse (i.e. the birth of a handicraft industry to meet the demand of tourists for souvenirs). On one hand, daily sales in the cooperative stores would justify the argument that even the poorest participant in the local economy has the opportunity to benefit.

On the negative side, traditional handicrafts (including patterns, materials and production methods) have been adapted for quicker production with an overall reduction in quality. In addition, a few artisans earn more than others from having established close ties with outside contacts and a better quality of workmanship (according to those that travel to sell their

weavings). Nevertheless, little evidence was found of social tensions that Healy (ibid.) suggested may occur when some community members benefit more.

Overall, there was a greater perception of direct economic benefits from tourism for Taquile compared to Chiquian. While both communities generally felt tourism to be a beneficial sector of their economy, only a few households claimed to directly benefit in Chiquian; in contrast, most residents *individually* claimed benefits on Taquile (89% of Taquile residents compared to 40% of Chiquian residents - see Research Questionnaire, Section 7, A-2). In addition, the community as a whole of Taquile was felt to be highly supportive of its tourism industry compared to Chiquian (79% of Taquile residents compared to 30% of Chiquian residents – see Research Questionnaire, Section 7-9).

Generally higher perceived support and individual benefits attributable to Taquile may be linked to a greater likelihood of tourism development rejuvenation, as illustrated in Figure 9.3 and its resultant discussion. This concurs with the findings of Prentice (1993), who suggested that beneficiaries from tourism revenues are more likely to support its development. If most residents perceive themselves to benefit from tourism, they may feel a greater sense of ownership and need to ensure its continued growth (albeit, on a sustainable basis), particularly if their livelihood depends upon its survival.

Still, some residents have experience reduced earnings and the community as a whole is losing control over how tourists travel to the island, where to eat and where to stay. Even residents offering accommodation have seen their income reduced, especially those living far away from the main plaza. Some “shrewd” residents have taken advantage of their ideal location and contacts.

As Brandon (1996) noted when discussing how village elite in Nepal were capturing benefits, ecotourism can exacerbate local levels of income inequality within communities, or among communities in a region. One resident’s comment “money can change us” speaks of both positive and negative socio-economic and political changes that they have experienced with tourism. The concept of private ownership is relatively new to a society characterized by traditional sharing of benefits. Although local elite were not overtly obvious, certain individuals were perceived as responsible for causing disharmony through materialistic wants. In particular,

local restaurant and tourist boat owners have captured a disproportionate share of local tourism-related income (74% of gross revenues for 1996). As Healy (1994) observed, more opportunities for entry by the poor are possible in a local handicraft industry than with capital-intensive tourism such as transport.

As for Chiquian, the few economic benefits accruing from tourism are not widely distributed within the community. Brandon (1996) has said that non-cohesive communities have little input into decision-making, and “decisions made usually favor the needs of the tourist and the operator/owner of the site rather than the needs of the community” (Brandon 1996:30). Recent planning efforts with the town council and some local guides were “to improve the quality of service to the client”, rather than detailing how this organization could involve or benefit the entire community. Also, those lacking previous experience in adventure tourism were excluded from membership in such organizations or from receiving specialized training.

The unequal distribution of benefits in Chiquian also supports Theophile’s (1995) claim that if citizens feel left out of the process, they may not contribute to its potential success. There is a sense of “collective indifference” rather than the “increased hostilities” that Theophile (ibid.) mentioned as possible outcomes if residents are excluded. Many Chiquian residents recognized that local and non-local elite have captured most of the benefits, including government officials, former residents and single families from nearby Llámac and Pacllón.

## **Leakages**

Leakages of ecotourism revenues were estimated to be over 90% of total revenues in both communities. This would support Butler’s (1992) assertion that alternative tourism areas are typified by relatively simple economies with high levels of leakages. There was little evidence to support the sub-hypothesis that a highly integrated community would be able to prevent excessive leakages of income. As mentioned by Lindberg and Huber (1993), collaborative linkages with outside government and marketing agents would be required to reduce leakages.

On Taquile, leakages are occurring in many tourism services, with the exception of entrance fees (if paid), local accommodation and certain food items served in local restaurants

(e.g. fish, potatoes). Taquile's boats are islander-built, but needed parts and supplies (e.g. motors, windows, fuel) are purchased off-island. Handicrafts are often made with non-local wool or synthetic fiber (from Puno or other nearby communities). Leakages also transpire from the hiring of non-local services and by the Puno travel agency control of visitor flows to and from Taquile Island.

Leakages would be greatly reduced if more local products and services were used. Lindberg (1993) suggested that additional revenues can be earned by developing infrastructure and services at or near ecotourism attractions; this may include lodging, restaurants, souvenir shops, visitor centers and cultural performances, among other possibilities (ibid.;110). However, at least for Taquile, many of these services are already in place. Another alternative would be to re-introduce local food and other products or services into the island economy, or import substitution. For example, imported goods 'needed' by restaurants could be replaced with wholesome locally-grown products, such as locally grown potatoes over imported rice and local corn bread (*pan Taquileño*) instead of poor quality bread from Puno. There was a perception from owners that they must cater to tourist preferences for such goods. However, there were several thousand tourists visiting Taquile annually in the early 1980s with minimal non-local products or services (Healy and Zorn 1983), so it is conceivable that many tourists would be willing to experience more local food or travel with local guides as they once did.

Leakages are also occurring in Chiquian. A lack of local travel agencies has created a dependency on outside firms (generally from Huaraz, but also Lima, Europe and North America). Local residents with trekking experience are bypassed if qualified help is available elsewhere. Food and other supplies for trekking and climbing expeditions are rarely purchased in Chiquian due to the convenience and reliability of purchasing beforehand in Huaraz and Lima. Restaurants also purchase most of their food and fuel from outside of the community.

### **Education and Skills Linked to Economic Benefits**

One surprising finding is that Taquile residents have developed their tourism industry with minimal education or training. Jacobsen and Robles (1992) in their study of local residents



of Tortuguero National Park, Costa Rica found that education and training were important prerequisites for allowing local people to more fully participate in the economic benefits of the tourism system. Taquile seems to be an exception to this assumption, likely due to their strong traditional sense of community ownership and sharing of resources and benefits. However, residents now desire better education and specialized training for local guides, which until now has been virtually non-existent.

In the case of Chiquian, the need for increased education and training on a community-wide basis seems apparent if local people are to share in the possibility for increasing economic benefits. Some recent courses have been conducted to help local guides and porters become better providers of tourism services, but it is still too early to say if this training will lead to enhanced economic benefits.

