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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

CHARTING A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT PATH: PROSPECTS FOR
SOCIALLY AND ENVIRONMENTALLY BENEFICIAL TOURISM
IN CALETA TORTEL, CHILE

By

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Bachelor's of Arts, University of Vermont, Burlington, VT, 2004

Thesis

presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Master of Science
in Environmental Studies

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ABSTRACT

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Environmental Studies

Charting a Sustainable Development Path: Prospects for Socially and Environmentally Beneficial tourism in Caleta Tortel, Chile

Chair: Dr. Robin Saha

Caleta Tortel is a small rural town in Patagonia, Chile. Caleta Tortel is at a crossroads in economic development. The main goals of this thesis were to analyze Tortel's past and future development, evaluate the possibility of a socially and environmentally beneficial path for its future, and assess the community's ability to shape this future path. I focused on Tortel's budding tourism development and evaluated its ability to follow and support a socially and environmentally beneficial development path.

I developed an analytic framework of two contrasting development paths: 1) extractive and exploitative, and 2) socially and environmentally beneficial (sustainable). I used this framework to evaluate Tortel's ability to support a sustainable path. I conducted a qualitative analysis of 30 interviews of community leaders, small business owners and other residents in Tortel. Interview questions asked about perceptions of recent and future development, and tourism development in particular.

I found that Tortel has the ability to support a socially and ecologically beneficial path in its future. This analysis also demonstrates that an extractive and exploitative development path has historically been dominant in Chile and in Tortel and continues to be a threat, even as the town seeks to shift toward a more sustainable development path.

My analysis of in-depth interviews also demonstrates that the local tourism industry has the ability to support a sustainable economic path, providing conditions that enable sustainability are present. Sustainable development literature shows that these conditions exist when: 1) local people have an advantage because of their own unique set of skills, 2) communities that can concentrate on activities that complement rather than compete with large tourism operators, and 3) special property rights are allocated to the community. While all these conditions are not currently present in Tortel, the community, such conditions can be encouraged, given that the community is ready and willing to become more involved in tourism projects. This thesis concludes with recommendations for local government officials, NGO's and local residents for facilitating conditions to support sustainable development in Tortel.

INTRODUCTION

The community of Caleta Tortel in Chile's northern Patagonia is at an economic and social crossroads. Historically, Caleta Tortel, Chile, and most of the "developing world" have followed an economic development path that emphasizes extraction and exploitation of natural resources, which often leads to over-exploitation (West et al., 2003). Such an extractive and exploitative development path also threatens the long-term economic viability and sustainability of the communities that rely on those resources (West et al., 2003).

The negative effects of this kind of dominant development path reached the small and remote community of Caleta Tortel. The town followed this extractive and exploitative path in its sole dependence on cypress timber for economic gain. As a result, cypress was overexploited, prompting Chilean legislation to ban further cypress extraction. Since this legislation was enacted in the late 1990s, the timber industry in Tortel has come to a standstill. Therefore, the community of Tortel must search for economic alternatives.

This thesis describes Tortel's past development path and analyzes the potential for it to follow a more sustainable development path. This thesis also evaluates how a sustainable or socially and environmentally beneficial development path can be encouraged and supported in Caleta Tortel. The emphasis is on Tortel's budding tourism industry. Tourism serves as an effective lens to analyze the role of community members and their ability to support and follow a socially and environmentally beneficial path in the face of endemic and exogenous forces that could also lead Tortel down an exploitative development path.

Thus, the overarching questions this thesis asks are:

1. Which path has Tortel followed in the past?
2. Which path is it likely to follow in the future?
3. How can a sustainable path be encouraged in Tortel?
4. What role does tourism play and can it play in supporting a sustainable development path in Tortel?
5. Do residents have the ability to shape this path?

To answer these questions I developed an analytic framework that draws on economic development and tourism literature from a wide range of academic disciplines. The framework consists of two contrasting paths: 1) the extractive and exploitative development path and 2) the socially and environmentally beneficial development path. The exploitative path focuses on maximizing profit from natural resources with little or no long-term consideration of the environment or social wellbeing. The socially and environmentally beneficial path focuses on achieving and maintaining a balance between society, environment and the economy. The goals of a socially and environmentally beneficial path are to focus on long-term effects and move toward sustainability. This framework allows me to analyze past development and current threats to sustainability. Additionally, this framework provides a yardstick to evaluate the role and function of tourism and its ability to follow and support a socially and environmentally beneficial development path.

Caleta Tortel's exhausted timber industry and budding tourism industry make Tortel an interesting and unique study. Tortel also presents a clear example of the negative effects caused by an extractive and exploitative development path and the

impacts of these effects at the local and community level. In the midst of developing a tourism industry, Tortel has also experienced many other changes, including the arrival of the Southern Highway or *Carretera Austral* into the town in 2003. In addition, major hydroelectric dams have been proposed nearby on rivers within the same watershed as Tortel. The existing road and the proposed dams are illustrative of the palpable development threats that face Tortel, and indeed serve to highlight the development crossroads at which it stands.

In order to answer my research question, I conducted a qualitative analysis using in-depth, semi-structured interviews of 30 Tortel residents. I asked questions of a wide range of community members, including small business owners, long-time residents, newer residents, civic leaders and others. Participants were asked to share their views about development, change, sustainability and the future. I also asked residents about the role of tourism and its ability to support a socially and environmentally beneficial development path. Finally, I asked about their perceived ability in shaping this kind of development path.

The analysis of in-depth interviews shows that while an extractive and exploitative development path has been dominant in Chile's political and economic history, residents of Caleta Tortel as a whole have an interest, desire and need to pursue a more sustainable path. The analysis also demonstrates that the tourism industry is capable of leading Tortel toward a more sustainable economic path. While tourism can theoretically follow a socially and environmentally beneficial development path, my analytical framework and the literature review strongly suggest that certain conditions must be present for this to occur. Therefore, I evaluated the presence and extent of

conditions that support a sustainable development path in Tortel. The analysis demonstrates that conditions that enable sustainability, which are described in the next chapter, are not fully present in Caleta Tortel at this time. However, this thesis outlines these conditions and suggest ways that they might be created to foster a socially and environmentally development path.

In this thesis the previously mentioned contrasting paths assist in explaining the history of development in Chile and the potential for sustainable development in its future. It must be noted, however that these paths are not necessarily mutually exclusive and that potential for them to co-exist is highly possible. The ability of these two paths to function in relation to each other will be explained in the context of tourism in the conclusion of this thesis. The tourism industry has most often followed an exploitative and extractive development path; however, there has been an increasing shift in tourism and ecotourism in particular to follow a more sustainable development path. Thus, tourism can function within both development paths. The conclusion of this thesis will describe the potential for tourism projects to complement one another if they exist in separate development paths. This assessment is of particular importance to Tortel, since the development of hydroelectric dams in the area is a future possibility, and local sustainable and ecotourism operators may need to operate in conjunction with larger-scale tourism projects and developments.

While this thesis does not offer direct guidelines for tourism development, it does provide an assessment and projection for the tourism industry in Tortel. The information and analysis presented in this thesis can be of value for those interested in further tourism development in Tortel such as the local government, NGOs and community members

themselves to have a better understanding of economic development in Chile and in Tortel. This thesis can also be of significance in future research on sustainable tourism in Tortel and in similarly positioned communities.

This thesis is composed of an introduction, a background, the analytic framework, interview methods and data analysis, the analysis of the research (interviews), and conclusions and recommendations to help government leaders and the community at large improve and enhance responsible and sustainable tourism development and management in Tortel. The background chapter introduces Tortel and provides a context for broader political economic development issues in Chile. The background chapter also describes an extractive and exploitative development path, which has been dominant in Chile. The analytic framework chapter describes a socially and environmentally beneficial development path and describes the potential of ecotourism in this path. The methods and data analysis chapter describes the qualitative methods used to select participants, conduct interviews and analyze the interviews. This chapter also describes the major codes/themes in the analysis. The research analysis chapter presents the results of the interviews organized by each major code/theme and sub-code/theme and includes illustrative quotes from various participants. This thesis concludes with closing remarks and recommendations to help Tortel move toward a socially and environmentally beneficial path.

BACKGROUND: TORTEL'S INSTITUTIONAL PROFILE AND PAST DEVELOPMENT PATH

This chapter presents the community of Caleta Tortel by describing its unique geographical location, town infrastructure, and recent economic development changes. Tortel also provides a context for considering local impacts of broader political economic development issues in Chile. This chapter presents a brief analysis of the Chilean political economy within an extractive and exploitative development path. This analysis informs the potential challenges and possibilities for the future of Tortel. A critical examination of Chile's historical development path is particularly important to evaluate Tortel's ability to follow a sustainable path. Thus, this chapter describes and highlights Tortel within a broader sociopolitical and economic context. This chapter answers the first question of this thesis: Which development path has Tortel followed in the past? The chapter also demonstrates the strength of the political and economic forces that support an exploitative path as well as the challenges in following a sustainable path. Thus this chapter also provides insight on the second research question: Which path is it likely to follow in the future?

Caleta Tortel

Caleta Tortel is a small community of about 300 residents living in the village and an additional 200 living in the outskirts. The town is located at the mouth of the Baker River next to the Pacific Ocean in the Northern Patagonia Region of Aysen. Figure 1 below shows a detailed map of the region. The Aysen Region is home to free flowing rivers, vast stretches of open land, glaciers, mountain peaks and ranges, and extensive endemic vegetation and wildlife. The region is Chile's largest in land area and smallest in

terms of population. The Aysen region is a territory of 11 million hectares (ha) and inhabited by roughly 90 thousand people (“Ilustre Municipalidad,” n.d).

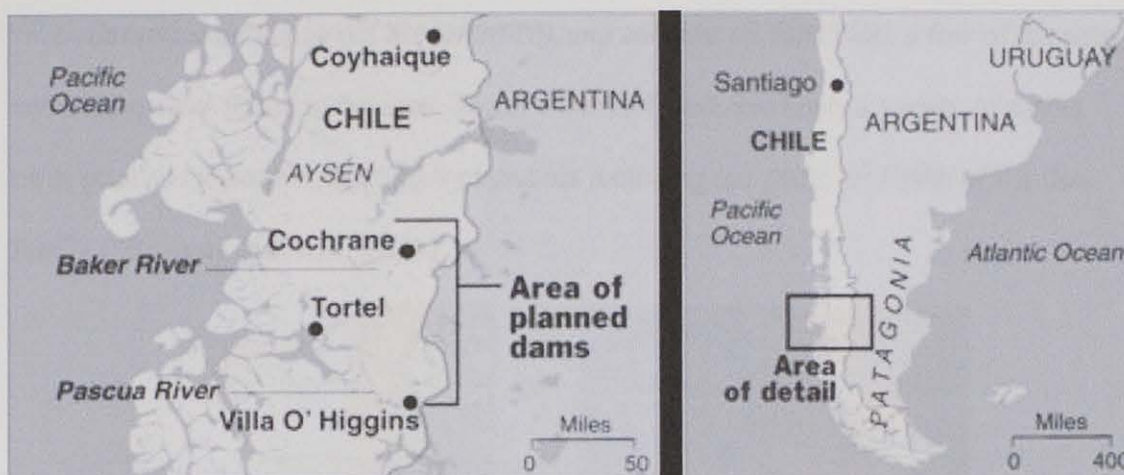


Figure 1: Map of Tortel Area

Caleta Tortel is situated in the southwestern part of the Aysen region. Figure 2 below shows the location of the Aysen Region in a map of Chile and also shows a more detailed map of the area including Tortel, nearby parks and Ice Fields. Eighty percent of the *comuna*, province, or area of Tortel, has been declared wilderness or protected areas. The *comuna* hosts the Katalalixar National Reserve and the Laguna San Rafael and Bernardo O'Higgins National Parks. The province of Tortel has political jurisdiction over a large geographic area surrounding the town which is located at: 47°47'S 73°32'W (“Ilustre Municipalidad,” n.d). Tortel is uniquely situated between the North and South Ice Fields. The Ice Fields are the two remnant parts where the Patagonian Ice Sheet in the Andes Mountains of lower South America divide. The Northern Ice Field, closer to Tortel, is completely contained in the boundary of Laguna San Rafael National Park. The Southern Ice Field, the larger of the two, is located east of Tortel between Chile and Argentina.

Due to Tortel's geography and climate, the area has many endemic mosses, ferns, and lichens. Tortel's climate provides excellent conditions for *guaitecas* cypress (*P. Uviferum*), coicopihue (*P. Magellanica*), and calafate (*B. Buxifolia*), a few of the many endemic species found in the area. Tortel's humid forest also hosts a variety of native birds such as the condor, and small mammals including the *pudu*, (*P. Puda*) of the deer family ("Bosques Nativos," 2006).



Figure 2: Maps of Chile and Aysen Region

Historically, the *Kewasqar* people inhabited much of what has come to be known as the Aysen Region, including Tortel. The region's current settlers of Spanish ancestry believe that the *Kewasqar*, a nomadic tribe, possessed great maritime skills as well as vast knowledge of medicinal herbs. Local residents believe that that the *Kewasqar* lived harmoniously with nature, particularly due to their nomadic lifestyle. Local residents also believe that the *Kewasqar* people disappeared as colonizers forced them into more sedentary ways. Locals also state that though there are historical records that the

Kewasgar existed, there is limited physical proof of their existence. According to some settlers, the *Kewasgar* were the first true environmentalists since they co-habited with nature in such a way that they are believed to have left no trace of their civilization (Hargreaves, 2005).

A new wave of settlers traveling from nearby northern regions settled Tortel in the 1950's. Many came in search for free and open land from the Island of Chiloe and the Lakes Region to the north of the Aysen Region. Settlers arrived via Argentina by land and through the Baker, Pascua, and Bravo rivers by water. The extraction of *cipres de las guaitecas* or *guaitecas* cypress became a major livelihood strategy for the settlers of Caleta Tortel. Timber was predominantly exported and used as posts and in construction. In Tortel, cypress timber continues to be used in *pasarela* (boardwalk) and other construction. Settlers also practiced subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry (Hargreaves, 2005). They cultivated potatoes, carrots, and other root vegetables, and raised sheep, goats and to a lesser degree cows. Subsistence farming and animal husbandry continue to be of importance in daily life in Tortel.

Settlers developed a strong relationship with the Chilean navy from the early stages of town development. The relationship with the navy was increasingly important, as cypress extraction became the most prominent and lucrative source of employment. The Chilean government entrusted the navy to attend the needs of Chile's least populated areas. In Tortel, the navy responded to community needs by establishing and managing a rural health clinic and transporting cypress from Tortel to larger southern ports, including Punta Arenas, Chile's southernmost large city. Transporting cypress quickly led to increased trading between the navy and the residents of Tortel. The navy would pay for

the cypress in supplies mostly, such as non-perishable food items, and to a lesser extent in cash. Though the rural clinic and a major navy presence are no longer in Tortel, navy ships continue to transport a dwindling amount of timber from Tortel's shores.

In 1998, after more than 40 years of significant *guaitecas* cypress extraction in Tortel, Chilean native forest legislation declared the extraction of live *guaitecas* cypress illegal ("Legislacion," 2008). The Comisión Nacional Forestal or National Forestry Commission, (CONAF), declared *guaitecas* cypress an endemic and endangered species. Considering Tortel's dependence and overexploitation of cypress timber, this legislation resulted in significant social and economic impacts and prompted the town to search for new livelihood alternatives. Since the navy's presence in Tortel had become minimal, Tortel's local government assumed nearly all of the responsibility of generating new livelihood strategies for its residents.

Currently, the Municipality is the single most important entity in peoples' lives, and it is the primary employer in Tortel. The Municipality receives funding from the central government and through national government agencies. As a result, the Municipality offers economic assistance, grants and other funding opportunities for economic development projects. The Municipality is also responsible for providing financial assistance to high school students and their families since students must leave Tortel to seek a high school education. The Municipality also leads short-term public works projects and provides employment for many of its residents. Generally, the Municipality is involved in residents' personal lives in some aspect or another.

There are about 40 direct municipal employees and most work in community and development programs ("Ilustre Municipalidad," n.d). In addition, many residents work

for the Municipality indirectly in temporary, seasonal or part-time employment. The Municipality also offers internships for high school students during the summer months as a way to provide work experience and help finance their school needs.

Bernardo López is Tortel's current mayor. López belongs to the Partido Por la Democracia or Party for Democracy, (PPD), which is part of a consortium of Chilean liberal parties. López was democratically elected to office in October of 2008 and will serve the four-year mayoral term until 2012. He has been nationally recognized for many of the social and economic projects he has worked on. López was born and raised in Tortel, and he is highly regarded by his constituents. Similarly, about half of the direct municipal employees are also native to Tortel.

Though the local government is extremely important and powerful in Tortel, its power significantly diminishes in relation to the national government. All of the funding that the Municipality receives comes directly from the national government, and their guidelines and stipulations also come from a national plan on economic development for rural areas. Thus, despite of the Mayor's and Municipality's plans to achieve and a sustainable and stable local economy for Tortel through tourism, their plans are bound to national plans and to some extent to the international economic system. A more detailed assessment and recommendation for the local government will be provided in the conclusion and recommendations chapter of this thesis.

Tourism as Economic Development Strategy

In recent years, tourism has been at the forefront of many of the economic and social projects supported by the Municipality. The main focus has been to build and expand tourism infrastructure, particularly in expanding homes to provide overnight

accommodations (hostels) and improving boats for longer and more comfortable trips. There are various government programs that promote tourism and economic development in Tortel.

The major and largest one is the Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario or Agricultural Development Institute, (INDAP). INDAP was established in 1962 and has changed its vision toward promoting alternatives development for rural communities in Chile. The goal of this program is to diversify and increase the income for small businesses and their families. Tourism has been identified as a potential business opportunity to supplement other rural services. As a result, micro-lending enterprises complement and support tourism development among rural peasant families. INDAP currently serves rural families operating less than 12 basic irrigated hectares, which have assets worth less than the 3,500 development units (U.S. \$96,000), and whose income is mainly from farming or working the land directly (Martínez, 2009). Though grants from INDAP are granted to landowners, there are programs through CORFO, which fund non-land owners and provide technical assistance programs as well.

The Corporación de Fomentos de la Producción de Chile or Production Development Corporation, (CORFO) is the oldest Chilean Economic Development Agency, established in 1939. CORFO's mission is to enable low income and impoverished individuals with the tools to generate income. CORFO provides grants to individuals "without economic history" or record of sustained profit. Many CORFO projects are evaluated by entrepreneurs, and sponsored by universities and technological institutes, consultants and, in general, entities or companies with legal capacity. CORFO also has a section on technical assistance for its recipients ("Acerca de CORFO," n.d)

The Servicio de Cooperación Técnica or Technical Service in Cooperation, (SERCOTEC) works in conjunction, but not exclusively with CORFO. The goal of SERCOTEC is to provide technical assistance or enhanced training in specific fields. The main objective of this service is to present information and training which may be replicated in the community and thus benefit a larger portion of it (“SERCOTEC,” n.d). Almost all of the tourism projects, hostels, restaurants, and boat trips in Tortel were established and enabled with the assistance of one or more of these programs. The existence of these programs in Tortel demonstrates a commitment to tourism on behalf of the town of Tortel as well as from the regional government. The existence of these programs however, does not necessarily demonstrate that tourism is growing in Tortel.

Table 1 provides a brief overview of businesses and institutions in Tortel. The majority of the tourism related businesses are small scale and family owned businesses. Most have received government funding as grants or loans to build or expand their businesses. Nearly all hostels consist of extra rooms in an existing home, where guests share with the owner common space and usually the bathroom as well.

Table 1: Institutional Profile of Tortel, Also Showing Lacking or Limited Services

Public Institutions	Tourism Related Businesses	Lacking/Limited Services
Municipality (1)	Hostels (9)	No Phone
Public Rural School K-8 (1)	Boat/Trips Operators (5)	Limited Internet
Rural Health Clinic (1)	Boats/taxis (4)	Limited Transportation
Public Library (1)	Restaurants (4)	No Scheduled Trips
Firefighting Unit (1)	Pubs/Bars (2)	Tourism Intercom
Police Station (1)	Laundry (1)	Hiking Trail
CONAF Office (1)	Tourism Info Offices (2)	

Numbers in parenthesis indicate the number of businesses/institutions

Table 1 also highlights some of the most prominent services and organizations in Tortel.

