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SMALL SCALE SPORT EVENTS AND SUSTAINABILITY: A CASE STUDY IN TORRES DEL PAINE NATIONAL PARK, CHILE

by

Jennifer Velarde-Menary

A Thesis Submitted to the

Graduate School

In Partial Fulfillment of the

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SMALL SCALE SPORT EVENTS AND SUSTAINABILITY: A CASE STUDY IN TORRES DEL PAINE NATIONAL PARK, CHILE

by

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Small Scale Sport Events and Sustainability: A Case Study in Torres del Paine National Park, Chile

Abstract

By Jennifer Velarde-Menary

University of the Pacific 2019

Small-scale sport events have been argued to be sustainable form of tourism development for communities (Gibson, 1999). The purpose of this study was to analyze four small-scale sport events all operated by NIGSA (Nómadas International Group SA) in the Magallanes region of Chile. The four events at the core of this study were: Patagonian Expedition Race, Patagonian International Marathon, Ultra Trail Torres del Paine, and the Ultra Fiord which operate partially or completely inside the Torres del Paine National Park. As a biosphere reserve established by the United Nations, Torres del Paine National Park requires a sustainable perspective of event sport tourism. A 2011 alteration of biosphere reserve qualification criteria from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has heightened the need for protection, preservation, and responsible management of Torres del Paine National Park and the small-scale sport events being studied. This document includes sustainability and event sport tourism literature, a detailed methodology, findings and discussion from the data collected, and a few suggestions for the industry and event organizers. This study aimed to reveal development potential or lack thereof as a result of small-scale event sport tourism in the Torres del Paine National Park. Thus, this report addressed the main question: are the annual small-scale sport

events hosted by the NIGSA a sustainable form of sport event tourism in a biosphere reserve and its extended host community?

<u>Keywords</u>: sport tourism, small-scale sport events, sustainability, host community, Torres del Paine National Park

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Coakley (1990) suggests that people have been engaging in sport tourism as early as the Roman Empire, however the term "sport tourism" wasn't formally coined until much later (Gibson, 1998). Academic investigation of the sport tourism concept is believed to have begun in Europe during the early 1980's (Gibson, 2003). Emerging literature reveals that sport tourism has grown in popularity among researchers and the broader market of tourism products (Gibson, 1998).

Sport tourism can be understood in three dimensions: active sport tourism, nostalgia sport tourism, and event sport tourism (Gibson, 1998). In active sport tourism, individuals primarily travel to a specific region to participate in a sport or adventure activity like skiing, surfing, kayaking, climbing, trail running, or cycling. In contrast, nostalgia sport tourism is focused on sport sites or artifacts that may be linked to culture or heritage of a sport or sport event. Nostalgia sport tourists are interested in hall of fame sties, stadium or arena visits, or sport heritage venues. Event sport tourism is thought to be passive, characterized by individuals who travel to watch a sporting event or spectacle. These events range from international staged matchups or series like the Olympic Games and the World Cup, to small regional events, national championships, and local matchups at all levels (Fairley, 2003; Gibson 1998).

The FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games are at the center of most event sport tourism studies. These mega, or also referred to as *giga*, sport events have been known to pose challenges at international, national, and local levels, which range from economic, environmental, societal, and political struggles to labor and human rights issues (Muller, 2015). The allocation of resources, corruption, and management of mega sport events have highlighted

the corporate character of these events and thus, reinforcing existing patterns of inequality and power structures (Horne, 2015).

In an effort to advocate for sport event tourism and find a viable alternative to mega sport events, small-scale sport event (SSSE) are the focal point of this research. SSSEs can be hosted in both urban and rural locations that vary in population, infrastructure availability and accessible natural resources. These events don't require the same levels of risk, expertise, cost, and infrastructural requirements as mega sport events and often benefit local communities through identity building, local pride, economic and health measures (Page & Connell, 2012). These events promote sport tourist movement and offer economic benefit opportunities for host communities; often through expenditures from accommodation and food generated by sport tourists from around the region, country, and world (Gibson, Kaplanidou, & Kang, 2012).

SSSEs play a unique role in Chilean Patagonia, more specifically, in the Torres del Paine National Park (TDPNP). As the 8th Wonder of the World, TDPNP is one of, if not the most, visited parks in Chile and is known for it's wild and raw landscape (Servicio Nacional de Turismo Chile, n.d.). Capitalizing on the high tourism demands, Nómadas International Group SA (NIGSA) is an organization that hosts four SSSEs within the TDPNP and surrounding region. Their events include a marathon, two trail runs, and an expedition race that attract hundreds of sport tourists annually.

While attracting additional tourists for sport events has potential benefits for the region, photographer Thom Hogan (2011) points out that the rapid development of 100+ room facilities and other problematic developments can detract from the natural environment (Hogan, 2011). In response to these developments and other local challenges, a 2011 protest group, the Citizens Assembly Magallanes, used tourists in the region as "negotiating chips" or hostages to negotiate

with the government. Meanwhile, the entire event went almost completely undetected in the media (Hogan, 2011; Piper, 2011). This protest hints to the sensitive environmental, social, and economic challenges local residents face as a result of tourism in its broad sense.

There is great appeal to both host and participate in the SSSEs in this region. While the development in infrastructure and tourist offerings has expanded and the NIGSA events have grown, the connection between the sustainability of these events must be made to social, economic, and environmental impacts on the park and host community. TDPNP is a biosphere reserve, which intensifies the importance of sustainability. Recent UNESCO changes to biosphere reserve criteria have left only four of Chile's once nine reserves to qualify (MercoPress, 2011). The biosphere reserve concept will be covered more in-depth in the review of literature, however it is crucial to understand the broad idea:

...biosphere reserves are poised to be a means for the people who live and work within and around them to attain a balanced relationship with the natural world; they will also contribute to the needs of society as a whole by showing the way to a more sustainable future. This is the heart of the vision for biosphere reserves in the 21st century. (Lass & Reusswig, 2011, p. 8)

By linking the three concepts (i.e., SSSEs, sustainability, and the biosphere reserve regulations) this research seeks to provide a holistic analysis of the sustainability of NIGSA events and determine if they are appropriate in size and scope for the park. This research aims to address the following question: to what extent are the SSSEs hosted by the NIGSA a sustainable form of sport event tourism in a biosphere reserve and its extended host community?

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

In order to provide a background and context to this study, the review of literature was designed to begin broadly and narrow in focus to arrive with rationale at the purpose of the study, which will include sections on the following topics: event sport tourism, small scale sport events, sustainability, and the pillars of sustainability as they relate to event sport tourism.

2.1 Event Sport Tourism

Event sport tourism, from an abstract perspective, is perhaps the manifestation of two globally recognized fields emerging: sport and tourism. Hosting sport events is becoming a tactic to economically regenerate and re-brand host communities (Gibson, 1998). Sport event tourism inherently includes many stakeholders: government officials, host communities, local people, local businesses, regional, national and international committees or organizations, and visiting participants and spectators. With this many parties involved, a thorough and current conceptualization of the subject is needed.

Event sport tourism in recent years has drawn much attention and is at the center of many international discussions revolving around the destructive legacies of mega sport events (Dorsey, 2014; Eisenhammer, 2014; Watts, 2016). As the crux of the controversy, mega sport events have been commonly viewed as a way to drive infrastructure projects, regenerate cities, enhance the global host community image, and create fresh levels of economic, political, and social development (Pellegrino & Hancock, 2010). However, scholars have recently recognized mega sport events as short lived, often leaving negative long-term consequences for host communities (Egan 2014; Eisenhammer 2014; Roche, 1994). Additionally, the residual debt of mega sport events can be colossal for the host community (Ritchie, 2004; Roberts & McLeod, 1989; Whitson & Macintosh, 1993). In the case of the 1992 Olympics, the Spanish government was

left \$4 billion in debt. Similarly, Greece a country where economic controversy is prevalent, the public investment exceeded \$10 billion to host the Games. In addition to debt, countries often project a much lower cost than what is later realized. Beijing projected costs to be about \$1.6 billion, yet the final price tag of the 2008 Games rose to \$40 billion. Similarly in Sochi, the Games were budgeted to cost approximately \$12 billion, but soon surged to \$33 billion (Zimbalist, 2010). The societal opposition, public contention, missed opportunity and notoriously high costs are a few negative repercussions associated with mega sport events today (Egan 2014; Eisenhammer 2014). The implications above justify concerns about mega sport events and also create a need to find an alternative way to successfully accommodate sport event tourism.

2.2 Small-Scale Sport Events

Although mega sport events have been the primary focus of sport event tourism literature, there is a growing trend towards analyzing the role and impact of SSSEs (Ritchie, 2004).

According to Higham (1999), "the tourism and economic development opportunities by sporting occasions of a more modest (small) scale are generally positive" (p. 87). Higham defined SSSEs as "regular season sporting competitions, international sporting fixtures, domestic competitions, Masters or disabled sports, and the like" (p. 87). Such events generally operate within existing infrastructure, have minimal seasonality impacts, require less public funds and don't attract as much congestion or crowds as mega sport events (Gibson, Willming, & Holdnak, 2003).

Sport events have been argued to benefit host communities not only economically, but also socially- at both individual and collective levels (O'Brien & Chalip, 2007). Kotze (2006) makes a case for developing countries that lack the means or systems to host mega events, like the Olympics or FIFA World Cup, to consider bringing SSSEs instead. SSSEs are developed

and executed in a way that complements the social and economic capabilities of a host community. In so doing, the SSSEs don't "tax the resources of the host city in the same manner as hosting a mega event" (Gibson et al., 2003, p. 182). Several researchers have noted that minimal empirical research has been done on SSSE tourism and the resulting impacts the industry has on host destinations or communities (Ritchie, 2004; Taks, Green, Misener & Chalip, 2014). However in recent years, these small-scale, non-mega sport events are becoming more and more popular in sport tourism literature and at the center of many research studies (Buning & Gibson, 2015; Gibson et al., 2012; Taks, 2013; Taks et al., 2014).

For example, Hinch and Higham (2002) examined the case of the Super 12 rugby union competition, which at the time included teams from New Zealand, South Africa, and Australia. The study focused on the small-scale rugby events within the Super 12 and revealed that the numbers in attendance at matches shifted visitor seasonality trends. In other words, the SSSEs in this case were a catalyst for less dependence on the summer tourism market.

A second example of an empirical study focused on SSSE was an analysis of the Two Oceans Marathon, a SSSE located in Cape Town, South Africa, which takes place on the back end of high tourist season in late March every year. In this study, Kotze (2006) examined detailed demographic factors of participants in the 2004 and 2005 races and the motivations for host community to put on the event. He concluded that governments of all levels without the resources or capital to host mega sport events should keep in mind the alternative of hosting a SSSE. Furthermore, that events of this size, with adequate media coverage, can aid the reimaging efforts of the host community and offer economic benefits, without depleting capital or resources.

Continuing in this line of research, a recent study in Gainesville, Florida revealed key points regarding the sustainability of SSSEs. Data were collected from six events over an 18th month period, all of which were hosted by the Gainesville Sports Commission (GSC). In this study, Gibson (2012) analyzed the three pillars of sustainable tourism: economic, social, and environmental. Her study concluded that a SSSE agenda that is complementary to a host community's infrastructure and human and cultural capital is a viable form of sustainable tourism development. Collectively, these studies not only reveal the growing field of empirical research on SSSEs, but their findings also demonstrate that SSSEs can serve as viable alternatives to larger scale/mega sport events, mainly due to proportionality and sustainability (Gibson, 2012).

2.3 Sustainability and Event Sport Tourism

One major way to analyze sport event tourism is through a lens of sustainability.

Evaluating sustainability tends to include analyzing the economic, social and environmental components of an event. Gibson (2012) makes a call for acknowledging sustainability and sustainable development through sport tourism, echoing the International Olympic Committee and United Nations World Tourism Organization. In their "Sustainability Through Sport" report, the International Olympic Committee conveys an utmost commitment to sustainability through the Games and other international sport events. They state that one of their core responsibilities as a committee is "to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to host cities and host countries." (IOC, 2012, p. 5). However, current global headlines such as "A great party with a garbage legacy," "Rio's Olympic legacy largely falls short of bid promises," "3 Reasons Why Hosting the Olympics Is a Loser's Game," and "Consider the environment for the Tokyo Olympics" call into question the sustainability potential for these events (Barnes, 2016;

Jacobsen, 2016; Watts, 2016; Zimbalist, 2012). Due to these criticisms, demonstrating the value, sustainability, and sustainable development potential of SSSEs is on the rise (Ziakas, 2013).

In an effort to bring travellers to the region for SSSEs, being conscientious of the social, economic, and environmental setting of the host community is crucial for sport event organizers. The size, scope, limitations, and multi-faceted setting of a host community must be not only acknowledged, but also prioritized in the execution of a SSSE. Conceptualizing sustainability is necessary in order to understand how the concept relates to event sport tourism and how SSSEs can sustainably complement the host community.

According to Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland (1980), sustainability includes accommodating the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs and emphasizes environmental and community stewardship (Porter & Kramer, 2006). Fenton-Keane (2015) makes a connection between sustainability and globalism, stating that

...under the logic of globalization, people are assumed to have an investment in maintaining a balance between economics and the environment because, within the discourse of sustainability, 'Earth' is constructed as a shared system embedded in a network of co-habitation. (p. 28)

Parallel to this rhetoric, sport event organizers are invested in the economies, environments, and societies of the host communities in which their event takes place. In the context of event sport tourism, the importance of acknowledging Earth as a global shared system is crucial due to the economic, social, and environmental diversity across both international borders and local towns.

The United Nations World Tourism Organization posited that to have a sustainable tourism destination, the social, environmental, and economic impacts must be monitored and brought to an acceptable level for residents, visitors, and business interests (UNWTO, 2004). In other words, tourism should operate holistically, with social, environmental, and economic

impacts in mind. These three pillars of sustainability are independently and collectively significant to the discussion of SSSEs. Below, each pillar will be individually broken down and related back to the research questions.

The Social Pillar. Research suggests that sustainable social indicators of SSSEs include improved quality of life, increased community morale, and furthered community involvement through volunteering (Gibson, 2012; Schulenkorf & Edwards, 2012). The social dimension of sustainability should focus on both local people of the host community and sport tourists themselves (Gibson, 2012). Sport tourists are important for a few reasons. If their experiences are satisfactory, their intention to return or compete in the event again probably will be heightened, which would indicate a consistent stream of participants for event organizers and opens up the possibility of reviews and recommendations of the event or host community. Both outcomes ultimately contribute to repeat participation, improved reputation and hopeful sustainability of the event (Fredline, 2006; Gibson et al., 2012). While considering the sport tourists in the social pillar of sustainability may seem obvious, the host community must be considered because it's quality of life can be directly impacted by the staging of these sport events (Taks, 2013). Planners, managers, and officials of SSSEs must understand the scope and range of outcomes and impacts the event will have and what this potentially could mean for the quality of life of local people. Strategically speaking, with host community support, locals might be friendlier during the event and thus, potentially make visitors feel a sense of welcome or warmth. If local residents of the host community are unhappy, in disagreement with or resistant towards the event, communal demeanor towards visitors might likely be negative and virtually damaging to the larger tourism industry. In terms of social justice, sport events must prioritize the host community residents to protect them from social, economic, environmental

exploitation. In a sense, sport tourism entities come in to use local land, resources, and people to host their event but if the locals feel exploited, have a lesser quality of life and/or diminished resources because of the event, the social sustainability is severely compromised or nonexistent.

The Economic Pillar. Henderson (2007) identified the economic dimension of sustainability as the economic impact tourism has on the financial well being of the local community. Although monetary estimation is an inexact science, economic impacts can manifest in various ways, including expenditures on hotels, restaurants, other goods and services (Mules & Faulkner, 1996). SSSEs use existing infrastructure, bring people to the community who would not have visited otherwise, and provide increased income for a myriad of local entities (Veltri et al., 2009). SSSEs held in midsize or smaller communities tend to have more positive impacts than larger sport events in large cities. Unlike mega sport events, SSSEs have a compellingly positive effect with minimal burden on local funds and resources. SSSEs in larger cities are in popular tourist regions already, which increase the chance of infrastructure already being in place. In the case that new infrastructure is required, the agenda of SSSE's in the building process should be collaborative in order to not only meet their needs but also host community needs. However, just because these sport events are small scale does not mean they are free negative economic impacts entirely. Monetary leakage outside of the event region results in depriving local communities of monetary gain (Theobald, 2005). Furthermore, once a host community that was once rural and underdeveloped begins to attract large amounts of tourism attention, they could be susceptible to third party tourism organizers, hotel chains, and other entities from the state or government. In one sense, this would deny the local host community keeping these services locally owned and operated but on the other, it provides faster development opportunities for the region.

The Environmental Pillar. The environmental piece to sustainability of SSSEs is fairly underdeveloped in the existing literature (Gibson et al. 2012). However, this piece is crucial because sustainable tourism seeks to operate at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and doesn't degrade or alter the environment. The United Nations Environment Programme identifies the relationship between tourism and the environment as complex due to the many adverse impacts of tourism (UNEP). Environmentally, tourism can deplete the ozone layer, disrupt or even impede biological diversity, increase the likelihood of climate change, increase pollution, and deplete natural resources (UNEP).

The environmental piece to sustainability is imperative because TDPNP is a biosphere reserve. The park is open year-round and up to 1,000 people walk or ride horses on its trails every day (CBC News, 2016). Trail erosion, harsh water concerns, and slow degradation of biodiversity are three current concerns in the Park (CBC News, 2016). In an effort to more effectively regulate and manage adverse environmental impacts of tourism in the Park, many headlines report the number of tourists allowed Park enter will be limited to as little as 80 a day (El Dínamo, 2016; CBC News, 2016). Thus, to foster a harmonious relationship with the local environment, minimize negative environmental affects of tourism on the region, and uphold the United Nation's values for the biosphere reserve program, sustainability must be core component to the operation and execution of SSSEs.

2.4 Study Rationale

Examining sport tourism through a perspective of sustainability is not only a trend, it's a growing necessity. As human systems are in constant interaction, often tension, with ecosystems, achieving wellbeing must be prioritized for both. One of the ways sport tourism manifests itself in TDPNP is in the form of these four SSSEs. The primitive, wild nature of the

park, its classification as a biosphere reserve, and the preservation of its connected host communities (Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales), are three compelling reasons why this study is necessary. The growing popularity of the park and these events may seem positive on its face. However, if this growth in popularity among tourists has an inverse relationship with the perception and satisfaction levels among host community residents, change must occur. Furthermore, the changes in biosphere reserve criteria of 2011 have left only four biosphere reserves in Chile, one of them being TDPNP. For this reason, the management and execution of SSSEs in the park must be analyzed from a stance of sustainable tourism development. Thus, this study aims to answer the following questions: 1. To what extent is sustainable tourism development practiced and/or considered in the management and execution of SSSEs in TDPNP?; 2. To what extent does the classification of the park as a biosphere reserve affect the management and execution of these events?; and 3. To what extent are SSSEs meeting the needs of both local residents and sport tourists?