## **DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES ON ECONOMIC BENEFITS AND PARTICIPATION**

For the most part, the statistical analysis did not reveal that differences based on age, level of participation in decision-making, residency status and certain other factors affect income levels. This was often the case whether young or old, female or male, native-born or non native-born residents.

However, some differences were found in the female propensity to work fewer hours during the week than males in tourism-related activities. Females also attend fewer tourism meetings, but this is likely due to greater family-related responsibilities for women (i.e. less spare time). It was also found that women do not have an active role in tourism decision-making, even though local authorities claimed they are encouraged to participate. Equitable participation as suggested by Sewell and Phillips (1979) has not been fully achieved on Taquile. Still, the community has achieved greater equitability overall compared to Chiquian when one considers that practically the entire community (men, women and children) is highly involved in tourism employment and administration. For example, female members of the weaving cooperative

(Manco Capac) are involved in the obligatory three weeks of administration work every year, and do regularly attend tourism and other community meetings.

At least for Taquile, the question of local residents being involved more than non-locals (off-island persons) in some tourism activities (e.g. provision of food and lodging) was fairly obvious since 99% of adult islanders are native-born (n=101). In Chiquian, there are more non-locals involved in the tourism industry, but there is also a high degree of emigration from nearby communities. In either case, control and participation in ecotourism activities could not be substantiated based solely on status of residency.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

### **Community Integration Measured**

The case for community integration in ecotourism was described in Chapter 1 of this research as typified by the following parameters:

- 1) A broad-based, open democratic process.
- 2) A high number of participating citizens.
- 3) A high degree of individual participation (i.e. influence) in decision-making.
- 4) An equitable and efficient process.
- 5) A high amount of local ownership in the community-based tourism sector.
- 6) A process typified by a high longevity (i.e. not a 'once-off' event).

The extent of decision-making structure and power on Taquile Island meets all of these characteristics, and from a historical perspective, have done so long before the advent of tourism (with the exception of #5). It was suspected that Taquile Island was a highly integrated community before the data collection phase, and upon careful reflection it can still be characterized as highly integrated.

Nevertheless, Taquile appears less integrated than it once was. The turning point may have been unfavorable anti-monopolization laws and pro-privatization policies established by the

present Peruvian government since the early to mid-1990s, and that have been partly responsible for the dismantling of community solidarity and traditional values. In addition, there are some qualifying distinctions in some of the parameters listed that need clarification, especially related to gender and tourism ownership.

## **Key Observations**

The findings from the data collection and analysis have brought up several key observations. These observations may be considered as corollaries that provide the grounds for either rejection or acceptance of the research hypotheses and are listed on the following page:

1. The influence of both local and non-local catalysts (or motivators, facilitators) in raising awareness about tourism potential has been much stronger on Taquile.
2. Local ownership and management of certain tourism services is high for Taquile (e.g. food and lodging, weaving, some boat transport) and low for Chiquian. In addition, collective ownership of local services is very high on Taquile, especially handicrafts, accommodation and entrance fees. However, since most of the major sources of tourist revenues are controlled by Puno guides and more expensive private boats, Taquile business ownership has not resulted in a greater distribution of economic benefits when compared with Puno.
3. There is less control in tourism decision-making in Taquile than originally assumed, but there is still relatively high control compared to Chiquian. The community is relatively independent and self-reliant with little outside interference in local politics and decision-making.
4. The influence of large cities near both communities have been both positive and negative. While attracting tourists, creating employment, and supplying needed resources on one hand, they have also had a negative impact for both areas in terms obtaining a greater share of economic returns (i.e. leakages).

5. Participation in tourism decision-making is democratic and relatively equitable for Taquile (except for women), but highly selective in Chiquian to those already working in the local tourism industry.
6. There is a more equitable distribution of economic benefits for Taquile residents, due in part to greater community unity and participation in tourism decision-making, as well as higher employment. The local handicraft industry offers opportunities for all citizens to participate, even if only part-time or on an occasional basis. The local economy has significantly improved since tourism began, since now few Taquile residents migrate in search of employment. In addition, a traditional sense of community sharing is much stronger on Taquile.
7. Some private business owners are receiving more income than most other residents in both communities. A current trend of individualism and consumerism is negatively affecting community unity and equitable distribution of benefits on Taquile.
8. There is a greater perception of economic benefits on Taquile Island due to tourism, even among those that receive little income from tourism.
9. For the most part, demographic variables such as age and place of birth were not found to play any major role in tourism participation, employment, income or perceived benefits. However, women do not have equal access to power in terms of community decision-making, which has been traditionally conceived as a subservient role bestowed upon them.

### **Sub-Hypothesis Results**

After careful analysis, Taquile can be characterized as still being highly integrated in its local ecotourism industry in terms of both relatively high control and participation, albeit less so than a few years ago, and Chiquian as not highly integrated. On the basis of this differentiation and the research findings, test results of the sub-hypotheses are illustrated in Table 9.1. Sub-hypotheses 1, 2, 3 and 8 were rejected due to strong supporting evidence, whereas sub-hypotheses 4, 5, 6 and 7 were accepted either due to the lack of evidence or to contradictory evidence.

**Table 9.1** Research Sub-Hypotheses Summary

SUB-HYPOTHESIS	RESULT
1. <i>Perceived or actual economic benefits</i> are <b>no</b> greater in a community with a high degree of integration in ecotourism management, when compared to a community characterized as having low integration.	REJECTED
2. <i>Local control</i> of the ecotourism industry is <b>no</b> greater in a community with a high degree of integration in ecotourism management.	REJECTED
3. <i>Local participation</i> in ecotourism management (i.e. decision-making) is <b>no</b> greater in a community with a high degree of employment in its respective ecotourism industry.	REJECTED
4. Greater <i>individual earnings</i> in a local ecotourism industry are <b>not</b> related to a higher degree of control in its decision-making.	ACCEPTED
5. High local ownership and management of ecotourism-related businesses has <b>no</b> effect on <i>reducing leakages</i> of potential or actual ecotourism revenues.	ACCEPTED
6. <i>Native residents</i> are <b>no</b> more involved in ecotourism activities in a highly integrated community than non-native residents.	ACCEPTED
7. <i>Age</i> does <b>not</b> have any significant effect on control, management or employment in ecotourism.	ACCEPTED
8. <i>Gender</i> does <b>not</b> have any significant effect on control, management or employment in ecotourism.	REJECTED*

\* With respect to gender, women may share relatively equal levels of employment and ownership in the local tourism industry, but do not have equitable access to tourism decision-making. This conclusion was based on the analyses of Taquile Island results. However, in Chiquian as well there are virtually no women actively involved in tourism businesses, except for a few local restaurants and hostels.