This table helps elaborate an institutional profile for Tortel, informing the reader of both

what is present and what is missing. Acknowledging some of the missing services as well as the lack regularly scheduled services, which includes limited transportation and inadequate or lacking infrastructure, is important to present a more encompassing profile of Tortel and help describe some of the present tourism limitations.

Despite the recent economic shift to tourism in Tortel, the history and connection to cypress extraction continues to be visible in its homes and its distinctive *pasarelas*, or boardwalks. Timber is economically important since logging and construction continue to be the major livelihood strategies for residents. Timber also has significant cultural importance and the *pasarelas* are a reminder of the value of cypress and of the innovation and creativity of Tortel's residents. Figure 3 below shows some of Tortel's *pasarelas*, which were designed for effective town planning, connecting parts of the town for pedestrian traffic.



Figure 3: Tortel's *Pasarelas*

Since the town of Tortel sits at the edge of a cliff, next to the Baker River and the Pacific Ocean, building roads within much of the town was impracticable. The maze of

cypress *pasarelas* was an important part of town planning and essential to Tortel's development.

The *pasarelas* were also crucial components in awarding and recognizing Tortel as a *zona típica*, or a typical, scenic, and cultural heritage area, by the Chilean government in 2001. The *zona típica* qualification and designation serve as an important guide for future development of the town. The designation in Tortel calls for the continued use of cypress in construction and promotes alternative economic incentives such as ecotourism ("Ilustre Municipalidad," 2008). The *zona típica* legislation promotes architectural designs that enhance or maintain the character of the town. In Tortel, *zona típica* guidelines have been extremely influential in planning and zoning regulations. Currently, all open land in the town of Tortel and surrounding the Baker River nearby Tortel are part of the *zona típica* and are protected by Chilean National Monument legislation (Torres, personal communication, April 24, 2009).

Chilean National Monuments and *zona típica* legislation are reviewed and supervised by the National Monument Council. The Council in agreement with local authorities must review and permit any new construction or remodeling in areas designated as *zona típica*. All new construction must follow specific planning and architectural guidelines as to not compromise the *zona típica* standing. The *zona típica* designation and the Council review also make it much more difficult for private parties to purchase land in the *zona típica* area.

Though, land has been sold to private investors in Tortel, transactions have been few. As of April 2009, one hostel was permitted in the town of Tortel, and a larger hotel site and a research facility site were sold to private investors across the bay from Tortel

(Torres, 2009). These new outside investors, however, must agree to follow all regulations and guidelines stated in the *zona típica* and National Monument legislation and respond to local government and community needs (“Normas Zonas,” n.d).

Roughly ten to 15 percent of undeveloped land in Tortel falls within the *zona típica* designation, and 80 percent is protected wilderness or national park land (Torres, 2009). The remaining five to ten percent of undeveloped land is considered national public land. Local, regional and national governments have jurisdiction of this portion of undeveloped land. Some sites are co-owned and managed by all government bodies and other sites are owned by each government entity individually. A more detailed assessment of land tenure in Tortel should be completed in future studies of development and tourism in the town.

Carretera Austral, Chile’s Southern Highway

In addition to maintaining town character, the *zona típica* designation has been of significant importance in Tortel since the arrival of the *Carretera Austral*, Chile’s Southern Highway. Historically, resident and visitor access to Tortel occurred via the Baker and Pascua Rivers. Chilean President Frei extended the *Carretera Austral* to the Aysen Region in 2000. By 2001, the highway reached Puerto Vagabundo, a remote location north of Caleta Tortel, along the Baker River. Infrequent boat rides connected Puerto Vagabundo and Caleta Tortel via the Baker River, enabling shorter and faster access for residents and visitors alike.

In 2003, the *Carretera Austral* finally reached the town of Tortel, allowing vehicle and more extensive access to the town. The impacts of the road have been both negative and positive for Tortel, which will be discussed in greater detail in later

chapters. Figure 4 below shows the road into the Tortel community. Figure 4 also shows the changing town layout. The road only reaches one part of town. As a result, development increased recently and became denser in the vicinity where the road entered the town.



Figure 4: *Carretera* (Highway) into the Town of Tortel


The road has provided the residents of Tortel with easier and faster access to the nearby town of Cochrane and to the region's capital city, Cohaique. The road has also facilitated access to hospitals, goods, and other services for the residents of Tortel. Additionally, the road has also enabled greater tourism and tourism development to reach the area, broadening Tortel's modest tourism industry. Despite the fact that the road has brought comforts and increased tourism to the town, it also generated some negative impacts.

There are several concerns with the arrival of the road. The town's readiness and ability to control the potential changes brought forth by the road are major concerns. The road has helped to highlight the crucial economic, environmental and social transition facing Tortel and the important decisions that must be considered for its future.

Tortel, the region at large, and the success of ecotourism face another significant challenge: the potential development of a large hydroelectric project. This project poses a threat to present and future livelihood as well as to environmental protection in the region.

Proposed Hydroelectric Dams

Currently, Tortel and the Aysen Region face the potential development of hydroelectric dams. This is a contentious debate countrywide and particularly in the Aysen Region. The large-scale hydroelectric dam project is proposed by ENDESA, a Spanish-, Italian- and Chilean-owned energy company, which is supported by its regional counterpart, Hidro-Aysen. The companies have divided this large-scale project into multiple dams in the region. The plan is to build five dams, two on the Baker River and three on the Pascua River. Glaciers feed both rivers, which flow in between the world's two largest ice caps outside Greenland and Antarctica. The Baker River has the highest flow of all Chilean rivers, and the Pascua has the third highest flow in the country. The river valleys support high levels of biodiversity, including documented populations of the endangered *huemul* (*H. Antisensis*) deer ("Patagonia's Wild," 2008).

Figure 5  shows the area of one of the proposed dam sites on the Baker River. The proposed site would flood much of this area. If the dams are built, the taller cliffs depicted in Figure 5 would be mostly though not completely flooded. This figure

conveys the large scale of this project. This site is also very close to the road, thus extremely visible for travelers.



Figure 5: Proposed Dam Site on the Baker River

As currently planned, the two dams on the Baker River would create reservoirs covering more than 4,300 hectares, flooding some of the best agricultural and ranching lands of the region. The three dams on the Pascua River would flood more than 1,600 hectares, including some of the world's most rare forest type, including the critically endangered *Ciprés de las Guaitecas* ("Patagonia's Wild," 2008).

The transmission lines for this project would extend over 1,500 miles and would require clear-cutting forested areas for at least 1,000 miles of its total length. The route of the transmission lines would traverse over 64 *comunas* or areas that include outlying villages and various indigenous communities. Figure 6 shows the projected route of the transmission lines from the Aysen Region, north of Tortel to Santiago. The transmission lines would divide 14 natural and wildlife preserves (Hughes, 2008).



Figure 6: Projected Route of Transmission Lines

Proponents of this plan view the project as a way to reduce Chile's dependence on foreign energy sources. They also perceive the project to be cheaper and less environmentally damaging than other options such as nuclear power development. Proponents of the plan also see this project as a way to economically develop the region. The region developed utilizing its natural resources. However, these are becoming exhausted along with the labor force that depends on them. As a result proponents have stated that the plan would create new jobs in the area. Additionally, they have stated that new jobs created would be of high quality and well-paying. Therefore, they see this plan as a way to increase economic stability in the Aysen region and in Chile at large (Hughes, 2008).

Those who oppose the project believe that the dams compromise the essence of Patagonia: its pristine nature and unique communities. Furthermore, those against the project believe that there are other alternative and renewable energy sources such as wind and solar that must be considered first. They also believe that the economic benefits will not outweigh the potential costs. In addition to their clear environmental and social stance, those who oppose the project have stated that project will have a detrimental effect on the tourism development and revenue in the area. As a result of their close proximity to the ice fields, these rivers have become world renowned for kayaking and fly-fishing and their surrounding areas known for adventure/nature tourism (Rodrigo and Orrego, 2007). Thus, adverse impacts to recreation and related tourism can be expected if the dams are built.

It is essential to discuss the arrival of the road and the potential of the large hydroelectric projects since these events and projects follow an extractive development path. These events in and around Tortel illustrate the dominance of this development path in Chile. Additionally, considering that an extractive development path is dominant in Chile, these events pose an interesting question regarding the potential for alternative and sustainable development options such as ecotourism for the community of Tortel. These concerns will be described in subsequent chapters of this thesis.

Chilean Political Economy

Analyzing Chile's dominant economic development path is essential to understand an exploitative and extractive development path and the extent to which it has been followed. Evaluating an exploitative path can also offer insight on potential alternatives and the significant challenge of shifting economic development patterns

toward a sustainable path. Thus, in order to assess and evaluate the possibility of a socially and environmentally beneficial development path in Caleta Tortel, it is crucial to understand and evaluate it in the current political economy of Chile. Chile is extremely rich in natural resources and has been heavily dependent on these to develop economically. Chile has utilized its natural resources to access international trade in hopes of creating and maintaining a stable economy.

World systems theory can be used to explain Chile's over dependence on natural resources as a means of generating economic revenue and capital. This socio-economic and political theory explains the unequal development opportunities and resulting disparities between "developed" and "developing" nations. According to world systems theory scholar, Immanuel Wallerstein, developed nations are at the core of the current economic system while developing nations are the periphery or outskirts of it. Nations in the core perpetuate the unbalanced interactions between themselves and the outskirts. Furthermore, interactions are perpetuated because such a system functions to provide for those industrialized nations in the core, which hold economic as well as political control (Wallerstein, 1974).

Wallerstein and others state that the evolution of capitalist markets has created a deep divide in the international division of labor between developed and developing nations (1974). According to world systems theory, developing nations provide developed nations greater access to economic markets since the former have historically had to purchase manufactured goods from the latter. Since these manufactured goods are more valuable than the raw materials produced and contributed to the market by developing nations, developed nations gained a comparative advantage and a higher

standard of living for their citizens (Chirot & Hall, 1982). In addition, governments, corporations and financial institutions of developed nations often manipulated prices paid in an economic system they control. In the last thirty years polarized development patterns are still present, however, a new emphasis on exploitation of labor in developing countries has more recently enabled developed countries and institutions to maintain power over developing countries. Thus, in addition to raw materials, those nations in the periphery also supply cheap labor, which enable this economic system to continue.

Considering that this system is extremely beneficial for developed nations, they often perpetuate this unbalanced dependence through media and economic and political control over the developing world. At times this is perpetuated or is executed through economic sanctions or military force. Economic domination can also be maintained by global financial institutions that help establish and facilitate the very system, often leading to insurmountable foreign debt for many developing nations (Chirot & Hall, 1982).

World systems theory is most often used to explain the disparities among developed and developing nations, however the structure of this theory can also be easily replicated within nations. Thus, the core and periphery model can be used to explain the relationship between more developed and wealthier urban centers and rural or otherwise marginalized areas in both the developed and developing world. Therefore, while Chile as a nation has been in the periphery of this model globally, many communities in Chile including Caleta Tortel are also in the periphery if this model is applied at a national level.

World systems theory, therefore, provides a helpful way of understanding economic development in Chile. According to this theory, Chile historically has been a nation in the periphery since it has traditionally been dependent upon natural resources to economically develop. Traditionally, copper has been Chile's most lucrative export. The state-owned firm CODELCO is the world's largest copper-producing company. While copper continues to be Chile's most profitable export product, Chile has attempted to diversify its economy by increasing non-mineral exports (Silva, 1996). In 1975, non-mineral exports made up just over 30 percent of total exports, whereas in 2006 they accounted for approximately 60 percent of total exports. Currently, the most important non-mineral exports are timber, agricultural products and seafood. From 2005 to 2006, Chilean exports increased from \$40.5 billion to \$59.0 billion. Exports accounted for about 42 percent of Chile's GDP in 2006. Imports also increased from \$30.2 billion to \$36.7 billion in the same period. The Ministry of Economics accounted that natural resources compose over 65 percent of total Chilean exports ("Ministerio de Economía," n.d).

Chile's commitment to and participation in the global economic market is evident through its trade efforts. In the past decade, Chile has entered into a growing network of trade agreements. Some of the most important ones include: the Southern Cone block agreement of Mercosur, to which Chile is an associate; and trade agreements with Central America, India, Mexico, and China. Chile also signed a free trade agreement with the United States in 2003, which was executed in 2004. Chile has had concurrent agreements with Japan, whose latest agreement was signed in 2007. This is particularly important, since Chile stands as a natural gateway for trade between Latin America and Asia via the

Pacific Ocean. Additionally, Chile has free trade agreements with various European Union nations. These agreements, plus regional accords with most of Latin America, present Chile with a large consumer base and continued involvement in the world economy ("Ministerio de Economía," n.d).

Political changes in the mid 1970s enhanced Chile's emphasis on free trade and increased participation in the world market. In 1970, the Chilean people elected the first freely elected Socialist leader in the Western Hemisphere, Salvador Allende. Allende sought to reconstruct the nation and its class gap through major structural changes. These included nationalizing industries and implementing effective agrarian reform. These changes however, polarized the Chilean citizens and concerned international companies with vested interests in Chile (Skidmore and Smith, 1992).

External pressure on Chilean markets became more evident when U.S. owned copper mines were nationalized in 1971, and Chile determined that U.S. owned Anaconda and Kennecott Copper companies would receive no monetary compensation, since these had already gained great wealth from Chilean copper. This radical step caused an escalation of ongoing U.S. plans to destabilize the Chilean economy in the years to follow, which resulted in decreased foreign aid and economic sanctions. Chilean industrial markets ran into problems especially in updating technology and new machinery. At the same time the Allende government was facing serious internal pressures. Agriculture production declined since the land reform disrupted production patterns and many landowners took land out of production. The class rift widened and the wealthy that owned most of the mass media, heavily campaigned against the government

by promoting a fear of communism, often with monetary help from the CIA (Winn, 1992).

Political and economic turbulence prompted a military coup on September 11th, 1973 conducted by a *junta* and led by General Augusto Pinochet. The new dictatorship immediately began privatizing the businesses that Allende had seized, as well as reversing many other socialist reforms. But Pinochet did not have an economic plan of his own, and by 1975 inflation ran as high as 341 percent. Into this crisis stepped a group of economists known as "the Chicago boys" (Skidmore, 1992)

The Chicago boys were a group of 30 Chileans who had studied economics at the University of Chicago between 1955 and 1963. During the course of their postgraduate studies they had become disciples of the economist Milton Friedman and had returned to Chile completely indoctrinated in free market theory. By the end of 1974, they had risen to positions of power in the Pinochet regime, controlling most of the offices for economic planning. During this period Chile's politicians did not run the country's political affairs; instead, these were run by technocrats following neoliberal or pro-free market theories (Roberts, 1998).

The Chicago boys' plans were supported and encouraged by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which made loans to Chile. These loans however, increased the Chilean debt and forced Chile to reduce its government spending. Between 1974 and 1975, unemployment rose from 9.1 to 18.7 percent. In order to stabilize the economy, the Chicago boys began working on what has come to be known as the "economic miracle". From 1976 until 1982, the Chicago boys lifted nearly all restrictions on foreign direct investment. As a result, foreign investment and loans came pouring into

Chile. Of the 507 state enterprises set up before or during Allende's presidency, the Chicago boys eliminated or privatized all but 27 with the cooperation of Chilean government, under the presidency of Augusto Pinochet (Winn, 1992).

Free trade, privatization, debt payment and new loans cyclically continued through the 1980s. By the 1990s, Chile's dictatorial regime came to an end and democracy was once again restored. Despite these political changes, Chile's economic policies and practices remained. Many industries continue to be partially owned by transnational corporations and Chile continues to rely on the international market to sustain its economy (Clapp, 1998).

Chile's emphasis on natural resource exports has promoted an extractive and exploitative economic development. Such a dependence on natural resources and its derived products has contributed to environmental and social degradation in Chile (Silva, 1996). This degradation has been associated with Chile's main export industries, including copper and forestry. Environmental landscapes, entire ecosystems at times, as well as communities, especially marginalized, rural and indigenous communities have been significantly impacted (Haughney, 2007).

Copper

Copper is a key sector in the Chilean economy, with exports in 2006-2007 reaching US\$33.3 billion. Copper mining and smelting accounts for roughly 7 percent of Chile's total GDP, and in 2006 copper represented 57 percent of the country's total exports and 32 percent of its total fiscal revenues ("Ministerio de Economía," n.d). The contribution of mining to the country's development has been of great importance. During

the last decade, this activity has accounted for about 50 percent of the country's exports and foreign investment ("La Corporación," n.d).

The most important old copper mines are: Los Bronces and El Soldado, owned by Exxon Minerals Co. through Compañía Minera Disputada de Las Condes; the Mantos Blancos mine, owned mainly by Anglo American Corp.; and the Chuquicamata, El Salvador, Andina, and El Teniente mines, owned by the state company, Corporación Nacional del Cobre (CODELCO, national copper corporation) ("La Corporación," n.d).

Environmental impacts of mining in Chile significantly increased in the 1970s and 1980s as production levels also increased. Impoverished ore grades and a spike in metallic impurities from processing plants and smelter-feed material polluted rivers and water streams as well as increased air pollution. Companies made no assessments of environmental degradation before the late 1980s. A study published during this period pointed out that the main environmental impact of mining in the 1980s was air pollution ("CONAMA," n.d). Public awareness of and international concern about environmental impacts also grew during those decades.

The situation did not change until political change occurred in 1990. The newly elected government made its greatest efforts in the mining sector in 1990 and 1991, issuing Decree 185 for the regulation and control of emissions of sulfur dioxide (SO₂) and particles from fixed sources (mainly from the seven copper smelters that operated in the 1990s). Decree 185 establishes the same air-quality standards for northern Chile as the U.S. Clean Air Act establishes for the United States ("CONAMA", n.d). Copper nevertheless continues to produce significant environmental impacts.

Forestry

The management and commercialization of Chile's forests exemplifies an extractive and exploitative development path and the economic policies associated with it. Chilean native forests have been logged commercially for many years, but the roots of modern forestry legislation and industry began in 1974 when the Pinochet dictatorship began its free market reforms. The government moved forcefully to establish private property rights as part of Chile's Constitution and gave back to previous owners many of the forests expropriated under the Agrarian Reform of previous governments (Clapp, 1998). The privatization of the forest industry along with other economic sectors occurred by selling almost all publicly owned forests and processing plants at below-cost prices (Clapp, 1998). As a result, the ownership of most of Chile's forest industry was concentrated in a few large companies, a situation that continues to be the current reality of the country. The economic reforms of the Pinochet era also included an export promotion program that included tax credits and benefits for large landowners and plantations (Silva, 1996).

Tree plantations now supply 90 percent of the wood for Chile's forestry industry and it is projected that in 20 years the land area of tree plantations will double (Donoso, 1993). More than 80 percent of the enormous quantity of wood from plantations is grown to meet an increasing global demand for raw materials in the form of timber, pulp and wood chips (Lowy, 1995). Forestry exports grew 24 percent a year over the last decade and were a record high US\$2.2 billion in 1995 ("CONAMA," n.d). Forest products are Chile's third largest export at 11.8 percent of total exports ("CONAMA," n.d). These are

shipped to 86 countries; the leading destinations are respectively Japan, the United States, South Korea and Western Europe (Silva, 1996).

Multinational timber companies are fast joining Chile's big timber companies in the forest export boom. While the majority of Chile's pulp and plantation industry is domestically owned and operated, there is major foreign investment in Chilean forest production (Lowy, 1995). Various multinational companies have joint ventures with Chilean companies in eucalyptus or *P. radiata* pine plantations, in wood processing plants such as pulp or wood chips and in the active logging of native forests (McAlpin, 2007). The involvement of multinational companies often exacerbates power inequalities between small-scale local and large scale, often non-local landowners. Power inequalities are further disturbed once multinationals are deeply incorporated and invested in a country's economy (Lowy, 1995). According to J. Newbold (2004), multinational corporations are able to generate significant revenue for the Chilean economy; as a result many forest protection laws are not properly enforced for fear that the multinational might move on to the next country (Newbold, 2004).