Chapter 3: Methodology

The following section describes the methods that were employed to gather and analyze data with respect to the sustainability and viability of SSSEs in TDPNP. Qualitative methods were used for the purpose of providing rich thick description to address the research questions to address the research questions (Schutt, 2015). A detailed description of each method of data collection, it's respective sample, procedure, analysis process and potential weaknesses and limitations are outlined below, followed by a description of how the sources of data were holistically analyzed.

3.1 Research Design

A qualitative case study design was applied to analyze the SSSEs in TDPNP and the sustainability of these events. The case study design was intentionally chosen in order to explore "a contemporary phenomenon in its real life context" (Yin, 1981, p.59). Scholars have recognized the case study research design as a way to understand human activity using an analysis of the development of the activity over time and the environment and context where and when the activity occurs (Gratton & Jones, 2010). The case study design is typically too small in number to serve as an adequately sized sample to represent a larger population and therefore should not be generalized (Yin, 2013). This study does not seek, nor attempt to generalize, rather explore and provide a holistic understanding of SSSE-tourism in TDPNP. Furthermore, qualitative methods were chosen for a few significant reasons. First, this inquisitive and holistic approach has significantly contributed to tourism research by fostering a deeper understanding of the social, cultural and political elements of tourism (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015). Qualitative methods encourage researchers to both know and relate to knowledge and their research. The aim to be "reflexively-vigilant and situationally-open" to international research settings is at the

core of qualitative approaches in tourism fieldwork (Wilson & Hollinshead, 2015, p. 44). Lastly, qualitative research approaches bring meaning, understanding and a sense of explanation to human or societal phenomena (Jamal & Hollinshead, 1999).

In this case study, interviews and ethnographic field notes served as the qualitative methods of data collection. The interviews sought to provide insight to the management of TDPNP and the execution of the SSSEs within in the park and surrounding region. Ethnographic field notes primarily served as a means to provide deeper setting context and to supplement the interview data.

3.2 Case Study Setting: Torres del Paine National Park

The cultural climate in and surrounding TDPNP was considered in this research because ultimately, tourism is either a driver of cultural exchange or a mechanism for cultural exploitation (United Nations Environment Programme, n.d.). Culture encompasses social customs, family patterns, folklore, relationships, environmental aspects, and the historical sociology of a community (Weiler & Hall, 1992). Tourists often come to a region or place with more than just their suitcases- they come with an interest in local foods, lifestyles, languages, architecture, history, culture, and more. As an industry, tourism has great to potential to serve as a mechanism for cultural exchange however tourism organizers should foster mutually beneficial relationships for visitors and locals alike by prioritizing sustainability, respect, and harmony in how they operate. Conversely, host communities can be overrun by tourism or have little political power. This may leave the host community with a sense of resentment not only towards visiting tourists, but also towards the government enforcing tourism policy (United Nations Environment Programme; De La Maza, 2016; Richards, 2007). The geographical, historical, and

social facets of culture in the case of TDPNP are addressed below to provide the thorough context mentioned above.

In terms of geographical context, TDPNP is located in the southern tip of Latin America; a zone often referred to as *Patagonia* (see Figure 1). Historians and researchers alike credit famous Portuguese explorer, Ferdinand Magellan, for this nickname. Upon landing in the region, Magellan his crew encountered giants of some sort. Magellan called these people "Patagones"- a name after the fictional Spanish dog-headed giant, Patagon (Conservacion Patagonica; Time Out & Chesterson, 2005). Ever since, the nickname *Patagonia* has stuck for this territory splitting between Argentina and Chile at the extreme south of Latin America.

More specifically, Chile is divided into 15 different regions, each region offering unique tourist appeal for outdoor adventure and beauty (Maps of the World, 2014). TDNP sits inside the Magallanes region, which is the southernmost region in the country. Magallanes, also named after explorer Ferdinand Magellan, is home to the Strait of Magellan and the region is widely known for inhospitable weather conditions, harsh winds, extreme temperatures, and an overall unforgiving climate (World Atlas, n.d.).

With respect to the historical context, a few key points should be recognized. First, Magallanes was one of the last regions in Chile to be colonized and is still inhabited by some nomadic Patagonian Kaweskar people (Bizzarro, 2005). The Kaweskars, indigenous Patagonian inhabitants also referred to as the Alacalufe people, are known for their sea lion and shellfish diet, igloo shaped dome homes, positive outlook on life, and ability to adapt in the harsh climate (Bizzarro, 2005; Ecocamp Patagonia). Sadly, the quest for gold and fur drew an influx of European settlers between 1880 and the early 1900's, which almost wiped out the Kaweskar

people entirely (Bizzarro, 2005; EcoCamp Patagonia; Conservacion Patagonica). Today, only 10-15 pure blooded Kaweskar people remain (EcoCamp Patagonia).

After the arrival of European settlers to the region in the early 1900's, the late 1900's brought Chile one of the most epochal Era's of military dictatorship in all of Latin America. In 1973, the socialist president of Chile was overthrown by the Chilean military; and the Pinochet Era began. General Augusto Pinochet would rule for the next 17 years and plagued the country with dictatorship, human exploitation, and terror (Sigmund, 2009). The Pinochet Era brought mass executions and horrific torture practices to innocent people (Bizzarro, 2005; O'Brien, 2015). Estadio Nacional, the national soccer stadium just outside of Santiago, served as a concentration camp during this time to hold and torture prisoners (Bence, 2015). Rene Castro, one of the few remaining survivors of this era remembers Estadio Nacional, stating, "The stadium became a synonym for the cruelty of the Pinochet regime. They did unspeakable things to us there." (Waldstein, 2015). Although 25 years ago, sociologists and historians have established that momentous events or eras impact the socialization process of a society. Therefore, this significant era in Chilean history is directly correlated to people developing an understanding of their national culture and identity (Paletz et al., 2012). Furthermore, it connects to the social pillar of sustainable tourism and potentially understanding how and why local people feel about tourism, react towards visitors, and shape their own perspectives.

TDPNP covers just over 450,000 acres and is widely recognized by the three striking peaks of the Cordillera del Paine. The heterogeneous landscape is characterized by ridges, glaciers, waterfalls, rivers, lakes, and rugged granite cliffs and draws about 150,000 tourists annually (UNESCO, 2011; Vidal et al., 2012). USA Today recognized the park as one of the

greatest international national parks in 2016, praising the glaciers, dramatic scenery, and iconic reputation (Bleiberg, 2016).

It is important to recognize the town of Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales as host communities in this research. These two towns are the closest communities to TDPNP and serve as 'jumping-off points' or gateways for tourists traveling to the park and thus, were a large focus of this study. Furthermore, many recognize Punta Arenas as the most important city in the Magallanes region for its commercial, social, and cultural developments. Figure 1 below indicates the geographical placement of both communities in relation to TDPNP.



Figure 1: Map image of Punta Arenas, Puerto Natales, and Torres del Paine National Park. Copyright Active Interest Media Inc. (Bascue, 2014).

In 1978, TDPNP was declared a biosphere reserve by the United Nations, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The organization defines a biosphere reserve as a site established by regions that partner with UNESCO to promote biodiversity, conservation, and sustainable development based on local community initiatives and sound science. A biosphere reserve is the "ideal place to test and develop innovative tourism models that benefit local people and maintain cultures, biodiversity, and associated values" (UNESCO, 2002). They are designed to bring together a diverse group of actors to focus and cooperate on common goals, which chiefly include biodiversity conservation, social empowerment, and economic development (UNESCO, 2005). Biosphere reserves are not simply nature conservation sites; they are a place where humans reside, work, interact, do research in, and maintain a desired state of nature. Recent changes to criteria qualifications by UNESCO have introduced tougher guidelines for the park to remain a biosphere reserve.

The Chilean National Forest Corporation (CONAF) acts as a governing body of TDPNP and is responsible for managing the park and regulating activity within the Park (Ecocamp Patagonia; MercoPress, 2011). TDPNP is protected by governmental policies as a biosphere reserve, however the management of biosphere reserves and the events within them can affect local people's vulnerability and adaption (Ruiz-Mallén et al., 2015). UNESCO (2014) suggests that the mismanagement of biosphere reserves could lead to underdevelopment, increased poverty and a lack of biodiversity. Recognizing that TDPNP is a biosphere reserve is imperative for sport tourism entities in the region to link economic, environmental, and social issues of today's SSSE with the consequences of tomorrow (Lass & Reusswig, 2001).

The study region is home to a handful of quintessential activities, attracting sport tourists travel from all over the world to participate. The categories of these events primarily include,

kayaking, cycling, climbing, and marathon running. NIGSA is the governing/organizing body of four of the most well respected SSSEs in the region. The four recurring NIGSA sport events are: the Patagonian International Marathon, Patagonian Expedition Race, Ultra Trail Torres del Paine, and the Ultra Fiord and attract athletes and sport tourists from all over the globe that come to participate and volunteer. The NIGSA is "the leading destination management company in Patagonia," and organizes and manages logistics for the four SSSEs in the region. Additionally, the team at NIGSA offers ancillary services including consultancy, logistical support management, and exclusive trips for corporate and VIP tourists (PER, 2012). Table 1 on the next page identifies the NIGSA events, a description, distance offerings, and year edition of each event.

Table 1: NIGSA EVENTS

Table 1. NIGSA LVEN		D' 4	T 1'4'
Race	Official Description	Distances	Edition
Ultra Trail Torres del	"an experience that allows you	50k / 25k / 1	2015
Paine	to live the trail running in the	Vertical	marked the
	majestic, natural scene of	Kilometer	event's
	Torres del Paine National Park,		second year
	located in Chilean Patagonia's		
	extreme south."		
Patagonia	"a road running event that	Ultramarathon	2015
International	takes place within the Torres	/ Marathon /	marked the
Marathon	del Paine National Park of the	Half Marathon	event's
iviaratiioii		/ 10k	fourth year
	Chilean Patagonia."	/ 10K	iouiui yeai
Ultra Fiord	"an international Trail Running	100 miles /	2015
	event that takes place in the	100k / 70k /	marked the
	extreme southern end of	50k / 30k	event's
	Chilean Patagonia; a long		inaugural
	journey that enters into the		year
	magical world of		
	fjordstraverse across rivers,		
	mud, peat bogs, glacier-filled		
	mountains and big rocks"		
Datagonian	"a true avandition taking	NA	2015
Patagonian Expedition Race	"a true expedition, taking	INA	marked the
Expedition Race	teams of four through lands		event's
	previously unknown to the		
	human eye. Racers receive		twelfth year
	minimal assistance as they		
	traverse through the pristine		
	southern Patagonia by means		
	of trekking, climbing, rope		
	work, kayaking, mountain		
	biking, and backcountry		
	navigation."		

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

To collect information about the sustainability of SSSEs in the TDPNP region, this study utilized qualitative data collection. As previously mentioned, this included interviews and ethnographic field notes. The following section describes the data collection method, the sample

or setting for each respective method, and the data analysis tied to the interview and ethnography methods respectively. Lastly, this section concludes with a final paragraph describing how both forms of data collection were analyzed together to answer the study's research questions.

Interviews. Interviews, the first method of data collection in this study, were deemed appropriate because the researcher was interested in gaining rich data from a small sample size (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006). Interviews are a way to access an expert source of information, elicit descriptive data, and reveal social and cultural patterns of an environment, situation, or event (Marshall, 1996; Tremblay, 1957). At their core, interviews provide a way to access the observations of others. Through interviewing, we can learn about settings that might be otherwise closed to us including exclusive organizations and foreign societies (Weiss, 1994). Interviews also grant access to culture, work occupations, value sets, and a myriad of other human experiences, interactions, and settings (Weiss, 1994). In this study, respondents were able to talk about their own experiences in their own words, individually elaborating on any topics of specific importance, and providing distinct point of views. Differences in perspective from the respondents allowed new themes to emerge and provided a deeper sense of understanding for the reader and researcher. Additionally, it was considered that conducting interviews could allow unexpected, potentially valuable, data to arise, and allow the researcher and participant to establish a sense of trust or rapport, which is essential if the information is confidential or sensitive (Gratton & Jones, 2010).

Weiss (1994) identifies describing a process or event as one of the main purposes for conducting qualitative interviews. Understanding the sustainability of SSSEs from the perspective of those in charge of designing and operating these events is a primary purpose from

this study, therefore, key respondents that are chiefly responsible for the management and execution of the SSSEs in TDPNP will be recruited for the qualitative interviews.

Interview sample. Five key participants were prospectively selected to elicit insights on the sustainability of the SSSE they oversee. Not all five were able to participate due to time constraints however, they put the researcher into contact with other individuals that were equally, if not more, qualified and able. Specific role titles of the participants will not be disclosed as that could threaten anonymity and confidentiality however, a vague description of their duties and responsibilities will be provided for context. Additionally, each interview participant was assigned a pseudonym to further protect their identity. The first participant, Jose, is an upper management professional at the NIGSA in Punta Arenas. He works directly with managing, overseeing, and executing the four NIGSA events and also collaborates with other local organizations that are involved. Next, Carla and Antonia are both CONAF officials that work in the study region, one in Puerto Natales and one in Punta Arenas. Carla directly works with sport organizers and organizations that want to host sport events inside any protected park (ie: TDPNP) in Magallanes. She was a guiding force and author in implementing the official Rules and Regulations handbook that was first released in 2015. On a day to day, she works with these sport organizations to make sure they are following the regulations before, during and after their events. Antonia's role at CONAF is more focused in finances but has direct experience working with sport organizations that host events in TDPNP. Furthermore as a resident of Puerto Natales, she has a more up close and personal look at the impacts of the NIGSA events. The fourth participant, Rosa, is part of the national tourism service in Chile, supervises tourism at the macro-level in the Magallanes region, and is in charge of binational tourism affairs. She has worked at SERNATUR for multiple decades in regions across Chile and most recently has been

in Magallanes for 18+ years. Due to time constraints and travel plans, the original prospective participant at SERNATUR directed me to speak with Rosa instead. The fifth participant, Eduardo, is a local professor at Universidad de Magallanes and his academic expertise includes sustainable tourism, biodiversity in TDPNP, and the management of natural resources. All of the five interview participants meet the standards of appropriateness. The major criterion for appropriateness was whether the study was central to the participant's experience. As decision makers for and major stakeholders of the SSSEs in TDPNP, the experiences of the five key participants are central to this study (Seidman, 2006). The participants were asked to confirm and describe their job titles, duration of employment, and provide a description of what they currently do with their organization, to ensure that they could provide adequate perspective on the role of SSSEs in TDPNP. Additionally, this step in the interview process was used to increase and validate the credibility of the participants.

Interview procedure. The first step in the interview procedure was recruiting and contacting the identified participants. Initial prospective participants were contacted by an email, in which the researcher briefly explained the study as an "analysis of SSSEs and sustainability." To arrive at the selection of prospective participants, the researcher started with the three main organizational stakeholders (NIGSA, CONAF, SERNATUR) that would have an integrated role in NIGSA events. A detailed web search of potential participants with each specific organization was then conducted and personal email addresses were taken from each website of the prospective individuals. Jose at the NIGSA was the only prospective participant that responded, confirmed, signed consent forms and was interviewed. The initial prospective participants at CONAF and SERNATUR were unable to participate due to time restraints, schedule conflicts, and travel plans. In order to find other qualified participants at CONAF and

SERNATUR, the researcher visited local offices in Punta Arenas. At the CONAF offices in Punta Arenas, the researcher spoke with an administrative assistant at the front desk, briefly described the study, and asked if there was anyone available and qualified to interview. The assistant put me in direct contact with Carla, Chief of Administration and Event Regulations, who agreed to participate in the study. The second participant at CONAF, Antonia, was a contact given to the researcher from a friend in the region that operates other sport events inside TDPNP. He told the researcher that he and Antonia were related and that she had been very involved in some of their negotiations (or lack thereof) with CONAF to host the sport events. The researcher connected with Antonia via the mutual contact and Antonia agreed to participate. Similarly, the initial prospective participant at SERNATUR was unable to partake in the study due to travel plans coinciding with the researcher's time in the study region. The researcher visited the SERNATUR offices in Punta Arenas multiple times and briefly described the study to the secretary. The secretary introduced the researcher to Rosa at the SERNATUR offices who then agreed to participate in the study after hearing a brief description of the research. To recruit the last participant, Eduardo, the researcher considered other intellectual resources in the region that might have valuable insight to the study. The researcher had virtually contacted a professor at the Universidad de Magallanes in the sustainable tourism department who was interested and in agreement to participate. Upon arriving for their meeting at the University, the professor's secretary informed the researcher that she (the professor) would be late and that Eduardo agreed to step-in and be interviewed. While describing the study to the various parties, the researcher mentioned her affiliation with a University on the West Coast of the United States and furthermore, mentioned that this study was a student thesis research.

As seen above, participants were given pseudonyms to protect personal and professional confidentiality as human subjects. All interviewees signed an informed consent form before any official interviews are conducted. Additionally, no data was collected until the project had been reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of the Pacific.

After IRB approval and signed informed consent forms, the researcher performed one interview with each of the five key participants individually. The interviews were audio recorded with participant consent so that the researcher could engage with the interviewee during the interview, but enable full verbatim transcription of the data following the interview. The interviews were conducted face to face, in person in Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales, Chile.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen because the format bodes well for exploring perceptions and opinions of respondents regarding potentially intricate and sensitive issues (Barriball & While, 1994). The semi-structured interview format is the most widely utilized interview format in qualitative research as its' characteristic flexibility allows researchers to begin with carefully crafted questions and to also follow up and extend to other lines of questions as appropriate (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Galletta, 2013). For these reasons, this format was applied to all interview procedures in the study. As in many interview formats, it should be acknowledged that the interviewer was prepared to stray from any planned route. A digression during an interview sequence has been thought to be productive as it may follow the interviewee's knowledge or experience (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006).

Primary, non-invasive questions were addressed in the initial moments of each interview, which allowed the interviewer to begin building rapport with the interviewees on an individual level. Cultivating rapport has been established to be an essential component of interpersonal relationships and in the research realm, may enhance the investigatory purposes of the researcher

(Jorgenson, 2006). The rapport building questions were followed by focused, detailed subject-matter questions related to the following topics: sustainability in sport event tourism, the biosphere reserve concept, host community, and perceptions of success. The interview tool was designed by the researcher and peer-reviewed by two other researchers in the field. Please see Appendix A for a list of interview questions.

Location of the interviews was up to the discretion of the interviewee to assure their maximum comfort. All of the interview participants requested that the interviews take place in their own offices. Jose, Eduardo, and Antonia all had private offices however, Rosa at SERNATUR and Carla at CONAF both were in an open-air cubicle type office setting. Interview participants were also given the opportunity to choose the interview language: Spanish or English. As many of them had a working knowledge of English for their careers, the researcher knew Spanish might be more comfortable if it were presented as an option. All five participants opted to do the interviews in Spanish, for which the researcher was prepared.