### Research Hypothesis Summarized

Based on the evidence presented in this research, the research hypothesis as originally stated in the null format may be rejected. In other words, *there is a significant difference* in terms of certain socio-economic factors between one community that is highly integrated in its

ecotourism industry compared to another community with a low degree of integration in ecotourism.

Specifically, there are both greater perceived and actual socio-economic benefits for a relatively integrated community as a whole due to a greater level of community participation in ecotourism. This given 'level' of participation may be defined by numbers of people involved, equity (i.e. non-partisan and non-discriminatory) and community (*not* individual) degree of influence in ecotourism decision-making processes. Socio-economic benefits would include levels of satisfaction, decision-making power, self-reliance, jobs and income. There is also a greater degree of local control in ecotourism management and employment in an integrated community. This has led to a more equitable sharing of socio-economic benefits for the most part, although women may not share an equal level of decision-making in administrative and political matters related to community-based ecotourism.

However, this control may be negatively affected by external forces such as ecotourism competition, marketing agents and suppliers of materials. Internally, growing individualism and consumerism may erode community harmony and control of the local industry. Other external factors such as unfavorable government policies and globalization can have negative influences or impacts on the local tourism industry which may be beyond community control, and irrespective to its degree of integration.

The preceding synthesis concludes the findings section of this research. It is now appropriate to discuss the third and final goal of this research – to present a model of community integration in ecotourism management. Major findings are presented in a schematic diagram and accompanied by a brief description in Chapter 10.

## CHAPTER 10: A MODEL OF COMMUNITY INTEGRATION IN ECOTOURISM

Figure 10.1 illustrates a conceptual model for community integration in ecotourism developed from major findings in this research, and contains three distinct stages: 1) Integration, 2) Planning, and 3) Impacts. This presentation also builds on the notions of several theories and models, including tourism planning and development (e.g. Reid *et al* 1993, Butler 1980, Plog 1974), community awareness by facilitative and educational processes (e.g. Freire 1970), power theory (e.g. Waste 1986, Dye 1986, Reed 1997), community participation (e.g. Arnstein 1969, Sewell and Phillips 1979), community solidarity (e.g. Galjart 1976), community involvement and social benefits from ecotourism (Brandon 1996), economic benefits of ecotourism (Lindberg *et al* 1991, 1993, 1994, 1996), and several other major works.

The basic premise is that higher community integration in ecotourism control and planning should lead to positive impacts or outcomes. The model could be applied and adapted to communities already involved (or that could be involved) in ecotourism. It also may be applied to other forms of development. The principal objectives of developing this model are as follows:

- To explore and describe power relationships, public unity and collective awareness of ecotourism opportunities and management in a given community.
- To analyze the relationships between public participation and the foundation for a given ecotourism project (product, price, supply, demand).
- To examine how public participation and associated internal/external factors may determine or influence planning processes for a given ecotourism project.
- To measure actual or probable outcomes of an ecotourism project by economic measures (jobs and revenues) and socio-psychological measures (satisfaction, perception of benefits) as related to community integration and planning.

## STAGE 1: INTEGRATION

In the first stage, community integration (or empowerment) in the local ecotourism industry can be measured by three variables: 1) Awareness (conscientization), 2) Unity (solidarity) and 3) Power (or control). These variables are principally endogenous (factors internal to the community), but they will also be influenced by the exogenous environment (factors outside the community). In particular, local power may rely on and be highly influenced by external resources and support. Taken together, these variables form a public participation scenario that can be measured or evaluated accordingly. All three variables are a necessary part of the community's rise to self-reliance and local control in their associated ecotourism sector.

### The Endogenous Environment: Inside the Community

#### 1. Awareness

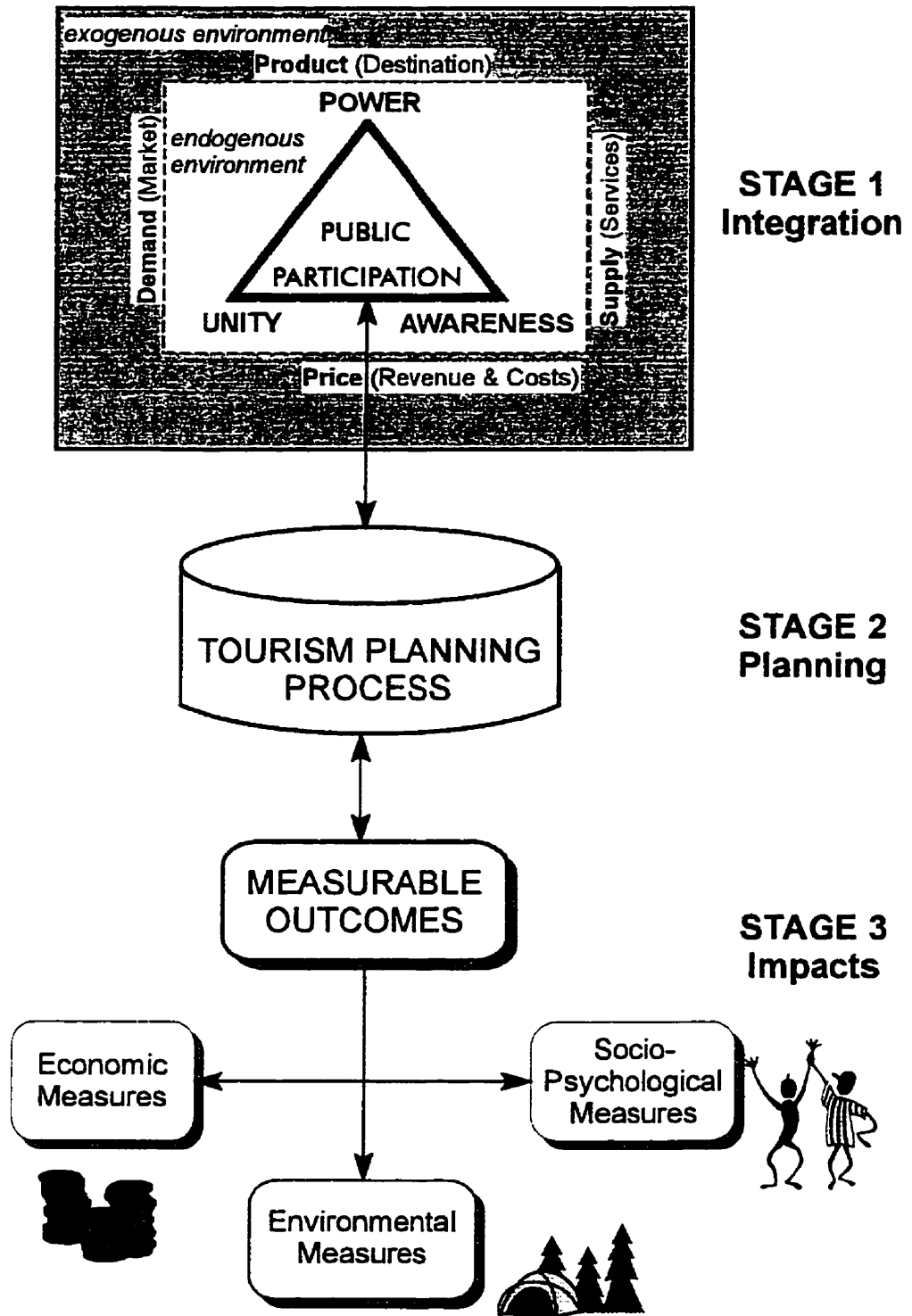
Awareness will often be caused or enhanced by a *catalyst*, which could be a facilitator, educator, planner or local leader. It may be a non-governmental organization (NGO) that initiates tourism in an isolated area, perhaps one that receives little government funding or attention. In theory, this person(s) or agency would provide invaluable information about the industry and its possible effects on the community. Initially, the catalyst would act as a motivating force until the community reached a level of self-organization and management. The catalyst often is external, but could also be internal to the community such as a local authority or business.