While the growth in forest exports has undoubtedly helped to stimulate the Chilean economy, making it the most stable and productive one in South America, many of the environmental and social effects of such growth have been detrimental. Intensified conflict between logging companies and the *Mapuche*, Chile's indigenous people, demonstrate the political and human rights consequences of an extractive and exploitative path in Chile. Many *Mapuche* communities live in constant struggle to maintain their land and sustain their culture. The *Mapuche* people have lost their rights and access to land to make way for forest plantations or for the construction of hydroelectric dams. The

most recent case of such displacement is the Ralco Bio-Bio River, which displaced over 156 *Mapuche* families living in the area. Due to inequalities of class and race, *Mapuches* have been left out of the decision-making process and at times restricted from participating. In Chile, there is a prevalent and overarching ideology of modernity and development; thus, indigenous rights, traditions, connections and knowledge about a place are easily and often ignored and discarded (Haughney, 2007).

In Chile there has been a distinct correlation between increase in trade exports and increase in forest plantations. Native forests have been substituted by fast growing exotic plantations, severely compromising the health of these ecosystems. A recent study carried out by the government agency CONAF shows that annual deforestation during the 1985-1994 reached an average of 36,700 ha and that almost 40 percent of these areas were deforested to make way to industrial tree plantations ("Bosques," 2006). There are now 1.7 million ha of plantations growing non-native trees in Chile. Tree plantations are increasing at a rate of about 60,000 ha per year for pine and 15,000 ha for eucalyptus. Conversion to plantations is now the greatest threat faced by Chile's native forests. Although native forests are present in Chile, less than 45 percent of current forest-cover remains as mature native forest ("Bosques." 2006). The destruction of native forests has had large-scale adverse impacts to wildlife habitat and forest soils, and has contributed to soil erosion and water quality degradation in forest streams.

Plantations represent a complete loss in natural forest biodiversity, structure and function. Soil and water quality are degraded. Wildlife cannot adapt, especially since plantations are maintained with the use of toxic herbicides and pesticides. In addition, plantations displace small-scale, forest-dependent landowners, forcing their move from

rural areas to the cities. The degradation of natural resources and the threat to communities that depend on them can therefore be attributed to this extractive and exploitative economic development path and the management policies that support it (Clapp, 1998).

Though legislative strides to mitigate impacts of natural resource industries have occurred, environmental degradation as a result of natural resource extraction and exploitation such as copper mining, forest and soil depletion, dam construction are still quite prevalent in Chile. Therefore, Chile has followed this extractive and exploitative path. The examples in this chapter demonstrate the negative impacts of such a path and their associated industries at the international, national and local level.

Allan Schnaiberg explains this development occurrence with “The Treadmill of Production” theoretical model. The Treadmill of Production helps explain the expansion of environmental problems as a result of this development path. The Treadmill of Production states that advances in technology occur to increase profits, which drive both production and consumption. This leads to an unsustainable condition, which requires more and more production for society to function. In this system where increasing demands on the environment are required for production and growth, environmental problems cannot be solved. According to Schnaiberg and other Treadmill of Production theorists, achieving environmental sustainability requires radical restructuring of the political economy (Schnaiberg et al., 2008).

Concluding Comments

Historically, Tortel and the rest of Chile have been in the periphery as defined by world systems theory and as a result have followed an exploitative and extractive

development path. The recently built road, the over-exploitation of cypress and the proposed dam projects are examples of its past development and are potential threats to Tortel's future. Thus, Tortel's economic development history must be considered in the town's ability to follow a more sustainable development path. Tortel therefore is at a crossroads in its future development. The following chapter describes in detail a socially and environmentally beneficial or sustainable development path. The following chapter also provides criteria to evaluate ecotourism within a sustainable development path and subsequent chapters address its feasibility in Caleta Tortel.

ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for this thesis by using natural resource development and social justice literature to define in more detail key elements of the two contrasting development paths: (1) exploitative and extractive; and (2) socially and environmentally beneficial. This chapter focuses on the socially and environmentally beneficial development path. This path strives to achieve and maintain a balance among society, environment and the economy. The objective of this path is to focus on long-term effects and strive toward sustainability. This chapter presents ecotourism as an industry, which has the potential to function within the objectives of this path. This chapter also acknowledges that ecotourism has the ability to follow an exploitative development path if it is not implemented appropriately. However, for this thesis, ecotourism serves as an effective way of narrowing the scope of research and helps us consider questions about conditions that can support a sustainable development path.

Thus, this chapter also defines and critiques ecotourism. Additionally, it presents conditions that have the potential to enable sustainable and democratic development and management of the industry. Moreover, this chapter analyzes a socially and environmentally beneficial path and the potential of sustainable ecotourism development in Caleta Tortel. The analytic framework of the two contrasting paths is used in the next chapters to evaluate the ability of Tortel to follow and support a sustainable path. Additionally, this framework helps us to evaluate the role and function of tourism and its ability to follow and support a socially and environmentally beneficial development path.

The Development Shift

The patterns and outcomes associated with an extractive and exploitative development path have prompted scholars, government leaders, and civil society to question it and search for alternatives. Concerns for equality, economic distribution, and socio-cultural and environmental sustainability under this development path have been some of the catalysts in the formulation of a development path that is more socially and environmentally beneficial. There are numerous examples of ways that the lack of stability often occurs in or as a result of an extractive and exploitative development path including those provided in the previous chapter. These examples illustrate the perils and outcomes of such a development option and provide a rationale for seeking alternatives. As a result, the idea that economic development success equated with high efficiency, high yields, and high revenues is slowly shifting to one that emphasizes community stability and resilience over the long-term (Baker & Kusel, 2003). Community stability, or the community's ability to respond or adapt to change, is essential to evaluate economic and ecosystem sustainability (Baker & Kusel, 2003).

This shift toward a socially and environmentally beneficial development path also emphasizes ecological and community resiliency. The principle behind resiliency is retaining an adaptive capacity for sustainability, by acknowledging the unpredictability that exists in economic, social and ecological systems. Recognizing that change is both unpredictable and inevitable permits communities to respond and adapt to such changes. As explained below, diversity, memory, and redundancy are essential components of resiliency, which enhance community stability (Baker & Kusel, 2003).

Economic, social and environmental diversity are crucial aspects of generating resiliency. Economic diversification allows communities to rely on multiple resources and diminishes potential impacts of unforeseen change to any one resource on the local economy. Likewise, social diversity enhances a community's ability to adapt and respond to potential challenges, in that it flourishes on the various roles that individuals play within a community. Different roles and positions enhance human and social capital within communities and permit the community to function interdependently. Ecological diversity, or the variety of interacting biological and geophysical components of communities or ecosystems in a given area, also enhance resiliency in that variety enables ecological aspects of sustainability to flourish (Baker & Kusel, 2003).

In addition to these various aspects of diversity, memory is also important in maintaining sustainable and resilient communities. Memory is manifested in individual and collective ability to communicate, or pass down ecological, social, and cultural knowledge.

Redundancy, or the set of interrelationships that exist and are manifested through memory and repetition, also assists in generating greater knowledge and understanding of a particular place or system (Baker & Kusel, 2003). Redundancy can assure that socio-ecological systems can adapt to disruptions to one set of interrelationships and maintain productivity and stability.

Socially and Environmentally Beneficial Development Path

A socially and environmentally beneficial or sustainable development path attempts to encompass resiliency, memory and redundancy. Marie Hoff (1998, p.6) describes this type of development:

Non-renewable resources are used wisely and sparingly at a rate which does not restrict the options of future generations; renewable resources should be used within the limits of their capacity for regeneration; the quality of the natural heritage should be maintained and improved, in situations of great uncertainty or complexity, society should act in a precautionary manner; and there should be an equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of the development.

This definition presents the ultimate goals of this kind of development and also offers some insightful guiding themes to achieve such goals. Hoff raises important themes such as: wise and responsible use of natural resources, concern for the carrying capacity and environmental quality, application of the precautionary principle, and equitable distribution of goods. These themes can serve as guidelines in executing an effective socially and environmentally beneficial development path.

Although there are various definitions of socially and environmentally beneficial or sustainable development, the most succinct, simple and widely-recognized is that from the Brundtland Commission, formerly the World Commission on Environment and Development. The Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future*, offers the following definition of sustainable development: "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987, p. 47). Despite the fact there is a wide range of definitions, they consistently emphasize the fact that natural resources are finite and that equitable distribution is necessary for long-term success.

Tourism and ecotourism in particular are often considered industries associated with a sustainable development path (Honey, 1999). According to Stephen McCool and Neil Moisey (2001), tourism is the fastest growing industry in the world. Receipts from international tourism have increased by an average of nine percent annually for the past 26 years. The tourism sector is also recognized as an important job creator, employing an

estimated 100 million people worldwide and growing 150 percent faster than any other industry. Thus, the potential of these industries to function within such a path and provide an alternative economic option for communities is tremendous. The ability of ecotourism to follow and be implemented in a social and environmental development path is considered below.

Definitions and Critiques of Ecotourism

Research has demonstrated that tourism is one of the fastest growing industries worldwide, particularly ecotourism (McCool & Moisey, 2001). However, researchers have also noted that ecotourism is often confused with adventure tourism, nature tourism, and wildlife tourism (Honey, 2008). According to Martha Honey, adventure tourism focuses on recreational activities that often require a certain level of physical strength and fitness, kayaking and canopy climbing to name a few. She describes nature tourism as more passive with a focus on traveling to “unspoiled and pristine” natural spaces; hiking and camping are a few activities associated with this kind of tourism. Wildlife tourism involves travel to observe animals in their natural habitats. Bird watching and catch and release fishing are some of the recreational activities associated with this kind of tourism. Martha Honey emphasizes that the aforementioned kinds of tourism solely focus on recreation, but hardly ever, if at all consider the impact to the natural and social landscapes that host them.

The International Ecotourism Society (TIES), the world’s first ecotourism organization defines ecotourism as: “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people” (Honey, 2008, p. 6). This

implies that ecotourism development decisions remain in the hands of local community members and provide great potential for social and environmental sustainability.

Though this definition provides a fundamental understanding for what ecotourism is, actual ecotourism implementation rarely meets these ideals (Campbell, 1999). It is important to acknowledge this difference to analyze the benefits as well as the impacts of ecotourism on various communities, such as Caleta Tortel. Moreover, this difference is crucial to assess the feasibility of ecotourism and the role of community members in developing and implementing sustainable ecotourism projects.

According to Martha Honey, ecotourism differs from other kinds of tourism in that its purpose is to create and maintain a travel consciousness. The goal of ecotourism from the standpoint of the traveler is to allow them to readily minimize their impact on the environment and cultures that are visited. Ecotourists are therefore encouraged to sustain the environment while promoting local development and participation (Campbell, 1999). Community participation and small-scale ownership and leadership are central components to socially beneficial ecotourism endeavors. These components are essential in that they encourage local employment and small business development, generate greater economic benefits and sustain traditional lifestyles that uphold local culture, which in turn can protect the environment (Campbell, 1999). Ecotourism has become a rapidly growing industry, especially in developing nations. Ecotourism projects have increasingly been executed in developing nations to strengthen both economic development and conservation efforts (Honey, 2008).

Though ecotourism appears to be a solution to both the economic hardship and environmental degradation impacting developing countries, there are still many

considerations that need to be assessed in developing this industry. The most significant consideration to acknowledge is the existing difference between ecotourism ideals and guiding principles and the actual execution and implementation of individual projects. Though individual projects differ greatly from one place to another, past projects have raised common concerns such as community control and participation in planning and managing ecotourism projects (McCool & Moisey, 2001).

Ecotourism as a quick response to economic development and environmental conservation pressures often creates complex issues for the communities involved. Scholars have stated that in many cases local populations receive limited benefits, if any, from ecotourism projects. Often such failing projects generate community conflicts which are quickly dismissed by ecotourism proponents, if addressed at all (West et al., 2003). Therefore, in many cases, ecotourism projects have had negative impacts on the communities they were supposed to benefit. As a result, a whole new set of problems arises for these communities particularly if existing social, political and economic inequalities are exacerbated.

Lack of community participation and engagement, and unfair distribution of benefits are some of the most crucial shortcomings of many ecotourism projects. Patrick West and others (2003, p. 164) highlight these shortcomings with statistics from various tourism projects, stating that 90 percent of all coastal development in Belize, 61 percent of hotels near Chitwan National Park in Nepal, and nearly 100 percent of the safari companies in Botswana are foreign or non-locally owned. These figures suggest that often there is an unequal distribution of economic and political benefits in ecotourism projects. Though foreign ownership does not necessarily mean that there is inadequate

community involvement or benefits sharing, it is very telling of who has vested interests and may enjoy greater benefits from such projects. Such statistics also show that different stakeholders can access, control, and benefit from ecotourism projects differently (Honey, 2008). Moreover, these disparities may create new or exacerbate existing social and equity issues.

A variety of stakeholders are typically involved in ecotourism development and management. These stakeholders include ecotourists, ecotourism companies, ecotourism providers and local residents. In addition, ecotourism projects are often funded by businesses or commercial operations that may be supported by local, regional, and national policies and programs, as well as by individuals or private institutions. These various stakeholders aspire to shape ecotourism projects, resulting in many opposing or competing interests.

Ecotourism projects often lead to community struggles over power and influence and can limit the participation of those not directly involved in economic development decisions and management and administration of tourism. Scholars have noted that local officials and community leaders may be among those with limited influence in ecotourism development (Honey, 2008). Martha Honey expresses this major concern of ecotourism development in her book *Ecotourism and Sustainable Development: Who Owns Paradise?* Honey describes the limited participation and control of local community members under a variety of circumstances. She offers examples of tourism-related community conflict in countries with different political agendas and economic levels such as Cuba, Costa Rica, Tanzania, Zanzibar and Ecuador (Honey, 2008). Similar examples will be presented later in this chapter.

Honey also points out the inequities that often arise as a result of the partnerships between local entrepreneurs and their national or international counterparts (Honey, 1999). She states that, "nevertheless the shift in favored tourism destinations from developed to developing countries indicates that international tourism could become a means of redistributing wealth from north to south"(Honey, 1999, p. 73). She also indicates however that, "this will happen only if host countries are able to retain the tourism dollars and stop the leakage from South to North" (Honey, 1999, p. 73).

Barriers to local participation in ecotourism projects and the resulting unequal distribution of economic, social, and cultural benefits within communities are a significant political issue (West et al., 2003). Moreover, if external political or economic forces prevent local communities from obtaining a fair share of the benefits, then the promise of ecotourism as a solution to social, economic and environmental sustainability is false (West et al., 2003). Additionally, if economic or political power is held in the hands of the few, whether outsiders or a few insiders, the promise of equitability associated with this kind of development is also false (West et al., 2003).

A major scholarly critique of ecotourism examines the political and economic oversight and resulting impact of such endeavors. Jill Belsky (1999) offers such an example in a critical analysis of a community-based ecotourism and conservation project in Gales Point Manatee, Belize. Two American wildlife biologists initiated the project in 1991 with the intent of establishing social, economic and environmental sustainability. Belsky's research demonstrated that the benefits from the creation of tourism infrastructure quickly became concentrated in the hands of local elite. Therefore, while ecotourism projects are often presented as simple answers to broader eco-management

issues, these projects are often based on simplistic models that ignore the various roles and access to political power.

Belsky's research in Gales Point Manatee, Belize, from 1992-1998, indicates that there are several levels of politics and stakeholders that are not taken into account in the decision-making process. In the case of Belize, Belsky demonstrates that class and gender limited access to political participation and enhanced inequalities in the community. She also noted that limited political access and management control hindered the ability of some community members from receiving an equitable income from tourism (Belsky, 1999).

The Community Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe is one the most famous examples of limited community participation. The CAMPFIRE program was a rural development initiative in the 1990s whose aim was to organize rural communities to conduct safaris and hunting expeditions as a way to utilize their resources and skills. While the goal of this program was to involve indigenous and rural communities living in and around parks nation-wide, these communities were hardly in management positions (Murphree, 2005). In most cases, rural and indigenous communities participated in this program as porters, guides, artisans and waiters. This demonstrates the direct correlation between lack of full participation and the limited economic benefits obtained.

The CAMPFIRE program also reveals more complex issues regarding community readiness to fully participate in projects. This example demonstrated that the community was not ready; perhaps they did not possess the skills, education, and experience to hold management and leadership positions. Moreover, the community's inability to hold

leadership positions demonstrates that there are external as well as internal interests involved and that those outside of the community can hold more control as a result of greater expertise, and economic and political power (Murphree, 2005).

The CAMPFIRE example also demonstrates the potential for exploitation in tourism development projects. Despite the good intentions of this program, the lack of full or equal participation of locals in tourism development and management exacerbated existing inequalities. CAMPFIRE and other failed ecotourism projects have raised concerns regarding the partnerships and relationships among communities, non-governmental organizations, universities, or government entities working on ecotourism. Moreover, the CAMPFIRE example shows the potential for tourism to follow an extractive path, exploiting both resources and people.

The inequalities raised in the CAMPFIRE example can be easily understood by applying the world systems theory. Once tourism projects become extractive and exploitative, those who are supposed to benefit remain in the periphery while those in the core perpetuate conditions because it is ultimately beneficial for them. Since those communities in the periphery do not have the means to act, they continue in this cycle. The fact that such programs can increase existing inequalities and decrease the ability of communities to become empowered requires a new vision of participation and oversight of tourism planning and development.

Finally, this example also demonstrates that community involvement requires more than mere participation. The above example highlights the importance of equality and its role in a community's ability to make meaningful and democratic decisions (Mitchell & Eagles, 2000). Richard Mitchell and Paul Eagles present three crucial

components to achieve equitable participation, these include: awareness, unity and power. Building awareness in the community about potential projects and their role within it is a crucial step. The ability to build a cohesive and united group, to provide strength and support and ultimately power to act, are also essential (Mitchell & Eagles, 2000). These components generate a sense of empowerment for the community and enhance their ability to take charge of the kind of development happening in their community (Mitchell & Reid, 2001).

According to Jill Belsky, there are many interests and identities in a given community and these are often associated with external stakeholders. As a result, the relationships between internal and external stakeholders must be evaluated to better understand the development and management of ecotourism projects. External stakeholders such as political institutions, national and international policies, as well as foreign individuals have the ability to guide the development and management of ecotourism projects (Belsky, 1999). Belsky calls her readers to engage in a serious discussion regarding who comprises the "community" and how individual roles differ within each community. Varying individual roles, access to, and ways of participating within a given community are essential components to better understand the various facets of ecotourism and its impacts.

This discussion also demonstrates that politics play a critical role in the shape and pace of ecotourism development and management in a given area. Political attributes such as transparency and legitimacy can be applied to ecotourism projects. These attributes can also serve as indicators of the community-scale social and environmental benefits of such projects. Since political transparency and democratic decision-making

are essential components of a socially and environmentally beneficial development path, these characteristics can also be used to evaluate if the ecotourism industry meets such guidelines in a given area. Democratic decision-making and open political conditions diminish autocratic and biased decisions, and enable greater community participation and lead to more representative decisions (West et al., 2003). Additionally, greater representative decision-making and participation can decrease community conflicts since various stakeholders, their perspectives and interests are considered in the decision-making process (Belsky, 1999).

Conditions for Successful Ecotourism Projects

Scholars have noted that egalitarian and democratic participation are clear goals to achieve success in ecotourism projects. They have also presented guidelines, key characteristics and examples, which can be used to achieve these goals. These guidelines and examples demonstrate communities' ability to control, have access to, and share the benefits of ecotourism. Various scholars have offered facilitating factors, or enabling conditions that are believed to support community control, participation and equitable sharing of benefits (see, e.g., West et al. 2003; Honey, 2008; McCool & Moisey, 2001; and Hayden, 2002). Prior establishment of a cottage industry, absence of state involvement, niche exceptions and favorable laws and policies are essential for the success of small-scale, community-controlled ecotourism projects. Each of these factors is discussed below.

Establishing a cottage industry is integral to promoting local economic stability and development. Promoting unique services or goods and creating a homegrown label instill pride and a sense of authenticity (West et al., 2003). Taquile Island, off the coast

of Peru is one of the many examples demonstrating the importance of a unique business to help stabilize and enhance community participation in tourism development and management. Textiles are one of the principal attractions for tourists visiting Taquile. Skillfully woven sheep and alpaca wool textiles are both made and sold in cooperatives. These community-run artisan stores allow community members to play diverse roles and enable them to control prices. Cooperatives members are also engaged in all parts of the textile industry including manufacturing and marketing (McCool & Moisey, 2001, p. 143). Since textiles are one of the principle highlights of the area, through this industry and their production patterns, the community has been able to control the number of tourists that visit the island and assess how to provide the most effective and appropriate services for them (McCool & Moisey, 2001, p.143). More importantly, their participation results in direct benefits to the community.

