

STRATEGIC ISSUES IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

by

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## (ABSTRACT)

The paradigm of sustainable development has moved center-stage in the development community and strategies for achieving sustainable development are proliferating. However, the capacity of institutions to support sustainable development in non-industrialized countries has not been adequately addressed. There is a need to solve the sustainable development problem conceptually by linking strategy content and implementation issues with processes of strategy formulation internal to institutions. This study investigated the hypothesis that the dominant "technocratic" approach to strategy formulation, in which development problems are treated as technical, apolitical problems, creates strategies that probably will not implement sustainable development as intended.

The World Bank's Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Development in Developing Countries (1992) was applied to the international tourism industry by twenty-five persons from industry, academia, non-government organizations and consultancies to identify implementation issues and problems that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach. The study found that the World Bank's strategy probably will not implement sustainable development as intended due to fundamental conflicts in assumptions about how sustainable development can and should be achieved.

The findings of this study support the argument made in the literature that a change in

approach to strategy formulation is required. The findings also suggest that the proposed alternative to the technocratic approach may not be sufficient, because it is little more than a modification of the latter approach and does not resolve the fundamental contradiction between "induced" and "sustainable" development. A more fundamental shift in the values governing development may be required to adapt the modus operandi of development institutions to sustainable development and resolve the value conflicts that continue to diminish the possibility of consensus and action. Although this study provides knowledge of a limited scope, its findings and recommendations may guide an improved perception of the complex problem of identifying requirements for sustainable development and adapting institutions accordingly.

**FOR NINA**

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## CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xii
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction.....	2
1.2 Purpose.....	8
1.3 Research problem.....	8
1.4 Guiding hypothesis.....	9
1.5 Guiding research question.....	9
1.6 Overview of chapters.....	9
1.7 Definition of terms.....	10
<b>CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....</b>	<b>14</b>
Objectives.....	15
<u>Section 1: Development.....</u>	<u>17</u>
1.1 Introduction.....	17
1.2 Development.....	18
1.3 Development strategy formulation.....	20
1.4 Development strategy content and implementation.....	22

1.5 The legacy of development.....	27
1.6 The technocratic approach and development problems.....	31
1.7 The case of tourism development.....	35
1.8 A model of tourism development planning.....	36
1.9 Alternative approaches to strategy formulation.....	48
Summary.....	54
<u>Section 2: Sustainable Development</u> .....	56
2.1 Introduction.....	56
2.2 Definitions of sustainable development.....	56
2.3 The World Bank's Strategy.....	60
2.4 Implementing the World Bank's Strategy.....	64
2.5 Ecotourism and development.....	65
<u>Section 3: Obstacles to sustainable development</u> .....	70
3.1 Introduction.....	70
3.2 Development contradictions.....	71
<u>Section 4: Summary of research problem</u> .....	76
<b>CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY</b> .....	78
Objectives.....	79
<u>Section 1: Conceptual Framework</u> .....	81
1.1 Research paradigm: Constructivism.....	81
<u>Section 2: Methodology</u> .....	85
2.1 Social policy analysis.....	85
2.2 Problem-structuring.....	88
2.3 Methodological issues in problem-structuring.....	90

2.4 Standards for useable knowledge creation.....	91
<u>Section 3: The study</u> .....	93
3.1 Steps in research process.....	94
3.2 Summary.....	110
<b>CHAPTER 4: RESULTS</b> .....	111
Objectives.....	112
<u>Section 1: Data profile</u> .....	113
1.1 Data profile.....	113
<u>Section 2: Results of data analysis</u> .....	118
2.1 Data analysis by conceptual framework.....	119
2.2 Data analysis by policy level.....	142
2.3 Response to research question.....	153
2.4 Benefits, implementation problems and issues by policy level.....	154
Summary.....	164
<b>CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION</b> .....	165
Objectives.....	166
<u>Section 1: Overview of chapters 1-4</u> .....	167
<u>Section 2: Overview of significant findings of study</u> .....	169
<u>Section 3: Limitations and delimitations</u> .....	171
<u>Section 4: Consideration of findings in light of existing theory, methodology and professional practice</u> .....	175