To further the connection with the interviewees, the researcher did not take notes during the interviews but instead used active listening to enhance the level of rapport with the interviewee. Active listening can be understood as "hearing what is said and paying attention to how it is said so the conversation can be adjusted to elicit the needed response" (CDC, n.d, p. 8).

Interview data analysis. Data gathering is equally as important as the data analysis (UNICEF, 2014). With the permission of each interviewee, the interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed by the researcher. This method of reviewing data may be debated in the literature, however it enables the researcher to take verbal communication and transform it into written text that can be studied (Seidman, 2006). Recording interviews preserves original data

(participants words) that can go back and be reviewed, demonstrate to participants that their voices are heard and validated by a record (Seidman, 2006).

The recordings were first transcribed in Spanish and then member checked by an unaffiliated colleague of the researcher that is a native Chilean and Masters educated. Any misinterpretations or gaps in audio were recovered with the member checks. The Spanish transcripts were then translated into English by the researcher. The researcher was then able to go through and code the English interview transcripts/data and make meaning of the text. Bias, judgment, and personal interest should be recognized in this coding or reducing process, because the way in which the researcher reads and interacts with the text is filtered through his/her own personal lens (Seidman, 2006). Furthermore, analyzing the textual data the interviews relies on interpretation, summary, and integration from the researcher (Weiss, 1994).

The coding used for analyzing the interview data can be broken down into five steps. In the first step of coding, the researcher read over the five English interview transcripts and simply underlined/identified anything of interest relating to the research question (Cope, 2010). The second step of the coding process involved coding the identified points from step one and color coding them based on subject matter. During this step, the researcher took organized notes and documented her interpretation of codes presented. In step three the researcher went back to label each (color) code using language presented directly from the interviews. Following Hsieh and Shannon's (2005) methodology, labels for codes will reflect more than one key thought and initially, these codes will come directly from the text. In step four the different codes were then organized into multiple meaningful clusters that provided clear themes. Lastly, the researcher made connections between presented themes, the literature review, and major points of the study.

Delimitations and weaknesses to the interviews. Delimitations and weaknesses of the qualitative interview that were relevant to this study must be acknowledged because they have the potential to impact or influence the raw findings and/or interpretations in this research (Price & Murnan, 2004). Lack of trust, constructing knowledge, and ambiguity of language were applicable weaknesses of qualitative interviews related to this research (Fontana & Frey, 2000). Lack of trust should be acknowledged, primarily because of the distance between the interviewer and the participants and lack of personalization as a result of this distance. The four participants were located in Punta Arenas or Puerto Natales, Chile and the researcher was based out of Northern California (U.S.), providing differences in time zone and country. The fieldwork period only lasted two and half weeks, which provided the researcher with a very short window of time to build meaningful and trusting relationships with the interview participants. This potential lack of trust was acknowledged before travelling to the region and in an effort to combat it, the researcher took measures to communicate her qualifications to conduct the research, ensure participant anonymity, and to show a sincere interest in the experiences of each participant.

Secondly, ambiguity of language proved to be a limitation as the given setting was bilingual. Although the researcher, a native English speaker, speaks Spanish fluently at an advanced level there are dialectical differences between the researchers learned Peruvian Spanish and the participants' native Chilean Spanish. The researcher encountered these dialectical differences throughout her time in Chile, however was proactive in asking interviewees about unfamiliar words that presented themselves. Furthermore, the researcher asked various confirming questions during the interviewe, giving the interviewees a chance to step in and make a correction if the interviewer had misunderstood something.

A third limitation in this study worth mentioning was the timing of the fieldwork, which lasted two and a half weeks. High tourist season in the Magallanes region stretches from November to March each year during which the towns of Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales are heavily congested with tourists. The fieldwork for this study took place in late February to mid March, towards the end of the high tourist season. None of the NIGSA events were happening during the time of the fieldwork, which could be considered a significant limitation. The researcher was unable to see an event in action, speak to racers on the spot, and make valuable race-day observations. The timing of the fieldwork could also be considered a delimitation. If the fieldwork were scheduled around an NIGSA event, there would have been a high likelihood that the researcher would have been unable to interview NIGSA executives due to intensified chaos leading up to an event. Regardless, the fieldwork for this research was scheduled around the researchers limited academic and professional availability.

Ethnographic field notes. To complement the perspectives reported by event organizers, TDPNP management and tourism officials, this study also included an ethnographical component to collect data in the event's host communities: Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) argue that a standard definition of the term 'ethnography' is ever changing and complex. However, for the purpose of creating a baseline understanding, ethnography in this research should be understood as studying the behaviors, interactions and perceptions among groups, communities or organizations in order to provide rich insight into the views and actions of those individuals. (Reeves et al., 2008). Additionally, 'ethnographic field notes' should be viewed as the product of or data yielded from the ethnography period. The ethnographic field notes in this study highlighted the emic perspective,

the study of how members of a particular culture perceive their world and environment (DeLanda, 2010).

Ethnographic research is often paralleled with observation, which has been argued to allow researchers to draw inferences about perspectives that are otherwise untouched in the interview data collection method (Maxwell, 2013). However, the distinction between ethnography and observation must be made. Observation encourages the researcher to understand the perspective of the local people (Burns, Palmer, & Ritchie, 2005). Ethnography takes observation a step further and requires researchers to commit to "participate in the social worlds of their research subjects on different levels: physical, social, mental, and emotional" (Scott-Jones, 2010, p. 7). For this purpose and in an effort to understand the social dimension of sustainability, ethnography was chosen as a second, supplementary method for data collection, yielding a variety of ethnographic field notes, which were then analyzed. Dialogue was at the core of ethnographic research, which allowed the researcher to create relationships with local people and record phenomena in a covert fashion (Monaghan & Just, 2000). Furthermore, ethnographers strive to get 'up close and personal' in the sense that they want to literally and metaphorically learn the language of the people or society they are studying (Scott-Jones, 2010).

Ethnography field notes sample. The perception and feelings of the host community are paramount to the discussion of sustainability. Tourism literature heightens the importance of the host community in the 'social' dimension of sustainable tourism development. The ethnographic approach in tourism has provided insight to complex interactions among stakeholders plus their roles and influence on community reconstruction (Hall, 2011). Thus, the chief purpose of integrating ethnographic field notes was to interact and develop short-term

relationships with local people in the host communities. This allowed the researcher to observe and understand how local residents and community members feel about the SSSEs in TDPNP, the recent growth of tourism, and the sustainability of sport event tourism in the region via casual conversation. Using an ethnographic approach to gain insight to a host community's perceptions and feelings was especially fitting because while the term 'host community' may infer homogeneity, the population should actually be analyzed with heterogeneous identity in mind (Swarbrooke, 1999). Similar to our own communities, a given host community is made up of minority and majority groups, different interest groups, and diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds, which creates a heterogeneous group of local people and settings.

As the largest gateway for tourists into the park, Punta Arenas is one of two key host communities that inherently interacts with visitors. As the southernmost city on Earth, it is accessible by plane, bus, or car, and home to accommodation options, museums, restaurants, tour agencies, and a heterogeneous host community (Columbia Encyclopedia, 2016; Swarbrooke, 1999; Welcome Patagonia, n.d.). Just northwest of Punta Arenas is the community of Puerto Natales, a secondary hub for tourists travelling to TDPNP. Acknowledging Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales as host communities in this research was important because host communities are an integral part of sustainable tourism and thus, a vital component to this discussion (Swarbrooke, 1999). Tourists rely on these communities for lodging, supplies, culture and more, which magnifies their role as a stakeholder in hosting SSSEs.

Specifically, local residents that have a long history in the region were a main focus for the ethnographic field notes sample. They were able to speak to some of the changes that have arisen over time due to tourism broadly speaking but also specifically to the NIGSA SSSEs.

Local tourism suppliers and owners were also a key part of the ethnographic sample. This

included owners of locally owned restaurants, travel agencies, shops, hotels, organizations and the like. These individuals were able to share insight on changes that have arisen over time, more so on a business level.

Ethnographic field notes procedure. Time is always an important methodological consideration when undertaking an ethnography (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). The ethnography period lasted approximately two weeks and include time spent in Santiago, TDPNP, Puerto Natales, and Punta Arenas. For the purpose of the ethnography, time was chiefly spent in Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales to ensure a focus on the local host communities. As stated prior, the ethnography took place during what is considered the 'high' tourist season for the region (Bascue, 2014; US News & World Report, 2016). Due to this seasonality effect, more interactions, conversations, and observations with local residents occurred which resulted in richer ethnography data for the researcher.

Given the traditional long-term approach in ethnography, the ethnographic approach to this study should be labeled as a 'focused' or 'short term' ethnography (Pink and Morgan, 2013). Short-term ethnographies should be approached differently than long-term ethnographies due to the simple aspect of time. Short-term ethnographies may challenge researchers to intervene in people's lives in potentially intensive and intrusive ways during the temporality of place (Pink & Morgan, 2013). In this focused ethnographic period, the researcher sought to place herself at the center of the action and engage participants on an interactive, conversational level in order to obtain a meaningful understanding of host community perceptions and feelings.

To record data, the researcher kept a detailed journal for the duration of time spent in the study region. The researcher took condensed notes as needed and when appropriate but relied on

'on-the-spot interpretation' and follow up with a daily interpretation of the day's interactions, conversations, and observations (Cole, 2005). Social encounters, unstructured conversations, and participant observations were the major forms of interaction and conversation. Social encounters and unstructured conversations minimized the hierarchical nature the 'researcher' and 'respondent' relationship, which could potentially create a sense of apprehension for those the researcher comes into contact with (Cole, 2005). Furthermore, "this flexible opportunistic method with an adaptable and patient researcher can pay dividends for both the researcher process and the researchees" (Cole, 2005, p. 71). The flexible approach encourages the researcher to adapt if necessary and increase his/her situational awareness throughout the ethnographic field note period.

Researcher reflexivity. Reflexivity seeks to identify the relationship between the researcher and research, which should be addressed because the sociocultural context of the researcher can have an impact on data interpretation (Davies, 2008; Reeves et al., 2008). Reflexive researchers recognize issues of gender, race, sexuality, power, ethics, and class in addition to *if* and *how* each may potentially relate to his/her study (Scott-Jones, 2010). They focus on self-reference, recognizing the ways in which products of their research are affected by personal processes (Davies, 2008).

As a Peruvian-American woman born in the United States, I have a cultural background grounded in both the United States and Latin America. I have worked, studied, lived and traveled throughout Latin America, which has led me to develop a sincere passion for the diverse people, indigenous and contemporary cultures, the Spanish language, and the impacts tourism broadly has on communities in the region. Visually, I can be perceived as both 'white' and/or 'hispanic'. My Peruvian identity, racially and ethnically speaking, often allows me to 'blend in'

with locals in Latin American countries as a result of how I look and sound. However, a thick Peruvian accent, when speaking Spanish, and the use of slang words has enabled me to establish deep and immediate connections with locals in Panama, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Peru.

In this research, once it had been established that I spoke the local language (Spanish) in the literal sense, I was given the chance to metaphorically speak their language, as well. I noticed a visible switch in receptivity from participants when I disclosed my Peruvian ethnicity. As a white tourist at face value, I was often greeted with brief or reserved responses from those I interacted with, both in the interview and ethnographic settings. In the rapport building conversations and questions, I made an effort to share with the participants that I am Peruvian, which would typically solicit a "Wow, really; fantastic!" verbal response followed by physical evidence that the individual felt more comfortable with me. Historically, Chile and Peru have a close brother, sister like relationship. They have fought in wars, have ongoing debates about border acreage and still cannot agree on whether or not pisco originated in Chile or Peru. Although these relations may be tense at the political levels, on a personal level the playful teasing, from my experience, is evidence of camaraderie. At the same time, disclosing my Peruvian ethnicity was also a gamble in the outcome that any one of my participants felt unfriendly towards Peruvians due to historical conflicts and cultural quarrels between the countries. I recognized that risk and believed that regardless, my identity as a Peruvian would make my participants feel more comfortable than my identity as a U.S. citizen- language being a large element of that decision.

Research suggests that speaking the same language and sharing cultural identity may provide 'insider' status to the researcher, which can sharpen or improve the rigor of the research (Irvine, Roberts, & Bradbury-Jones, 2008). The immediate nature of my connections was

important in this study, as the ethnographic period was short-term, heightening the importance of establishing relationships and connections quickly. My 'white' or North American identity was also acknowledged to increase reflexivity because this identity is just as significant as my Peruvian identity. All of my upbringing and most of my education has been in the United States, which inherently makes me a product of capitalistic and westernized American culture. My status as an educated 'white' American on its face had the potential to create distance, even resistance, between host community residents and myself during interactions and conversations. For these reasons, both my Peruvian identity and my 'white' identity were acknowledged. As a result of this recognition, I aimed to heavily embrace my Peruvian identity during the data collection process, as it proved to help me achieve 'insider' status among locals and increase trust and comfort levels. I both saw and felt perceptions be altered about me once I disclosed my Peruvian heritage. Whether it was body language, tone of voice, or a redirection of conversation, multiple clues demonstrated the weight of my Peruvian identify. Additionally, my status as a potential 'outsider' was continually recognized as it helped me to identify things that local people, due to their involvement, often ignore or consider normal or unfixable issues. Both my American and Peruvian identities were considered upon the daily and final analysis of data emerging from host communities in the ethnographic period.

Analysis of ethnographic field notes. The lens through which I, the researcher, analyzed and interpreted this data was both an active and reflexive process. Ethnographers often collect, analyze, and interpret data simultaneously in their fieldwork (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). The analysis of ethnographic data allows ethnographers to tell a story, however the interpretation of this data enables readers to understand what the story means (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). The first step in analyzing this ethnographic data was to organize the diary

entries, notes, photographs, and other artifacts collected in the field. This consisted of eleven daily diary-style observations, 10-15 photographs, and one formal document shared with me for the purpose of the study. Second, the researcher reviewed and identified any points of interest in the ethnographical data. Lastly, patterns and themes in the data were identified and connected back to the interview data to help answer the research questions and provide supplemental context. It should be noted that although the thematic analysis of the interview data had already taken place, the researcher allowed for themes in the ethnographic data to emerge independently. In the case that a theme from the ethnographic data corresponded with a matching theme found in the interview data, the two were merged. However, themes unique to the ethnographic data did emerge and stand alone in the process. The researcher was cognizant and cautious not to match themes for sake of simplicity. Part of analyzing the ethnographic also included interpreting the data. Interpretation involves giving significance and meaning to the presented patterns and themes found in the analysis (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). LeCompte and Schensul (1999) identify a few key points in the interpretation process which were applied in this study: reviewing the research questions, reviewing relevant theories in the field, considering the audience, looking for policy relevance, and most importantly, and assessing the relevance of the data to the research questions.

Limitations and weaknesses to the ethnographic fieldnotes. Two weaknesses or limitations in this study were issues of time and reflexivity. Because ethnographies are highly reflexive, reflexivity should almost always be considered a limitation if it is not acknowledged and then linked back to the research. Describing the researchers past experiences and ideas about key concepts in relation to the study created a connection to how the data was collected and interpreted. However, only having one researcher on the ethnographical analysis could

create single mindedness in terms of analytical perspective. For this reason, all ethnographic data were shared with the researchers thesis advisor so that an additional analytical perspective could be provided. Time and expense are two commonly identifiable weaknesses in ethnographic studies mentioned in the literature. Although ethnographies have been traditionally thought of as long-term and extensive time commitments, recent trends suggest that short-term ethnographic fieldwork is on the rise (Mitchell, 2007). Furthermore, short-term relationships and encounters have been suggested to be just as practical and emotionally significant (Melhuus, Mitchell, & Wulff, 2010). For this study, the researcher was limited to two and a half weeks due to logistics and other academic and professional commitments. A long ethnographic period could have provided more data and potentially, higher quality data. Lastly, on the concern of finances, this project was financially funded by the affiliated University through an academically awarded scholarship.

Comprehensive data analysis. To analyze and interpret interview and ethnographical data, three major steps took place. First, the researcher applied a thematic analysis to cross-examine both the interview and ethnographic field notes. The themes were directly extracted from the research questions and previous coding stages (The Pell Institute, 2016). Data from the various collection methods were attached to each of these themes to organize ideas. Next, these themes were displayed in a way that fostered drawing conclusions. A tangible, color-coded display was used to present data and themes as they relate to the research questions. The use of a matrix or textual display in qualitative research helps to identify relationships within the data as it fosters fruitful ideas and may highlight key quotes or excerpts from the data (Schutt, 2015). Lastly, final conclusions and verifications were drawn based off the interview and ethnographic data results and themes. In order to make conclusions that help answer the research questions,

the researcher stepped back and reflected on themes and meanings and how each related to the research questions. To verify conclusions made, the researcher revisited the data for confirmation and legitimization (The Pell Institute, 2016).

3.4 Ethical Concerns

One of the key concerns of ethics in qualitative research is considering how any findings will be used and how the participants may react to the findings (Schutt, 2015). To protect the participants, privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity were of utmost importance for the researcher. For the interview data collection, a conversation about confidentiality and anonymity with each interview participant took place upon IRB approval and informed consent form completion. Schutt (2015) suggests that researchers should discuss with participants early on what strategies will be used to maintain privacy and confidentiality. Thus, the researcher described how she planned to identify each participant and what description will be given about the participant's professional position. Additionally, for any direct quotes extracted from the data the researcher obtained written consent via email from that particular participant before using the quote in a visual or public way in the final submission of the research.

For the collection of ethnographic field notes, the researcher acknowledges the traditionally controversial disagreement between the IRB and ethnographers regarding the documentation of informed consent (American Anthropological Association, 2004). Often times ethnographies take place outside of the United States, such as this one, in countries that have been historically classified as 'developing'. As the ethnographic field notes were taken in Chile, a country traditionally classified as 'developing', the researcher encountered individuals that were not fully literate in their own local dialect, let alone the English language (Griffen et al., 2008). The American Anthropological Association (2004) has encouraged ethnographers to

cultivate an ethical climate for their research by acknowledging potential harms and risks to those in the community or culture they observe and/or participate in. The U.S. Department of Health & Human Services defines minimal risk as "the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research are not greater in and of themselves than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests" (HHS, 2000, Section 102). Understanding this definition is important as the core of ethnographical research is by definition, to non-invasively observe daily interactions conversations. The researcher believed that in many cases, especially in foreign countries, the formality and structure of a written consent form may negatively impact the research by creating apprehension and lack of authenticity for participants in the ethnographic period. For these reasons, the researcher proposes either a waiver of informed consent or a retrospective informed consent form that will be distributed to participants after the researcher interacts or converses with them. This alternative means of obtaining consent for ethnographical data collection will prevent potential negative impacts such as participant apprehension as a result of illiteracy or unfamiliarity and a lack of authenticity.

In conclusion, the researcher values the privacy, integrity, and confidentiality of the individual participants and the host communities as a whole. For these reasons, any further unidentifiable ethical concerns that arise will be addressed and handled with the participants' preferences in mind.