Various scholars suggest that local autonomy and control over projects is greatest when the state is not as involved. Honey offers one example that differs, that being Cuba, where distribution of resources and community participation is occurring, yet community control and incentive is lacking (Honey, 2008). Linda Campbell offers the case of Benin, where the state often becomes involved once it sees a potential for foreign investment and often co-opts the projects (Campbell, 1999). As a result of this co-optation, local control and the community's ability to distribute and re-distribute profits are compromised. These scholars call for community control assurances in order to maintain control in local hands. They also offer the potential for external entities and parties to become engaged who might have political, legal, and economic support for local communities such as national and international NGO's and universities (Campbell, 1999).

West and others (2003) present three niche exceptions that have the ability to support successful community participation in ecotourism projects. The niche exception concept is one that emphasizes and encourages communities to rely on their unique skill set or situation to gain an advantage in tourism development. The niche exceptions, outlined by West and others, exist under the following conditions: 1) when local people have an advantage because of their own unique set of skills; 2) when they can concentrate on activities that complement rather than compete with large tourism operators; and 3) when they have special property rights (West et al., 2003, p. 111). According to West, these niches support more egalitarian participation, involvement, and control over resources and benefits among community members.

I use these niches in the analysis of this research since they help evaluate community responses to new economic development. They also can help assess Tortel's readiness and ability to embrace or reject resulting changes (West et al., 2003). These niches allow me to predict community responses and effective participation. I evaluate the presence of these niches and the extent to which they are present in Tortel since they can serve to measure the potential for sustainability in Tortel. Below, I provide examples of these niche exceptions in other tourism contexts.

The first niche exception that West and others describe is evident when local people have an advantage because of their own unique skill set or knowledge, as exemplified by various circumstances. According to West, McCool, Moisey, and others, community members can have a significant advantage over outsiders in different areas within the tourism industry. According to McCool and Moisey (2001), small-scale operators can gain a foothold such that larger-scale operators investing in tourism cannot

easily displace them. Some examples highlighting the integral participation of local community members in tourism efforts include Sherpas in Nepal, Maori control over cultural tourism in New Zealand and local people in different corners of the world who serve as guides and have the ability identify local flora and fauna (McCool & Moisey, 2001).

As a result of their physical strength and vast knowledge about the landscape and mountaineering skills in general, Sherpas have become essential in mountaineering endeavors in Nepal. In New Zealand, cultural and eco-travel adventures are growing at a very rapid rate, and the Maori people, their knowledge, traditions, and culture are essential for this type of tourism to succeed. As a result, the Maori have become engaged, and have assumed control over the cultural insight and traditions they can share with the tourists. Tourists search for the authenticity and tradition, which validates the Maori as they seek cultural and language revitalization and economic stability (Patterson, 1998).

West's second niche exception to successful participation in tourism efforts is present when local community members can concentrate on activities that complement or do not interfere, rather than compete, with large tourism operators. This niche exception is most often exemplified in indigenous communities in areas with high levels of tourism as noted earlier in the Taquile, Peru case. It is often profitable for members of these communities to incorporate themselves into the existing tourism industry. Dances, arts and crafts, authentic foods, and cultural fairs are some of the examples that indigenous communities and rural communities use as entry points into the larger tourism industry.

It should be noted however that community members must have the choice to participate in this industry and that their participation and willingness share their cultural

traditions, foods, dances, and other offerings should not significantly impact their daily life. In many circumstances, these communities feel pressure to participate as much as possible for greater economic gain and do not attend to their daily life, making them dependent on tourism for their economic survival and adversely impacting their culture. This behavior can also lead to a loss of interest from the tourist, since the authenticity of the "local" or "indigenous" is lost, and can make indigenous peoples' service vulnerable to outside competition or replacement (Patterson, 1998).

West's third niche exception refers to when communities have special property rights. Special property rights allow the given community to control who and how land is utilized. Additionally, laws can be enacted to protect local business and prevent larger, competing, outside interests from coming in. Though not a perfect example, the Mexican *ejidos* are potentially the most well known case for land rights granted to indigenous communities. *Ejidors*, or communal lands, have cultural systems that guide its governance structure. Mexicans devolved land rights to *ejido* occupants, usually indigenous rural indigenous communities (Bray et al., 2003). Decisions within this structure are created and enforced by the members themselves, thus allowing for a high level of autonomy within each *ejido*. Depending on the decision of the *ejido* members, *ejido* land may or may not be sold. Usually, if the *ejido* land has the potential to be profitable for the community in some way, the community will not sell the land. Since this land is held in a community, and owned through cultural and patrimonial control, the community's ability to control ecotourism endeavors is high. It should be mentioned that in the case of *ejidos* and of other land rights examples, communities need more than land rights; they also

have to have the necessary skills to develop a project on their own in order to succeed (Hayden, 2002). They also need to have the ability to execute and protect their rights.

These niches present characteristics, which have the potential to improve the chances for participation, local control, and sharing of benefits. It is possible that some or all of these niches are inherent in a given community, and the concepts can therefore be transitioned to various aspects of tourism development. However, some or all of the niches might be developed characteristics such that a community can access and implement in tourism projects. While the creation of some or all niches can significantly increase participation and community control over tourism projects, they must be supplemented by favorable policies that strengthen communities and enhance levels of economic, social and environmental sustainability.

According to Honey, Moisey and other scholars, such policies should enhance the participation of local communities and attempt to create coalitions of interested, engaged, and integrated parties. These parties may be universities, NGO's, and other development agencies and institutions, which can provide both financial support and technical support for local communities. These entities can also assist in planning projects, protecting or restoring land and property rights for the rightful keepers. They can also assist in promoting and obtaining zoning and other land-use regulations to ensure a long-term management and use of the area. I describe the need for parties and entities for the community of Tortel in the conclusion chapter of this thesis and provide a list in an appendix.

A coalition of these entities can also assist in funding and professional support to ensure bottom-up rural development such as micro-lending opportunities and micro-

enterprise options for these communities (Honey, 2008). Moreover they can participate in a partnership to keep land in the hands of the community, managed and controlled by an informed and democratic community (Hayden, 2002). Honey goes as far as to suggest that these coalitions could press the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and other lending organizations to fund small-scale, locally controlled projects.

The examples and partnerships mentioned above present conditions that can enable sustainable tourism development. These conditions can also be used to evaluate the role of tourism and its ability to operate within a sustainable development path. Characteristics of a socially and environmentally beneficial path include democratic participation, local control and sharing of benefits. Therefore, their presence serves as an indicator that conditions are favorable for tourism to follow this path. These characteristics are particularly important as communities, organizations, and countries seek to transition from an exploitative and extractive path to a socially and environmentally beneficial one.

Reactions to the negative impacts of exploitative and extractive development in Chile have encouraged a transition to a more sustainable development path. The town of Caleta Tortel, though small and remote has also been affected by Chile's extractive development path. The town's capability to shape and participate in a sustainable development path, therefore, is significant to the success of this path.

The analytic framework presented in this chapter, contrasting the two development paths, is used in subsequent chapters to evaluate Tortel's ability to follow and support a sustainable path and ways it can be encouraged. The analytic framework was used to shape the interview questions asked of Tortel's residents and the subsequent

qualitative analysis. The following chapter describes the methods employed to gather and analyze data from interviews with key stakeholders of tourism development in Tortel.

The possibility of a socially and environmentally beautiful path for the future, and assess the community's ability to shape this future path. In order to further the study and provide more context, this research focuses on Tortel's tourism market development. I conducted a qualitative analysis of views about development of community leaders, small business owners and other residents in Tortel using in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Interviews were used and evaluation helped answer some major questions of this study including: what role does tourism play and can it play in expanding a sustainable development path in Tortel and, to what extent have the ability to shape the path?

The ability of tourism to first job in a socially and environmentally beautiful development path in Tortel was analyzed through in-depth interviews with a wide range of Tortel's residents. Analysis of the in-depth interviews was accomplished by identifying major key and important themes in the data. These themes or codes, and sub-themes identified in identifying, reducing, and interpreting the data. The research methods used in this study from three quarters will be discussed in greater detail throughout this chapter.

This chapter describes the semi-structured in-depth and focus group interviews in January 2016. I also describe how I used participant observations, which were documented with field notes. I explain the sampling I used and describe the participants of this research. Additionally, I explain the coding process that I employed and provide initial analysis of the frequency of coded responses.

INTERVIEW METHODS AND DATA ANALYSIS

The primary goals of this research are to analyze Tortel's past and future development, evaluate the possibility of a socially and environmentally beneficial path for its future, and assess the community's ability to shape this future path. In order to narrow the scope and provide some context, this research focuses on Tortel's budding tourism development. I conducted a qualitative analysis of views about development of community leaders, small business owners and other residents in Tortel using in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Interview analysis and evaluation helped answer some major questions of this thesis including: what role does tourism play and can it play in supporting a sustainable development path in Tortel and, do residents have the ability to shape this path?

The ability of tourism to function in a socially and environmentally beneficial development path in Caleta Tortel was analyzed through in-depth interviews with a wide range of Tortel's residents. Analysis of the in-depth interviews was accomplished by identifying recurring and important themes in the data. These themes or codes, and sub-codes facilitated in examining, refining, and interpreting the data. The research methods used to address these thesis questions will be discussed in greater detail throughout this chapter.

This chapter describes the semi-structured in-depth interviews I conducted in January 2008. I also describe how I used participant observations, which were documented with field notes. I explain the sampling I used and describe the participants of this research. Additionally, I explain the coding process that I employed and provide initial analysis of the frequency of coded responses.

Interview Protocol

For study approval, I consulted the University of Montana's Institutional Review Board (IRB) in December 2007. Included in the IRB application were all the research materials I planned to use, including participant consent form, interview protocol and my human research test certificate. My application was reviewed and approved in December 2007. In the fall of 2008, I re-submitted all forms as well as a continuation report to extend this approval since the research analysis continued longer than one year. Once again, my study was approved on December 2008.

The interviews used in this research were conducted using semi-structured questions, which promote a two-way, conversational dialogue between the interviewer and interviewee. The questions and overall nature of the interview were intended to be flexible and somewhat open. Semi-structured interviewing usually starts with more general yet relevant questions, which become more specific as questions become more focused. I asked questions related to perceptions of recent and future development. I also asked about impacts and benefits from tourism development, as well as questions about equity in benefit-sharing. I also asked questions about residents' perception of their ability to shape a more sustainable development path. Some of the questions I employed include:

- Why do you think this is a tourist attraction? What makes it a desirable destination point?
- Has tourism changed over the years?
 - Probes: *How so? In your opinion, what has driven this change?*
- What do you think have been some benefits associated with tourism for Tortel?
Probes: *What are some benefits that are noticeable in the town? Have the benefits changed over the years?* (See Appendix A for complete interview protocol/questions of this research).

Participant Sampling

This research sought to obtain information from a variety of participants including tourism industry providers, government officials, public institutions, small businesses and community residents. I employed a combination approach of purposeful sampling of tourism industry participants as well as snowball sampling of community members (Bailey, 2007). I employed purposeful sampling by initially targeting people involved in the tourism sector. Purposeful sampling is a non-random method of sampling whereby the researcher selects information-rich cases or subjects for study in depth. Information-rich cases or subjects are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research (Patton, 2001).

I initially contacted my host, a hostel operator whose knowledge of the community was vast. Her nominations for other potential participants were quite varied. She proved to be a very important key informant. Key informants are people who have lived long enough in the community to be able to identify the influential community members (Patton, 2001). She helped me identify important community leaders and others who might be interested in participating in the research. She gave me information on potential contacts and also encouraged me to use her name in seeking interviews with them. Information provided by my host helped me to familiarize myself with the potential participants. Using my host as a reference, I began asking new participants for other contacts in town who also might be interested in participating, thereby following a snowball sampling method. I found this to a very effective technique for identifying participants.

I also employed a reputational method in order to find both opinion and community leaders. Opinion leaders are influential community members whose opinion is highly respected within the community (Finnegan & Sexton, 1999). The reputational method seeks to identify and diagram interconnection and influence based on structured views with key community informants (leaders) who are asked to nominate other whom they believe to be influential (Finnegan & Sexton, 1999). This method also looks for patterns found in individual interviews. The reputational approach seeks to solicit varying perspectives on a single issue and does not assume that political leaders are the sole influential actors within a community (Finnegan & Sexton, 1999).

This approach was very helpful in expanding my participant base. For example, I conducted interviews with CONAF (National Forest Commission) and CONAMA (National Environmental Commission) representatives, local government officials and members of local institutions, such as the Municipality and the library in Tortel. Most institutions offered the most appropriate person or people in their departments or agreed to do interviews themselves. CONAMA representatives happened to be in town for a planning meeting and I was able to interview the presenter after the meeting. As a result I was also able to meet organizers, community leaders and tourism pioneers who were able to share diverse perspectives on tourism development management and the changes in Tortel in the past five to ten years.

The stakeholder types included in this research were: most tourism industry service providers, some local government officials, members of most public institutions, some community members, and almost all local business owners. Table 2 shows the breakdown of participants by occupation or employer. Though many of the participants

in Tortel could be categorized in multiple work or field areas, they were categorized according to the area/occupation with which they most strongly identified. This was determined at the beginning of the interview process in the interview protocol

Table 2: Number of Participants by Occupation or Employer

Occupation/Employer	Number of Participants (30)
Tourism Industry (9)	
Hostel Operators	4
Boat/transportation Operators	2
Restaurant/other services Operators	3
Local Government (6)	
Tourism Management	3
Economic Development Office	2
Upper Management	1
Public Institutions (6)	
Forest Service	1
Environmental Quality/Commission	1
Firefighting Squad	1
Education/School	1
Tortel Library	1
Rural Health Clinic	1
Civil Society/Community Organizations (4)	4
Community Members (4)	
Elders	2
Youth/Students	2
Locally-owned Business (1)	1

Numbers in parentheses indicate number of participants by occupation/employer

Table 2 demonstrates the types of participants in this research. The above table also shows the wide range of people within this small community interviewed. This demonstrates a commitment on behalf of the researcher to obtain various opinions and potentially dissenting voices as a way to achieve a more encompassing understanding of development in Tortel.

Interviews

I conducted 30 in-depth interviews throughout a three-week period from January 7th to the 31st of 2008 in Caleta Tortel, Chile. The interviews were conducted in Spanish

and were digitally recorded. Each participant was informed of the nature and scope of the research, and I explained that their anonymity would be protected and any questions they had were answered. The interviews varied from 30 minutes to one hour in length and were intended to go as long as the participant had expressed all he or she had to share. The interviews were conducted in participants' homes or workplaces. The only people present during most interviews were the participant and I, aside from kids, or other family members who interrupted from time to time. Participants were also advised to only answer questions they felt comfortable answering, as to not compromise or discomfort them in any way.

Field notes supplemented the interviews. All participants were asked if they were comfortable with note-taking during the interview. All participants agreed and note taking took place. Notes included brief description of current setting, description of participants' profession, their involvement in the tourism industry in Tortel, names of other community members, and quotable sentences. I also noted their body language, which questions made them comfortable or not, which questions they responded with a lengthy or brief response.

Key topics discussed were varied and included individuals' perceptions of development and changes in Tortel as well as thoughts on tourism development and management. Almost all of the participants also shared their fears and aspirations for the future of the town. All participants were extremely friendly and helpful, excited to be a part of this research, and interested in the suggestions and potential results from the research.

Analysis

Of the 30 total interviews, 25 interviews containing the richest and most diverse set of data were translated from Spanish into English. The five that were omitted did not contain significant information that was not already covered in the other 25 interviews. These five were redundant, leading me to believe that I had reached a saturation point in my research (Bailey, 2007). From February 19th to April 8th, 2008, I translated into English the 25 interviews and transcribed them. I then carefully analyzed the transcripts for recurring themes. The translated interview transcriptions were analyzed using a coding system.

Coding is a process for both categorizing qualitative data to analyze the meaning and for understanding patterns. Initially, the codes are open-ended, or have a broad theme allowing many quotes and ideas from the transcript to fit in. As more transcripts are reviewed and analyzed, codes become more distinct or narrow in scope. The goal is to identify the main concepts and themes expressed within the transcripts. The themes are then broken down into themes/codes and sub-themes/sub-codes. Themes and codes are usually broader topics of discussion identified in the transcripts. This type of analysis is beneficial in searching for patterns and differences in the data (Bailey, 2007). The coding process allowed me to interpret the content by highlighting key and emergent themes in participants' comments. Comments are phrases, single sentences, or groups of sentences that have a distinct meaning, which help to answer the questions posed in this thesis.

In the coding process, I used Microsoft Excel and Word. I highlighted relevant participant comments and copied these into separate files corresponding to their respective themes. After reviewing the data in these themes, I was able to develop these

into codes and omit irrelevant comments. Codes and their sub-codes were refined several times and the comments were recorded. I examined similarities, combined and separated codes or themes and created important sub-codes as necessary. In analyzing this data, I coded a total of 474 comments. After thorough examination, seven major codes and thirteen sub-codes were determined. Table 3 shows the final list of major codes/themes. The definition of the specific codes used will be provided in the next chapter.

Table 3: Final List of Major Codes and Sub-codes

Theme (Major Code)	Sub-Code/Theme
Positive Comments about Development	<i>Road</i>
Negative Comments about Development	<i>Road Dams</i>
Tourism Impacts and Benefits	<i>Economic Impacts and Benefits of Tourism Unequal Distribution of Benefits Cultural Impacts and Benefits of Tourism Environmental Impacts and Benefits of Tourism</i>
Concerns About Tourism Management	<i>Tourism Planning and Development Lack of Infrastructure Government Funding and Grants</i>
External Influences on Tourism	<i>External Businesses Dams</i>
Critiques of Local Authority	<i>Questioning Government Control</i>
Sustainable Development	

I categorized each participant under his/her field of work and a number, for example: Tourism Operator 1, Tourism Management 2, Economic Development Office 4, etc. Comments were tabulated by number of comments by major theme and number of comments by occupation. These were tabulated to determine which themes or codes were

supported by the most and least comments and which participants commented the most and least on certain themes or codes.

Figure 7 below shows the total number of comments made about each major code. Figure 7 shows which themes were associated with more comments. Figure 7 demonstrates that participants made the most comments about external influences on tourism. I defined this theme from many recurring comments from residents about fear of external control and increased benefits over the tourism industry in Tortel. This is particularly interesting in the context of a budding tourism development in Tortel, as different stakeholders take an interest in tourism development in the town. Concerns about tourism management, critiques of local authority, and tourism impacts and benefits were the next three most frequently coded themes. The theme that was coded the least was sustainable development, where residents discussed their hopes for the future.

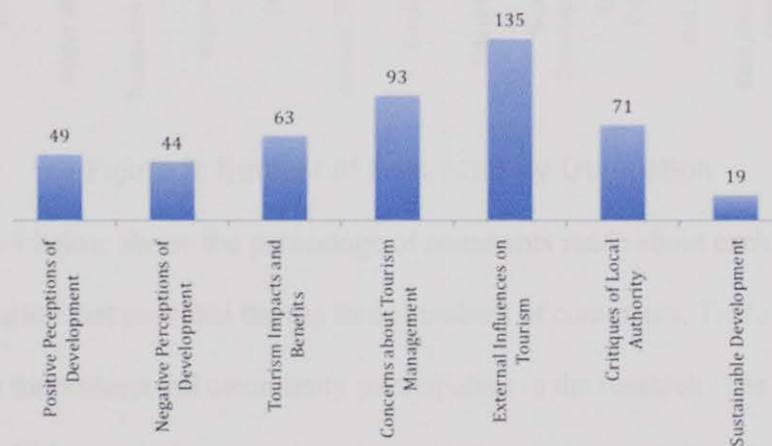


Figure 7: Number of Comments by Major Code

Figure 8 shows the number of comments made by residents according to their occupation. Figure 8 shows the vast number of comments made by hostel operators. Most of the hostel owners interviewed were not shy to offer their opinion and felt very connected to most of the questions and overall topic of this research. Community

organization members and economic development office workers were second and third respectively in comments by occupation. These two groups are very involved in the community and worked with the public; therefore, they were able to offer their comments and opinions frequently. The high number of comments from the hostel operators, community organization members, and economic development office workers may also be a reflection of the number of interviews conducted with persons belonging to those occupations.