Section 5: Recommendations for future research.....187

References.....190

**APPENDICES**

Appendix 1: Earthwatch ecotourism ventures.....205

Appendix 2: Materials sent to respondents.....210

Appendix 3: Sample issues.....215

Appendix 4: Example of interview checked by respondent.....220

Appendix 5: Content analysis of interviews I.....229

Appendix 6: Frequency distributions.....312

Appendix 7: Content analysis of interviews II.....313

VITA.....345

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Dimensions of development.....	19
Table 2: The project cycle.....	23
Table 3: Rules and criteria for methodological soundness....	83
Table 4: Rules and criteria for establishing authenticity and ethics.....	84
Table 5: Steps in research process.....	95
Table 6: Ten problem groups.....	102
Table 7: Constructs generated by participants.....	114
Table 8: Comparison of total and non-repetitive constructs generated by participants.....	116
Table 9: Overall assessment of the World Bank's strategy and usefulness for the tourism industry.....	120
Table 10: Remove subsidies that encourage inefficient and environmentally damaging practices.....	123
Table 11: Improve evaluation of natural resources.....	125
Table 12: Clarify property rights to owning land, forests and industry.....	127
Table 13: Accelerate education and better natural resource management.....	129
Table 14: Invest in water and sanitation.....	132
Table 15: Change behavior of producers and consumers.....	134
Table 16: Improve knowledge and make the development planning process more transparent.....	136
Table 17: Strengthen institutions and make them more	

accountable.....	138
Table 18: Coordinate tourism activities with other sectors in society.....	140
Table 19: Overall assessment of the World Bank's strategy and usefulness for the tourism industry.....	143
Table 20: Remove subsidies that encourage inefficient and environmentally damaging practices.....	144
Table 21: Improve evaluation of natural resources.....	145
Table 22: Clarify property rights to owning land, forests and industry.....	146
Table 23: Accelerate education and better natural resource management.....	147
Table 24: Invest in water and sanitation.....	148
Table 25: Change behavior of producers and consumers.....	149
Table 26: Improve knowledge and make the development planning process more transparent.....	150
Table 27: Strengthen institutions and make them more accountable.....	151
Table 28: Coordinate tourism activities with other sectors in society.....	152

#### LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: A model of tourism development planning.....	37
Figure 2: Problem structuring in policy analysis.....	89
Figure 3: Development strategy matrix.....	181

**CHAPTER 1**  
**INTRODUCTION**

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

In 1975 Robert Heilbroner argued that, over the course of the next century, humanity would be faced with a transformational problem that was indefinite in its boundaries but "as unmistakable in its mighty dimensions as a vast storm visible on the horizon." This transformation would entail reconstructing the material basis of civilization itself, a task he said would probably overwhelm our slender capabilities for planned adjustment to the future.

Almost twenty years later, a new paradigm for transformation has entered the mainstream development community. "Sustainable development" responds to the problems Heilbroner predicted would accelerate, which include rising consumption, population growth, deepening poverty, damaging technologies and environmental degradation. This crisis is a failure of vision, where an increasing percentage of people are unable to see the ecological and social context of their own actions, while a decreasing percentage of people are observing and responding to ecological and social change.

Sustainable development transforms the material basis of civilization through economic development which enhances rather than bankrupts the natural, social and cultural resources of current and future generations. Beyond tackling immediate problems such as water and air pollution, sustainable development invests capital, intelligence, goodwill and labor to create a productive and secure society that satisfies all sorts of profound needs (physiological, social, psychological) of the human organism. At a broader level, sustainable development prevents the capitalist system from damaging its own foundations, and enhances its problem-solving capacities.

Whether or not sustainable development becomes an organizing principle for society depends on how the race between our power to damage and our power to achieve balance with

the environment is won (Harrison 1993). Timing is critical because our power to damage is gradually eroding our capacity to turn around and achieve balance with the environment. Waiting until the "point of absurdity" (Dubos 1979) before turning around to take a different direction worked for previous attempts, struggles and adaptations throughout human history, but may not be effective in achieving sustainable development. The "Hamlet syndrome" -- the historical tendency to act only when circumstances force our hand -- must be broken if meaningful transformation is to take place (Harrison 1993).