Chapter 4: Findings

The purpose of this study was to analyze the sustainability of the four NIGSA events held annually in TDPNP and the Magallanes region of Chilean Patagonia. These events involve a network of stakeholders, most notably the national forest service (CONAF), the national tourism service (SERNATUR), the race operators (NIGSA), and local people, as their daily lives are often impacted as a result of the related activity. Interview data and artifacts from the ethnographic period have generated four major themes related with the sustainability interest of this study: operational sustainability, environmental sustainability, social sustainability, and economic sustainability. As articulated in existing literature, the data spoke to the three core elements of sustainability (ie: economic, social, and environmental). In addition, operational sustainability emerged as a theme to include important logistical and relational aspects of hosting these events. Table 2 displays each major theme and the corresponding elements that characterize each form of sustainability. The following sections will explore the four major themes primarily using the voices and narratives of the interviewees themselves through direct quotes and paraphrasing.

Table 2: The four major themes presented from the data along with the core elements that characterize each theme

Operational	Environmental	Economic	Social
Sustainability	Sustainability	Sustainability	Sustainability
 Planning logistics Bathrooms Conflict with other tourists Personnel Safety Stakeholder relations 	 Trail Impact Trash Fauna Biosphere Reserve 	 Seasonality Multiplier effect Leakage 	 Marketing Attitude of local people Event accessibility

4.1 Operational Sustainability

Overall, the four interviewees clearly communicated multiple operational impediments that stem from hosting the NIGSA events. It was openly acknowledged by all parties that the events require extreme amounts of detailed planning, sufficient personnel, complex relationship management, and logistical coordination.

Logistical coordination was perhaps the most prominent operational burden reported by all parties surrounding the race. Carla from CONAF stated, "For us, what complicates things for us the most are logistical issues." Jose at the NIGSA also identified logistical complications for their organization, saying "For me, the Patagonia Expedition Race was a, it's like a logistical monster." Additionally, Rosa at SERNATUR also references logistical demands explaining,

This is a region that requires a lot of logistics. Now, I believe that the scenery (organizations) are given- is the best. Like all of the scenery in Patagonia, as a whole, it's the best, but obviously it requires a tremendously important job for the proposal, the event design- that I imagine, is just the thing that takes up most of Jose's time...

Rosa at SERNATUR went on to say that many times these events, the Patagonia Expedition Race in particular, require access to areas that are often extremely difficult to even get to, let alone access, which creates the need for extremely advanced logistical planning from NIGSA. She suggested that this logistical planning should also include emergency procedures; how, if necessary, racers would be rescued from these difficult access points, without depending on the government for resources (ie: helicopters, special vehicles, etc).

To get more specific, bathrooms proved to be a point of operational concern due to lack of infrastructure. CONAF has a certain number of bathrooms in the park, which are meant to serve a daily population of trekkers and visitors. When a race comes through, these bathrooms become extremely inundated, dirty, and almost unavailable to the intended demographic. It should be noted that the number of NIGSA race days throughout the year (4-10 days) compared

to non-NIGSA race days (361-355 days) is minimal. Nonetheless, the impacted NIGSA race days require more work from CONAF to cleanup and manage bathroom flow. For this reason, Carla and Antonia from CONAF were the only interviewees to point out the issue. They spoke about new regulations CONAF set in motion to regulate all organized sport events/sport activity in the park and in those regulations, private organizations like NIGSA to provide, manage, and clean up their own bathrooms for their events.

The next operational concern that emerged was conflict with other tourists. Carla at CONAF explained, "...also the impact that it (NIGSA event) had was that as the racers went running, the people who were trekking got upset. So, we also received complaints from those tourists that were there to trek..." These trekkers and other casual tourists express their complaints directly to CONAF, as the governing body of the park. When I asked Carla what some of the main overall impacts of the NIGSA events were she included this point by saying, "Also being careful with- or having the respect for the people that are just trekking or just visiting the area that have nothing to do with the race..."

Additionally, volunteers and personnel were another point of logistical and operational concern. CONAF suggested that the NIGSA consistently lacks the quantity of volunteers to appropriately and safely host the events. CONAF official, Carla, explicitly described this by saying,

For example, in the park entrance stations they (NIGSA) would leave us a list of people participating in the race but there wasn't another person from the organization (NIGSA) checking or verifying the people on that list that were running in the race. So the park rangers had to- again - leave their work for the public, which was to charge entrance fees and give information to people coming into the park and instead, focus on the race.

CONAF also expressed a lack of volunteer presence through the courses, suggesting that every 5-10 kilometers a volunteer should be present to help guide racers, manage waste, and assure

safety. Carla mentioned this various times, saying, "No, they [the volunteers] weren't enough so then the park ranger had to leave his conservation work and focus on the race."

Safety, another area of operational concern, involves considering elements like weather and athlete preparedness. For the NIGSA, the harsh winters and non-ideal shoulder seasons create a challenging window of time for planning races. The climate can also heavily impact racers and their ability to compete. For example, Rosa from SERNATUR identifies potential safety concerns resulting from the weather,

I think there are differences that need to be considered with the climate, the day, with the weather, with the wind, the south wind, the north wind, the west wind, the east wind...how it takes hold of you. They (NIGSA) have to also consider things like appropriate clothing for racers, physical resistance to the cold...

Rosa also pointed out that the people coming to participate in these events come from all kinds of different athletic backgrounds. "Someone who does triathlons could be an experienced bike rider in their own country, in very different climate conditions..." and went on to explain that their athletic ability in their own country doesn't necessarily equate to their athletic ability in a region like Magallanes, primarily due to drastic differences in climate.

Lastly, and most predominantly, stakeholder relations emerged as a threat to sustainably operating and hosting these events. Consistently across all the interviews, a lack of collaboration and level of frustration with each other was strongly sensed. Artifacts of this include a variety of quotes and body language. Jose from the NIGSA explained, "I began having a lot of problems with CONAF; they wouldn't give me permits, they took a long time to give me the permits..." and further went on to say that,

When we had the race inside TDP, CONAF would come- and all of them believe they're owners of the place- and they'd say: 'Ahh look, that runner is stepping off the road.' But they have horses, cows- they have huge buses passing by there just off the road too. What's one runner stepping off the road going to do? Nothing. People are happy, they're

taking photos, they stop (along the road) ...its nice to see and it doesn't do any harm, but they (CONAF) simply have to say something to bother you.

Multiple people throughout the region echoed Jose's frustration with CONAF. Adjectives like 'lazy' and 'incompetent' were two adjectives used to describe CONAF. Jose then shared with me that due to the problems he was having with CONAF, he decided to remove his events out of the park completely. When asked if this decision was purely because of the complications he'd had with CONAF, he responded,

Yes, 100%. Because even- for example, with the Patagonian Expedition Race this year...every year we've passed through reserves that are essentially CONAFs reserves, protected wilderness areas, and we've never had any problems. They always gave us the permits because they're parks/reserves that no one uses. It was like, "Sure, no problem you just have to obey this and this and there's no problem" and it was all set. This year, we were already set to go with the race- and there are people inside CONAF that just want to bother you- and when I went to go ask for the permit to pass through 16 kilometers of a part of the park that no one uses, CONAF started giving me problems. 'No no, we want the whole route- no'... Later they asked if our kayaks were going to be inspected but we weren't proposing to enter the park with the kayaks. So it was like, they were kill you, kill the event. Finally I said, 'Ok thank you, I'm not going to enter the parks at all.

His feelings towards CONAF were harsh and fueled by concrete examples and specific interactions. The fundamental point Jose made in multiple different ways regarding his relationship with other stakeholders was that CONAF intentionally complicates his life; his organization (NIGSA). He expressed CONAF as a "nightmare to work with" and attributed most of the complications he's had along the way to CONAF.

On the other side, both CONAF administrators also expressed frustration with NIGSA, their practices, and constant requests. Carla particularly conveyed feelings of irritation with Jose at NIGSA regarding not only the specific operational challenges listed above, but also his inability to abide by their (CONAF's) general guidelines and regulations. In her eyes, the

NIGSA events inconvenience her and her team. She cited a recent example with NIGSA's Patagonia International Marathon specifically,

Well, last year the 2016 marathon was denied permission to access the park because the year prior it had failed to meet certain requirements of the...what's it called...of the conditions of our contract. That's why it wasn't authorized in 2016. I'm not sure if this year they will request access again this year but as long as they're not complying with the conditions of our contract that they signed, I can't authorize anything.

Her dissatisfaction with NIGSA seemed to be focused on their recent inability to keep the conditions of their contract with CONAF. Carla went on to state that beyond that issue, she has no real issue with NIGSA. When I asked her about their relationship, she responded "As long as they obey/observe our contract? We have no problem. As long as they comply with the contract, the rules… but if they don't I mean obviously it's not going to be a good relationship."

Rosa from SERNATUR hinted to some frustration with NIGSA but very minimal compared to CONAF. She spoke about the difference between a private organization like NIGSA and a public entity like SERNATUR or CONAF- that NIGSA couldn't expect or ask for any resources that belong to the state of Chile, hinting that this had been an issue in the past. In her words, there is next to nothing that could justify the State using its own resources to help a private NIGSA event. She repeatedly brought up an example of a helicopter and stated, "the idea, the initiative/event could be spectacular but there is nothing that justifies the State of Chile to use resources to move a helicopter to the event to see what's happening with security." Rosa at SERNATUR pointed out that a helicopter for NIGSA events is valuable for emergency situations or life-saving cases, but that NIGSA needs to be responsible for outlining how they would get a helicopter if necessary and how they would finance it instead of relying on the government. She points out,

Do I have the resources to rent a helicopter? What company is going to rent me a helicopter? Will the Chilean government, the police set me up with a helicopter? Well

they're not there for that. Will the army or navy set me up with a helicopter?...it's not that easy.

Overall, the operational impediments related to the NIGSA events directly the sustainability and ability to host the events year after year. Between planning logistics, bathrooms, conflict with other tourists, personnel, safety, and stakeholder relationships, the operational component is perhaps the backbone of hosting these events. The operational capability of these events directly impacts their very sustainability. To sum up, Antonia states,

We, as CONAF, we don't have the personnel or infrastructural capacity to host...I don't know...1,000 racers. There aren't bathrooms for that or park rangers that can control access points for that.... It's just that we don't have the capacity to manage it (the race) in a good way, in a positive way.

4.2 Environmental Sustainability

The second theme that emerged from the interview data was the topic of environmental sustainability. The main impediments that arose under this theme were trail impact, trash, climate, fauna, and the biosphere reserve concept. Not all interviewees brought up the same environmental concerns however, they did all agree in one way or another that Magallanes is a fragile region. "Everything that belongs to the State of Chile, the national parks…they're fragile places that need to be taken care of- and also where sustainability is an expensive and costly topic" SERNATUR official, Rosa, stated.

Trail impact specifically arose as a concern for Antonia and Carla at CONAF and also during the fieldwork portion of the research. Antonia noted that although the impact that trail runners have on the land isn't scientifically being measured at the moment, she was sure it's more significant and harmful than normal trekking or other low impact activities. "The impact of one person running on the trail has a different impact than one person just walking" she said. Similarly, Carla echoed by explaining that "the trail is only meant for hiking- for low impact

activities like trekking". She also described the difference between hiking trails deeper in the mountains versus paved roads and went on to clearly assert that CONAF prefers the races pass through roads instead of trails. "For example, running here in the public road doesn't have that big of an impact because this is a road- it's already been sacrificed for public use and cars." Jose at NIGSA also made a contrast between trail runners and regular trekkers but had a different take on the issue:

I would say that in terms of environmental impacts- that will have a lasting and harmful impact...there aren't any. For example, if we're talking about the NIGSA trail running events, the racers don't need fire and they don't need to cook, unlike the people that are trekking; trail runners aren't in any of that. I'm in favor of all the trekkers but the difference between a trail runner and a person trekking is that the person trekking-number one- normally uses a lot more rugged shoes pounding into the ground....but they (trail runners) are going with less weight, they're not bringing a tent, they don't bring anything- so it's a lesser impact.

Jose also went on to express frustration that CONAF has done a poor job investing in the park and making improvements. He hinted that over the 35+ years he's been coming to the park, the only new trail he's seen be created is one that sits in a part of the park that is privately owned-not managed by CONAF. He suggested that creating new trails in other parts of the park could unclog a lot of the present day traffic related to these events and tourism in general.

Trash, another area of concern, primarily arose with Carla at CONAF. She explained that it's one of the biggest concerns for CONAF in regards to the NIGSA events. She explained,

There's also the issue of trash...I mean to us, the impact of trash and how much can be generated (from an event) is really concerning to us. The organization (NIGSA) often times doesn't remove their trail markers- so then we've had to take the park ranger away from his station to help...

Jose at NIGSA mentioned that his organization has rules in place to help safeguard against residual trash post-event. He said NIGSA warns the runners to always be careful in regards to their trash and the environment around them. Jose made it clear that they have rules in place,

stating "Of course, the rules state that you can't throw anything away on the trail and if someone see that you're throwing something away or leaving trash along the trail- you're disqualified right then. There are rules for that, yes." The NIGSA website outlines their conservation efforts, one of which is to create environmental awareness in their runners by encouraging responsible disposal of waste and use of non-disposable bottles, among other things. However, Carla at CONAF called the effectiveness of NIGSA's environmental efforts into question. She cited a very similar trail running event she participated in in Argentina and as a past participant of NIGSA's Patagonia International Marathon, she made contrasts between the two experiences:

I went to do a 3-day race in Argentina that was also in a National Park and to compare-I'm saying this in my own words, but it's my opinion- the Patagonia International Marathon isn't compatible with the park yet. For example, when I went to Argentina, it was compatible. Why? Because the organizations are very different. Here, caring about conservation or protection still doesn't really exist. In Argentina though, the organizers demanded you to be careful with nature because they would always remind you that you're in a national park- that you were in a protected area. So they took great care- for example for food, they always told you to carry your food in a Ziploc bag to and to put your garbage in it and return with it. If you didn't abide by rules like that they would penalize or disqualify you immediately. They checked everything- our packs, pockets, everything....but here no, the truth is no. And there was always someone, in that race it was 100 kilometers, there was always someone every 5 kilometers, 8, 10 kilometers there was always someone... and there was always a medical assistance unit just in case. Here it wasn't as much- to be honest it wasn't like Argentina. I think that the organizers here of the (Patagonia International) Marathon still have a lot to learn in those areas.

The next area of environmental concern that emerged in the interviews was the interaction with fauna. Carla highlighted the importance of keeping racers on the designated trails and discussed what her organization, CONAF, does minimize racer interaction with park fauna. CONAF has established a set schedule for races, what times of the day they're allowed to actively compete. "For example, they can't run at night because that's an increased time for wildlife activity. The idea then is not just the protection or conservation of the fauna or ecosystem but it's also saving the lives of the racers," she explained. Moreover, Carla pointed

out that the deeper the trails are into the mountains, the easier it is to get lost or stray off a trail which can lead to potentially harmful encounters with wildlife. "There are forests, for example there are lenga forests that house a lot of woodpeckers, other fauna- there are pumas and it's really easy, if you stray off the trail, it's really easy to get lost." Jose also acknowledged some looming threats to the regional fauna but did not relate those threats to his events or racers in.

The final area of environmental sustainability concern was the discussion of the Biosphere Reserve concept. Of the interviewees, Jose at NIGSA and Carla at CONAF were the most knowledgeable about the biosphere reserve and were the only two interviewees to bring the subject up. Carla described in detail how Chile secured the classification for the park back in the 1970's and the changes the Biosphere Reserve program has seen over the years on a global scale. She explained that currently, "the reserve (TDPNP BR) needs to be expanded so that's what CONAF is working on right now- on making an expansion where the surrounding areas submit themselves to be part of the reserve." Both Carla and Jose spoke about the zonation system in the TDPNP reserve: the core zone, buffer zone, and transition zone. Jose made it very clear that the NIGSA events don't pass through the core area (anymore), which is intended to simply represent the local ecosystem go undisturbed. He said,

Today the model is that Torres del Paine, the park, is like the core zone and the recommendation is to try to not do things in the core zone. We're not in the core zone; we're in one level below it, which is what's recommended.

Additionally, a local eco-tourism researcher during the fieldwork portion spoke in-depth about the biosphere reserve concept. He emphasized that TDPNP has really not been functioning like a Reserve and outlined that there are distinct differences between the National Park model and the Biosphere Reserve model. He described National Parks as very restrictive, cautious, and said they operate with a 'do not touch' framework when it comes to human interaction in the park. In

contrast, the Biosphere Reserve model is all about integration, understanding, and balance with the human species. He also said that the a Biosphere Reserve seeks to identify and understand the problems that exist between man and nature; it is a solution oriented model that seeks to preserve the biodiversity while also including human interaction in the area.

Although environmental factors affecting the sustainability of the NIGSA events can be individualized, the interviewees also spoke about environmental concerns in broad terms.

4.3 Economic Sustainability

The economic sustainability of the NIGSA also arose as a leading theme in the interview data. In a broad sense, the interviewees all agreed that Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales are both tourism driven/dependent towns and are greatly affected by the industry as a whole. Rosa from SERNATUR put it this way, "No, tourism is definitely- I would say- the main (economic) activity in Patagonia, the Magallanes region and Chilean Antarctica." When I asked Jose if Puerto Natales and Punta Arenas depend on tourism he replied with a resounding "So much so." In specific terms, the three main points under economic sustainability the interviewees discussed were *seasonality*, *leakage*, and the *multiplier effect*.

Seasonality, perhaps the most prominent, was a complex topic. Interviewees made the point of saying that ideally the NIGSA events happen in the low tourist season or on the cusp of seasons to help balance or extend the high season. They also discussed the seriousness of weather, which often prevents or makes it extremely dangerous to host these events in the low tourist season. High tourist season aligns with summer months in the Magallanes region, leaving the harsh storms and temperatures to occupy most of the low tourist season. Jose, as the race organizer, expressed and admitted his own frustration, "There are so many problems here with

seasonality... people come during the summer and the winters are just empty". He went on to explain the impact seasonality has had on local tourism and his events in particular:

It's relatively short (tourist season), so then what happens? All of the companies have problems, they have to shut hotels down, they have to send people/employees away, guides have work for a little bit of time but then no work at all. There are so many problems ...they've (the community) been discussing it for 20 years now- what they're going to do about it and they haven't done anything. So then I finally said, let's see, we have a holiday in September that is a national holiday and normally there's an increased flow of national tourists that day. But a lot of the hotels can't open for those tourists during that time because once the holiday was over it would be dead again, there wouldn't be any tourists until the season picked up again in October. So I decided, I said 'Okay I'm going to do the marathon after the 18th' so that it serves as a bridge, a shoulder; so that people would come for the 18th holiday and when they left, other people would come for the marathon so that the hotels would be able to stay open and keep working during that time. And it worked out really well.

Jose's frustration with the seasonality impact was communicated in his tone and he hinted that it's a real challenge for not only his organization, but also the entire region.