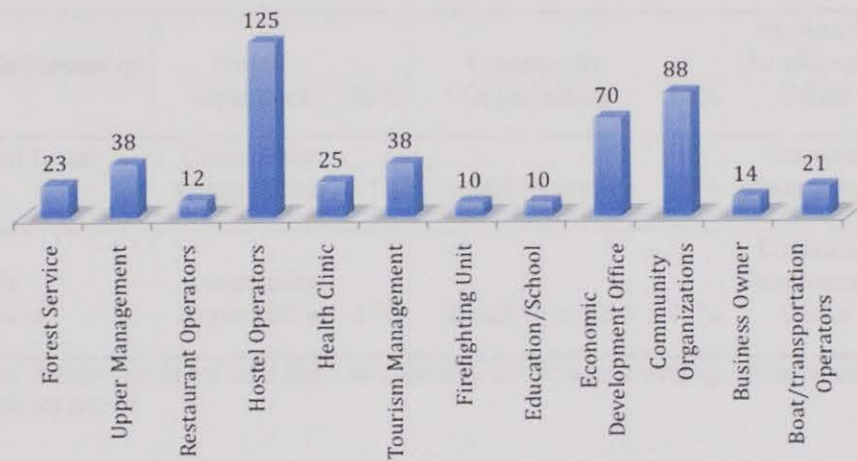


Figure 8: Number of Comments by Occupation

Table 4 below shows the percentage of comments made about each major theme by the occupation that provided the top three numbers of comments. Table 4 demonstrates the widespread community participation in the research. The table also emphasizes which occupations or categories are most concerned with which issues. Table 4 again shows the dominant participation of hostel owners and community organization members. The two most important themes to hostel operators were tourism impacts and benefits and negative perceptions about development. Considering the tourism

Table 4: Top Three Occupations in Percentage of Comments on Each Major Code/Theme

Major Code	Occupation 1	%	Occupation 2	%	Occupation 3	%
Positive Perceptions about Development	Hostel Operators	40%	Economic Development Office	10%	Education	5%
Negative Perceptions about Development	Hostel Operators	50%	Community Organization	12%	Forest Service	8%
Tourism Impacts and Benefits	Hostel Operators	55%	Upper Management	20%	Community Organization	10%
Concerns about Tourism Management	Upper Management	30%	Hostel Operators	25%	Community Organization	20%
External Influences on Tourism	Hostel Operators	45%	Community Organization	30%	Economic Development Office	20%
Critiques of Local Authority	Community Organization	45%	Hostel Operators	35%	Tourism Management	10%
Sustainable Development	Community Organization	45%	Hostel Operators	45%	Economic Development Office	10%

Percentages in each row do not total 100% because only occupations providing the top three percentages of comments are shown

development focus of this research, Table 4 demonstrates the overwhelming concerns expressed by the Hostel Operators interviewed in Tortel as the industry grows and changes. Community organization members had the highest percentage of comments on critiques of local authority and sustainable development. Persons belonging to this occupation were for the most part very progressive and outspoken. Additionally, this table also shows the widespread importance of some themes such as, concerns about tourism and external influences in tourism.

Research Limitations and Challenges

Though the themes and findings of this research may not be directly or uniformly applied to other communities, they can be tentatively used to inform similar rural

communities in the process of comparable developmental change. The example of and experience of Caleta Tortel and its interdependence with natural resources, cypress in particular, and the developmental alternatives for its future can be used as goals for Tortel and communities like it. This research also provides a background for future sustainable development projects, including tourism development in Caleta Tortel and other similarly positioned communities.

A challenge I was able to overcome in the research process was the uncertainty and fear initially expressed by participants. While field research was being executed, the community of Tortel was in the middle of a public comment period for five proposed large dams, three of which will be in the jurisdiction of Tortel. According to many participants, ENDESA, a Chilean, Italian and Spanish owned company responsible for building the hydroelectric dams had sent 'under-cover' field workers to 'interview' residents on their feelings of the town and the dam while trying to convince residents to support the dams. Additionally, if residents demonstrated concern or opposition, their names were noted. Some felt very threatened by such previous experiences and wanted to know as much as possible about the research being conducted. Once participants had a chance to ask all their questions, and realized the independent nature of my research, all participants happily consented to interviews with me.

The following chapter explores each of the aforementioned themes to provide a more extensive understanding of the current situation in Tortel. The themes in the context of Tortel will also be utilized to analyze Torte's past development path as well as its future one. The themes discussed in the following chapter will also aid in evaluating the

ability of community members in influencing a socially and ecologically beneficial path in the future of Tortel.

RESEACH ANALYSIS

This chapter will present further information on the current situation in Tortel. Tortel's current situation will be analyzed to evaluate Torte's past development path as well as its future one. This chapter is an analysis of the 25 coded interviews, which I used to evaluate the community's role in shaping the future path of Tortel. This evaluation will be conducted through a critical analysis of following main themes, and sub-themes:

- (1) Positive Comments about Development
 - a. Road
- (2) Negative Comments about Development
 - a. Road
 - b. Dam
- (3) Tourism Impacts and Benefits
 - a. Economic Impacts and Benefits of Tourism
 - b. Unequal Distribution of Benefits
 - c. Cultural Impacts and Benefits of Tourism
 - d. Environmental Impacts and Benefits of Tourism
- (4) Concerns about Tourism Management
 - a. Tourism Planning and Development
 - b. Lack of Infrastructure
 - c. Government Funding and Grants
- (5) External Influences on Tourism
 - a. External Businesses
 - b. Dams
- (6) Critiques of Local Authority
 - a. Questioning Government Control
- (7) Sustainable Development

Development, its speed, course and associated changes are recurring themes in the way participants discussed Tortel's history. These themes also surface in discussing the future of Tortel and its people. Development discussions with residents often led to conversations of political economy, community cohesiveness, (democratic) decision-making abilities and sustainability. These discussions also demonstrated a general awareness for the past and current development patterns and a desire by community members to change it in the future. It is the hope of the many of residents of Tortel, not

just those involved in the tourism field, that their own kind of tourism might be that venue. The following sections will explore the role of the budding tourism industry in Tortel.

Positive Comments about Development

It has been noted elsewhere that development, economic development in particular, is often equated with progress (Hoff, 1998). Progress, advancement and improvement are qualities that the residents of Tortel strive to attain and maintain. Partially as a result of the difficulties and hardships presented in the settlement Tortel as well as in the lack of comfort and the physical demands of the timber industry, many community residents are hopeful and receptive to the changes coming to town.

According to one hostel operator:

There was nothing here when I first got here, there were no *pasarelas*, not even as much as a shelter, there was truly nothing, now... we've come a long way (Hostel Operator 1).

Tortel's residents are proud of what they have been able to achieve. Many of their accomplishments are perceived as signs of progress. Progress and development for many is equated with an easier lifestyle, and changes that enable this are therefore welcomed.

Road

The arrival of the *Carretera Austral*, Chile's Southern Highway, has been a significant change for Tortel. The *Carretera*, which reached Tortel in 2002-2003, has connected Tortel with the rest of the region and the country at large in more ways than one. Tortel's health care worker provided a common comment regarding Tortel's isolation, stating that "before, we didn't have a way of getting out, no evacuation route, just by boat and sometimes it would take days to get to Cochrane" (Health Clinic Worker

1). Many residents see this literal connection with rest of the country as a sign of progress, and as a significant event, which has made their lives a little easier. One resident stated:

When the *Carretera* was only to Puerto Vagabundo, people would wait for the boat and that could bring 20 to 25 people at a time, and a lot of people had to wait because the boat could not bring them all and only did one trip a day (Hostel Operator 3).

The road has enabled greater access, more comforts, accessories and appliances that make many of Tortel's residents feel that they are part of a modernizing world. A school administrator shared his experience of Tortel's progress:

When I got here over 15 years ago, there was nothing, not even TV, now we have TVs, satellites in some places, radios, computers, internet, washing machines... technology has allowed us to have a greater quality of life, and the road has sped up that process (Educator 1).

The *Carretera* has also extended communication and access to information. The *Carretera* has opened up Tortel to new ideas, cultures and ways of life. According to some of the residents, the road and all of the changes it has inevitably brought with it, have inspired youth and their parents to seek new and alternative lifestyles. The school administrator also stated that "younger generations are getting out of here and studying, they are finishing high school and some even going to universities" (Educator 1).

This generational shift can also be attributed to the lack of timber and its associated job opportunities. Most residents commented that the end of the timber extraction stage, in addition to the exposure of the road, have prompted Tortel to find alternatives for its future. According to some of the residents interviewed, youth and the future of the town have benefitted greatly from changes like the road. For example, one resident stated that "education has improved, we have stopped being just another little

rural school and have begun to specialize in some areas, always trying to provide more for students” (Educator 1). Many of the residents mentioned the fact that the *Carretera* provided new opportunities, which can be seen in the new shift toward tourism. One hostel operator remarked: “since the arrival of the *Carretera*, more tourists have come” (Hostel Operator 2). According to some of the residents interviewed, the fact more people have visited Tortel since the arrival of the road has reestablished community pride. One resident commented: “The fact that others travel so far and wide to come here makes one feel special” (Community Organization Member 3).

Additionally, many of these visitors have developed relationships in the community and have come back multiple times. A few of the visitors have produced documentaries, artwork, and books about Tortel, highlighting the uniqueness of the town and its people. According to a few of the residents interviewed, this kind of attention would not have been possible without the *Carretera*. One resident stated, “The road has literally paved our way, well, not literally yet, to tourism” (Hostel Operator 3).

While most of the residents interviewed were not receptive to big business coming to Tortel, a few were in favor. The latter sentiment was expressed by a hostel owner:

I hope that Tortel grows more and more and becomes a town like Valparaiso [a large port city in the most populated region of Chile] with more construction, perhaps a couple of industries, to keep jobs here (Hostel Operator 4).

Others would like to see industries come in to market Tortel to the outside world in a way they feel the town has not been able to. For example, a hostel operator said:

Perhaps large industries will be able to manage information about the town in a better way, they can make Tortel known everywhere, sell it, and we will all benefit (Hostel Operator 3).

Industries are seen as sources of employment and income, which could prompt greater commerce for the town. Another hostel operator stated:

Commerce is almost non-existent here, and my hope is to be able to diversify our economy by having bigger stores, manufacturing, or other types of jobs (Hostel Operator 5).

There is a general sentiment of fear about what will happen once the cypress is no longer available, and some, although very few of the residents interviewed believe that promoting larger industries to come in is a safe way to "keep the town alive". A very small number of residents interviewed believe that the controversial proposed dams in the area will be beneficial for the town. One supporter of the dam project stated:

Hydro-Aysen could help us treat our water, or give us free electricity, or jobs that could sustain us for many, many years (Hostel Operator 3).

Although development and progress were at the forefront of many of the conversations and interviews conducted in Tortel, almost all residents, especially those seeking a larger scale development for the town, were conflicted about how much to develop or change and how much to retain or maintain. Understanding that the major attraction for the town is its unique architecture and remote location, too much development, too many industries, or modern technologies would diminish the very character of the town. Given this situation, almost all of the residents interviewed believe that tourism is a way to economically develop; however, they do not see it as the only way to develop. Moreover, the fears and insecurities expressed by many of those interviewed demonstrate inconsistencies and partially-formed ideas of development.

Negative Comments about Development

The uncertainty of what the future holds is unsettling for many of Tortel's residents.

Many of Tortel's residents are cautious about development. Most residents are hesitant

to change, because for generations they have worked to create a town, a life, and a culture for and by themselves. In reference to future development, one resident stated:

There are many things that we don't know, we don't know what the implications will be or who we will be affected (Hostel Operator 2).

Consequently, many feel as if they are not prepared or informed to adequately deal with new changes and development coming from the "outside", and they fear that they will not be in control of such changes. One resident explained:

I'm afraid that maybe in the future, this won't be the same place that it is now, culturally speaking because a lot of things are changing (Economic Development Office Worker 2).

The sentiment of external pressures changing the community versus the community enacting change was expressed time and time again. One participant remarked:

To be developed doesn't mean to have the place full of buildings. To me it's about the people, whether we are in the process or not, and to me it's not development if the people are not considered (Community Organization Member 2).

Another stated, "we need to start looking at development in the long-term and considering our role in it" (Forest Service Worker 1). These comments demonstrate residents' need to maintain both the environmental and cultural fabric of their town. These comments also show that while a new livelihood strategy is needed since timber extraction is coming to a close, there is a definite concern about community participation in that process.

Road

A prime example of the lack of community consultation or participation in the development process and its changes was the arrival of the *Carretera*, or road, to Tortel

in 2003. In discussing Tortel's history, the arrival of the road is a significant mark for Tortelinos who often refer to life in Tortel "before the road" and "after the road". Many Tortelinos interviewed felt that they were excluded from discussions on the road and felt they had a very limited ability to deter or modify the road's continuation to Tortel. Though some people welcomed the road and the changes that occurred as a result, most people felt that Tortel was not fully prepared for the road and what followed. Tortel's Mayor explained his position on the road:

I was not against the arrival of the road, I was never against it, but what I said was that we had to solve local issues, like wastewater treatment before the road got here; if not it would become a real problem for the community, and it has (Upper Management 1).

The Mayor's statement demonstrates his lack of power in the face of national policies or development plants.

Limited local infrastructure such as lacking a wastewater treatment facility, an appropriate garbage disposal process and a reliable energy source have created serious environmental and health related problems for the community. The arrival of the road exacerbated these problems. The road significantly increased the number of people that visited the town, one resident stated:

Before the *Carretera*, we would get 700 visitors a year, right after it increased to 3,000 to 4,000 people, so it was a huge impact for the whole community, in that the area was not ready to receive that many people (Economic Development Office Worker 1).

Another resident shared different figures: "They did a survey showing that an average of 300 people used to come here before the *Carretera*. Now it's about 1,500" (Hostel Operator 3).

The *Carretera* was also central in expanding and altering the existing, yet limited tourism industry in Tortel. While increasing the number of people that visited Tortel was a result of the road's expansion, the road also changed tourism and Tortel in a variety of other ways. Most of the residents interviewed agreed and stated that this change had prompted other changes for town planning and infrastructure. Currently, the town's most vibrant section is that of *Rincón Alto*, the highest part of Tortel's incline, also the only section that comes into direct contact with the road and parking lot. In order to be in closer proximity to the road, the elementary school, the school gym, the rural health clinic, the Comisión Nacional Forestal or CONAF office and various new hostels and cabins have settled in this section of town, isolating other sections such as *Junquillo* and *Playa Ancha*, which were the entry points to the town prior to the road (see Figure 4 above).

While Tortel's library, radio center and Municipality building have remained in the center of town, the activity in other sections of town is noticeably less than in *Rincón*. As a result, residents and town planners are discussing how to encourage more even development. There are many residents of *Sector Junquillo* who believe that the main road should divide into two, with one of the forks coming closer to that part of town. Other residents believe that the main *pasarela*, which connects the town from one end to the other, should be re-constructed and widened to support bicycles and even cars on it. The arrival of the *Carretera* therefore has generated town-planning questions for the town that at times conflict with the town's *zona típica* or cultural and scenic heritage standing as well as with some individual and regional tourism endeavors.

In addition to slightly modifying the town's layout, the road also changed the number and kind of the tourists that visit Tortel. One resident stated:

I think that many more people are coming now because of the comfort of the road, they can come for the day, they can come early from Cochrane and come here and go back to Cochrane and stay in Cochrane, because Tortel, you can do in a couple of hours so they don't have to stay here (Librarian).

Visits to Tortel prior to the *Carretera* were seen as adventures mostly spearheaded by international travelers seeking to see the 'real' Tortel and enjoy its glaciers, *pasarelas* and relaxed lifestyle.

The arrival of the *Carretera* has enabled more tourists, and increasingly more domestic travelers to visit Tortel. These travelers however, are not seeking an adventure. They want and seek comforts, schedules, and goods that Tortel cannot currently provide. Arriving by car or bike into Tortel also means that visitors do not have to spend as much time or money in Tortel. A hostel owner shared her past experiences:

The *gringos* would come here and we would be sure that they had to stay somewhere for at least a night and then they would go to the glaciers and that would mean another night (Hostel Operator 4).

Now, visitors are able to turn back at their convenience, leaving limited profits in the town.

The arrival of the *Carretera* has made a significant imprint for Tortel and its people. This event has changed the way Tortel sees the world as well as its role in it. The arrival of the *Carretera* has also served as an example depicting Tortel's preparedness or lack thereof to new development. Many of the residents also view the *Carretera* as a warning to future, especially in considerations for larger scale projects.

Dam

Although the dams if built would not directly affect the town of Tortel, two of the three dams in the Pascua River would be within the '*comuna*' or area of Tortel. This is an unsettling situation for most of the residents, especially because many feel that they do not have enough information to make a wise decision. A resident said:

We are taking risk, doing something without knowing what will happen; we know the dams will generate electricity, but at what consequences, that we don't know (Forest Service Worker 1),

Many, especially those who oppose the project, fear that their concerns will not be listened to.

Many Tortelinos feel that the river has shaped their way of life. The natural surroundings, their culture and identity as a people have been significantly influenced by the river and the landscape that surrounds it. A hostel operator said, "We are a people of the river and of cypress, life without both is hard to imagine (Hostel Operator 1). Due to Tortel's layout over the bay, the river is present at all times. People move around in boats or in the multiple *pasarelas* that hover over the bay, food is grown and harvested in the river banks, cypress is removed and stacked in clearings near the river, essentially the river is a port and a way of life. One resident expressed his concern for the land and people near the river, stating that, "Some people might lose their land, they might get a lot of money by selling it, but what do they do after that? (Economic Development Office Worker 1).

In conclusion, there is a general feeling of skepticism, confusion and uncertainty about the proposed dam project amongst many of the residents of Tortel. Very few

residents support the project, most are against it, and their commonality lies in the fact they all feel ill-informed and lacking strength and voice.

Tourism Impacts and Benefits

In addition to providing an economic alternative for the town, tourism in Tortel presents an opportunity for residents to actively participate and shape its development. While tourism offers a new and much needed economic opportunity for Tortel, the industry and its development also present a series of impacts and benefits.. Residents' perceptions of negative impacts as well as the benefits of tourism are presented in this section as a major theme of the interviews. Participants described how tourism has influenced and impacted them in various ways, which are presented as separate sub-themes, including the following: economic benefits; distribution of (economic) benefits and potential resulting community conflicts; cultural impacts and benefits; and environmental impacts and benefits. This section will also describe some of the programs and institutions, which promote tourism development in Tortel, as these reflect some of the inadequacies and also the competence in tourism development and management in the town. These findings are helpful for understanding Tortelinos' views on future tourism development projects.

Economic Impacts and Benefits of Tourism

As logging became more difficult and less profitable, sustainable new ventures such as tourism were welcomed and encouraged by residents and governmental entities alike. INDAP, CORFO and SERCOTEC, presented in the background chapter are the most prevalent funding organizations that enabled residents to pursue new small business ventures. Tourism proved to be a lucrative, seasonal opportunity that enabled community

residents to maintain their traditional livelihood strategies in the off months and make the switch to capitalize on this industry in the high season. As tourism grew and a greater numbers of visitors visited Tortel, particularly in the years following the arrival of the road, more and more residents began to participate in this industry as illustrated by this comment of a resident working in tourism management for the town:

The majority of people, everyone almost, is starting to work in tourism, whether it is selling bread, or arts and crafts, or having a restaurant or hostel, they are making that shift toward tourism (Tourism Management 1).

There is a general sentiment among residents that the tourism industry leaves a bit behind for everyone, thus enabling residents to improve their quality of life.

Another general sentiment amongst Tortelinos is that tourism development and associated revenues have the potential to significantly improve the quality of life of individuals and the community at large. Access to more resources, especially in technology and an education, is a primary concern for residents, but so is increasing their overall quality of life. A community organization member stated:

Tourism has brought economic benefits, which have improved the quality of life of people here; you can see it especially amongst the people who have restaurants or *hospedajes*, showing that it does leave something behind (Community Organization Member 2).

An overwhelming majority of residents interviewed believe that tourism development has improved the town as a whole and most believe that they could participate in the industry if they had access to more resources, government grants and other programs that promote this industry.