#### 2. Unity

Community unity can also be thought of as *solidarity* or *collective support* for the ecotourism sector. If only a few individuals are highly supportive of the ecotourism potential in the area, while the rest of the community remains indifferent or even antagonistic towards the industry, then unity may be perceived to be low. If community unity is strong, then it is likely that that participation in the project decision-making process will be high.



Figure 10.1 Community Integration in Ecotourism<sup>c</sup>



<sup>c</sup> Source: Mitchell, Ross. 1997. Community Integration in Ecotourism: A Comparative Case Study of Two Communities in Peru. Master's of Science Thesis, School of Rural Planning & Development, University of Guelph, Ontario.

### 3. **Power**

Local power or control in the ecotourism sector is perhaps the most important part of the public participation triangle. Power relations in the community need to be studied to determine *how decisions are made and who makes them*. Distribution of power is an important concept that requires careful analysis. Is it an all-inclusive decision-making process or a highly selective one? Is active participation and power sharing encouraged by local authorities and businesses? Equitable power sharing with a transparent decision-making infrastructure is the ideal scenario. However, in reality both local and non-local interest groups will likely control varying amounts of power. In addition, it is possible that most of the 'real' power will be non-local such as a larger neighboring region or other country. Nevertheless, a more equitable power-sharing base within the community should also equate to a higher amount of public participation.

Control may also refer to local (or non-local) ownership of services, such as hostels, transport companies, travel agencies and food supply. In some cases, land ownership may be a critical issue regarding community control. Those individuals that enjoy a greater degree of tourism service ownership can be expected to have greater power for influencing or controlling the ecotourism industry, especially concerning the distribution of economic benefits.

### **The Community Interface**

In Figure 10.1, four sides are shown on the community interface with its external environment. These are product, price, supply and demand, which collectively form the basic framework for the ecotourism industry (or any form of tourism for that matter). The factors help determine the quality and quantity of ecotourism services that will be offered to a certain number of tourists at a given price.

These factors are located on the community 'border' since it may hold a certain degree of control over them. This is especially so concerning the supply of basic services (e.g. accommodation, transport, guides). Other factors such as tourism demand and destination attractiveness are beyond community control to a large degree. Nevertheless, as was mentioned by one interviewee, some communities may be able to increase demand in a highly competitive

area by offering better services or lower prices. They may also be able to increase service efficiency by sharing costs or resources, thus obtaining greater revenues at lower prices to the tourist. The community interface is also highly related to tourism marketing and government policies, both nationally and internationally.

### **The Exogenous Environment: Outside the Community**

The forces beyond community control may be social, political or economic in nature. For example, unstable governments or an unsafe image in the international media may cause tourism to decline. Peru suffered many years of widespread terrorism and socio-economic chaos before tourism arrivals began to reach levels experienced in the early to mid-1980s. World or national economic policies may also cause hardships in many developing countries where ecotourism is a growing sector. Inflation, unfavorable exchange rates and policies that favor foreign investment may all contribute to diminished community control. The national government may also choose to invest heavily in tourism infrastructure for one area (such as crowded Cuzco in Peru) and very little in isolated rural areas, even considering their high tourism potential.

Macro climatic events and geological disasters may also have an adverse effect on tourism demand. For example, the effects of El Niño in Peru or the extensive smoke from out of control forest fires in Indonesia during 1997 may have caused many tourists to cancel their trips, especially if they were outdoor related tours. Earthquakes, floods, volcanic eruptions, drought and other environmental crises may occur in a region frequented by tourists.

### **STAGE 2: PLANNING**

In Stage 2, the ecotourism planning process selected by a given community is largely dependent on the public participation triangle in relation with its exogenous environment. That is, greater community integration in ecotourism depends on integrated planning (and vice-versa). It may consist of painstaking consensus building combined with a strategic planning process, or it may be quite unstructured such as advocacy or radical planning (perhaps in the Freirian

tradition). The ecotourism plan may be short-term or long-term, but ideally a combination of both. Whichever the case, it must strive to be as all-inclusive as possible to achieve 'success', which will be measured in Stage 3.

The kind of plan chosen is important, but so is the manner in which the planning process is carried out, including its efficiency, equality and effectiveness. If one has already been developed, an ecotourism plan can be evaluated by public knowledge of its existence; also, *who* developed it, *how* was it developed, *what* were its goals, objectives and targets, and *how* has it performed? If an ecotourism plan does not exist, then attitudes can be measured of the need for one to guide community involvement in the industry.

### **STAGE 3: IMPACTS**

The final stage in the ecotourism model consists of impacts from (or lack of) community integration and ecotourism planning. These are divided into three measurable outcomes: economic, socio-cultural and environmental.

#### **Economic Measures**

Greater community integration in ecotourism planning should lead to increased economic benefits. Useful economic measures as evidence include direct and indirect employment (and induced employment), revenues, ownership and profitability, among others. Type of employment that is carried out by community residents is important, as well as the distribution of ecotourism-generated employment and income within the community. Basic cost-benefit accounting or a more complex economic analysis with a detailed examination of leakages and economic multipliers could be considered. Regional and local data should be collected in any case, as well as at least estimates of tourism spending patterns. The type of economic data collected will largely depend on the particular research time and budget.