Leakage, another point of economic concern among interviewees, was mainly discussed by Jose and Carla. Jose pointed out that part of operating his events in the park meant having to pay a fee to CONAF to use/access the park for official use. Carla outlined exactly what her organization, CONAF, charges NIGSA for, "Payment...not just money for entrance fees but we also charge an additional cost to use the trails and an another additional cost just in case there's any, how can I say it, like if there's any environmental damage done." Irritated and upset Jose had this to say about the park entrance fees:

They (CONAF) abuse this region...Did you know, more than 90% of the resources that come through TDPNP, they don't stay here- they go to other parks, other regions. But what's frustrating to me? For example, there are other trail running races in Chile, in other parks, but they don't have to pay to enter (the park)...or what they are charged to enter is minimal. For example National Park Vicente Perez Rosales they charge tourist 1,600 pesos to enter- which is *nothing* (TDPNP is 16,000-21,000 pesos). It's nothing and they (CONAF) don't even actually charge it. Why? Because they know what kind of money is flowing through Torres del Paine, which goes straight to Santiago. So even *us* as a race- we're sponsoring other races. It's ridiculous.

When asked specifically about this controversy, Carla echoed what Jose had said, affirming that the TDPNP entrance fees do not stay in the region. She explained,

It goes back to the national CONAF offices. Everything that has to do with entering the park, park entrance fees to the national parks and reserves, it all goes back to the State of Chile- it goes to Santiago and from there it gets redistributed according to what the State wants...

Another area of economic leakage related to the NIGSA events is directly connected to the hotels in the region and where racers choose to stay. Jose put it this way,

You know what the other (leakage) problem is? I always separate- there are two different kinds of hotels here in my mind. There are a few hotels that are owned by local families, families that are from here, that live here and everything they make or profit gets reinvested back into this region. But there are also hotels like Explora with owners from Santiago and they come here and put their hotel here in the middle of the park. Tourists come straight to their hotel and leave without stopping anywhere else. So all of those resources or profit, the hotel owners take out of the park and they send back to Santiago where they're from. And here we're left with contamination but the resources are sent back to Santiago.

He went on to explain that NIGSA encourages their racers to stay at specific hotels in the region, locally owned hotels that NIGSA supports and partners with that also offer special pricing packages for racers. Jose's intent is to limit the business NIGSA racers give to those Santiago-owned hotels and beyond.

Jose was the primary interviewee to mention the multiplier effect his events have on the region and was dumbfounded how others in the community don't see the benefit. The multiplier effect, which is a significant piece in analyzing overall economic impact in tourism, essentially speaks to the growth in primary and secondary sectors of an economy as a result of tourism activity (Rusu, 2011). "In these past years just with the running events, we've been able to generate 32,000 hotel beds occupied from 2012 until now. Which is 32,000 lunches, 32,000 dinners, 32,000 everything" he commented. He described one of their past years specifically:

In 2014, it was a good year for us with the (Patagonia International) marathon. We had 980 runners. That's like at least 2,000 people (total) that came to region for the marathon

and more than 90% were from outside the region. So they occupy all the hotels...imagine it- 2,000 people spending four days here, four nights. It has a big impact, it's important for the economy.

His projections for the upcoming year and beyond signify serious growth and further multiplier effects for the region:

The projection for the upcoming years, for next year...for example the 32,000 number has been since 2012; from 2012 to 2016 but in 2017 alone between our three events- if we achieve our goal to have 2,000 combined racers, that's 4,000 people (estimate includes extra people traveling with racers) staying here for at least four nights. That's 16,000 hotel beds occupied in one year and that's going to continue to grow. If each year that number continues to grow, you could project that in the next ten years we're going to occupy more than 200,000 hotel beds. Imagine that. It's a tremendous contribution but it's hard to get (local) people to see that.

Antonia at CONAF also spoke about the multiplier effect these events have on the region, Puerto Natales specifically. "It's not just one person competing; it's the team that comes with the athlete. So it's a lot of people. If you ask me, in a tourism sense, Natales- the hotel capacity? It fills up completely when there is an event" she said.

4.4 Social Sustainability

The social impacts the NIGSA events have on the local community were visible and somewhat controversial. NIGSA's ever-dynamic relationship with local residents, business owners, and stakeholders alike was a reoccurring point in the data. Three specific areas of difficulty that directly affect the social sustainability of the events were evident between both the interview data and observation period. They include: marketing, attitude of local people, and event accessibility.

Jose provided insight to NIGSA's marketing strategy, which will later align with how many of the local people feel regarding the events. Jose's marketing strategy explicitly targets an international audience and attempts to generate international interest in the local region. He described his objective to generate international interest this way:

We want people to discover this place and dream about coming to Torres del Paine (to compete). For me, I don't necessarily evaluate my success on whether people come or not. These people could be dreaming about and planning to come for two, three, four, five, ten years. But people will somehow make a way, make an effort to travel their *dream* destinations and that's what I set out to do. That's my mission- is to create, to place the dream of coming here in peoples minds.

He went on the say that ever since their first Patagonia Expedition Race broke ground in 2004; the organization's focus has been on the international demographic when it comes to marketing to and recruiting racers. Jose explains,

We've been using global social media networks, which has always been my focus- the international market. I do almost nothing national; I push everything outside of the country...because it's a big challenge- to generate the interest, create that powerful dream for people that are *able* to invest in flights and everything else to get here just to run a 21k, or 10k, or 40k.

The International Trail Running Association, headquartered in France, keeps a log of registered trail running events across the globe along with their popularity. Jose explained that some of the most popular races have a running 20-year reputation in the top spots. He added,

We started pushing the Ultra Fiord event on social media, especially on Facebook, exactly two years and two months ago. And today you could say that in the past two years the Ultra Fiord was one of the races that grew the most on social media, passing every other race except one. Today, Ultra Trail Montblanc is the number one race and we, the Ultra Fiord, is now the second.

This global strategy proved to be effective and was reflected in participant statistics. Jose reported that all their events boast a 40% to 90% international demographic of racers. At the time of the interview, of all the racers registered for the upcoming Patagonian International Marathon [September, 2017], 90% were international participants and from 34 different countries.

Furthermore, during the observation fieldwork a native Puerto Natales tour guide expressed the international focus of these events as a point of personal frustration. It should be noted that this individual also commented that he had participated in one or two of the NIGSA

events in years past. He went on to explain that not only are local people not participating in the NIGSA events but they aren't even really represented in the demographic of volunteers that help run the events.

NIGSA's international marketing strategy, described above, has socio-cultural impacts on the local community. Throughout the observation period, participants were not only able to identify NIGSA's international focus, but they also communicated feelings of being overlooked, left out, or not good enough. Antonia from CONAF reported that many local people in the region enjoy [trail] running and are actually interested in the other sport activities that a race like the Patagonia Expedition Race involves. During the observation period, at least three tour guides that were all born and raised in Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales expressed feelings of being overlooked as a result of NIGSA's overt mission to involve and recruit, largely Global North, international athletes to participate. One of these tour guides, who happened to be a past participant, described the indirect message NIGSA sends to the local community as a result of their international marketing strategy. He also commented that it must be hard to get local support when there's hardly any local representation in the events- between both volunteers and participants. He later went on to describe an event in the past, contrasting it to the NIGSA events. The event was a Triathlon that included kayaking, trekking, and mountain biking in Puerto Natales. He described it as a "truly beautiful" event for the community because it attracted local participation and community involvement. This Triathlon only lasted for about three years and why it stopped was unknown.

Furthermore, Rosa from SERNATUR also touched on the lack of local support but insinuated that it was NIGSA's own fault. She commented,

That is their (NIGSA's) product, their strategy- focusing on what the international demographic of extreme athletes want. But at the same time you also want the local

community to make adjustments around your event needs and feel empowered by event proposal/design? Well you have to make us feel involved or part of the project at least.

She hinted that there is a gap between Jose at NIGSA and the local people, which is one of the main reasons why community support is lacking.

The next point made regarding the social sustainability of the NIGSA events was a diverse cluster of local attitude; in other words, how the local people feel about the events, Jose, and NIGSA. Testimonies revealing local community attitudes about the NIGSA events arose in interview data but were much more prominent during the observation fieldwork. One or two interviewees and a handful of observation participants communicated potent feelings towards NIGSA and Jose. When asked about local community support for and involvement in the events, Rosa at SERNATUR said that at first people were committed to supporting the Patagonia Expedition Race in its first years but that that support quickly faded. She spoke about local community support from a governmental perspective stating that, "Problems arise when the government has to make up for things or errors on behalf of a private organization like NIGSA because the government shouldn't be solving problems of private organizations." She repeatedly hinted that NIGSA has had to call on the government in multiple cases in the past to access additional resources that they didn't initially plan for. Rosa not only expressed personal irritation regarding this issue but also suggested that other people in governmental branches share the same frustrations. As a country, Chile condemns the sharing of publicly funded resources to privately funded organizations, so much so that it can be an issue of legal importance.

Other members of the community were said to share similar feelings towards Jose personally. During the observation period, the researcher stayed in a home-stay environment and briefly discussed some elements of the study with the host. The host disclosed that she had

previously worked at NIGSA, years prior, and that they ended on negative terms. She was optimistic and hoped that things had improved at the organization but admitted that you either had a love/hate relationship with Jose. She said that he's been so unequivocally committed to the NIGSA vision that he has lost some of the most important things in his life because of it, which in turn has caused local people to call into question his morals, integrity, sensibility, and irrationality. Moreover, the host asserted that as far as she could see, the relationships Jose had once built with local business owners and vendors in town were deteriorating. These relationships had been built on 'mutually beneficial' agreements initiated by Jose. Local business owners would agree to cut Joses' racers a deal or special rate at their establishment in return for some kind of advertising as put out by NIGSA. These agreements began to disintegrate as business owners started to realize they weren't getting much, if anything out of the deal; they felt burned and had trouble seeing the 'mutual' benefit. The few that did stay in these arrangements with NIGSA were the ones who shared Jose's vision of creating the last wild race (Patagonia Expedition Race) in the deepest, most extreme parts of our Earth: Chilean Patagonia. A local tour guide also echoed this narrative during the observation fieldwork and commented that Jose is known in the community to ask for things for free with offering little to nothing in return, irritating many.

The last element regarding the social sustainability of the NIGSA events was accessibility. This element only briefly came up in the observational data but is valuable to mention. During the observational period, a tour guide born and raised in Puerto Natales, explained that the lack of local participation in the NIGSA events is twofold. He asserted that of course they (locals) aren't encouraged to participate but that also culturally in Chile, adventure sports aren't supported or funded. He described that growing up in Chile, the government

funnels financial resources to soccer and no other sports. He had lived in Canada for some time and compared Chile to Canada- explaining that in Canada kids learn how to kayak, hike, and participate in adventure sports at a young age. He attributed this socio-cultural aspect in Chile to point out another reason why local participation is essentially non-existent. Rosa from SERNATUR also touched on the inaccessibility of these events for local people. She commented that the NIGSA events strictly appeal to and attract extreme athletes, automatically excluding normal athletes or individuals who are new to these sports. She explained it this way,

These races are interesting yes, but at the same time I think he (Jose) should recreate his own events but design them in such a way that young people or normal athletes could participate. It would be like saying, 'Jose, organize something different- like a triathlon-something that could simulate your other events and what your extreme athletes do but be a less extreme of an event.' The difference for me would be that it should take place further South (near Punta Arenas) and it should be an event that I can do my kayaking, walking and whatever else, in 5 to 10 kilometers total and be done....This way it could be accessible to any local person, but also any international visitor that happened to be in town and simply wanted to participate. People wouldn't need to be in such an extreme physical condition to participate...most importantly though, it needs to be on a small scale; an extreme race but on a small scale.

Rosa went on to suggest other ideas that could improve the social sustainability of the organization- increasing local support and involving more of the local community. Overall, the events appeared inaccessible to local people due to the cultural sport landscape, cost, and ability.

In conclusion, the artifacts, voices, opinions, and experiences presented above rendered diverse findings regarding the sustainability of the NIGSA events.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The purpose of this study was to analyze the degree of sustainability of the NIGSA events in Magallanes, Chile. The findings uncovered that multiple elements threaten and impede the overall sustainability potential of the NIGSA events. The major findings found that there is an absence of collaboration among involved stakeholders, a lack of environmental priority, and a shortage of local community support, all elements that specifically endanger the sustainability. The following section will discuss the findings, limitations of the study, recommendations to practitioners, and proposed future research.

5.1 Operational Sustainability

Although operational sustainability isn't commonly found in sustainability typologies in literature, it was established as it's own dimension of sustainability for the purpose of this research. Operational sustainability addresses logistical concerns, some of which specifically threaten the overall sustainability of the NIGSA events. The findings revealed two major operational/logistical threats that have also appeared in event tourism research: infrastructure and stakeholder management.

Infrastructure. Literature has demonstrated that infrastructure is a key ingredient to the successful classification of a SSSE. Highham (1999) explained that SSSEs typically use and operate within existing infrastructure. He and other researchers established that if SSSEs do in fact need new infrastructure, infrastructural plans are made with local people and stakeholders to ensure that the new infrastructure complements the scale and resourcing capabilities of the host community and requires minimal public funding (Gibson, Kaplanidou, and Kang, 2012). In comparison, this study found that infrastructure was a point of disagreement and contention regarding the SSSEs at hand. The lack of sufficient bathrooms to simultaneously serve both the

conventional tourist demographic and the NIGSA racers throughout the year was a known issue. Two separate CONAF officials articulated that the bathroom infrastructure in place is not sufficient to successfully accommodate NIGSA racers on top of conventional tourists. Furthermore, NIGSA suggested that the trail infrastructure within TDPNP is underdeveloped and inadequate to optimally host their events. Although NIGSA events may be operating within existing infrastructure, they are not doing so in a harmonious way. In this setting, operating within existing bathroom and trail infrastructure is not a sustainable practice because it causes tension and burdens various groups. This anticipated growth Jose is projecting NIGSA to see in the upcoming years is further justification that the existing infrastructures are not and will continue to not successfully accommodate both groups. Furthermore, the creation and implementation of new bathrooms and trails would likely require public funding as CONAF is a governmental, publicly funded organization that is exclusively in charge of the park. Taks (2013) echoes Higham, pointing out that small-sale events generally don't require upgrading or constructing new infrastructure but that it is possible. She states,

If that is indeed the case, the upgrading or construction of facilities for non-mega sport events are often specifically built with the intention to meet the needs of local residents, ensuring the long term use by the community which is central for sustainable community development.

However, now that the NIGSA events largely operate outside of the park, some infrastructural pressures are relieved. NIGSA racers are not competing with the mass amounts of conventional tourists on the trails or in the bathrooms.

Stakeholder management. Research has established that in order for SSSEs to be sustainable, the diverse needs of multiple stakeholder groups should be considered and their voices represented in the event decision-making process (UNWTO, 2004; Csobán and Serra, 2014). Similarly, "the informed participation of all the stakeholders in decision-making is of

vital importance while it is the role of political leadership to ensure participation and consensusbuilding" (Csobán and Serra, 2014). In the case of the NIGSA events, the stakeholder groupsmost of which have been discussed in this study- include CONAF, NIGSA, SERNATUR, local people, event participants, and potentially other sponsors or entities that have involvement. It is safe to assume that these stakeholder groups perceive the NIGSA events differently in terms of both meaning and value (Getz & Page, 2016), however their diverse needs and opinions must be welcomed and considered in the decision-making process. This idea of managing stakeholder interests and priorities is found across tourism literature and suggests that planners develop and execute their tourism initiatives in a way that satisfy stakeholders (Peric, Durkin, & Lamot, 2014). Peric, et al., (2014, p. 274) assert that, "The central task in this process (stakeholder management) is to manage and integrate the relationships and interests of all of the identified stakeholders in a way that it ensures the long-term success." That "long term success" is paramount for the sustainable and successful continuation of the events. Murphy and Murphy (2004) also highlight the importance of widespread support for tourism initiatives and the necessary stakeholder engagement required to achieve that support. Additionally, they suggest that decisions made with minimal local participation and/or support only have a short term lasting effect because many fundamental issues will likely be neglected due to lack of robust participation from all stakeholder groups (Murphy & Murphy, 2004). The lack of stakeholder collaboration and cooperation that plagues the planning processes of the NIGSA events connects directly with this idea, challenging the very sustainability of the event/project. Furthermore, the World Tourism Organization asserts that any form of sustainable tourism involves "the informed participation of all relevant stakeholders, as well as strong political leadership to ensure wide participation and consensus building" (WTO, 2004). As the event host, in order to ensure this

wide participation from relevant stakeholders, NIGSA must not only identify all relevant stakeholders but also welcome their vigorous support- even if it conflicts with their own agenda.

Unfortunately, this multidimensional dialogue among stakeholders in Magallanes appears to be currently non-existent or at a crossroads due to lack of cooperation and compromise. The frustration and resentment between NIGSA and CONAF by itself prevents any sort of dialogue, let alone a cooperative and collaborative dialogue. NIGSA clearly expressed that removing the events from TDPNP was solely due to built up tensions and headaches with CONAF. Instead of working through issues with CONAF, NIGSA pulled out of the park completely. The findings yielded multiple artifacts and examples of this toxic relationship between NIGSA and CONAF, which is preventing both parties from focusing on the true goals and optimal execution of the events. Furthermore, local people seemed to have minimal involvement and voice in the planning of the NIGSA events. NIGSA commented that local people have a hard time seeing the benefits of the events and insinuated that local people have an elementary view of tourism potential in the region. Jose at NIGSA did appear to partner with and strategically include local entities like hotel and restaurant owners. However, these individuals as owners, probably are of higher socioeconomic status, likely have access to significant resources, and boast a very direct stake in the sport event tourism industry in the region- all things that the majority of the population in Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales likely don't have.

5.2 Environmental Sustainability

Inskeep (1991) established that in a broad sense, sustaining a high commitment to and level of environmental quality is crucial to ensuring the competitiveness of the tourism destination, which inherently becomes a concern for destination managers. Additionally, the moral commitment that tourism operators like NIGSA have to the physical environments they

are operating in should be acknowledged. With this in mind, the findings from this study identified two major environmental concerns that challenge the overall sustainability of the NIGSA events, trail impact and biosphere reserve awareness. Unfortunately, there is limited empirical evidence regarding specific environmental impacts and running/adventure races of this type. It should be noted that potential wildlife displacement, trash, and other environmental concerns are at stake here. However the most prominent in both the findings and the literature are presented in this discussion. We are by no means suggesting that one environmental impact is more significant that others; rather that for the purpose of this paper, trail impact and the biosphere reserve were the most relevant. Due to the scarcity of literature and narrow scope of environmental findings in this research, the discussion around environmental sustainability will focus on trail impact and the biosphere reserve concept- two areas that are adequately represented in the literature.