Some see benefits beyond enhancing the town's economic stability. For example, those promoting tourism development and management also believe that recent tourism development sets the tone for the long-term plans and vision for the town. The tourism

industry has exceptional support in Tortel because people believe that it will help maintain the life of the town and its people while promoting jobs and sustaining the environment. Tortel's Mayor as well as other government workers mentioned the concept of economic sustainability. They described this idea as the ability for a community to reach and maintain a high quality of life by using renewable resources and promoting innovative ideas. They also expressed that tourism had that potential in Tortel if projects are managed properly. As the town shifts from an extractive industry to a more sustainable one, planning and management schemes are underway to ensure that tourism revenues will partly sustain the town. Tourism is a central topic in most town planning meetings and neighborhood meetings. In addition, there are various economic development offices in the Municipality, which incorporate aspects of the tourism industry into their existing and future programs. According to the Mayor, the future of Tortel is in tourism and its potential needs to be supported. Consequently, many Tortelinos hope that they will be able to depend on revenues generated from tourism and improve upon the existing projects to create a long-term and sustainable industry in the town. Currently, the importance of tourism in the economy has been noted and shifts toward improving the industry are being made. The Mayor stated:

I am happy because we have changed our vision of the economy; Tortelinos have realized that with tourism we can make money (Upper Management 1).

Unequal Distribution of Benefits

There is a general sentiment among residents, whether involved directly, indirectly, or not at all, that tourism has generated economic revenue for the town as a whole. However, the incentives and distribution associated with the industry are a contentious issue for many Tortelinos. Some of the residents interviewed felt that there

were varying levels of conflict and inequality generated from incentives and grants that promote tourism. Many felt that incentives were only granted to those working directly in tourism, but were denied to individuals or groups working on other kinds of services, which are still impacted by the increased number of visitors in town. There are residents who believe that funding for tourism programs were exclusive to some who did not qualify for assistance. Fewer residents felt that favoritism played an important role in granting funds for tourism development.

Some of the residents interviewed were concerned that since the local and regional governments focused on tourism development, little attention was given to other services. Additionally, residents felt that tourism development often had a direct effect on these services. However, since grants and incentives were solely for tourism development, often for hostel and boat repair or expansion, other important services were not considered. This sentiment was best described by a firefighter who said:

Resources and incentives for tourism are logically given to the people that are actually working in that, and the rest of the people in the community are not really benefited (Firefighter 1).

This sentiment was shared by other service organizations such as the library, the medical clinic and the Forest Service. While the benefits and revenues affect a broad range of the population, so do the negative impacts. As a result, these service organizations and individual residents believe that greater emphasis should be given to supporting such services and allocating a portion of the funds to them.

There are also some residents who believe that the stipulations of the grants and stimulus packages for tourism development are too narrow. Some people qualify for none, some for one, some for all. Therefore, this does not promote a sense of equity or

one of fair competition. One hostel operator expressed, "INDAP only helps people who own their land, people who don't maybe can get some help from CORFO" (Hostel Operator 1).

Though beneficial, these programs often create confusion and conflict amongst residents applying for available grants. The major complaint from most residents is that there is little follow through once funds have been granted, and little assessment of the changes executed by those who have been granted the funds. One community organization member expressed this concern:

Some grants are supposed to be used for education or training, but sometimes they are not carried out and the money disappears, in other words, it is not used rightfully (Community Organization Member 2).

In a small community, it is quite evident when one person receives funds and does not utilize them rightfully. This creates a rift between people working in tourism directly and with the Municipality, which oversees its development in Tortel. This will be explored in greater detail in the next section.

In addition to commenting on confusing and at times narrow guidelines for tourism development projects, many residents also stated their concern with favoritism in decisions regarding who received these grants and who did not. One hostel owner stated: "At some point it was decided that some people were going to work in tourism; therefore only those people should be helped" (Hostel Operator 3). There is a major conflict that arises from the lack of transparency associated with these funding sources. According to some of the residents interviewed, within those working in tourism, some are favored and others are discriminated against based on relationship and status with decision-makers.

Cultural Impacts and Benefits of Tourism

While economic benefits are most often mentioned as direct benefits associated with tourism, there is a general sentiment that greater contact with the outside is a positive and beneficial experience. The participants stated that many residents, and almost all of the residents who work in the tourism industry directly, enjoy the exchange of ideas available to them from visitors. One restaurant owner exclaimed that "learning from the people that visit us is very important" (Restaurant Operator 1). Visitors have brought forth new ideas and concepts that residents have embraced. According to many Tortelinos, visitors have also embraced their lifestyle, reinforcing their pride and commitment to the town. Many Tortelinos believe that these increased dialogues and exchanges have enriched the town presently, but also have enriched the minds of the future. The school administrator remarked:

Kids like talking to tourists, figuring out where they are from, exchanging stories with their friends, and becoming proud of where they are from (Education 1).

Tourism in Tortel has allowed Tortelinos to get to know other places through visitors' stories and exchanges. Visitors in turn have celebrated Tortel and Tortelinos and encouraged a sense pride in the community. Tortelinos knew their town was special, but now feel that they have much more to offer the world. Their actions to preserve and maintain their culture and the structure of the town have also been celebrated by visitors.

A community organization member commented on the Tortel's town planning stating:

The *zona típica* designation has allowed us to maintain our town the way it is, and has given us some publicity in Chile and abroad (Community Organization Member 2).

Thus, many individuals in town believe that tourism has helped to preserve the culture of the community and have expanded upon the example of the *zona típica*.

There are individuals who have dedicated much of their work to maintaining the culture and essence of Tortel. Though these actions are not intended to enhance tourism, and the main objective is to instill a sentiment of pride and traditional knowledge in younger generations, traditional celebrations and transfer of knowledge has had an effect on tourism. As residents continue on with their typical foods, music, and customs, the town and its life is more attractive to tourists. Since the town has been relatively isolated, its residents have taken it upon themselves to pass down important traditions and customs, inspiring younger generations and sharing their knowledge in the process. A young restaurant owner is working to create a traditional foods recipe book. She remarked:

It's a contribution that I can make, it is a way to share our story with others and keep our story for ourselves (Restaurant Operator 1).

This story like so many others, demonstrates the beneficial influence of tourism in this community. This example also demonstrates the applicability of West and others' niche exception, when locals can complement rather than compete with larger tourism operators and when they can concentrate on unique and special attributes.

Environmental Impacts and Benefits of Tourism

Since tourists come to Tortel primarily to enjoy the unique natural landscape of the region, residents have found a new appreciation and awareness for their natural surroundings. Since the natural landscape and outdoor recreation opportunities are the major reasons visitors go to Tortel, most of its residents have gained a new perception of the natural landscape. According to many participants, most residents' ideas regarding nature have shifted from one of extraction to one of conservation. At the same time,

tourism has generated a series of negative impacts that directly conflict with these newfound ideals.

Conservation and land stewardship are fairly new terms to Tortelinos. The town did not wholly welcome conservation ideals initially, particularly when the Chilean Forest Service required protection of the cypress species. In 1998, as a result of the Native Forest Protection Act, cutting live cypress became illegal (CONAF, 2008). Given that cypress extraction was the sole income-generating source for Tortel, many of its residents were skeptical of these new environmental ideals that seemed to reflect the values of a small section of the population, but not those who lived near protected areas and had previously benefited from cypress harvesting. As the economy of the region changed from live timber harvesting to fallen timber removal and tourism, the views regarding timber and the landscape at large began to change. One community organization member remarked:

There's not very much left [timber], so we've got come together as a town and take care of what we have and take advantage of new opportunities (Community Organization Member 1).

Indeed, the overall sentiment has changed to one that combines pride and environmental stewardship. However, the arrival of the road and increased tourism have generated a set of problems and negative impacts for the residents and landscape of Tortel. There are many residents, including some upper level management and municipal workers who believe that Tortel was simply not ready for the road and all that followed it. Due to a lack of preparedness on Tortel's part, the town now is facing sanitation, infrastructure and environmental issues such as a lack of garbage disposal or incineration, lack of a working wastewater treatment facility, and insufficient electric energy

generation. These are some of the major problems resulting from high and frequent tourism traffic in Tortel and also from the availability of new items, appliances since the arrival of the road. A worker from the Economic Development Office stated that:

A major impact is that people come here, more now because they have access to the road, and also having access to the road gives you access to other things like washing machines, bathroom fixtures, packaged foods, but all the waste goes directly to the ocean so there is a huge environmental and sanitary problem here (Economic Development Worker 2).

These problems do not only impact the future of tourism development in Tortel, but they also have a detrimental effect on the community at large. While many of Tortel's residents are proud of their town, all they have achieved and all they have to offer, they are also embarrassed by the lack of infrastructure their town has and the unsanitary conditions they have found themselves living in. A member of a community organization stated:

The lack of a waste water treatment facility is a problem, it's something that is seen by everyone... it's embarrassing" (Community Organization Member 1).

Many of the residents interviewed explained that changes have occurred at such a speed that the town and its people have not had the chance to keep up. Thus, life goes on as usual but the overall waste generated has significantly increased.

The residents as well as the Municipality have acknowledged that these problems need to be resolved for the community to improve the quality of life of the people here, but also to manifest the tourism potential of the town. The Mayor said:

We're working toward fixing the garbage problem, plans for the waste water treatment facility are underway, and we're also looking into ways of promoting environmental education in our homes (Upper Management 1).

While short term solutions are underway, a long-term vision for the community is also in place, one that focuses on the needs of the community and on overall sustainability. The Mayor remarked:

People's customs and habits can't be changed overnight, but through education, gradual and individual change is possible and can lead to community wide change (Upper Management 1).

This theme demonstrates that there is a genuine interest in pursuing the expansion of tourism in Tortel. Though residents offered comments about some negative impacts of tourism, many stated that these impacts and shortcomings are a management issue, not an industry issue. Moreover, residents also voiced that they would like to have the opportunity to participate more fully in this industry and would like to see the tourism benefit the entire community. Though economic profits and funding opportunities have been accessible to some more than others, there is a still a general sentiment that many can benefit from tourism if conducted properly. Residents' concerns about tourism development and management are explored in the next theme.

Concerns about Tourism Management

While the residents of Tortel perceive tourism to be a viable economic, cultural and potential environmental opportunity, residents also discussed their concerns with tourism management. Residents interviewed revealed some of the shortcomings in the development of tourism in Tortel, which they believed to be vital for its success. In the analysis process I divided their concerns in various sub-codes, which are addressed and examined in detail.

Tourism Planning and Development

Since tourism is fairly new to Tortel, the community has different ideas regarding its development and management. There is a lack of community agreement and understanding regarding the role and expectations for tourism in Tortel. The fact that the community has not yet come together to formulate a general plan for tourism has generated confusion and conflicts. Moreover, since there are no set standards or guidelines in place for what kind of tourism Tortel seeks to attract, criticism of current tourism management is prevalent.

There are various residents, especially those directly involved in the tourism industry, predominantly tourism providers and local officials, who believe that tourism should be considered in the-long term and that goals and objectives should reflect the future vision of tourism in Tortel. According to many of the residents interviewed, “a special interest” tourism needs to be developed, one that highlights the uniqueness of Tortel, its people, and the region. One resident remarked:

We're seated on a tourism gold mine, a sustainable goal mine, but people must take a stand and declare what their long term goals are, as a town, as a community (Community Organization Member 1).

While defining the kind of ecotourism desired is important, understanding what the community is able to, or can offer is also important. A resident involved in tourism management stated:

We want to make changes for our people, not for the tourist without thinking about us; we don't want to have this plastic city for the visitor (Tourism Management Worker 1).

Many of the residents interviewed raised issues of sustainability and valid concerns for the future of the town. As a result, they have a strong focus on planning.

They emphasize quality versus quantity and strive to maintain the town's culture. Though they admit that all culture changes, and that tourism has prompted significant changes including enhancing women's role in the working arena, they do not want residents to compromise their lives or feel pressured from tourism. Rather, they would like for visitors to get adapted to life here, to become immersed in the town and all it is able to offer. Such a visionary plan, however, requires time, and there are many residents who seek immediate results.

These residents are predominantly tourism providers and service organizations members who believe the town needs a definitive solution to a changing economic and labor system. According to them, tourism appears to be that solution. However, they feel that tourism is being delayed or stifled because the local government is spending too much time evaluating the potential of tourism projects and not taking any action. One resident stated:

We need to make decisions happen, we need to figure out what we want out of Tortel. We can't keep having these meetings about tourism that get nowhere; we need to start somewhere and soon (Forest Service 1).

The residents' frustrations generally stem from lacking tourism development and management plan and inadequate town infrastructure. These concerns are seen as major roadblocks to tourism development in Tortel.

Lack of Infrastructure

While the residents of Tortel have diverging ideas of tourism development and concurrent management, they tend to agree that infrastructure problems have slowed tourism in Tortel. Limited phone communication, a lack of sewage treatment, and faltering electric supply, are some of these tourism barriers. Some of the residents argue

that the community must be ready to meet the demands of tourism and a inadequate infrastructure demonstrates that Tortel is not ready. Tortel's Mayor explains this stance:

First we have to provide a solution for us, and then we can share with the rest of the world (Upper Management 1).

Other residents argue that tourism itself could be the vehicle that drives Tortel's decision-makers to make effective changes. One community organization member remarked:

The community development plan that was done a few years ago showed that people thought tourism was a secondary [economic] alternative; until it becomes the first, we will not get anywhere (Community Organization Member 1).

The unique town layout of *pasarelas* also presents issues since the strength and capacity of these boardwalks have never been tested. While changes are slowly starting to occur, residents have pointed to many inconsistencies in both town and tourism development. Residents who have received government funds and grants to develop tourism businesses such as hostels, restaurants and boat trips have been very critical of the Municipality's slow action to improve the town's infrastructure.

Government Funding and Grants

Confusion and increased conflict also existed among those who did not meet the qualifications for funding or who were rejected for unknown reasons. According to some of residents who were denied government support, their pursuit and qualifications for participating in tourism were valid, yet they were not considered. This has created a rift among tourism service providers who have received grants and other support, and those who have not. Additionally, residents were concerned and questioned how applicants are chosen and how decisions are made questions regarding funds for tourism development. Residents who are first generation Tortelinos, or have relatively recently joined the Tortel community have expressed concerns regarding a lack of community cohesion, or the

inability of the community to come together. These residents report unwelcoming behavior of long-established Tortelinos to new residents. Residents expressed that although some of them have resided in Tortel for over 20 years, they feel like outsiders. According to this small group of residents, the community of Tortel is friendly but has never accepted them as one of their own. These residents have stated that this social exclusion in Tortel has challenged their networks and limited their chances to obtain funds and other support.

A lack of community cohesion has enhanced residents' concerns regarding tourism development and questioned its potential. The community's inability to make decisions or participate in the tourism development to a greater degree in combination with diverging ideas, perceptions and expectation of the tourism industry have also exacerbated community conflicts. A common framework of ideas, are therefore essential for community-led tourism to flourish in Tortel. In addition to internal conflicts, there is a concern with external interests and participation in the tourism industry. Tortelinos are very resistant to, and concerned with, external influences in tourism.

External Influences on Tourism

Considering Tortel's isolation, its people are both proud of their accomplishment in such inhospitable lands, and very hesitant to accept outsiders and potential external pressure. Though there is a general understanding that the *Carretera* has increased tourism and connected Tortel with the rest of Chile, there is a general sentiment of fear and resistance to increased changes from "the outside". As the community attempts to define its role in tourism and its ability to provide particular goods and services, it must also deal with existing and potential external forces. Residents' major concern is that

these external forces could have significant and detrimental implications for the town.

The major external influences and potential impacts of concern come from big businesses participating in the town's tourism economy and the proposal of hydroelectric dams nearby. These are significant pressures on the current and future state of tourism development in Tortel.

External Businesses

Visitors were the first to encourage tourism development in Tortel, and local authorities and community members welcomed this idea. While Tortel embraced the idea of tourism and the potential for creating jobs in the past, recent changes have made some residents worried about the future of tourism and their role in the industry. Some of the residents interviewed believe that now that the town is more connected, there will be more outside pressure to develop bigger and better equipped tourism operations. Current tourism service providers particularly voiced this sense of fear. Considering that most tourism service providers have received government grants to improve their businesses, they fear that they will not be able to compete with a bigger business, with better equipment and knowledge of the tourism industry. One hostel operator expressed her concerns:

My biggest fear is that someone from the outside is going to come with more money and knowledge and we will be left watching or perhaps working in their kitchen (Hostel Operator 3).

This reaction is a valid concern given the efforts some community members have experienced to create a livelihood for themselves.

In many of the interviews conducted, residents voiced their opinions very forcefully. In response to the construction of a new hostel owned by outsiders, many

residents voiced their fears, concerns, and negative reactions. Another hostel operator remarked:

They [government officials] tell us how wonderful 'home-stay' tourism is and to continue improving our work, but they don't stop others from taking our clients from us, they invite them here (Hostel Operator 2).

The fact that Tortel's local government is encouraging both local and non-local tourism operators generates resentment and fear from many local tourism providers.

On its behalf, the Municipality states that it wishes to expand tourism and if outside investments adhere to set community rules and regulations, they too should be able to participate in this industry. While the hostel under construction is much more luxurious than the *hospedajes* or home-stay style hostels in Tortel, the intent is to have it blend in with the rest of the community, both in structure and size. There is, however, a proposal for a larger five-star resort owned by a businessman from Santiago, which would sit on the opposite side of the bay from Tortel and stare at it. This proposal is highly contentious in the community, because according to many residents interviewed, no community participation or review has been required.

Moreover, many residents feel that allowing non-local or external investment in tourism in Tortel discourages locals from participating since many feel they cannot compete. In addition, many residents feel that the lack of community participation in tourism related decisions generates a feeling of distrust in the local government. This is particularly worrisome for some who acknowledge that the Municipality serves as more than a governing body, but that it is essential to everyday life in Tortel.

Dams

While the government and the vast majority of the residents of Tortel perceive tourism to play a significant role in expanding their economic base as well as increasing their overall quality of life, there are external factors that could halt this already slow moving process. The proposed hydroelectric dams mentioned earlier in this chapter are perceived as the single most detrimental factor to tourism. In addition to the potential harm the dams could cause to the region's budding tourism industry, the impacts on the ground could be very severe.

Tortel and the region as a whole have prevented resource extractive, low-paying industries and factories from settling in. One hostel operator expressed her fears stating:

I am scared of large industries because they are not going to respect what is here, to them Tortel is just another town (Hostel Operator 4).

Through their own and many other examples, Tortel residents have learned of the negative implication of such industries. Using the example of the fish farming industry, one resident remarked:

They [large businesses proponents] always tell us that salmon industry workers are well paid, but it is not true, it is difficult work, and people are seen as cheap labor; so perhaps there won't be unemployment but it does not bring the good life it promises (Economic Development Worker 2).

The town successfully refused to have salmon farms within its borders. According to many residents interviewed, Tortelinos in the past were able to come together to take a stand and say "NO". Thus, the potential to take a community stand against the five-star hotel exists. The dams however, present a more complex issue.

Following an extractive development path, Chile's energy consumption is extremely high and the nation requires more than what it is able to currently produce.

While, it is commendable that Chile is exploring for energy alternatives within its borders in order to become more energy independent, concerns regarding sustainability and consumption are hardly questioned or voiced. Therefore, in order to maintain its level consumption, Chile has found a relatively cheap energy source from hydroelectric dam construction. Proponents of the dams have asked residents to support the project because it is for the good of the entire nation. They have asked Chilean citizens to be patriotic and put the needs of the nation before the needs of a region or a town. Proponents have also encouraged citizen support by declaring the creation of much needed jobs in the dam sites. As a result, many residents of the Aysen region and particularly in Tortel feel that they have no voice in the matter. The proponents' message of the needs of the country at the cost of a few rivers has worked well among many, including a few Tortelinos. While most Tortelinos are against the dams, there are those who hold the strong belief that this sacrifice is a necessary one. The dams therefore, have created a deep divide in this tiny community, between those for and against the dam.

The most forceful opponents are those working directly in the tourism field.

According to the many tourism service providers, the dams and the transmission towers will significantly detract visitors from the area. One hostel operator explained:

I have had many visitors who are making it a point to visit the region before it changes, before the Baker changes; foreigners come to see the South of Chile as it is, they don't want it with dams (Hostel Operator 3).

Though tourism is a major concern if the construction of the dams takes place, it is only minimal in comparison to residents' sentiments about a loss of their town and all that makes it so.

Tortelinos are not used to rapid change. The potential changes and uncertainty regarding the impacts of the dams makes most residents very uncomfortable. One hostel operator stated her concern, stating, "I pray to God the dams don't happen" (Hostel Operator 1).