## **Socio-cultural Measures**

Positive perceptions and attitudes towards the ecotourism industry and perceived high community or individual participation should be enhanced with community integration. Satisfaction levels and perceived socio-economic benefits can be measured by questionnaires, key-informant surveys, focus groups, Delphi methods and other primarily qualitative methods. More information would be collected on *perceived* benefits if only a qualitative methodology is employed, but actual benefits could be obtained by quantitative surveys of tourists, residents, travel agencies, NGOs and/or government institutions.

## **Environmental Measures**

Measures of environmental change were not carried out in this research. However, it is probable that a high degree of community integration in ecotourism would reduce negative environmental impacts. If the community feels directly responsible for the ecotourism resource as full players in the industry, they will likely protect the destination from various destructive forces. An impact study would have to be established, perhaps examining physical carrying capacities based on site-specific ecological standards. Environmental measures would have to be conducted if a given community-based ecotourism project is to be considered on the basis of sustainability.

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## APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH DEFINITIONS

Definitions are an important part of any empirical study, and for this research special consideration was given to the unique socio-cultural context of two Andean communities in a developing nation. The following definitions were modified from several sources:

- Community:** The population of the entire town in question and its immediate surrounding area up to a maximum of five kilometers distance from the town center (this distance was arbitrarily chosen, but as one that was appropriate to the communities).
- Community integration:** Total involvement and inclusion of community in decision-making for a particular project or industry (e.g. ecotourism) on an fair and equitable basis.
- Community participation:** An active process by which the community may influence the direction and execution of a development project or a particular economic sector, with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self reliance or other views they cherish.
- Concientization:** The transformation towards empowerment when the community sees itself as a self-awareness raising vehicle.
- Direct employment:** Those persons engaged, either on a full-time, part-time or casual basis, in the sales of merchandise or services to *tourists*.
- General population<sup>1</sup>:** All adult persons over the age of 15 who live in the community for at least six months of the year, and who may or may not work in a tourism related activity.
- Economic benefits:** Gross amounts and distribution of income within the community as generated by tourists, but not a comprehensive measure of the real economic benefits (which would be net economic benefits).
- Ecotourism:** Both an activity and a desirable outcome that allows tourists to admire and learn about the natural and/or cultural attributes of a given destination, while contributing to its conservation and providing socio-economic benefits for local communities on a relatively equitable basis.

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<sup>1</sup> Those persons less than 16 years of age were excluded from the surveys, even though children may work in a tourism activity such as handicraft production. The level of survey complexity was a determinant in excluding young people, but also recognizing that their perspective would be missed. In addition, those residing in the community on an irregular basis were excluded (an arbitrary number of six months was selected).

<b>Employment:</b>	Any activity that provides a livelihood for an individual or community, whether full-time, part-time, casual or seasonal. Employment can be categorized as: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) <b>full-time</b> – engaged in work activity at least five days/week, and for more than four hours/day.</li> <li>b) <b>part-time</b> – engaged in work activity less than five days/week <i>and/or</i> less than four hours/day.</li> <li>c) <b>casual</b> – engaged in work activity on occasional basis, from one day up to one month/year (also considered as <i>contract</i> work for this research).</li> <li>d) <b>seasonal</b> – engaged in work activity for only some time of the year up to six months/year; could be combined with any of the above categorizations.</li> </ul>
<b>Family:</b>	All persons in a given household that are <u>directly</u> related to the household head, which may or may not include a father, mother, brother(s), sister(s), and grandparent(s). Visiting and relatives were not surveyed if not living in the dwelling; nor any renter or boarder.
<b>Household:</b>	Any person(s) in a given house, apartment, or other residential dwelling that comprises the immediate family (see below for definition of ‘family’). Ownership of the dwelling itself was not deemed to be important for this research.
<b>Indirect employment:</b>	Those persons engaged, either on a full-time, part-time or casual basis, in the provision of supplies or services to <i>tourism businesses</i> (or those directly employed in tourism).
<b>Key informants:</b>	Those persons deemed knowledgeable of the tourism industry in their community, due to personal and/or work experience related to tourism. This included those persons whose decisions may have an adverse or positive effect on the tourism activities in the community.
<b>Power:</b>	The ability to impose one’s will or advance one’s own interests.
<b>Residents:</b>	Those persons that live full-time in community for at least six months/year and are adult members (>15 years) of community.
<b>Respondents:</b>	Those residents that were selected for either a survey or interview.
<b>Solidarity:</b>	The willingness to sacrifice resources or immediate gratification for the welfare of others, out of a feeling of unity.
<b>Sustainable tourism:</b>	Connects tourists and providers of tourist facilities and services with advocates of environmental protection and community residents and their leaders who desire a better quality of life.
<b>Tourism:</b>	The business of attracting visitors and catering to their needs and expectations.

<b>Tourists:</b>	Those who travel for either leisure, recreation, vacation, health, education, religion, sport, business, or family reasons (and away from their community of permanent residence).
<b>Tourism industry:</b>	Those individuals, agencies, or organizations that may employ, work, supply, and/or provide services for eventual consumption by tourists in the respective community region <sup>2</sup> .
<b>Tourism occupation:</b>	Any activity which defines the specific type of employment of one's work in the tourism industry. e.g. restaurant cook, boat operator, donkey driver.
<b>Tourism sector:</b>	Same as <i>tourism industry</i> .
<b>Unemployed:</b>	Not working in any activity that would provide a livelihood (i.e. means of living or sustenance). In this research, therefore, farming was considered as employment even if it did not provide monetary income.
<b>Unity:</b>	Same as <i>solidarity</i> for this research.
<b>Work:</b>	Same as <i>employment</i> for this research.

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<sup>2</sup> Only if word 'local' is used in conjunction with tourism industry does it refer to the community itself – otherwise, it may encompass any outside tourism agency or other tourism provider in the region. For Taquile Island, the region includes other nearby islands and Puno. For Chiquian, the region includes the mountain communities of the Cordillera Huayhuash and Huaraz.