Trail impact. Trail impact was a concern brought up by CONAF interviewees and local eco-tourism researchers during the fieldwork. These individuals directly attributed the number of racers to negative trail impacts and further suggested that reducing the number of racers in NIGSA events would be somewhat of a 'cure-all'. Cole (1987) highlights the importance of trail impact, trail deterioration specifically, pointing out that trail deterioration is a pivotal concern for protected park managers, especially when trails become unsafe or difficult to use. Furthermore, if aesthetic qualities are compensated substantial funding or staffing are often required to restore or maintain trails. Trail deterioration is a threat to both NIGSA racers and conventional tourists in the park. However, research has shown that reducing the number of users on a trail is only one factor that potentially impacts trail livelihood and health (Cole, 1983). Cole (1983) establishes this concept and explains that reducing use only addresses one possible factor

contributing to trail impacts, when other factors like trail location, design, and management may be of equal of more importance; for instance, trails that lack design, construction, or maintenance elements that can also prevent or alleviate various forms of trail impact. Furthermore, within the concept of 'use' there are additional user elements at play that need to be considered, which include: amount and distribution of use, type of use, and user behavior (Hammit & Cole, 1998; Leung & Marion, 2000; Wilsen & Seney, 1994). In other words, minimizing the impact NIGSA events/racers have on the trails in and around TDPNP is not a one-dimensional conversation, but rather an intricate discussion that would require various specialists. Farrell and Marion (2001) further this point by urging park managers to consider the relative importance of multiple factors that contribute to trail impacts. In the same 2001 study, 'Trail Impacts and Trail Impact Management Related to Visitation at TDPNP, Chile', Farrell and Marion (2001) proposed that trail development and maintenance would be a better strategy to improve trail quality than simply reducing trail use would be.

Biosphere reserve. The other environmental element that arose was the Biosphere Reserve concept. CONAF and NIGSA officials both brought up the concept in the interviews and it was also thoroughly discussed by eco-tourism researchers during the fieldwork. According to UNESCO, biosphere reserves are "ideal places to test and develop innovative tourism models that benefit local people and maintain cultures, biodiversity and associated values (UNESCO, 2002). Reserves should be a vehicle for international cooperation towards paving the way for sustainable tourism using shared knowledge, best practices, and design/management strategies. The main priorities of biosphere reserves include: understanding, development, conservation, and interaction. The Biosphere Reserve model seeks to preserve local ecosystems, resources, and biodiversity while integrating interaction with the human

species (Batisse, 2009; UNESCO, 2002). In contrast, as one of the eco-tourism researchers pointed out during the fieldwork, TDP as a national park, is currently operating under a different model. He asserted that the National Park model operates with conservation as its sole focus, often pushing out a restrictive 'don't touch' narrative to the human species. Although it was one of the national park governing body officials that brought up the reserve concept, her understanding seemed to be lacking the integration piece. Similarly the NIGSA individual that spoke of the concept also seemed to be lacking complete understanding of the concept. Both mentioned it on a very surface level, but were not probed further. Overall, it appeared that the two groups, both key stakeholders in the NIGSA events, were not using the biosphere reserve concept as a guiding force in their decision making process. No one group seemed committed to the Biosphere Reserve concept or upholding the classification, which could drastically threaten natural local resources, fauna livelihood, and the environmental wellbeing of the park.

5.3 Economic Sustainability

Another point of recurring interest in interview and fieldwork data was the economic piece of sustainability regarding the NIGSA events. Although Mules and Faulkner (1996) describe economic and monetary estimation as an "inexact science," a few conceptual points regarding the economic sustainability of these events should be made.

Expenditures and multiplier effect. Literature has revealed that SSSEs have viable potential to positively contribute to the economies in which they operate and serve as a form of sustainable sport event tourism (Duglio and Beltramo, 2017; Gibson, Kaplanidou, and Kang, 2012). SSSEs, like the NIGSA events, promote sport tourism movement and economic contribution via expenditures on accommodation and food within the local host communities (Gibson, Kaplanidou, & Kang, 2012). These expenditures play a significant role in the overall

economic impact of any SSSE (Dwyer, Mellor, Mistillis, & Mules, 2000). Considering this, the findings revealed that NIGSA racers typically spend their money in the local communities on food and accommodation. It was discussed that racers stay at a combination of accommodations including local hotels and hostels in Punta Arenas, Puerto Natales, and in TDPNP. The growth in participation NIGSA is anticipating over the next five to ten years promises auspicious economic contribution for the local community and "increased income for a myriad of other local entities" (Veltri et al., 2009). Jose at NIGSA paired this idea of racer expenditure with the multiplier effect to reinforce that his events stimulate economic growth for the region. The money that NIGSA racers, attendees, and volunteers spend and inherently leave in the region recirculates and multiplies into other economic streams of the community. With this in mind, it is crucial to consider that when racers come to the region to participate, they rarely come alone, often bringing one or two additional people as part of their 'team,' expanding the economic contribution of the event.

Unfortunately, monetary leakage is one of the largest threats to true economic benefit. NIGSA disclosed that many hotels within TDPNP are owned and operated by families or entities based out of Santiago. The money spent at those establishments rarely stays local, but rather gets funneled back to Santiago, far away from the event region. This phenomenon challenges the economic sustainability of an event and deprives local communities of monetary gain (Theobald, 2005). While this threat is almost always present, safeguards and strategies can be implemented to minimize leakage and improve the longevity of economic gains. NIGSA outlined that as an organization they have strategies in place to combat against economic leakage. They have formed alliances with local accommodation providers and restaurateurs that they know to be truly locally owned and sourced. These alliances incentivize NIGSA racers

using discounted prices to stay and/or eat at their specific establishments. The hope is to capture these racer dollars before they are spent at foreign-owned establishments.

Seasonality. Another area of economic emphasis around the NIGSA events that arose in the findings was seasonality. One of the major benefits of SSSEs that has been reiterated in the literature, is their ability to mitigate tourist seasonality and/or serve as a bridge to expand high tourist seasons (Duglio & Beltramo, 2017; Veal et al., 1993). The findings uncovered that NIGSA strategically considers seasonality when deciding when to host events. The findings also showed that, like many other tourist destinations across the globe, the region of Magallanes "is characterized by systematic fluctuations" of tourist flow throughout the year and particularly during summer months (Hinch & Higham, 2001). The seasonality in a place like Magallanes is due to what Higham and Hinch (2001) call natural seasonality, regular temporal variations in natural phenomena, particularly those associated with cyclical climatic changes throughout the year such as temperature, precipitation, wind, and daylight. With this in mind, high tourist season runs from late October to March in Magallanes. This is primarily due to the extreme weather the region encounters during winter and shoulder seasons months, characterized by severe temperatures and wind. Butler (2014) suggests that extending the high tourist season, something NIGSA intentionally does, can help combat against the sabotage of seasonality. He states that success of season extension can be dependent on the "market being flexible in its travel arrangement to be able to visit outside the peak season." One challenge of season extension that Butler and NIGSA officials point out is coordinating and ensuring that "sufficient, if not all, attractions and services remain open for early and (or) late visitors and that transportation services are available outside peak season" (Butler, 2014, p. 7).

Additionally, other miscellaneous economic elements should be considered in this research. NIGSA does not require much, if any, public funding or public resources. The findings pointed at that on a few occasions, a lack of NIGSA preparedness has required the emergency use of public resources like calling in the local police, using a government owned helicopter for safety purposes, and local army branch to conduct rescue searches if necessary. This lack of public investment is beneficial in a way because it minimizes the political buy-in from public partners and thus, lessens the political character of these events (Boyle, 1997). Also, NIGSA events require minimal paid staff- rather, multiple competent volunteers. Both volunteers and racers that participate in NIGSA events were said to be predominantly international visitors. In this case, the intentional focus on the international demographic is simultaneously beneficial for the economy and harmful for the community. International attendees, racers, and volunteers economically contribute more to the host community in terms of expenditures than local visitors would (Agha & Taks, 2015). Local attendees do not have the same need for accommodations and food as the international attendees. Unfortunately, this heightened focus has serious social implications on local people and their feelings towards the NIGSA organization.

5.4 Social Sustainability

The social impact regarding the NIGSA events emerged primarily in the observational fieldwork and is one of the main factors challenging the overall sustainability of these events. Social sustainability has been said to be difficult to quantify and research has pointed out that as a result, it is often the most neglected element of triple bottom line/sustainability reporting (McKenzie, 2004). From the findings, it was clear that hosting the NIGSA events are not driven by a positive community impact or community involvement. However, the outcomes of hosting

these events at the personal and societal levels must be acknowledged and discussed in order to analyze the true sustainability of the events.

Local involvement. Local residents of Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales Chile are directly affected by the hosting of the NIGSA events. They play both indirect and direct roles during the lead-up and actual execution of the events. Some interface directly with NIGSA racers through personal contact and others indirectly feel the buzz of participant presence in the community. Literature has reiterated that SSSEs contribute to the quality of life of local people and increase community pride and spirit (Gibson, Kaplanidou, Kang, 2012; Horne, 2000). The current experience local people of Punta Arenas and Puerto Natales are having with the NIGSA events appears to be uninvolved and inactive. Furthermore, NIGSA demonstrated a level of frustration with the local peoples inability to see the positive effects of these events. This frustration has seemingly led Jose to, in some ways, 'give up' on convincing and/or educating the local people of the benefits. Thus, not only are they being excluded in the planning process, but they are being neglected as stakeholders in the full event life cycle. Furthermore, the findings revealed that in some cases, the NIGSA events have complicated the quality of life for some local people rather than improved it via directly inconveniencing major stakeholders like SERNATUR and CONAF and indirectly inconveniencing local people on an individual level.

Power relations. The imbalance of power among social groups and individuals are largely referred to as power relations or power-dependence relations (Emerson, 1962). In a tourism context, these power relations have been said to complicate collaboration efforts. Reed (), explains, "it is frequently assumed that collaboration can overcome power imbalances" however, she argues that "power relations may alter the outcome of collaborative efforts or even preclude collaborative action" (p. 567). Therefore, successful collaboration is not as simple as

meeting the diverse needs of stakeholders, rather it requires identifying power imbalances that exist among stakeholders and seeking to understand how those imbalances might affect collaboration. In the planning process of events, Jamal and Getz (1995) describe actions steps to combat these imbalances. Balancing power differences and ensuring power distribution among several stakeholders are two key action steps they outline. With this in mind, it is important to consider under what circumstances groups like CONAF or NIGSA would be willing to distribute power to other stakeholder groups like local people. Currently, the two organizations themselves have their own power imbalances, which taint their collaborative efforts. CONAF, as a national institution of power, has demonstrated to be unwilling to compromise on their agenda of conservation protection and preservation. Instead of seeking to identify and emphasize potential shared priorities, NIGSA appears to be focusing on their stark points of difference and disagreement.

Human capital and knowledge development impact. Research has outlined that community involvement through volunteering is one of many socially sustainable indicators of hosting a SSSE (Gibson, Kaplanidou, & Kang, 2012). However, the findings in this research demonstrated that there is almost no representation of local people in the volunteers that help run the NIGSA events. Taks (2013) highlights that if and when sport events attract people with expertise from distant regions they are "thereby limiting opportunities for local people to execute the higher end tasks that contribute to personal growth." Sweetland (1996) refers to this idea of providing opportunities to local people for new skills and knowledge around the sport event is referred to as human capital; similarly, Preuss and Solberg (2006) describe this idea as knowledge development impact. Without scrutinizing these two terms further, the durability of the concept is indisputably vital to the social sustainability of SSSEs. The goal of the human

capital or knowledge development impact is to provide opportunities involved with the event at hand that enable local people to acquire new, long-lasting skills. In the case of the NIGSA events, it appears that local people are not being offered these opportunities for skill and knowledge development. Instead, to fill these roles, the organization is recruiting an international demographic that may already have these skills. If they don't have these skills, they will acquire them during their stay in Punta Arenas/Puerto Natales and return to their home countries, in their home [work] environments where their new skills will be applied.

5.5 Recommendations for Findings

One of the main goals of this research is to bring to light certain issues and propose solutions to some of those issues. As a result of investigating the sustainability of the NIGSA events, several areas of improvement arose. For the purpose of length, the two main areas of improvement will be discussed below.

First and arguably most important, an improvement regarding the social sustainability of must be addressed. With both strategic and social justice aims in mind, NIGSA needs to make a targeted effort to connect with the local community and regain their support. In addition to their four annual events geared toward an international demographic, NIGSA could host a community focused event that serves as a place for the celebration and appreciation of subculture. An event of this nature should be smaller in scale but using NIGSA resources to demonstrate their commitment to providing an opportunity for the community. This nature of this event should be meaningful to participants, the local people. Literature points out that this focus on subculture can be challenging,

Texts on event and tournament management describe in detail how to administer planning and marketing and how to organize the competition itself, but they provide no guidelines for intensifying the celebrations of subculture (Green & Chalip, 1998, p. 287).

However, what serves as 'meaningful' to local people arose in this research and can serve as a foundational platform for an event of this nature. SERNATUR communicated their mission to diversify tourist demand in the region and generate international excitement for the entire region of Magallanes, not just TDPNP. To strategically align with SERNATUR's mission, NIGSA could plan this event in or near Punta Arenas, the most southern city in the world and access the Strait of Magellan while capitalizing on those two points for marketing purposes. This would also help take some focus off of TDPNP. Additionally, many local people expressed their interest in participating in adventure races like the ones NIGSA hosts. With this in mind, a triathlon could be developed that included kayaking in the Strait of Magellan, walking/running, and biking to nearby Fort Bulnes/San Isidro lighthouse. Both of these locations were mentioned by local people in the fieldwork period as points of local interest and cultural importance. In order to maximize local participation and reach all athletic abilities, the event would need to be accessible and feasible for all ranges of capabilities. Two distance options of the triathlon could be developed so that inexperienced people could participate without any special training while experienced athletes could simultaneously enjoy a challenge.

The primary goal of the NIGSA events is to generate interest among international athletes to come and discover TDPNP and race in its wilderness. In contrast, the proposed event should focus on local participation and reinforce their identity as 'Magallanicos'. This could be successfully achieved by allowing local people to have a more significant seat at the table each year during the decision-making/planning process and by working to balance the power imbalances that exist between stakeholders and local people. Before the event can serve as a vehicle for social inclusion and cultural celebration, support around the event must be generated. Furthermore, an event of this nature hosted entirely by NIGSA, could help the organization

regain local support by demonstrating to the community that they are invested in their wellbeing and involvement- something they arguably *owe* the people. This event, like others, must be sustainable in its ability to reoccur annually.

The second area of improvement is focused on stakeholder management regarding the already existing NIGSA events. Adverse relationships between stakeholders was one of the biggest findings of this research. Therefore, it is recommended that NIGSA more strategically leverage their events among stakeholders, encouraging different stakeholder groups the opportunity to help create leveraging strategies. Leveraging in this case could have a dual impact: economic and relational. It could improve stakeholder relations by strategically including them at a deeper level and it could also boost economic contributions by encouraging NIGSA racers to spend more in the region. Research has shown that leveraging sport events of this nature is advantageous for multiple parties (Chalip & Leyns, 2002). Furthermore, successful coordination of leveraging efforts can enhance the overall quality of experience that tourists obtain, which could in turn have a positive impact on event patronage, or intent to return/participate (Chalip & Leyns, 2002). Chalip and Leyns (2002) found that, businesses with the highest potential to leverage are service providers like restaurants, retailers, and hotels (Chalip & Leyns, 2002; Inskeep, 1991). At face value, stakeholders like CONAF or SERNATUR may seem to be excluded from that definition however, creative strategy and planning on NIGSA's part could find ways to also include them in the leveraging.

5.6 Future Research

The role of sustainability in tourism research is a growing phenomenon. Moreover, SSSEs continue to mature in the literature and in practice. However, there is limited in-depth research on the individual pillars of sustainability as they relate to SSSEs. Thus, it is suggested

that future research of this nature focus on individual elements of sustainability in the analysis of SSSEs. There are copious amounts of events around the globe that qualify as SSSEs and could be analyzed through a lens of sustainability. More specifically, environmentally based research in Torres del Paine National Park should be developed to both preserve and safely maximize the park's capabilities. Environmental sustainability in research regarding SSSEs could also investigate the awareness of event goers. Multidisciplinary research has identified that educating consumers, tourists in this case, enables those individuals to be pro-active in their decisionmaking (OECD, 2009). Understanding how aware event participants are of their impact on the environment would be significant to this body of research by revealing how much of an active or inactive role tourists are playing in the environmental sustainability of an event. Educating tourists in this way should be considered a long-term endeavor because in the process of creating/increasing this awareness, tourists can become actively involved in achieving sustainability goals of organizations similar to NIGSA. For example, if there are bins for compost, recycle, and waste at an event site, if participants don't know what those labels mean, they are unable to successfully participate.

In regard to the social pillar, SSSE sustainability research in the future should focus on the power relation dynamics tourism creates within communities. The power relation dimension could blend with stakeholder management research as well. Simultaneously analyzing these realms might yield valuable information about public, private, and independent groups required in stakeholder management for SSSEs. Ideally, this research would seek to identify, understand, and balance the diverse priorities of multiple stakeholder groups with a community-based tourism lens. As a result of this result, it is also proposed that future research regarding the social impacts of SSSEs look not only at the end result of an event (i.e., race day) but rather, look

at the life cycle of an event, which including a much longer timeline of social impacts to accrue. As understanding the social perspective of events grows in popularity and maturity, it is important to emphasize that an event is not just a 1-day occurrence. It is a long process that includes more than just execution phases; it requires organization, planning, and conception building that happen long before the event actually takes place, creating opportunities for social impact and legacy creation.

Additionally, future research focused on the biosphere reserve concept in areas where tourism is largely present is necessary to continue measuring the success of the model. Ideally, UNESCO could team up with local governments to fund this nature of research, bringing in both local and international researchers to investigate the effectiveness and execution strategies of biosphere reserve sites around the world. The environments, both physical and political, in which biosphere reserves are currently located are extremely diverse and likely require different implementation strategies to ensure success. A biosphere reserve in TDPNP will be set up, maintained, and monitored very differently than the Cape West Coast Biosphere Reserve not only due to their environmental differences but also their political and social differences.

Research should investigate reserves like TDPNP where park management actions do not match up with the proposed biosphere reserve practices.

5.7 Summary and Conclusion

Overall, the multiple factors above must make up a sustainability conversation around the NIGSA events. It is a multi-dimensional discussion, involving many parties, concepts, and outcomes. Some areas of sustainability appeared to be stronger than others with the NIGSA events. Operational and social sustainability were two the two weakest pillars of the discussion. Stakeholder management proved to be a hindrance to collaborative and solution-oriented

relationships between two pivotal groups, CONAF and NIGSA. This relationship itself displays lack of compromise and inability to move forward while understanding that the other group will undoubtedly always have different priorities. The relationship itself inhibits each group's ability to focus on their true priorities as they relate to the NIGSA events. Their ability to sustainably solve and successfully execute the NIGSA events cohesively is blocked by their own disagreements and frustrations, which trickles into their ability to solve logistical and other operational issues. It did appear that moving the events outside of TDPNP relieved some of the relational pressures between NIGSA and CONAF. Although as a very recent change, it is too early to tell if this move will help lessen their quarrels with one another over the long term. However, CONAF is an indispensable stakeholder to ensure the both the short term and long term success of the NIGSA events, whether they happen inside or outside of the Park. For this reason, significant attention is paid to the relationship between the two organizations.