To this end, non-government organizations (NGO's) initiated a campaign in 1983 to force multilateral development banks (MDB's) such as the World Bank to respond to accelerating development problems with sustainable development strategies. These strategies have emerged, but the partnerships of ideas and people needed for their implementation are fragile at best and efforts to work together often disintegrate (Hiller 1993). The problem is not lack of knowledge of how to design sustainable systems. As Mollison (1990:506) argues:

"We know how to solve every food, clean energy, and sensible shelter problem in every climate; we have already invented and tested every necessary technique and technical device, and have access to all the biological material that we could ever use."

The most critical challenges are political and social in nature -- they arise from conflicting priorities, identities and perceptions at all development levels, which create dynamic, ill-structured development problems. As a result of these conflicts, the issue of sustainable development -- how it can be defined, what it means, and how it should be operationalized -- is a topic of heated discussion among both researchers and practitioners.

An emerging school of thought in the development literature argues that the problem of implementing sustainable development stems in part from an internal, institutional contradiction

(Rich 1990; Cernea 1991). That is, development institutions addressed their critics with the new generation of "sustainable" strategies, but continue to formulate and implement them with the inherited, "technocratic" approach. **The problem is that the technocratic approach has helped create the very problems the new generation of sustainable development strategies attempts to solve.** The implications are that the internal operating methods of development institutions may be undermining their ability to support sustainable development.

In the technocratic approach, technical experts attempt to engineer entire social systems, after having specified the "one best way" of planning development interventions. The assumption is that, by imposing order, these interventions will create the conditions for their own success. This approach carried out the mission of development institutions created in the first decade after World War II, which was to make former colonies economically as well as politically independent (Esman 1991). Michael Cernea, a senior adviser in social policy and sociology with the World Bank's agriculture and rural development department, argues that this approach has led to repeated failures in development planning, because **development programs adopt an apolitical stance which fails to recognize the centrality of people in development or to see development as part of a larger social process.** Development experts tend to be involved only with things that can be analyzed precisely, which, as Economist Kenneth Boulding has warned, usually means eliminating the most important problems.

Technical plans may result in an initial spurt of success. However, the risk of social imbalance inherent in induced development is amplified when plans are made and resources injected without regard for those expected to implement development policies (Cernea 1991:11). Also, by giving primacy to single programs in single organizations, the technocratic approach is unable to tap the creative initiatives that are present throughout society in multiorganizational networks. The development legacy has shown that it is impossible to grapple with real problems when things are looked at for themselves alone, and not in terms of the relationships they form

with everything else (Dubos and Escande 1979).

Probably because of its high-profile, the World Bank has, rightly or wrongly, been singled out as a prime example of how the technocratic approach affects the ability of institutions to deal with sustainable development. According to Rich (1990:306):

"...the Bank has become an arena where the political, practical, and theoretical difficulties of reconciling economic development with ecological sustainability are most glaring. The Bank continues to stress its commitment to the environment, but deep institutional and political contradictions prevent it from implementing reform in any meaningful way. Unless these contradictions are resolved, they will continue to inhibit real environmental change."

In addition to the technocratic approach, these contradictions include lack of internal coordination; overruling of environmental considerations; career pressures (to move more money more quickly); a lending policy that heightens pressures to exploit resources in an unsustainable fashion; lack of accountability to civil society in borrower and donor countries; and, lack of transparency in the planning process (Rich 1990). This study focuses specifically on the technocratic approach, which directly shapes the content of the World Bank's development strategy.

The example of the World Bank's (1992) Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Development in Developing Countries shows little sign that the institutional contradiction discussed above has been resolved. This strategy was formulated as part of an overall effort to provide direction to governments in the development of their private sectors. Although the strategy recognizes the need to improve knowledge and make the development planning process more transparent, it was not developed with specific industries in mind, has not been tested directly in industry, and

shows no signs of being tested in industry (according to the World Bank's 1992 Annual Report, only 5 of the 222 projects approved by the World Bank in 1992 directly concerned industry). There is little evidence to suggest that the World Bank's strategy can be implemented successfully in industries which have the potential for promoting sustainable development in non-industrialized countries. This is important because industries such as sustainable tourism are the engine of sustainable development, but also need support because their economics are not robust (Younger 1994).