## APPENDIX 2: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

### Ecotourism in the Community of \_\_\_\_\_, Peru

Employed in Tourism \_\_\_\_\_

Not Employed in Tourism \_\_\_\_\_

#### SECTION 1.0: Personal Data

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Sex

Male

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Children \_\_\_\_\_  none

Female

not sure

1. You were born in the community of \_\_\_\_\_ in the region/ country of \_\_\_\_\_.
2. You live in the community of \_\_\_\_\_, and have lived in this community for \_\_\_\_\_ years.
3. You work / go to school / live (circle one) in the community of \_\_\_\_\_.
4. Are you *actively involved* in the daily administrative functions of the community?  Yes  No  
("administrative" defined as community decision making or community management)

If Yes, are you one of the following:  
(mark all applicable)

Please describe your exact role or title:

- committee member (women's club, etc.)
- municipal council member
- mayor
- other government representative
- cooperative
- other (please describe)

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#### SECTION 2.0: General Tourism

1. The tourists that come to visit your community tend to be mainly:

- from nearby communities
- nationals from other regions

- foreigners
- not sure

2. Compared to last year (1996), and in terms of bringing economic benefits to your community, tourism brought:

Before Alan Garcia's APRA government: (pre-1985 – Pres. Beluande)		During Alan Garcia's APRA government: (1985-90)	
<input type="checkbox"/> more benefits	<input type="checkbox"/> less benefits	<input type="checkbox"/> more benefits	<input type="checkbox"/> less benefits
<input type="checkbox"/> no change	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure	<input type="checkbox"/> no change	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure

3. The number of tourists that came last year (1996) compared to the year before last (1995) to your community increased / was the same / decreased / not sure.

4. Compared to last year (1996), would you like to see more / less / the same / not sure amount of tourists coming to your community?

**SECTION 3.0: Tourism Employment** (After Question 3 and only if respondent is *not employed* in tourism industry, go to **Section 7.0: Community Participation**)

1. Are you actively involved in one or more of the following tourism related activities? (please check all applicable)

<input type="checkbox"/> accommodation	<input type="checkbox"/> restaurant/pensión
<input type="checkbox"/> guide/interpreter	<input type="checkbox"/> transportation
<input type="checkbox"/> handicraft production	<input type="checkbox"/> travel agency
<input type="checkbox"/> handicraft sales	<input type="checkbox"/> none
<input type="checkbox"/> park or scenic attraction management	<input type="checkbox"/> other (please specify) _____
	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure

2. Which one of these jobs is the most important *economically* for you? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Tourism in your community contributes the following revenues to your total household income:

<input type="checkbox"/> no contribution	<input type="checkbox"/> more than half
<input type="checkbox"/> less than half	<input type="checkbox"/> all (total)
<input type="checkbox"/> about half	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure

(N.B. for respondents working in a *non-tourism job*, go to **Section 7.0** after this Question)

4. Your specific tourism related occupation or position is: \_\_\_\_\_

5. The name of the cooperative, agency, or place that you work at is: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Including yourself, how many people are employed in your tourism-related activity?

- one       three       other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_  
 two       four       not sure

7. How much time do you spend working in your tourism-related activity?

- full-time     hourly     contract (casual)     not sure

8. How long do you normally work (or sell product or service):

- in dry season?: \_\_\_\_\_ days/week      in wet season?: \_\_\_\_\_ days/week  
 not sure       not sure

9. Including yourself, how many people employed in your tourism-related activity do you estimate are from the community (within approximately 5 km radius)?

- one       three       none  
 two       other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_.     not sure

10. If any employees are from outside the community, how many of those working in your tourism-related activity are considered Peruvian residents (nationals)?

- one       three       none  
 two       other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_.     not sure

11. How many people working in your tourism-related activity are non-residents of Peru (i.e. foreigners)?

- one       three       none  
 two       other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_.     not sure

12. If any *employees and/ or owners* are from another region of Peru or another country(ies), please specify their position (e.g. owner, manager, employee, contractor, casual labour, etc.) and where they are originally from:

Position of Person(s) Working in Tourism Activity	Number of Persons	Their Origin of Residence
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

## SECTION 4.0 Tourism Management

1. Do you own *part* or *all* of your tourism business or activity?  
(if YES, go to Question #2; if NO, go directly to Question #3).

YES       NO

2. How much of your business or activity do you own?

some (< 50%)       most (> 50%)       none (0%)  
 half (50%)       all (100%)

3. How much of your business or activity do you manage?

some (< 50%)       most (> 50%)       none (0%)  
 half (50%)       all (100%)

## SECTION 5.0: Tourism Inputs

(if not applicable, go to **Section 6.0: Tourism Revenues**)

The supplies (food, fuel, equipment, materials, etc.) used in your tourism-related business or activity are:  
(may be more than one answer)

ITEM USED IN TOURISM ACTIVITY		IF YES, AMOUNT THAT IS PURCHASED:		
		1. locally	2. outside community	3. outside country
<b>Food and/or drink</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)
	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)
	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)
	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)
	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure
	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)
<b>Fuel (gasoline, kerosene, diesel)</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)
	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)
	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)
	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure
<b>Materials (to build or make something, e.g. wood, wool)</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)
	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)
	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)
	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)
	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure
	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)	<input type="checkbox"/> none (0%)
<b>Equipment (things pre-made, e.g. motors, desks, radios)</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> some (less than 50%)
	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)	<input type="checkbox"/> most (more than 50%)
	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)	<input type="checkbox"/> all (100 %)
	<input type="checkbox"/> NO	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure	<input type="checkbox"/> not sure

## SECTION 6.0: Tourism Revenues

1. The people who purchase your product or service are mostly:

- locals from this community (up to 5 km radius)   
  Peruvians from other regions   
  not sure  
 residents from nearby communities (> 5 km)   
  foreigners

2. Earnings from being employed in *tourism*-related activities contributes the following revenues to your total household income:

- no contribution (0%)   
  about half (50%)   
  all (100%)  
 less than half (<50%)   
  more than half (>50%)   
  not sure

3. Ask the respondent to answer the following questions depending upon their occupation.

### For Hostel Owner/Operators:

The average number of people/ per month staying in your hostel or residence is:

- \_\_\_\_ during dry season    \_\_\_\_ during wet season  
 not sure     not sure

The average amount spent per person/ per day in your hostel or residence is:

- \_\_\_\_ during dry season    \_\_\_\_ during wet season  
 not sure     not sure

### For Restaurant Owner-Operators/ Pensión Owner-Operators:

The average number of people/ per day eating in your restaurant is:

- \_\_\_\_ during dry season    \_\_\_\_ during wet season  
 not sure     not sure

The average amount spent per person/ per day in your restaurant is:

- \_\_\_\_ during dry season    \_\_\_\_ during wet season  
 not sure     not sure

### For Tour Guide/ Interpreter/ Travel Agency/ Bus Driver/ Taxi Driver/ Boat Operator/ Park Guard / OTHER : (circle appropriate occupation)

The average number of people/ per month that purchase your product or service is:

- \_\_\_\_ during dry season    \_\_\_\_ during wet season  
 not sure     not sure

The average amount spent per person/ per day for your product or service is:

- \_\_\_\_ during dry season    \_\_\_\_ during wet season  
 not sure     not sure