In terms of social sustainability, the general feeling of local people being left out and overlooked is both a strategic and social justice issue. Strategically speaking, this lack of local support prevents local people from finding community identity and unity in these events, which is a valuable missed opportunity. With this untapped identity and unity could come unprecedented support in ways that it hasn't existed in the past (ie: new partnerships, financial opportunities, etc). As pointed out above in the literature, support of local people is one of the quintessential elements of sustainable tourism. It should be noted that although NIGSA does have some local support, it is primarily only from those people that are fellow (tourism) business owners and/or share the vision of the organization. The lack of social sustainability is also a social justice issue because as a sport tourism entity, NIGSA affects the communities in which it operates, using their land, resources, and sometimes people. NIGSA owes the local community

the opportunity for their voice to be adequately represented in the decision making process.

NIGSA could also be reinvesting in the community in ways that are not meaningful to them, but meaningful to the local people. Undoubtedly, the lack of overall local support and buy-in from local people threatens the ability to host these events in their territory for years to come, challenging the very sustainability of the events.

The economic pillar of sustainability regarding the NIGSA events was the most positive. The contributions reportedly made from international racer expenditures and seasonality planning were the main economic benefits. NIGSA's intentional target marketing to demographics in Japan, United States, Australia, and Europe has proven to be successful and the attraction of Global North dollars to the region serves as an economic boost for Punta Arenas, Puerto Natales, and TDPNP. The NIGSA events encourage people to come to the region- and possibly stay longer than they would have otherwise- spend money on locally sourced businesses, and bring ancillary team members with them, all of which are positive economic indicators. The multiplier effect of these dollars also was reported to benefit local accommodation and restaurant establishments on a large scale with as many as 1,000 racers at a time. Furthermore, slating these events during the shoulders of high tourist season has a significant economic benefit. This attempt to extend the tourist seasons allows the same accommodation and restaurants to stay open for business an extra few weeks and otherwise non-existent profit.

The environmental piece of this research was fairly underdeveloped however, the findings did generate some controversy about the true trail impact the NIGSA events have on the land. Additionally, the functional model of the park seemed to align more with a National Park model than the Biosphere Reserve model. While the National Park model may strive harder to

protect the physical environment and biodiversity, it excludes the successful collaboration with humans. Instead of solving problems between humans and nature, the National Park model seeks to strictly limit the human interaction and not understand the nature of the problem.

The extent of sustainability of the NIGSA events is an ever-evolving subject. The recent choice to move the events out of the park entirely appears to improve the sustainability of the events, relieving some stakeholder pressures and having less of an environmental impact on the Park- an already environmentally sensitive area. However, as long as stakeholder management is an issue and the local community is not offering majority support for the events, the longevity of the events is in question. According to Sutton (2000)

Sustainability is not "about" the integration of ecological, social, and economic issues nor is it "about" widespread consultation nor is it "about" improving quality of life. It's about maintaining or sustaining something. To understand the concept, you need to identify to focus of concern...

Therefore, the points of concern in this case include the social and environmental pillars of sustainability; both factors that challenge the ability to sustain the hosting of the NIGSA events in Magallanes.

5.8 Limitations

Readers should carefully acknowledge the following limitations when interpreting the findings of this study. First, a lack of depth in each of the sustainability pillars should be considered, most notably in the economic pillar. Exact economic figures and statistics were not gathered; instead a general understanding of the economic contribution (or lack thereof) was acquired. Rather than plunging into just one pillar with great detail, this study sought to examine overall sustainability, which in this case, included four pillars. Secondly, readers should note that the voice of international NIGSA participants/racers was absent. This was in part due to the fact the researcher was unable to do the fieldwork during the time of an event and the inability to

electronically (i.e., email survey) access NIGSA racers. Another limitation to be considered is the difference in native language. Almost every person the researcher came into contact with during the interviews and fieldwork was a Spanish-dominated conversation. Although the researcher spoke Spanish fluently, in translating the transcripts and field notes, some of the participant individuality and exact wording may have been modified. However, member checks were used to assure the core of participant words/messages remained true. Additionally, it should be noted that the representation of the NIGSA organization only had one voice, the managing professional. The experiences of other administrators in the organization might have solicited responses that differ or reinforce Jose's experience, which would have provided more depth into the inner workings of the organization. Lastly, lack of follow up response was a limitation to the study. A second round of interview questions were developed and sent to two of the interview participants via email. However, their inability to respond prevented them from directly addressing negative claims made about their actions from other parties.

While taking limitations into consideration, it is also important to understand the highlights and benefits of a study like this. The first major highlight of this study was the researcher's ability to use language as a vehicle to access communities and cultures otherwise inaccessible (or inaccessible to the first degree) to unilingual researchers. Due to her language skills, the researcher was able to interact firsthand with the data and participants rather than relying on a translator or interpreter. Another significant benefit of this study is it's specialized contribution and empirical focus to the broader field of sustainable tourism literature. As countries, cities and communities look to the tourism industry as an economic force it must be built in a way that is self sustaining and able to reoccur in the future without doing any harm to host environments or communities.

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APPENDIX A: THE INTERVIEW TOOL-1

Round: First Round, Semi Structured Interviewer: Jennifer Velarde-Menary

Interviewee: Key Informants 1-2 (NIGSA individuals)

Setting: Over the phone or Skype Question 1: Can you talk about your career path and how you arrived at your current position? Question 2: How long have you been in this position? Question 3: Tell me a little bit about your role and responsibilities at . Question 4: How big is the team at ? Where are employees recruited from? (national vs. international) Question 5: Tell me about the events that NIGSA hosts annually. Question 6: Can you share about the inception of these events, how they got started? Question 7: On average, how many people participate in each event? Question 8: Can you identify which relationships within the community are crucial for the success of your organization? Question 9: Are you familiar with the term host community? Can you talk about the host community(ies) that relate to your tourism operations? Question 10: Have you received any pushback or resistance from local residents regarding these events? Question 11: Do you have any involvement with the local host community? If so, please explain *Note.* The researcher will allow room for another interview over the phone if the researcher feels the need generate and ask further questions regarding responses presented in the first round.

Round: Second Round, Semi-Structured Interviewer: Jennifer Velarde-Menary

Interviewee: Key Informants 1 & 2 (individual)

Setting: Face to face, in person

Question 1: In the context of the NIGSA and hosting SSSEs, what does sustainability mean to you?

Question 2: Can you describe in detail the NIGSA conservation efforts? Why are these efforts important?

Question 3: Is it challenging to have sustainable business practices? If so, why?

Question 4: What are some challenges you face regarding economic, environmental, and social issues unique to the region?

Question 5: Do you think the events you host bring substantial spending dollars for the local economy? In what ways?

Question 6: Is the NIGSA involved with the local host community? In what ways?

Question 7: How many of your employees are local residents? Chilean citizens? Internationals?

Question 8: Have you received any pushback or resistance from local residents regarding these events? If so, please describe.

Question 9: Do you know what the biosphere reserve concept is? If yes, please explain.

Question 10: Is TDPNP as a biosphere reserve important to the management and execution of these events? Please explain.

Question 11: Can you describe the process of establishing/founding the NIGSA? Does being in this region pose unique challenges?

Question 12: As an event manager/organizer, do you face any challenges when it comes to environmental policy and hosting these events?

Question 13: Do you think these events have an impact on the quality of life (social sustainability) of local residents? Why or why not?

Question 14: As sport event tourism contributes to the needs of local residents in any way? And/or the needs of sport tourists?

Question 15: Does the implementation and management of these events involves many stakeholders? Who would these stakeholders be?

Question 16: Can you tell me about your relationship with CONAF? Why is this relationship important?

Question 17: Overall, do you believe the NIGSA SSSEs are a sustainable form of tourism? Why or why not?

Note. Researcher will allow room for another interview if the researcher feels the need to generate and ask further questions regarding the responses presented in the second round

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW TOOL-2

Round: First Round, Semi Structured Interviewer: Jennifer Velarde-Menary

Interviewee: Key Informants 3-5 (CONAF & Tourism individuals)

Setting: Over the phone or Skype Question 1: Can you talk about your career path and how you arrived at your current position? Question 2: How long have you been in this position? Question 3: Tell me a little bit about your role and responsibilities at . Question 4: How big is the team at ? Where are employees recruited from? (national vs. international) Question 5: Can you discuss in detail what you know about the biosphere reserve concept? Question 6: What does it mean to be the governing body of a national park? i.e. TDPNP Question 7: Can you describe CONAF's involvement with tourism and TDPNP? Question 8: Are you familiar with the term host community? Can you talk about the host community(ies) that are connected to TDPNP? Why these communities? *Note.* The researcher will allow room for another interview over the phone if the researcher feels the need generate and ask further questions regarding responses presented in the first round. ______ Round: Second Round, Semi-Structured Interviewer: Jennifer Velarde-Menary Interviewee: *Key Informants 3- 4 (CONAF individuals)* Setting: *Face to face, in person*

Question 1: Can you describe CONAF's involvement and relationship with tourism and the NIGSA?

Question 2: Does this relationship pose challenges? Benefits? Please describe.

Question 3: Are you familiar with the term host community?

Question 4: Can you talk about the host community(ies) that relate to your tourism operations?

Question 3: The NIGSA has now been around for 10+ years. Do you see their sport tourism offerings as a beneficial or destructive for the host communities? Why?

Question 4: Does this region pose any unique environmental challenges?

Question 5: More specifically, does TDPNP face any environmental challenges? Please describe.

Question 6: There was an article published in 2011 titled "Torres del Paine must double pro." Please share your thoughts, concerns, and experiences regarding this headline.

Question 7: Are there any economic challenges unique to this region/park? If so, please describe.

Question 8: In terms of economics, how does TDPNP generate funds? Are tourists charged upon entrance into the park?

Question 9: Do NIGSA SSSEs help keep TDPNP running- economically speaking? Do any of their profits come back to park preservation?

Question 10: Are you familiar with the term sustainability? What does it mean to you in relation to SSSE in a region like this?

Question 11: Are you aware of NIGSA's conservation efforts? Please explain

Question 12: Does the region pose any unique social challenges? i.e. education levels, indigenous languages, quality of life, etc.

Question 13: Do you believe the NIGSA SSSEs are a sustainable form of tourism? Why or why not?

Note. Researcher will allow room for another interview if the researcher feels the need to generate and ask further questions regarding the responses presented in the second round.

APPENDIX C: SAMPLE INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTION, SPANISH

- I: Toma un asiento
- J: Como estas?
- I: Bien (laughs)
- J: Con frío? Eso es- si es, osea ahora es más frío que antes? Osea ya estamos entrando al otoño?
- I: No, debería ser- es un verano frío, un verano malo.
- J: Ahhhh
- I: Si
- J: Bueno, es de...estaba con- no se sí Jose te contó ...
- I: Me dijo que estabas organizando el tesis de turismo?
- J: Si
- I: Entonces emm..le dije que en realidad lo que hacemos (COANF) no es turismo pero estamos metidos en el centro por el Parque Nacional.
- J: Si
- I: Así que...pero no me contó detalles
- J: Ok. Bueno estoy viendo osea...no se sí conoces los eventos Patagonia Expedition Race...
- I: Si, las carreras
- J: Si, hay cuatro que ellos tienen y es de..estoy viendo si esos eventos son una forma turismo deportivo ósea, en la forma de eventos, si son eventos sostenibles para la región, para..
- I: Mira, de la actividades deportivas, recién en el año pasado, CONAF en el nivel regional ..porque en muchos temas esta región en específico avanza mucho más que el resto del pais, por la importancia que tiene TDP.
- J: En la forma de turismo...
- I: Si, en la forma de turismo. Y hay que tratar de equilibrar lo turístico con lo recreativo y deportivo. Y el parque, osea la región el año pasado *recién* logró tener un reglamento para las actividades deportivas.
- J: Osea antes no había como...
- I: NO. Era como un paso la vez- como 'ten cuidado' no más-...venía alguien, solicitía algo y se recibía un permiso especial. No había- no estaba normado.
- J: Ahh ok
- I: Ahora, si. Y entiendo que solamente se iban a permitir las que está la fecha se han permitido, no más. Pero quizás Jose te dío su punto de vista y que con el justamente tenemos que ver un tema con las carreras del pago- yo trabajo en las áreas de finanzas- y ellos estaban muy molestos la ultima vez...osea pensaban en no volver hacerla dentro del parque.
- J: Ahh la DUE
- I: La DUE, si
- J: OK- pero osea aca en Puerto Natales osea Puerto Natales si depende en el turismo como una fuerza de la economía?
- I: Si
- J: Si- y si los eventos pasan afuera de la temporada alta, eso ayuda a la economía local?
- I: Si, pero casi todas las carreras se concentran en la temporada alta por parte del clima aqui.
- J: Ahhh ya
- I: Si
- J: Entonces en ese sentido, no ayuda- osea el apoyo para la comunidad no es tan...

- I: Pasa hacer....si no son ellos como carrera los que tienen lo ocupacion, va hacer otros -van a ser turistas (3:44min)
- J: Si, claro
- I: Si
- J: En vez- en invierno osea si seria osea ...
- I: Ahí si, sabrían si realmente si tiene un impacto turístico, una carrera en invierno por ejemplo, pero no... porque todos parten en septiembre
- J: Y cuales son los- ósea de puerto natales, que es otra industria acá que apoya a la comunidad aca? Turismo, pero que más?
- I: Osea actividad?
- J: Si
- I: Los salmones, que son emm...centros, hoy día más avanzados. La....a ver, salmones... como industria en Natales existe hace 20 años, pero hace 20 años fue muy precario y en algún momento desaparecieron todos por un terremoto blanco que hubo aquí en '96. Se murieron todas las peces y todo.
- J: Wow
- I: Y después cuando volvieron a retomar, las exigencias eh ambientales empezaron ser mayores por el ..ayyy como se llama esto ...por la contaminación que ellos hacen en el fondo marino (seabed).
- J: Quienes son 'ellos'?
- I: Las empresas del salmones
- J: Ahh ok
- I: Aqui la mas grande es Salmones Magallanes- que tienen la mayoría de la empresa. Eso es otra actividad más o menos turistica y tambien esta la pesca artesanal
- J: Uhhh huh ok
- I: La pesca, el cultivo de salmones, el turismo eso es como lo más importante
- J: Ok..Y cuando hay una carrera osea, asi como si la PER, está en una semana ponte, la comunidad puede sentir que la carrera está por pasar? Osea, se siente que hay
- I: Mas movimiento?
- J: Si si osea se nota la gente que vive acá que sí hay/viene un evento o no mucho?
- I: Yo creo que ellos que se dan cuenta son los que saben o los que están en el medio, por ejemplo, yo porque trabajo con CONAF, que veo pasar los permisos, y pagos...yo si. Porque Jose es mi primo, y corre bicicleta, y el sabe y también por ese lado voy a saber. Pero no se si alguien fuera del medio sabe que hay una carrera. Pero si hay más difusión...la DUE que tiene muchos corredores ahora, internacional ..si.
- J: Yo estaba en Punta Arenas, y algunas personas me estaban diciendo- no sobre la DUE- sino sobre el maratón, y el PER, osea esos eventos
- I: Por ejemplo, el maratón, este año hicieron fuera del parque
- J: Ok
- I: Fue en el alrededor pero si hay mucha gente de Natales que le gusta ese tipo de actividad y corre
- J: Ok y ellos se sienten ósea parte del evento? Porque algunas personas en Punta Arenas me estaban diciendo que ellos se sentían que los organizadores estaban pensando en corredores internacionales no en corredores locales- era como que estaban olvidando las deportistas locales. Pero aca, si les gustan y si van participando
- I: No se porcentaje

- J: Uhh huh, si si
- I: Perooo si, existe
- J: Ok que bueno- y aca la actitud en general por el turismo es buena? Osea la comunidad está a favor del turismo acá? O es más de una actitud de sentir explotadas?
- I: A ver... emmm.. Existen distintas opiniones. Osea yo encuentro que Natales ya es una ciudad turística pero que no avanzamos al nivel internacional como en otros paises osea nos falta mucho desarrollar el parque y la infraestructura. Y desde este año en específico porque el parque comenzó funcionar con una reserva
- J: Como reserva biosfera?
- I: No no- necesitas tener una reserva de campamento...
- J: Ahhh si si ya entiendo
- I: Ya. Eso produjo que mucha gente se tenga que volver a la ciudad y la ciudad no es preparada para tanta gente- restaurantes, supermercados, osea en todo aspecto no esta preparado. Restaurantes cerrados a las 11 de la noche, todo- no se si te fijas- en Natales y en PA es más o menos lo mismo. Todo abre a las 10 de la mañana, es muy tarde para turistas. Y todo cierra muy temprano.
- J: Si tambien
- I: Entonces en ese nivel, nuestro sistema laboral en Chile no está hecho para el turismo.
- J: Mmmm ok. Y para el parque, y para la región en general, los eventos como el maratón y el PER, cuales son los impactos en la tierra, en el bosque de esos eventos?
- I: Mira, eso una opinión muy técnica. De hecho, el parque decide por dónde van a pasar las personas o las bicicletas, y generalmente prefieren que sean por camino, no por sendero- por el impacto
- J: Mmmhmmm. Camino en el sentido...
- I: Como de vehículo, de auto
- J: Ok
- I: Claro, generalmente corren por ahí por el impacto del sendero pero no está medido científicamente pero sí el parque trabaja en para.. que no, osea no hay carreras de bicicletas en sendero- no está permitido. Además el parque hace 10 años por lo menos, está eliminando el tránsito de caballos por lo tanto tampoco hay carreras- porque aquí en la zona también hay carreras de caballos- ehhh tiene un nombre...se me olvidó- bueno carreras del caballo igual dentro del parque, creo que solo 2 o 3 tambien despues empezaron a tener afuera, en los alrededores. Lo mismo ha pasado con las bicicletas. Y las de personas, todavía la autorizan porque son de camino.
- J: Ahhh uhh huh ok. Ósea, en general- términos generales-l, tu dirías, en tu opinion, que estos/los eventos son negativos/positivos para la economía, la comunidad, para el parque? I: Me parece que como actividad deportiva, de incentivar el deporte, está bien. Pero nosotros como CONAF, no tenemos la capacidad de personal o de infraestructura de recibir no se, mil corredores, no hay baños, no hay guardaparques que pueden controlar el acceso, entonces hoy día cuando se habla de una carrera, no va haber o problemas, situacion entonces pero no es que sea malo es que nosotros, no tenemos la capacidad para manejarla de buena forma. En forma positivo.
- J: Si. Y osea si se....
- I: Por eso hoy, mira... en las 2 ultimas carreras del año pasado...
- J: El maraton?