The major concern for most residents is the influx of new people that will enter the town if the dams are built. Puerto Yungay, a short boat ride away, will be the major port for construction and its current population of two ??? is expected to increase to over 7,000 if the dams are set forth. According to many Tortelinos, these newcomers will bring different customs, ideas and goals. The overarching concern is that newcomers will not have the same connection to the landscape or the town itself. The sense of place held by many Tortelinos is a product of the rich history of the area. Tortelinos fear that newcomers will lack a connection to place, since they will be in the area solely due to work. According to many residents interviewed, their connection and sense place has enabled the town to maintain its physical as well as its moral character.

Though sustainability is often equated with economic stability, there are some Tortelinos who are extremely concerned about the state of the Aysen region if the dams are built. Currently, as a result of the vast wilderness and rich ecosystems in the area, the region's motto is "*Aysen Reserva de Vida*" or Aysen Reserve of Life. The very essence of the region would be significantly compromised if the dams were built. The livelihood strategies residents of the Aysen region and of Tortel have never before been compromised by such a powerful and far removed industry. The potential dams and all that they embody therefore raise questions of uncertainty for the future of the area and that of its residents.

This section demonstrates that while residents have genuine concerns for the kind of development and industries affecting their town, they feel relatively powerless to act against them. Their ability to challenge these broader problems often depends on their involvement with the Municipality, who in some instances does not see eye to eye with the community. In addition, while the Municipality holds power in Tortel, this power is significantly reduced in the face of national and international plans and projects including the construction of dams in the area. This section has addressed the concerns of the people of Tortel regarding external influences on Tortel's tourism and has emphasized external businesses and the potential hydroelectric dams as major threats in the area. Critiques of local authority are addressed in to greater in the section below.

Critiques of Local Authority

The Municipality of Tortel is very important for the town. The Municipality has access to regional and national grants and other economic development funds. As a result, it is the main employer for the town. In addition to providing public works job opportunities, primarily building and fixing *pasarelas*, it also distributes funds for tourism projects and serves as the town's tourism manager. Despite the fact that in relation to the rest of Chile, Tortel's Municipality is rather insignificant, the power it holds at a local level is vast. The Municipality's influence and power in the community has raised questions, concerns and frustrations amongst many of Tortel's residents. The role of the Municipality in tourism development has especially raised questions regarding its authority and decision-making. This section will expand on the sub-themes of authority, local government and local or community control.

Questioning Government Control

Many of the residents interviewed shared the sentiment that the local government is too involved in economic development and tourism projects. Almost all residents stated the Municipality as the single most important entity in the town, politically as well as economically. The overarching role of the Municipality, the existing governmental bureaucracy, and the present hierarchy have deterred many residents from participating in the local tourism industry. This shared sentiment is illustrated by the following quote:

I think that the Mayor takes a stand in the name of the community; meanwhile we were never asked (Hostel Operator 2).

According to most residents interviewed the same holds true in regards to tourism management. Another hostel operator commented:

The community's tourism person is the Municipality, I don't know if that is the role they should be taking, but it is what they have done (Hostel Operator 3).

Residents in disagreement with the Municipality have raised concerns about equity and justice. According these residents, many who are in disagreement are marginalized by the very entity that is supposed to support them. Some residents interviewed argued that while there is a dialogue in place and community participation is encouraged, all perspectives are hardly considered and participation is dismal and often meetings are frequented by the same people or those who share interests with the Municipality. Furthermore, many have argued that while the Municipality does provide the space for participation, residents feel they lack the necessary information to appropriately participate. According to most residents, they feel that they receive biased or limited information, which has hindered their ability to generate a strong common

voice to effectively challenge broader issues with the Municipality and external proposals such as the dams.

Many residents stated that their inability to make a collaborative decision is a direct result of their situation with Municipality. According to some residents interviewed, individuals lack the ability to solve problems or make decisions on their own. Meanwhile, those community members who disagree are marginalized and eventually opt out of public comment and participation periods. As a result, those who in many circumstances would be vocal about their preference are silenced in regards to the dams.

There is a small, yet dynamic group of residents in Tortel who have decided to take on many of these broader challenges. This community organization was formed in response to the proposed dams and their potential impact on Tortel. This visionary group of residents seeks to inform and educate their community on the proposed dams and promotes a long range and sustainable development. The group, which for confidentiality purposes will remain nameless, questions the current local government. The group's major concern is the government's limited foresight in town planning and management.

In addition to offering alternative perspectives in town and local government meetings, the group also focuses on many social justice issues, demanding local authorities give equal treatment to all Tortelinos. A group member stated that:

Our mission is to take care of our environment, cultivate our culture, and try to inform our community – to be informed about whatever the Municipality is trying to do (Community Organization Member 2).

While this group has been fairly successful in educating and mobilizing the town on the hydroelectric dam proposal, it has not expanded in membership or scope. A major goal of

the group is to enable community members to organize themselves and to depend less on the Municipality. Their vision is to assess economic, social and environmental sustainability from the vantage point of the community. In addition, their vision is to also implement actions that will promote this local self-defined sustainability.

The questioning government control provides some insight into town management and decision-making. This finding has also highlighted the main conflicts regarding power between the Municipality and the community at large. Additionally, the above examination provides some insight as to the community's ability to shape the future development of the town. Moreover, the analysis demonstrates that while the community is genuinely interested and concerned regarding future development in their town, they lack both the knowledge and courage to voice their concerns. It also demonstrates that there are some residents who are committed to questioning local authority and are actively pursuing democracy and transparency at various levels.

In sum, this examination depicts the interesting stage that Tortel is in regarding social development and community adaptation to change. It also offers a space for changes from the Municipality and residents alike to become a more balanced and democratic community. Residents' definitions of sustainability and their ideas of sustainable concepts as potential alternatives and solutions for economic and tourism development are examined in the next theme.

Sustainable Development

Residents often referred to or equated sustainability with economic sustainability or stability. This is perhaps a direct result of their shifting economy and general sense of uncertainty regarding a future source of income. Though the residents of Tortel do not

use the word “sustainability” in regards to environmental and cultural change, there is a general consensus that it is desirable to achieve a stable livelihood.

There are many Tortelinos who value their home, the natural landscape as well as the cultural fabric that makes this place special for them and those who visit it. One community organization member commented, “There is knowledge here, vast knowledge that I want to pass down to my daughter” (Community Organization Member 2). These community members would like to “maintain” the town; they would like to see a thriving Tortel with sustainable work opportunities. These community members are aware of the challenge ahead. The Mayor remarked:

We need to have economic development, but this needs to be in line with the culture and environment, which make it so (Upper Management 1).

The town shares future objectives such as continued opportunities for youth. The community’s youth are perceived as essential in creating a more sustainable and equitable future in Tortel. At the same time, residents are aware of the challenges ahead in educating and providing adequate work for younger generations. The goal of most parents interviewed is to have their children come back to Tortel after receiving university education. One parent and community organization member stated, that youth should, “give back to the community and preserve the culture here” (Community Organization Member 4). Thus, the need to find multiple and alternative development options is not only a present issue, but also part of residents’ long-term vision of the town. In order to stay true to this objective, many of the residents interviewed believe that a long-term vision needs to be at the forefront of decision-making. Planning and managing the town need to consider the long-term impacts of particular actions.

Thus, while residents are uncertain about the standards and guidelines for a more sustainable development, they are certain of what they would like to keep. Their connection to place and the full understanding of the link between landscape and culture are values the vast majority of the community supports and would like to maintain. According to many residents, a connection to place and full comprehension of the importance that place, often through stories, generates responsible and sustainable decisions.

Closing Comments

This chapter provided detailed information from community members describing the development path Tortel has experienced and the path residents would like to follow for the future. While the sentiment in favor of a more sustainable, socially and environmentally beneficial development path is evident, the role of citizens is often limited. This chapter also aimed to provide information regarding the role of citizens in shaping the path of future development in their community. Through analysis of the interview data and residents' descriptions of the current situation in Tortel, this chapter concludes that community participation in decision-making is limited. Though community control in Tortel's economic development is limited, common objectives and goals for a socially and environmentally beneficial path are present. The following section will explore suggestions and alternatives in promoting this sustainable development and the potential of responsible tourism in particular.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The primary goals of this research were to describe Tortel's past development path, and analyze the potential for it to follow a more sustainable development path. This thesis also evaluated how a sustainable or socially and environmentally beneficial development path can be supported in Caleta Tortel. This thesis focused on tourism in Tortel as an effective way to evaluate the town ability to follow and support a sustainable development path. Moreover, the potential of tourism development to follow a sustainable path is evaluated considering Tortel's past and dominant economic development path. This chapter addresses the main research questions of this thesis and makes recommendations to increase and enhance conditions that support sustainable tourism development.

I developed a framework of contrasting development paths, which shaped the interview questions and was instrumental in identifying major themes from the interviews themselves. My analysis demonstrates that, despite the fact that Tortel has historically followed an extractive and exploitative economic development path, it has come to value conservation ideals and seeks to shift toward a more sustainable development path. It sees tourism as an important component of future economic development and stability and a means of maintaining unique cultural aspects of the community.

There are various obstacles within the community, however, that can prevent this shift from taking place. These are discussed further below. There are also much larger external threats to following a sustainable development path, the road being the most recent reminder of these. The development of a large corporate-owned hotel and potential construction of a dam project nearby are the most current and contentious

examples of this threat. Therefore, it is essential to acknowledge these current threats of exploitative development in order to evaluate the town's ability to move toward sustainability and make appropriate recommendations.

It is also important to evaluate Tortel's economic history in the in the context of dominant development trends in Chile. Historically, development in Tortel was based on *Guaitecas* cypress extraction, leading to a strong dependence on this natural resource and demonstrating the unsustainability of this industry. In addition, past economic development in Tortel also shows the broader implication of an extractive and exploitative development path on a small rural community like Tortel.

Past development in Tortel can be explained by the world systems theory since the core-periphery model can be replicated within nations. Tortel is a remote, rural town in the periphery of Chile's economy. Thus, Tortel and the surrounding areas are subject to broader national economic policies, which oftentimes have encouraged natural resource over-exploitation for economic gain. Tortel's marginal position in Chile's economic system prevents it from making major autonomous decisions regarding its economic development.

This description holds true for Tortel's past, present and future development options. While Tortel has the ability to make decisions that enhance sustainability and stability in the town of Tortel, it is not insulated from overarching economic development decisions. This dependency however, could serve as an impetus for Tortel to identify its commitment to tourism and define the scope and kind of tourism it seeks to provide. While the community of Tortel is committed to tourism and would like to follow a sustainable development path, there is no clear idea of the kind of tourism it would like to

have or the kind and number of visitors the town can host. Thus, Tortel's position at the margins of the economic system could drive the town to define, streamline and shape its budding tourism industry.

Despite the fact that the world systems theory is not balanced, it can be easily applied to the tourism industry, especially in developing nations. National and international support for sustainable tourism is necessary for its success in Tortel and similarly positioned communities. Martha Honey discusses the existence of this imbalance in the tourism industry and how capital investment is essential for tourism success especially in developing countries. Honey also comments on the unsustainability of ecotourism since it requires travel. She and other tourism and ecotourism scholars acknowledge the unsustainable nature of traveling and vast dependence on oil to get to the destination point. However, they also acknowledge the potential for sustainable economic development and environmental conservation that can be achieved in host locations throughout the world (Honey, 2008).

Concerns about the sustainability and impacts of ecotourism on host countries are deepening in light of peak oil, global climate change and world economic recession. These world-changing events have the potential to detrimentally affect tourism and the communities that depend on tourism income. Tourism scholars have a variety of theories for what the future of tourism holds; though they agree that travel will not cease, it will continue to a lesser degree until the economy rebounds ("Tracking Tourism", 2008). Some tourism researchers have concluded that future travel will be more sustainable because the economic recession and conscious spending will encourage travelers to spend more time in one place ("Tracking Tourism", 2008). This change in travel therefore has

the potential to enhance environmental and social consciousness in travel. Commentators have also stated that host communities will have to become more diverse in what they are able to offer travelers in order for the traveler to have the best possible experience and for the community to achieve the most benefits out of that experience.

There are other scholars and experts who believe that economic and environmental changes will result in host communities having to work harder to get travelers and visitors to their community. In addition, host communities will have to compete with other host communities worldwide by offering a new and unique experience for the traveler. Despite the fact that this conclusion seems to be negative one, scholars have acknowledged the potential for improvement. Scholars have stated the importance of monitoring tourism projects since travelers and visitors will change in light of current world events. Tourism researchers have stated that travelers will travel locally, thus host communities should be prepared to receive and provide services to national travelers (Higham, 2007). Researchers have also stated that ecotourism will be expanded to work/volunteer tourism or student, intern/shadow tourism in the future. National travelers, as well as volunteers and students will all tend to spend more time in a given place, thus enhancing the connection to place. However, these scholars also call for host communities to monitor and evaluate their ability to serve these new kinds of tourists, and most importantly assess their goals as a community in the tourism industry considering recent changes (Becken, 2008).

Current Tourism Development in Tortel

These considerations are particularly important to Tortel and similarly positioned host communities. Communities like Tortel whose economies used to depend on natural

resources but have shifted toward tourism must once again reassess and reevaluate their position. Moreover, these considerations allow communities to gain perspective on future tourism trends and prepare themselves accordingly, switch to another industry, or complement their local tourism industry with another livelihood strategy.

In the case of Tortel, my analysis demonstrates that residents consider tourism to have the ability to lead Tortel toward a sustainable or socially and environmentally beneficial development path. However, this analysis also acknowledges that there are obstacles and challenges in tourism development in Tortel. The most significant challenge is the lack of community participation and decision-making in most tourism projects in Tortel. The overarching role of the Municipality appears to have limited community members from voicing their opinions and concerns regarding tourism development. Additionally, as mentioned above, national and international support for sustainable tourism development must be present since its success in Tortel will be inevitably linked to external actors and stakeholders who may hold disproportionate economic and political power.

Currently, sustainable tourism development in Tortel has not reached its potential primarily because Tortel's shift from cypress extraction to tourism development was very abrupt. As result, many of the conditions that enable greater sustainability within the tourism industry are missing. In order to evaluate the presence and extent of conditions that enable sustainability in Tortel, I refer back to West and others' concept of niche exceptions, which act as conditions that enable sustainable tourism development and practice. These conditions also provide evidence that greater tourism planning, assessment and evaluation are necessary in Tortel. Therefore, West's niches allowed me

to identify another set of conditions for analyzing the community's responses to new economic development options such as tourism, and assess its readiness and ability to embrace or reject the outcomes. Furthermore, the niches raised broader questions about sustainability and the ability of the town to achieve a more sustainable path.

West's first niche exception or condition that enables sustainability refers to when local people have an advantage because of their own unique set of skills. While interviewees in this research did not identify specific unique set of skills the community could offer, most of the residents interviewed commented on their intimate knowledge of the area, its geography, wildlife and vegetation, and the potential of the community to contribute to tourism development this way. Though residents' knowledge of the local area can be perceived as a unique skill by visitors, residents themselves do not perceive it as unique since it is a part of daily life for them. However, there are a few residents who acknowledge the importance of demonstrating a unique skill-set to improve their participation in local tourism. One example is the restaurant owner seeking to promote traditional and local foods through a local recipe book for her restaurant.

The Municipality and the School acknowledged the lack of unique skills and the potential setback to enhanced tourism development in Tortel. As a result the Municipality and School are working on local environmental education and civic participation projects. Many of the tourism development funding opportunities including CORFO and SERCOTEC also have a training component in order to provide further tourism skills for participants. The School has been working with its students to maintain local knowledge and increase conservation practices. The goal of these programs is to enable and encourage residents to become engaged in the tourism industry. Thus, while in my

interpretation of interviews, residents did not acknowledge the presence of “unique skills”, they believed these are needed in order to effectively develop and manage tourism in Tortel. This niche also presents a tentative finding in my analysis, showing that community members and local government officials have an understanding of the importance of this niche in enabling and empowering the community to participate in tourism projects.

West’s second niche exception, that communities can concentrate on activities which complement rather than compete with large tourism operators, is not necessarily applicable to Tortel. Although there are currently no large tourism operators in Tortel, there is potential for new outside investments in tourism in Tortel including a large five-star hotel across the bay from the town of Tortel. Many residents, especially tourism service providers are concerned about their ability to compete with the hotel and with their ability to provide services for the tourists who stay at the hotel. Thus, the hotel could weaken the current local tourism industry in Tortel. However, in order to maintain an advantage over tourism, some local tourism service providers are seeking a niche for themselves within the tourism industry by providing an authentic experience.

Many local and small-scale tourism providers have mentioned their ability to produce arts and crafts as well as their knowledge of the area and the potential to serve as guides. These activities would enable them to have advantage over tourism in Tortel if they have to compete with larger scale tourism operations in the future. Thus, the capacity to offer a unique and new service may enable local community success and decrease competition with outside investments.

West second niche is also relevant to the construction of the hydroelectric dams and its potential influence for tourism in the area. Despite the fact that this would not be the ideal condition for the majority of the residents interviewed in Tortel or residents in the northern Patagonia region, the potential for dam construction must be taken into account. It must be noted that the dams could enhance tourism in the area despite the fact that the kind of tourism and tourists that visit the area will most likely change and that the overall construction of the dams follows an extractive and exploitative path.

The potential construction of the dams could lead to a change and probable growth in tourism, perhaps even mass tourism for the area. However, the dam projects could also create a space for local and more sustainable tourism to function within this new tourism trend. Thus, the ability for complementarity between a sustainable tourism path in Tortel and a more extractive and exploitative development path in the Aysen region is also possible. Some examples of large-scale tourism providers could include, large hotels and resorts, and boats and restaurants designed for larger capacity of occupants. These could be complemented by smaller-scale operations including authentic foods restaurants, arts and crafts shops, smaller occupancy hostels and excursions. Therefore, utilizing West and others' second niche exception, local and small-scale tourism service operators could function in harmony with larger-scale tourism outfits in the area, ultimately complementing the existing structure versus competing for tourists or trends in tourism in the area.

West's third and final niche exception regarding a community's access to or hold of special property rights is not applicable in Tortel. This niche exception usually applies to indigenous communities where land rights and titles are in question. Though some

individuals in Tortel do not have land titles for their land, and most are working gaining access to them, there is no collective ownership of land in Tortel. Additionally, Tortel is fortunate to have a *zona típica* designation for all open land in the town and surrounding the Baker River nearby. The *zona típica* guidelines have been extremely influential in planning and zoning regulations. The Chilean National Monuments Act requires these regulations, which are reviewed and supervised by the National Monument Council. The review process makes it much more difficult for private parties to purchase land in the *zona típica* area, thus protecting to some extent the character and indirectly the local and small-scale tourism development in the area.

The niche exceptions or enabling conditions presented above provide another lens to view tourism development in Tortel. In addition, this thesis tentatively concludes that these conditions are not fully present due to a lack of community participation in tourism planning and development in Tortel. Tortel is at the very beginning stages of tourism development and the community as a whole has only very recently discussed the potential of sustainable development. Thus, increased community involvement in planning is necessary in order to encourage the development of conditions that would enable sustainable tourism in Tortel.

While characteristics and conditions that potentially enable and support a sustainable development path are not currently available or exist to only a limited degree in Tortel, the community is ready and willing to become more involved in tourism projects. The community of Tortel has a desire to participate in tourism and in the future development of their town. The fact that the tourism industry is a significant source of employment and income for the residents of Caleta Tortel encourages more people to

participate in this industry and motivates them to make it their own. Thus, in the near future with more planning and dedication to tourism development, West's niches that are appropriate to Tortel could be fully present.

Recommendations

While this thesis does not offer direct guidelines for tourism development, it does provide an assessment and projection for the tourism industry in Tortel. The information and analysis presented in this thesis can be of value to those interested in further tourism development in Tortel such as local government (Municipality), NGOs and community members themselves. This thesis presents these stakeholders with a better understanding of economic development in Chile and in Tortel, as well as with the capacity of tourism to follow and support a sustainable development path.

Recommendations for the Municipality and Regional Government

Based on my research, my recommendations for the Municipality and regional governments are that more attention and support needs to be allocated to tourism planning, project development and evaluation. While these government entities provide grants and funds for specific projects, there is no long-term goal, vision, or plan for the tourism industry in Tortel. Moreover, there are standard procedures followed in other tourism and ecotourism projects such as planning, implementation, and evaluation, which are not present in Tortel. These processes could be highly participatory and involve residents in all aspects. Enhanced community participation is particularly important as Tortel defines its vision of and commitment to tourism.