### For Handicraft Producer/ Handicraft Vendor:

The average amount of handicrafts sold/ per month is:

- \_\_\_\_ during dry season    \_\_\_\_ during wet season  
 not sure     not sure

### For Workers Paid Hourly/ Daily/ Weekly :

Your salary per \_\_\_\_\_ (hour/ day/ week) is:

- \_\_\_\_ during dry season    \_\_\_\_ during wet season  
 not sure     not sure



## SECTION 7.0: COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

1. What do you believe are the most important types of tourism activities that occur in your community?  
(read categories to respondent and rank from 1 as *Most Important* up to 6 as *Least Important*;  
if tourism category does not occur according to respondent, leave blank)

\_\_\_\_\_ Handicrafts  
\_\_\_\_\_ Festivals  
\_\_\_\_\_ Nature (e.g. hiking, bird watching)  
\_\_\_\_\_ Culture (e.g. visiting archaeological sites)  
\_\_\_\_\_ Business  
\_\_\_\_\_ Other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

2. Is there a tourism strategy or tourism plan in your community?

YES       NO       NOT SURE

3. Are there regular or irregular meetings about tourism-related issues in your community?

YES       NO       NOT SURE  
(if NO, go to Question 6)

4. If you answered Yes to the above question,

a) how often do these meetings occur?

\_\_\_\_\_ times a week  
 \_\_\_\_\_ times a month  
 \_\_\_\_\_ times a year  
 not sure

b) who participates in these meetings?  
(list participants)

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

5. Do you participate in any tourism activities in your community?

YES       NO

If Yes, what activities do you participate in? (check as many as appropriate)

my occupation (if tourism related)       government meetings (regional level)  
 marketing/promoting       government meetings (national level)  
 community meetings (municipal level)       other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

If No, would you like to participate in tourism activities?

YES \_\_\_\_\_ (please specify)       NO       NOT SURE

If No, why not?

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6. If you were not involved in what you do to make a living, what else would you rather do (or are you happy with your current work activity or job)?

- working in the field (agriculture)
- working in the another activity (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_.
- studying
- other (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_.
- nothing else; I am happy with what I do for a living
- not sure

7. The following series of questions are based on two themes: A) **resident attitudes toward tourism's potential for economic benefits**, B) **level of participation by local residents in the management and administration of tourism activities based in or nearby the community**, and C) **impacts or benefits associated with tourism**. Each question has a rating scale from 1 to 5 (from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree). If the respondent has no opinion or is uncertain, then Neutral should be selected. One response only should be noted by circling the appropriate number.

Please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with each one. Place a circle around the answer that most closely agrees with your feelings.

<b>A) Resident Attitudes Toward Tourism's Potential for Economic Benefits</b>	<b>AGREE STRONGLY</b>	<b>AGREE</b>	<b>NEUTRAL</b>	<b>DISAGREE</b>	<b>DISAGREE STRONGLY</b>
1) Tourism brings many economic benefits for our community.	1	2	3	4	5
2) I personally do not benefit very much from tourism.	1	2	3	4	5
3) If there were more tourists, our community would be able to make more money.	1	2	3	4	5
4) Tourism benefits only a few people in the community.	1	2	3	4	5
5) Tourism is not very important to the national economy of Peru.	1	2	3	4	5
6) Most of the money earned from tourism in my community goes to foreigners and non-locals (nationals).	1	2	3	4	5

<b>B) <i>Participation by local residents in the management and administration of tourism activities</i></b>	<b>AGREE STRONGLY</b>	<b>AGREE</b>	<b>NEUTRAL</b>	<b>DISAGREE</b>	<b>DISAGREE STRONGLY</b>
1) I would like to be more involved in tourism management in the community (i.e. tourism decision-making or administration).	1	2	3	4	5
2) Tourism in this area should not be managed by other communities.	1	2	3	4	5
3) I am very happy with my current level of participation in tourism activities in this community	1	2	3	4	5
4) Participation in community-based tourism should only be carried out by those already involved in tourism (e.g. tour guides, bus drivers, hotel owners).	1	2	3	4	5
5) Participation in tourism of all residents is actively encouraged by the local authorities.	1	2	3	4	5
6) I do not believe that I would earn any more money if I participated more in tourism here.	1	2	3	4	5

<b>C) <i>Other impacts or benefits associated with tourism</i></b>	<b>AGREE STRONGLY</b>	<b>AGREE</b>	<b>NEUTRAL</b>	<b>DISAGREE</b>	<b>DISAGREE STRONGLY</b>
1) There are negative impacts associated with the tourism activities in my community (in general, anything that ruins the environment or culture).	1	2	3	4	5
2) Tourism is responsible for environmental damage in my community (e.g. plants, air, birds, lakes)	1	2	3	4	5
3) Tourism has not caused any social or cultural problems in my community.	1	2	3	4	5

8. If you feel that there are negative impacts in your community associated with tourism (i.e. social, environmental), what would you say they were?

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9. What financial and/or organizational support have the following entities provided to *improve* or *expand* the level of tourism in your community? (check appropriate response)

PUBLIC OR PRIVATE INSTITUTION	VERY HIGH	HIGH	AVERAGE	LOW	NONE	NOT SURE
Local authorities						
Private tourism agencies						
Non-governmental agencies (NGOs)						
Municipal government						
Regional government						
National government						

10. If tourism activities have changed over the past ten (10) years, describe how so.

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11. What changes, if any, would you like to see implemented with respect to tourism in your community?

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## APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE

### PART 1: A TOURISM DESCRIPTION FOR THE AREA

#### General Questions:

1. What are the **main reasons** that bring tourists to your community and local area? Was/were there a person(s) or institution(s) primarily responsible for starting tourism here?
2. What **kind** of tourists come here, in terms of their origin, age, motive or other characteristics?
3. Has there been any **changes** in tourism activity since tourism began in your community or area? For example, are there more or less tourists than before? If there have been changes in tourism, what are they and why have things changed?

### PART 2: COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM

#### General Questions:

1. Planning for tourism indicates the degree of organization and control that a group of individuals or institutions may have in the industry. Is there a tourism **plan** or **strategy** for the community? If this cannot be answered, does *your* agency or institution have such a plan?
2. Is there **active participation** by the community in the local tourism activities?
3. Do the local authorities such as the municipality or tourism boards encourage the community to participate in tourism on an **equitable** basis? If so, how is participation in tourism encouraged? If not, why?
4. Tourism management is often shared between various parties. Is the community as a whole in **control** of its tourism industry? If so, how? If not, who is/are the other player(s) in the local tourism industry? What influence do they have? How has control changed over the past few years, if at all?