- I: Si- La DUE y la Epica, las dos son de bicicleta- tenian mucha exigencia. OSea como CONAF no puede controlar a todos los competidores a todos los visitantes, les piden cada vez mas cosas. Les pidieron baños, quimicos, personas que controlen, personas que limpien, despues los senderos y todo entonces..
- J: Osea eso no es trabajo de CONAF...
- I: Osea estamos tratando de- la CONAF lo que hace es traspasar la responsabilidad a quien realiza la carrera.
- J: Y...
- I: Y en el fondo, la carrera se hace en TDP por el paisaje no ...
- J: Ahh ok. Y si, el maraton por ejemplo, si se mueven fuera del parque, por otro terreno o otra parte, hay baños? Y cosas/infraestructura ahi?
- I: No- deben poner.
- J: Pero no lo hacen.
- I: No lo hay. Bueno es que depende- si es fuera del parque, creo que tienen que hablar con las municipalidades- o otra entidad de gobierno
- J: Ohhh ok
- I: Es municipal que tiene que ver. Porque tiene que ver una coordinacion de seguridadambulancias/cabineros, la policia- eso tiene que tener un permiso de la municipalidad yo creo.
- J: Ok. Y el objectivo de CONAF es para conservar el parque?
- I: Claro. Hay como que no esta muy- en especifico como yo te decía, esta parque, esta region toma decisiones de 10 años por muy adelantados del resto del país. Hay cosas que aquí pasan por primera vez...
- J: Que no pasan en Santiago...
- I: Que no pasan en Santiago, en el norte, en otras partes. Aquí parte de la discusión de muchas cosas como las grandes eventos de carreras, solo pasan aquí en TDP. Entonces es una discusión de nivel regional.
- J: Si
- I: Y obviamente los criterios son distintos. No estoy muy de acuerdo con todo pero osea, si nosotros nos vamos al lo básico de la constitución de Chile, aparece que los parques nacionales son para la recreación de las personas- debe tener un objetivo, y de hecho esta dentro de sus objetivos en el plan de manejo pero eso es como que se capa un poco de las manos porque podemos permitir que se recreen pero una carrera de mil, del otro año será 2 mil, es imparable.
- J: Mmmm- y el impacto de una persona corriendo en la tierra tiene otro impacto que una persona caminando no mas
- I: Si
- J: Y eso solo es una persona, pero MIL ...wow
- I: Una persona corriendo, una persona en bicicleta, es un vehiculo, que es un equipo, y dos o tres personas mas- no es sola una persona es un equipo al lado- es el equipo del deportista. Entonces igual es harto (many). Si tu me dices turísticamente Natales, la capacidad hotelera? Se completa, se llena..
- J: Cuando hay un evento..
- I: Si, cuando hay un evento.
- J: Hay ok
- I: Son mil corredores, con mil equipos de persona, ...
- J: Ya... ok. Y normalmente se queden aca en Puerto Natales? Por es lo mas cerca...

- I: Bueno a ver- depende de la carrera. La expedition, la PER- solamente en Paine y muchos alojan en TDP...
- J: Como en camping?
- I: No, hotel. Es que hay distintos niveles
- J: Los hoteles, he escuchado, que estan adentro del parque hay unos que son de un nivel bien alto
- I: Son muy caros todos.
- J: Y ellos se quedan ahí
- I: Algunos- me imagino los que tienen mas dinero
- J: Si claro.
- I: Y por ejemplo la DUE hace dos carreras- una la que es en Natales y otra que sale del Paine y llega a Natales. Entonces igual como que la capacidad turística hotelera, es de ambas partes Natales y Paine.
- J: Uhhh huh, interesante. Bueno voy viendo...he hablado con muchas personas sobre los eventos y el turismo deportivo en la forma de eventos aca y es como tu dices, hay muchas perspectivas I: Siiii
- J: y cada perspectiva tiene sus propios desafios- osea las organizaciones tienen tal desafio y es su primer prioridad y CONAF tiene otros deasfios que son mas importantes para ellos y etc.
- I: Si
- J: Todo muy interesante. Bueno hoy justo llegue a Puerto Natales, voy conociendo todavia. Voy a tratar de hablar con la municipalidad y que me dice
- I: Si, no se ellos son los que dan los permisos para....bueno lo que tu investigas es en el fondo?
- J: Bueno yo quiero analizar las relaciones entre los organizadores y CONAF y SERNATUR y la municipalidad si es que ellos están involucrados en el proceso.
- I: Porque tambien, bueno. Hablamos de en el parque de carreras de personas de bicicleta, pero Natales también existe una carrera de autos que hay mucha polémica porque cada año muere alguien entonces entre 'se prohíbe o no'. Y este año, se permitió pero en otra fecha en pleno más turístico en diciembre, y también murió una persona.
- J: Wow
- I: Y ahí estuvo involucrado la gobernación porque son varias entidades carabineros, policía, no se quien mas..pero tal vez puedes averiguar
- J: Y aca la municipalidad esta por donde?
- I: Esta por la plaza? Si tu cruzas la plaza, esta en el edifcio grande- es el edifcio mas grande del centro.
- J: Ok listo! Bueno gracias- creo que eso es todo lo que tenía
- I: Ya, y si no, podrías- es que no estoy segura si es la municipalidad quien lo autoriza- por tema de camino no se, me da la impresion de que podrías averiguar en carabineros. Carabineros te puede decir quienes son los que organizan y por ultimo...no se, por la tema de seguridad, yo se que ellos tienen que estar siempre.
- J: Ok! Perfecto. Y Michael Arcos trabaja aca?
- I: Michael trabaja en Paine
- J: Ahhhh ok
- I: El es el superintendente
- J: Estaba hablando con el por correo por me dijo que era un mes bien intenso y estaba interesado pero no tuvo el tiempo antes
- I: Si y tu hasta cuando estas?

- J: Estoy- este fin de semana vamos a entrar al parque pero regreso a Santiago el 8, unos días no mas. Son como 3 semanas en total entre aca, el parque, PA y Santiago. Ha sido como que cuando termine una reunion, la persona me dice ahhh debes hablar con tal persona y tal persona ...y aunque me serviría bastante para el estudio, no creo que me alcanza el tiempo. Siento que necesito mas tiempo para hablar con TODOS. Bueno, gracias por tu tiempo!
- I: De nada, espero que te haya servido
- J: Si! Por su puesto...gracias chau!

APPENDIX D: SAMPLE INTERVIEW ENGLISH TRANSLATED TRANSCRIPTION

- I: Take a seat
- J: How are you?
- I: Well (chuckles)
- J: Cold? Is this colder now than the past weeks? Like are we about to start fall?
- I: No- it shouldn't be...it's a cold summer, it's been a bad summer
- J: Ahhh
- I: Yes
- J: Well, umm I was with- I'm not sure if Jose told you..
- I: He told me that you were working on a thesis in tourism?
- J: Yes
- I: So emm I told him that in reality what we do here at CONAF isn't necessarily tourism but we're centrically involved because of the Park.
- J: Yes
- I: but he didn't tell me details
- J: Ok- well I'm looking at...I'm not sure if you've heard of the events: Patagonia Expedition Race and...
- I: Yes, their races
- J: Yes exactly; there are four that they (the organization) has and I'm looking to see if those events are a form of sport tourism, in the form of events, if they're sustainable sport events for the region for the ...
- I: Look, of all the sport activities, just this past year CONAF at the regional level...because in many ways this region specifically makes more advances than the rest of the country simply because of the significance of the park
- J: In the form of tourism....?
- I: Yes in the form of tourism. And we must try to balance tourism with recreation and sport. And the park, like the region, just last year managed to get regulations for all sport activities J: So like before there were none....
- I: NO; It was like a *in passing* type thing if you saw it- "hey be careful!" nothing more. Someone would come, ask for something and they'd give them a special permit to do it. They didn't make it- it wasn't regulated.
- J: Ahh ok
- I: Now- yes it is. And I understand that only they would only allow a specific number of people-what the daily limit would allow and that's it. But there's a chance Jose gave you his point of view and we actually have to look at an issue with him right now about the payments for these races. I work in finance and they (Jose's group) were pretty upset last time...like they considered not bringing the race back into the park.
- J: Mmm the DUE (race)?
- I: Yeah, the DUE
- J: Ok but like here in Puerto Natales, the town itself depends on tourism for economic strength? Like a source of economic generation
- I. Ves
- J: Yeah and when the events happen outside of high (tourism) season, does that help the local economy?

- I: Yes, pero almost all of the races are assembled/happen during high season because of the weather here.
- J: Ohhh ok
- I: Yeah
- J: So in that sense then, they don't help-like the support they offer to the community isn't as..
- I: If it's not them- the ones that are part of the race
- J: Right ok
- I: Yeah
- J: On the contrary, in winter it would be...
- I: Then yes, they would be able to tell if the races have a true impact on tourism a race in the winter for example, but no- they all start in september
- J: Ok and which ones are- I mean of Puerto Natales what are other industries here that support, the community? Economically? Tourism but what else?
- I: Like activity?
- J: Yes
- I: The salmon- they're center (important), today they're more advanced. The ...lets see...salmon as an industry in Natales has been in existence for 20 years, but 20 years ago it was very unstable and in one moment, they all disappeared due to a white earthquake in '96. All the fish died and everything.
- J: Wow
- I: And afterwards, when it started to pick back up again, the environmental demands began to be larger because of the...ahh how do I say this...because of the contamination that they make in the seabeds.
- J: Who are 'they'?
- I: The salmon companies
- J: Ahh ok
- I: Here the biggest (company) is Salmones Magallanes, they have the majority of the market/business. That's another activity- there's also traditional fishing, more or less touristic
- J: Uhhh huh ok
- I: Fishing, salmon cultivation, tourism...those are like the most important industries
- J: Ok interesting. *Pauses* When a race like the PER for example, is coming up in the next week, can the community feel the preparations being made? Are they affected? Is there more...
- I: More movement?
- J: Yes- like is it noticeable? Do people that live here notice that a big event is on the verge?
- I: I think those that notice, are the ones that know or the ones that are involved. For example, because I work at CONAF, I see all the payments and the permits go through- so I yes I know also because Jose is my cousin and he runs and bikes, so he knows- so for that side I'm going to know. But i don't know if it were someone not involved, or not in the middle of it all would know that there's a race. But if there's more broadcasting/dissemination....the DUE for example now has a lot of runners, international ..ves
- J: I was in Punta Areans and some people were telling me, not about the DUE but the marathon and the PER, those events...
- I: For example, the marathon- this year they did it outside of the park
- J: Ok
- I: It was right outside the park in the surrounding area but there's a lot of people from Natales that like that type of activity and they run

- J: Ok and do they feel like part of the event? Because some people in Punta Arenas were telling me that they feel like the (NIGSA) organizers were considering international runners not in local runners. It was like they were forgetting about the local athlete. But here- they like it and they participate..
- I: I don't know the percentage
- J: Uhh huhh yeah
- I: But yeah, it happens (that locals participate)
- J: Ok that's good. And here, is the attitude towards tourism is generally good/positive? Like is the community in favor of local tourism? Or is is there a sense of feeling exploited?
- I: Let's see....emmm...there's different opinions. Like I find that Natales is already a turism community but we're not advancing to an international level of tourism like other countries. We lack a lot in developing the park and infrastructure. And ever since this year specifically, because the park started to work with reservations
- J: Like a biosphere reserve?
- I: No, no, you have to have a camping reservation
- J: Ahhh yes yes- that's right; got it
- I: Yeah. That (reservation system) caused a lot of people to have to go back to town and Natales is not prepared for that, for that many people- restaurants, grocery stores, markets, like in all aspects, it's not prepared for that. Restaurants here close at 11pm, everything- I'm not sure if you've noticed- in Natales and in Punta Arenas more or less is the same. Everything opens at 10 in the morning- which is pretty late for tourists, and everything closes really early.
- J: Yes!
- I: So on that level, our labor system in Chile isn't made for tourism.
- J: Hmmm ok. For the park and for the region in general, are the events, like the marathon and the PER, what are the impacts on the environment/earth in the park of those events?
- I: Look, that's a very technical opinion. Of course, the parque decides where people are allowed to pass, or where bikes are allowed to go, and in general they prefer that it all be via the road- not via the trails due to the impact.
- J: Mmmm what do you mean by road
- I: Like the road that cars/vehicles use
- J: Ok
- I: Obviously, in general they run that way (on the road because of the impact on the trail) but the impact isn't scientifically measured. But the park does work to not have- like there aren't bike races on the trail, it's not allowed. Also, 10 years or so ago the park started to eliminate horse transit therefore there's no races with horses- because races by horse are a thing in the region too...it has a name...I forgot it. So races with horses inside the park- I think theres only 2 or 3-they also started to have them outside the park too, in the surrounding area. The same thing has happened with the bikes and the races with people, they still authorize because they're via the trail
- J: Ahhh uhh huh, ok. So in general, in general terms, would you say, in your opinion, that these events are negative or positive for the economy, the community and the park?

 L: It seems to me that as a sport activity, as a many to encourage sports, it's good. But we as
- I: It seems to me that as a sport activity, as a means to encourage sports, it's good. But we as CONAF, we don't have the personnel capacity or infrastructural capacity to receive/welcome-I don't know-1,000 runners. There aren't bathrooms- there aren't enough park rangers that can control access points. So today when someone talks about a race, _______, but it's not that it's bad it's that we, we don't have the capacity to operate it in a good way, in a positive way.

- J: Right; so like if
- I: For that reason today- look- in the 2 races last year,....
- J: The marathon?
- I: Yeah, the DUE and the Epica, both are bike races- they had a lot of demand. So since CONAF can't control all of the competitors and all of the visitors (tourists), CONAF asks/requires more of the organizers every time. CONAF asked them to provide more bathrooms, chemicals (for bathrooms), more people to help control the event, people to clean up after the event, like the trails and everything, so....
- J: So it's not CONAF's job...
- I: So we're trying to- what CONAF does is to hand over the responsibility to whoever is carrying out the race.
- J: And....
- I: And actually, the races happen in TDP for the landscape not for...
- J: Ahh ok; and if the marathon for example, if they move it outside of the park, to a different area- are there bathrooms? And things, infrastructure there?
- I: No- they should put it though
- J: But they dont..
- I: There isn't any- Well it just depends. If it's outside of the park, I think they have to talk to the municipalities or a different branch of the government.
- J: Ohhh ok
- I: It's the municipality that deals with that; because they deal with coordinating security-ambulances, police, etc- all that has to have a permission from the municipality I think
- J: Ok; and the objective of CONAF is to preserve the park?
- I: Of course; there's like...it's not very- in specific, like I was telling you, this park- this region, makes decisions almost 10 year ahead of the rest of the country. There are things that happen here for the first time...
- J: That don't happen in Santiago...
- I: That don't happen in Santiago, in the north, in other parts of the country. Here, part of the discussion- of many things like big events like the races, only happen here in Torres del Paine. So it's a discussion at the regional level only.
- J: Yes, right
- I: And obviously the criteria is different. I'm not totally in agreement with everything but like, if we go to the basic constituation of the Chile, it appears that the national parks are for human recreation which should have an objective- and it's actually within in the management plan's objectives but that's kind of like castrating the hands because we can allow people to recreate but a race of 1,000 people will be 2,000 people the next year- it's unstoppable.
- J: Mmmm and the impact one person has running on the earth has a different impact than someone just walking on the trails
- I: Yes
- J: And that's just one person for example, but 1,000...wow
- I: One person running, one person riding a bike, it's a vehicle- which is a team of 2-3 more people. It's not just one person, its a team too- a team for the athlete. So it's many people. If you tell me, from a tourism standpoint, Natales.. The hotel capacity? It fills up completely...
- J: When there's a race?
- I: Yes, when there's a race or event
- J: Oh ok

- I: There are 1,000 runners, with 1,000 teams of people for each runner...
- J: Yeah- ok got it. And normally, they stay here in Puerto Natales? Because it's closest...
- I: Well, let's see- it depends on the race. The expedition race, the PER- they mainly stay in the park
- J: Like camping in the park?
- I: No, hotel. There's different levels of hotel
- J: The hotels...I've heard...that are inside the park are really high class hotels
- I: They're all expensive
- J: And so the PER racers stay there...
- I: Some. I imagine the ones that have money to stay there
- J: Right, of course
- I: And for example, the DUE does two races- one that's just in Natales and one that goes through TDP and ends in Natales. So in that way it's similar, filling the hotel capacity in both Natales and in the park, at the hotels in Paine.
- J: Huh...interesting. Well, I'm finding out more as I go. I've talked to a lot of people here about the races and sport tourism in the form of events and like you say- there's a lot of perspectives I: Yessss
- J: And each perspective has it's own challenges- like the organizations have X challenges and priorities but at the same time CONAF has Y challenges that are more important to them- etc... I: Yes
- J: It's all really interesting to me. I just arrived to Puerto Natales today; I'm still getting to know the town. I'm going to try to talk to the municipality like you said.
- I: Yeah, and if it's not them that give the permits for....well- what's behind everything you're studying?
- J: Well, I want to analyze the relationships between the race organizers, CONAF, SERNATUR and the municipality perhaps- if they're also involved in the process.
- I: Because also, well- we're talking about races in the park with people and bikes but there's also a race in Natales with autos that has a lot of controversy because each year, someone dies- so now it's 'do we prohibit the event or no?'. And this year, they allowed it, but on a different date-in full view- with more tourism in December and someone died again.
- J: Wow
- I: And the government was involved with that because there were so many entities: military, police, I dont know who else...but many you'll find out
- J: Uhhh huh. And the municipality here is where exactly?
- I: Have you been to the plaza? If you cross the plaza, they're in the big building- it's the biggeset building in the plaza
- J: Ok, perfect! Well, thank you so much- I think those are all the questions I had.
- I: Yeah- and if no you could- the thing is I'm not sure if it's the municipality that authorizes the permits...maybe on the topic of the trails you could ask the military. The military could probably tell you who are the ones that organize and authorize the trails outside of the park and also ask them about security... I know they always have to be involved.
- J: Ok! Perfect. And does Michael Arcos work in this office/
- I: Michael works in Paine
- J: Ahhh ok
- I: He's the superintendent

- J: Yes- I was talking to him via email but he told me that it's a super busy season and he's extremely busy but interested. Just wondering if he was around!
- I: Yeahhh; And how long are you around?
- J: I'm here- well this weekend I'm going into the park to see it for 3 days but I'll go back to Santiago on the 8th and return to the United States on the 10th. I have about 3 weeks here in total- between Santiago, the park, puerto natales, and punta arenas. And it seems like whenver I finish one of my meetings here- people always recommend me to talk to a contact that have that has more information on these topics. It would be so valuable to be able to talk to every single person, but I don't think I have enough time to get to everyone. I feel like I need more time! But anyway, thank you again for your time- I really appreciate it!
- I: Of course, you're welcome. I hope it helps!
- J: Yes- definitely without a doubt. Thanks- bye!