The technocratic approach is not confined to development institutions, but appears to prevail at the sectoral level of policymaking. Tourism policy, for example, has traditionally been developed in a vacuum. Although this problem has been recognized, continued use of the technocratic approach has meant that solutions to the problem tend to be unrealistic. The Hague Declaration of Tourism (1989) declared that tourism urgently needs to become part of a broader policy framework. However, the proposed solution, that public authorities at all levels in all countries take an active role in creating conditions for tourism development through the provision of infrastructure, finance, marketing, etc, is not consistent with the realities of development today. Particularly in developing countries, governments do not have the capacity nor the resources to undertake this task, even though they are ultimately responsible (Berger 1986). Since the 1970's development scholars have been much more skeptical about the utility of the centralized state as the main motor of developmental change (Esman 1991).

After a long ideological battle in the development literature, in which primacy was given either to "the market," "the state," or "development from below," a consensus is emerging that, if development is to be sustainable, strategies cannot be developed in a vacuum. They must be pluralistic in nature, based on the essential interdependence of governments, markets, and voluntary action (Esman 1991). Institution-building must focus more on the complex and demanding processes of shaping and maintaining multi-organizational networks (Ibid). If

sustainable development strategies are to be implemented, they need to work with the significant actors and institutions diffused throughout society, including industries which have the potential for sustainable growth. And for these industries to succeed as vehicles for sustainable development on a large scale, they need to work within broader strategies for achieving sustainable development.

It is already understood by specialists inside and outside the World Bank that the technocratic approach has created repeated failures in development planning (Cernea 1991). **Research is now required to determine how the policies and internal operating methods of development institutions affect their ability to support sustainable development.** This research has been lacking because most of the attention has been given to assessing problems of life on Earth and developing plans of action to solve them. Given the current difficulty in reaching consensus on sustainable development, it appears important and timely to turn to the question of how prepared institutions are to support sustainable development.

This study explored how the conventional, technocratic approach to development strategy formulation inhibits the efforts of development institutions to implement sustainable development. This was attempted by applying the World Bank's Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Development in Developing Countries (the product of its 1992 World Development Report) to the tourism industry (although the findings were not limited to this industry). Twenty-five persons with direct experience and/or knowledge of tourism and development (from industry, non-government organizations, consultancies and universities) reviewed a videotape explaining the World Bank's Strategy. They explored, in in-depth interviews, the potentials, obstacles and issues relating to tourism's role in implementing the World Bank's strategy. Using a problem-structuring procedure from the field of social policy analysis, their responses were analyzed to identify implementation problems and issues that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach.

## **1.2 Purpose**

The purpose of a dissertation is to be useful in three broad ways. First, it must contribute to knowledge. Second, the relevant policy arenas should find usefulness and meaning in the study. Third, the study should be useful for practitioners (Marshall & Rossman 1989:31). This study will meet these criteria by:

1. Helping to solve the sustainable development problem conceptually, by investigating the relationship between development strategy formulation, content and implementation.
2. Improving our understanding of barriers to the implementation of sustainable development in non-industrialized countries and how institutions may adapt to a changing development environment.
3. Providing a framework for guiding future research on the relationship between institutions and their environment.
4. Providing data that may be useful in future studies on sustainable tourism, the policy issues that surround it, and its role in the development of a given country.

## **1.3 Research problem**

The future of sustainable development as an organizing principle is threatened by a strategy implementation crisis, originating in part from a mismatch between the nature of development problems and the approaches used to understand and formulate solutions to them.

#### **1.4 Guiding hypothesis**

The technocratic approach to sustainable development strategy formulation creates development strategy content that probably cannot be implemented as intended.

#### **1.5 Guiding research question**

What implementation problems and issues are anticipated for the World Bank's strategy that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach to development planning?