## **PART 3: TOURISM CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ECONOMIC WELL-BEING OF THE COMMUNITY**

### **General Questions:**

1. What sort of community **services** are related to the local tourism industry? That is, what kind of **jobs** in your community are directly attributable to tourism?
2. Do you agree that tourism provides **financial benefits** to the entire community? Why or why not? If so, how are these benefits **distributed** within the community?
3. Non-local people, agencies, institutions, or other factors may affect a local tourism industry. If so, which one(s) and what effect(s) have resulted from such **external factors** in terms of financial benefits?

## **PART 4: COMMUNITY SATISFACTION WITH TOURISM**

### **General Questions:**

1. Generally speaking, is the community **supportive** of its tourism industry?
2. An impact is a positive or a negative change due to the influence of an certain activity or force. Is tourism responsible for any **social** or **environmental** impacts? Please explain.
3. Has tourism been responsible for any **economic changes** in the community? If so, what are they? What do you feel about these changes?
4. Has **community unity** changed in any way since tourism began here? That is, are the people more unified in their feelings and actions concerning tourism? Why or why not?
5. Do you feel **optimistic** about the future of tourism in the area? Is there any changes that can be made to improve tourism here?

**APPENDIX 4: Financial Analysis of a Taquile Island Restaurant\***

<b>I. INPUTS (Expenses)</b>	<b>Comment</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Price/ unit cost</b>	<b>Total (seasonal)</b>	<b>Total (annual)</b>
<b>1. CAPITAL</b>					
a) <b>Physical infrastructure</b> <sup>a</sup> (e.g. building, tables, chairs, ovens)	53 m <sup>2</sup> adobe building	25 years 10 years	878.20 622.00	35.13/yr 62.20/yr	97.33
<b>equipment</b> (e.g. cooking items, cutlery)		5 years	272.60	54.52	54.52
b) <b>Financial</b> (e.g. loan to start business, interest rates, rent)	no rent; no loan needed	n/a	n/a	n/a	
<b>2. MATERIALS/ SUPPLIES</b>					
a) <b>Food</b> (e.g. vegetables, fish)	4,372 customers	May 1 - Oct. 31	1220.80/mo	7,324.80	
	2,186 customers	Nov. 1 - April 30	610.40/mo	3,662.40	10,987.20
b) <b>Fuel</b> (kerosene)	2 gal/day 1 gal/day	6 mo 6 mo	1.48/gal 1.48/gal	544.64 267.88	812.52
c) <b>Solar Lighting</b>	750.00	20 yr	37.50/yr	n/a	37.50
d) <b>Miscellaneous</b>	estimated	6 mo	100.00/mo	n/a	1,200.00
<b>3. LABOUR</b> <sup>b</sup> cooking, cleaning, & serving: up to seven (7) casual staff	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<b>4. TAXES</b>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<b>TOTAL INPUTS</b>					<b>13,189.07</b>
<b>II. OUTPUTS (Revenues or Sales)</b>					
	4,372 customers	May 1 - Sept. 30	1878.40/mo	11270.40	
	2,186 customers	Oct. 1 - April 30	939.20/mo	5,635.20	
<b>Gross Revenues</b> <sup>c</sup>				16,905.60	<b>16,905.60</b>
<b>TOTAL OUTPUTS</b>					<b>16,905.60</b>
<b>III. PROFITS (or losses)</b>					<b>\$3,716.53</b>

<sup>a</sup> Adobe building has estimated life span of 25 years; furniture and stove have 10 year life span; cutlery and cooking items only 5 years. Physical capital cost was calculated by dividing the purchase cost by the estimated number of life span years to obtain annual capital cost (not considering depreciation).

<sup>b</sup> Non-wage labour (i.e. family run business), so wages not calculated.

<sup>c</sup> Average number of people served per day times average amount spent per person per day.

\*Source: Taquile Island Restaurant, February, 1997, Ross Mitchell

**APPENDIX 5: Financial Analysis of a Chiquian Restaurant\***

<b>I. INPUTS (Expenses)</b>	<b>Comment</b>	<b>Time</b>	<b>Price/ unit cost</b>	<b>Total (seasonal)</b>	<b>Total (annual)</b>
<b>1. CAPITAL</b>					
a) <b>Physical infrastructure</b> <sup>a</sup> (e.g. building, tables, chairs, ovens)	60 m <sup>2</sup> adobe building	10 years (furniture, etc.)	516.92 (furniture, etc.)	n/a	51.69
<b>equipment</b> (e.g. cooking items, cutlery)		5 years	211.54	n/a	42.31
b) <b>Financial</b> (e.g. loan to start business, interest rates, rent)	building is rented; no loan	monthly	115.00	n/a	1,380.00
<b>2. MATERIALS/ SUPPLIES</b>					
a) <b>Food</b> (e.g. vegetables, fish)	2,130 customers	May 1 - Sept. 30	all customers	1,778.70	
	2,534 customers	Oct. 1 - April 30	subtract 15% <sup>d</sup>	2,116.66	<b>3,895.36</b>
b) <b>Fuel</b> (kerosene)	5 liters/day	365 days	1.92/day	n/a	700.80
c) <b>Water</b>	n/a	n/a	8.38/mo	n/a	100.56
d) <b>Miscellaneous</b>	estimated	6 mo	100.00/mo	n/a	1,200.00
<b>3. LABOUR</b> <sup>b</sup> cooking, cleaning, & serving: up to four (4) casual staff	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<b>4. TAXES</b>	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
<b>TOTAL INPUTS</b>					<b>7,370.72</b>
<b>II. OUTPUTS (Revenues or Sales)</b>					
	2,130 customers	May 1 - Sept. 30	all customers	4,506.95	
	2,534 customers	Oct. 1 - April 30	subtract 15%	5,363.26	
<b>Gross Revenues</b> <sup>c</sup>				9,870.21	<b>9,870.21</b>
<b>TOTAL OUTPUTS</b>					<b>9,870.21</b>
<b>III. PROFITS (or losses)</b>					<b>\$2,499.49</b>

<sup>a</sup> Adobe building has estimated life span of 25 years; furniture and stove have 10 year life span; cutlery and cooking items only 5 years. Physical capital cost was calculated by dividing the purchase cost by the estimated number of life span years to obtain annual capital cost (not considering depreciation).

<sup>b</sup> Non-wage labour (i.e. family run business), so wages not calculated.

<sup>c</sup> Average number of people served per day times average amount spent per person per day.

<sup>d</sup> Assumes 15% less customers in wet season due to less tourists.

\*Source: Chiquian Restaurant, May and September, 1997, Ross Mitchell