Despite the fact that the Municipality is strongly linked to national and even international policy, its ability to unite the community in proposing and managing

tourism projects might give the town leverage in distributing existing funds or in implementing viable, local-generated tourism plans. Thus, in addition to increased participation, the Municipality must also be more attentive to the community sharing the benefits of tourism. Currently, many residents expressed concerns with the current funding system, including loans and grants to develop tourism. A thorough evaluation of current and future tourism development projects could mitigate this concern. Thus, while the Municipality may not be able to function entirely autonomously within national and international political economy, it can set an example to its constituents and to other rural communities by including and involving the community in the decision-making process.

Recommendations for NGOs

NGOs that support (eco) or sustainable tourism development or those organizations working toward sustainable development could make significant and positive change in Tortel. Residents are already in support of tourism development and would like to be involved such that they have control and benefit from this industry. Thus, organizations with basic technological knowledge, those working on economic relief and micro-lending for women in small business, or conservation and environmental organizations could offer their support. In addition to providing new skills and additional funding, these organizations could help local residents identify partners, such as universities, eco-travel agencies, and private individuals who are interested in this part of the world and would like to become involved in participating in sustainable projects and trips in the area.

Recommendations for Local Residents

Based on my research, local residents are to some extent questioning existing tourism projects and the funds that support them and questioning the role of outside interests in tourism in Tortel. The fact that residents are beginning to question allows them to figure what their needs and concerns are. It is necessary for residents to identify a vision and goal for Tortel, tourism and sustainable development.

There are numerous host communities in similar positions to Tortel who have clearly defined their tourism goals and guidelines. Appendix C has an example of a community-controlled tourism charter from a community in Nada Devi, India. The Niti Valley is a small and rural community of 500 residents living adjacent to Nanda Devi National Park in India. The community wrote the charter expressing their rights, concerns expectations of tourism in their community. The charter was written in response to failed tourism attempts previously in the area. As a result, the community wanted to ensure its control over tourism management and benefit distribution in the area.

Appendix C therefore, can provide a useful guide to for Tortelinos seeking local control in the future. Despite the fact that there are countless communities who have exerted their rights in tourism development, the Nanda Devi accord is the only one that I found that focuses on community-controlled tourism, rather than community-based tourism. This distinction is of particular importance since community-based does not necessarily mean community-controlled. My research and analysis in Tortel demonstrates that there is strong concern about external forces and a desire to learn more about community-controlled tourism.

In my research, I also found that it is crucial that residents have the capacity to search for support aside from the Municipality. Residents need to make a conscious effort to recognize their own merits and work toward common goals as a community not as a result of the Municipality. The Nanda Devi example and is also applicable in that this community has created partnerships, which have enhanced and supported local control over tourism development and management. Most importantly, their partners are broad in scope and in distance and are not limited to the local government. This example therefore, could be extremely helpful for the community of Tortel as it defines its role in tourism development and management in the Aysen region. I have identified some organizations and potential partners in Appendix E. These organizations could also offer more conventional support and help Tortel identify the kind of tourism and tourists it seeks for in the future. Increasingly, there are organizations, which offer support for communities working toward sustainable efforts in the face of global changes such as climate change and worldwide economic recession, which could significantly help Tortel as it moves forward in tourism development.

Finally, I included an example of sustainable tourism criteria developed by over 32 partners including Rainforest Alliance, the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP), the United Nations Foundation, and the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). While there is no current set of criteria for sustainable tourism, this consortium is working on formulating one, which in turn might help guide future tourism development and management in places like Tortel. I also included Appendix D to inform the residents of Tortel on sustainable tourism. Many residents were interested in tourism but had a limited scope of understanding of the multiplicity of tourisms that

exist. Appendix D therefore can be used as a tool or a model to develop and manage tourism projects in Tortel.

Concluding Comments

Caleta Tortel, like so many places in the developing world and elsewhere is at a crossroads in its economic development. The future of Tortel and so many communities is uncertain. While the possibility of a sustainable development path in Tortel's future exists, it faces a number of external threats. The dominance and impacts of an extractive and exploitative path have significantly affected Tortel, and its effort to shift toward a sustainable path will be marked by its history. This needs to be recognized in Tortel and in other communities with a similar history that are at a development crossroads. Moreover, recognition of political economy, history and culture need to remain at the forefront of sustainable development efforts, including tourism and ecotourism projects, especially as these projects increase in the developing world and in rural areas of developed nations.

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APPENDIX A: Interview Protocol

- 1) What is your name and what do you do for a living? (Only used to identify participants in translating/transcribing).
- 2) How long have you or your family lived in Tortel?
Probes: *What do you like most about Tortel? What do you think makes this place special?*
- 3) Why do you think this is a tourist attraction? What makes it a desirable destination point?
- 4) What kinds of tourists visit Tortel?
- 5) Has tourism changed over the years?
Probes: *How so? In your opinion, what has driven this change?*
- 6) What kinds of services does the town offer for the tourism industry?
Probes: *What could the town offer? What is the potential here?*
- 7) What do you think have been some benefits associated with tourism for Tortel?
Probes: *What are some benefits that are noticeable in the town? Have the benefits changed over the years?*
- 8) In your opinion, how are the tourism benefits distributed?
Probe: *Are these well distributed throughout the town? How is the distribution among local residents? Are the benefits distributed within the tourism industry?*
- 9) Who owns most of the tourism businesses here Tortel?
Probes: *Who manages the tourism businesses or the industry itself?*
- 10) What are your thoughts on how tourism is being managed?
Probes: *Do you have any thoughts about how you might improve or change tourism management in Tortel?*
- 10) Are there tax incentives or other incentives that promote greater tourism to the Aysen region?
Probes: *Are there incentives for tourism companies or larger industries? Are there incentives for local residents? What are they?*
- 11) Can you tell me a little more about the incentives for local residents?
Probe: *Who can access these? What do you think of this system?*
- 12) What do you think about tourism in Tortel?
Probe: *What do you think about the future of tourism here?*

13) What do you think of tourism as a viable option for sustainable development? or sustainability?

Probe: *Do you think this is possible?*

14) What do you think the criteria for sustainable or responsible tourism should be? And, could it be applied in Tortel?

15) What do you think about Tortel's future?

Probes: *What would you like it to look like? What would you like this place to look like for your kids?*

16) Is there anything else about Tortel, about your job, or anything in general you would like to share?

	What	Comments about the impact of tourism on the environment
	How	Comments about the impact of tourism on the environment and the role of the government
ENVIRONMENTAL ASPECTS		Comments about the impact of tourism on the environment and the role of the government
	Importance	Comments about the importance of tourism in the economy
	Challenges/Contributions of Tourism	Comments about the challenges of tourism and the role of the government
	Options	Comments about the role of the government in the tourism industry
	Recommendations	Comments about the role of the government in the tourism industry
CONCLUSIONS ABOUT TOURISM MANAGEMENT		General assessment of the tourism industry and the role of the government
	Future of tourism and development	Comments about the future of tourism and the role of the government

APPENDIX B: Final Coding Scheme

Code	Sub-code	Code Comments
POSITIVE COMMENTS ABOUT DEVELOPMENT		General comments on how Tortel has changed in a positive way (progress)
	Road	Comments about the benefits the road has brought to Tortel (easier access)
NEGATIVE COMMENTS ABOUT DEVELOPMENT		General comments about the risks and uncertainties of development in Tortel
	Road	Comments about the negative impacts the road has caused
	Dam	Comments on negative expectations and fears of the potential dam
TOURISM IMPACTS AND BENEFITS		General comments on the negative impacts and positive benefits of tourism in Tortel
	Economic	Comments on the economic benefits of tourism in Tortel
	Unequal Distribution of Benefits	Comments on the distribution of economic profits generated by tourism in Tortel
	Cultural	Comments regarding the impact of tourism on the culture of the community
	Environmental	Comments regarding the environment as it relates to tourism (management)
CONCERNS ABOUT TOURISM MANAGEMENT		General comments about tourism development and management in Tortel
	Tourism planning and development	Comments about current and future tourism development planning in Tortel (what is working and what needs changing)

Code	Sub-code	Code Comments
	Lack of infrastructure	Comments on how lack of infrastructure is affecting tourism development in Tortel
	Government Funding	Comments on government programs/funding that support tourism development in Tortel
EXTERNAL INFLUENCES OF TOURISM		Comments about outside influence in the development of tourism in Tortel
	Big Businesses/external forces	Comments regarding fear of big businesses and outsiders taking over tourism development in Tortel
	Dams	Comments explaining concerns/fears regarding hydroelectric dam project and its impact on Tortel
CRITIQUES OF LOCAL AUTHORITY		Comments critiquing the actions/plans undertaken by the local government.
	Questioning local control	Comments questioning local power and decisions
SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT		Comments about future sustainability in Tortel, residents' definition of tourism, sustainable tourism opportunities.

APPENDIX C: Example of Community Charter on Locally-Owned Tourism Nanda

Devi, India

Today on the 14th of October, 2001 in the courtyard of the temple of our revered Nanda Devi, we the people's representatives, social workers and citizens of the Niti valley, after profound deliberations on biodiversity conservation and tourism, while confirming our commitment to community based management processes dedicate ourselves to the following –

- That we, in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the World Tourism Organisation's Manila Declaration 1997 on the Social Impact of Tourism will lay the foundation for community based tourism development in our region
- That in our region we will develop a tourism industry free from monopolies and will ensure equity in the tourism business
- With the cessation of all forms of exploitation like the exploitation of porters and child labour in the tourism industry, we will ensure a positive impact of tourism on the biodiversity of our region and the enhancement of the quality of life of the local community
- That in any tourism related enterprise we will give preference to our unemployed youth and under privileged families, we will also ensure equal opportunities for disabled persons with special provisions to avail such opportunities
- That we will ensure the involvement and consent of the women of our region at all levels of decision making while developing and implementing conservation and tourism plans
- While developing appropriate institutions for the management of community based conservation and eco tourism in our area we will ensure that tourism will have no negative impact on the bio diversity and culture of our region, and that any anti social or anti national activities will have no scope to operate in our region
- We will regulate and ensure quality services and safety for tourists and by developing our own marketing network will eliminate the middlemen and endeavour to reduce the travel costs of the tourist
- While developing the tourism infrastructure in our region we will take care of the special needs of senior citizens and disabled persons
- As proud citizens of the land of the Chipko movement, we in the name of Gaura Devi will establish a centre for socio-culture and biodiversity, for the conservation and propagation of our unique culture
- We will ensure the exchange and sharing of experiences with communities of other regions to develop eco tourism in accordance with the Manila Declaration of 1997 in those regions
- Acknowledging the spirit of Agenda 21 of the Earth Summit, Rio 1992, the Manila Declaration on the Social Impact of Tourism 1997 and the International Year of the Mountains and Eco tourism, 2002, we will strive for bio diversity conservation and an equitable economic development within the framework of the Constitution of the Republic of India

Today on October 14, 2001, in front of our revered Nanda Devi, and drawing inspiration from Chipko's radiant history we dedicate ourselves to the transformation of our region into a global centre for peace, prosperity and biodiversity conservation.

- A. Demand calls effective under the management:
 - A.1. The company has implemented a long-term sustainability management system that is viable to industry and society, and that considers environmental, social, financial, quality, health, and safety issues.
 - A.2. The company is in compliance with all relevant international or local legislation and regulations (including, among others, health, safety, labor, and environmental aspects).
 - A.3. All personnel receive periodic training regarding their role in the management of environmental, social, financial, health, and safety practices.
 - A.4. Customer satisfaction is measured and corrective action taken when appropriate.
 - A.5. Physical materials are sourced and supplied and do not purchase materials that can be delivered by the business.
 - A.6. Design and construction of buildings and infrastructure:
 - A.6.1. comply with local zoning and protected or heritage area requirements;
 - A.6.2. respect the natural or cultural heritage surroundings in siting, design, impact assessment, and land rights and acquisition;
 - A.6.3. use locally appropriate principles of sustainable construction;
 - A.6.4. provide access for persons with special needs.
 - A.7. Information about and interpretation of the natural surroundings, local culture, and natural heritage is provided to customers, as well as explanatory appropriate signage while visiting natural areas, living cultures, and cultural heritage sites.
- B. Maximize social and economic benefits to the local community and minimize negative impacts:
 - B.1. The company actively supports initiatives for social and infrastructure development including, among others, education, health, and recreation.
 - B.2. Local conditions are employed, including as management practices. Training is sufficient or necessary.

APPENDIX D: Example of Sustainable Tourism Criteria - Global Sustainable Tourism

Criteria

- A. Demonstrate effective sustainable management.
 - A.1. The company has implemented a long-term sustainability management system that is suitable to its reality and scale, and that considers environmental, sociocultural, quality, health, and safety issues.
 - A.2. The company is in compliance with all relevant international or local legislation and regulations (including, among others, health, safety, labor, and environmental aspects).
 - A.3. All personnel receive periodic training regarding their role in the management of environmental, sociocultural, health, and safety practices.
 - A.4. Customer satisfaction is measured and corrective action taken where appropriate.
 - A.5. Promotional materials are accurate and complete and do not promise more than can be delivered by the business.
 - A.6. Design and construction of buildings and infrastructure:
 - A.6.1. comply with local zoning and protected or heritage area requirements;
 - A.6.2. respect the natural or cultural heritage surroundings in siting, design, impact assessment, and land rights and acquisition;
 - A.6.3. use locally appropriate principles of sustainable construction;
 - A.6.4. provide access for persons with special needs.
 - A.7. Information about and interpretation of the natural surroundings, local culture, and cultural heritage is provided to customers, as well as explaining appropriate behavior while visiting natural areas, living cultures, and cultural heritage sites.
- B. Maximize social and economic benefits to the local community and minimize negative impacts.
 - B.1. The company actively supports initiatives for social and infrastructure community development including, among others, education, health, and sanitation.
 - B.2. Local residents are employed, including in management positions. Training is offered as necessary.

- B.3. Local and fair-trade services and goods are purchased by the business, where available.
 - B.4. The company offers the means for local small entrepreneurs to develop and sell sustainable products that are based on the area's nature, history, and culture (including food and drink, crafts, performance arts, agricultural products, etc.).
 - B.5. A code of conduct for activities in indigenous and local communities has been developed, with the consent of and in collaboration with the community.
 - B.6. The company has implemented a policy against commercial exploitation, particularly of children and adolescents, including sexual exploitation.
 - B.7. The company is equitable in hiring women and local minorities, including in management positions, while restraining child labor.
 - B.8. The international or national legal protection of employees is respected, and employees are paid a living wage.
 - B.9. The activities of the company do not jeopardize the provision of basic services, such as water, energy, or sanitation, to neighboring communities.
- C. Maximize benefits to cultural heritage and minimize negative impacts.
- C.1. The company follows established guidelines or a code of behavior for visits to culturally or historically sensitive sites, in order to minimize visitor impact and maximize enjoyment.
 - C.2. Historical and archeological artifacts are not sold, traded, or displayed, except as permitted by law.
 - C.3. The business contributes to the protection of local historical, archeological, culturally, and spiritually important properties and sites, and does not impede access to them by local residents.
 - C.4. The business uses elements of local art, architecture, or cultural heritage in its operations, design, decoration, food, or shops; while respecting the intellectual property rights of local communities.
- D. Maximize benefits to the environment and minimize negative impacts.
- D.1. Conserving resources
 - D.1.1. Purchasing policy favors environmentally friendly products for building materials, capital goods, food, and consumables.

- D.1.2. The purchase of disposable and consumable goods is measured, and the business actively seeks ways to reduce their use.
 - D.1.3. Energy consumption should be measured, sources indicated, and measures to decrease overall consumption should be adopted, while encouraging the use of renewable energy.
 - D.1.4. Water consumption should be measured, sources indicated, and measures to decrease overall consumption should be adopted.
- D.2. Reducing pollution
- D.2.1. Greenhouse gas emissions from all sources controlled by the business are measured, and procedures are implemented to reduce and offset them as a way to achieve climate neutrality.
 - D.2.2. Wastewater, including gray water, is treated effectively and reused where possible.
 - D.2.3. A solid waste management plan is implemented, with quantitative goals to minimize waste that is not reused or recycled.
 - D.2.4. The use of harmful substances, including pesticides, paints, swimming pool disinfectants, and cleaning materials, is minimized; substituted, when available, by innocuous products; and all chemical use is properly managed.
 - D.2.5. The business implements practices to reduce pollution from noise, light, runoff, erosion, ozone-depleting compounds, and air and soil contaminants.
- D.3. Conserving biodiversity, ecosystems, and landscapes
- D.3.1. Wildlife species are only harvested from the wild, consumed, displayed, sold, or internationally traded, as part of a regulated activity that ensures that their utilization is sustainable.
 - D.3.2. No captive wildlife is held, except for properly regulated activities, and living specimens of protected wildlife species are only kept by those authorized and suitably equipped to house and care for them.
 - D.3.3. The business uses native species for landscaping and restoration, and takes measures to avoid the introduction of invasive alien species.
 - D.3.4. The business contributes to the support of biodiversity conservation,

including supporting natural protected areas and areas of high biodiversity value.

- D.3.5. Interactions with wildlife must not produce adverse effects on the viability of populations in the wild; and any disturbance of natural ecosystems is minimized, rehabilitated, and there is a compensatory contribution to conservation management

APPENDIX E: Additional Resources for Local and Sustainable Tourism Development

Resources for Community-Based Tourism Implementation

World Wildlife Fund (2001)- Guidelines for community-based ecotourism development.
<http://assets.panda.org/downloads/guidelinesen.pdf>

Ron, Mader (2009) Understanding Community Tourism.
<http://www.planeta.com/ecotravel/tour/community.html>

The Mountain Institute: Community-Based Tourism for Conservation and Development: A Resource Kit.
<http://www.mountain.org/docs/CBT-Kit-final-2003.pdf>

The Nanda Devi Campaign: Cultural Survival and Sustainable Livelihood in the High Himalayas.
<http://nandadevi.prayaga.org/>

Partnership for Global Tourism Criteria, The International Ecotourism Society.
<http://www.sustainabletourismcriteria.org/>

Non-Governmental Organizations with focus on Ecotourism

The International Ecotourism Society (TIES).
[http://www.ecotourism.org/site/c.orLQKXPCLmF/b.4832143/k.BFC1/Welcome to TIES
S Uniting Conservation Communities and Sustainable Travel.htm](http://www.ecotourism.org/site/c.orLQKXPCLmF/b.4832143/k.BFC1/Welcome+to+TIES+Uniting+Conservation+Communities+and+Sustainable+Travel.htm)

Conservation International.
<http://www.conservation.org/learn/ecotourism/Pages/ecotourism.aspx>

Sustainable Travel International.
<http://www.sustainabletravelinternational.org/>

Related Non-Governmental Organizations

The Mountain Institute.
<http://mountain.org/about/>

International Rivers.
<http://internationalrivers.org/en/latin-america>

The Patagonia Foundation.
<http://www.thepatagonianfoundation.org/>

Instituto de Ecología y Política.
<http://www.iepe.org/>

Fiscalía del Medio Ambiente (FIMA).
<http://www.fima.cl/>

Universities/Academic Resources

Universidad Austral, Chile. <http://www.uach.cl/admision/catalogo/turismo/>

Universidad de Chile.

<http://www.uchile.cl/uchile.portal?nfpb=true&pageLabel=conUrl&url=8493>

Latin American Network Information Center, University of Texas, USA.

<http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/chile/>

International Center for Research and Study on Tourism. [http://www.ciret-](http://www.ciret-tourism.com/encyclopaedia/list_of_centers_c.html)

[tourism.com/encyclopaedia/list_of_centers_c.html](http://www.ciret-tourism.com/encyclopaedia/list_of_centers_c.html)

Institute for Tourism and Recreation Research, University of Montana, USA.

<http://www.itrr.umt.edu/>

Centro de Investigación en Ecosistemas de la Patagonia. www.ciep.cl

Scientific Tourism in Aysen. <http://www.aysenexplorationsociety.com/>

Resources for Travelers

Green Passport. <http://www.unep.fr/greenpassport/>

Volunteer Patagonia. <http://www.volunteerpatagonia.org/>