#### **1.6 Overview of Chapters**

The objective of Chapter 2 (Literature Review) is to make the case that the World Bank's strategy cannot be implemented as intended because the World Bank's modus operandi is not equipped to support sustainable development. This Chapter starts by building the conceptual link between technocratic strategy formulation, strategy content, and strategy implementation--showing how use of the technocratic approach has contributed to unsustainable development. The proposed "people-centered" alternative to the technocratic approach (Cernea 1991) is introduced and Section 1 concludes with the argument that formulation issues have been overshadowed by the emergence of sustainable development and the promise of a comprehensive solution. In Section 2 the World Bank's strategy is introduced to show how this institution adapted to pressure for sustainable development from non-government organizations. After exploring the theoretical usefulness of broad sustainable development strategies (like the World Bank's strategy) for industries like tourism, Chapter 2 concludes by identifying major institutional contradictions (including use of the technocratic approach) that will probably inhibit

the ability of the World Bank to support sustainable development with its strategy.

Chapter 3 (Methodology) articulates how the World Bank's sustainable development strategy was applied to the tourism industry to identify implementation issues that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach. Chapter 4 (Results) describes the results that emerged from three stages of data analysis. Chapter 5 (Discussion) provides an overview of significant findings, discusses major limitations and delimitations of the study, considers the findings in light of existing theory, methodology and professional practice, and makes recommendations for future research.

### 1.7 Definition of Terms

<b>Capital</b>	Productive wealth; resources one can use to generate income or additional resources (Vogt 1993:29).
<b>Construct</b>	Something that exists theoretically but is not directly observable (Vogt 1993:44).
<b>Content Analysis</b>	Any of several research techniques used to describe and systematically analyze the content of written, spoken, or pictorial communication (Vogt 1993:45).
<b>Development</b>	"..connotes steady progress toward improvement in the human condition; reduction and eventual elimination of poverty, ignorance, and disease; and expansion of well-being and opportunity for all (Esman 1991:5).
<b>Development Economics</b>	Development economics is concerned "..with the economic, cultural, and political requirements for affecting rapid structural and institutional

transformations of entire societies in a manner that will most efficiently bring the fruits of economic progress to the broadest segments of their populations" (Todaro 1989:8).

**Ecotourism** Responsible travel that conserves natural environments and sustains the well-being of local people (Ecotourism Society 1993).

**Hypothesis** A statement (or conjecture about) the relationships among the variables that a researcher intends to study (Vogt 1993:108).

**Incentive** Something that rouses or encourages a person to some action or effort.

**Methodology** The study of research methods, from general problems bordering on epistemology to specific comparisons of the details of various techniques (Vogt 1993:139).

**Paradigm** A scientific discipline's general orientation or way of seeing its subject matter (Vogt 1993:164).

**Policy Analysis** Policy analysts are specialists or experts working inside and outside of the political arena (Kingdon 1984).  
"Policy analysis refers to the process of computation and arranging of data to help political executives respond to the many demands of assorted interests in a specific political context over a relatively short period of time" (House & Shull 1991:3).

"Policy analysis is a dynamic, multilevel process in which different methods perform distinctly different functions. Because methods appropriate at one level are inappropriate at the next level, questions of appropriateness cannot be satisfactorily answered without first considering the level of the problem to which a method is applied" (Dunn 1988:726).

**Positivism** A term introduced by Augustus Comte to refer to the empirical study of phenomena, especially human phenomena. Most commonly and loosely today, positivism refers to a belief, held by some people, that one can study scientifically and/or quantitatively things that other people believe cannot be studied in this way, such as religion, emotions, ideas, art, and morality (Vogt 1993:175).

**Property right** A legal right or interest in or against specific property (Webster's Dictionary).

**Regulation** An authoritative rule dealing with details or procedure (Webster's Dictionary).

**Social Sciences** Any of several areas of study that focus on human interaction and culture including sociology, economics, psychology, anthropology, political science, history, and some aspects of geography (Vogt 1993:214).

**Strategic Management** Strategy formulation is the set of decisions that determine the organization's mission and establishes its objectives, strategies and policies.

**Process** Strategy implementation refers to the decisions that are made to install new strategy or reinforce existing strategy.

Strategy evaluation and control are the activities and decisions that keep the process on track (Stahl and Grigsby 1992).

**Subsidy** A grant of money paid to an industry or other cause needing help, or to keep down the price at which commodities etc are sold to the public (Websters Dictionary).

**Sustainable Development** Economic development which enhances rather than bankrupts the ecological, social and cultural resources of current and future generations.

**Sustainable Tourism Development** The conscious design and maintenance of a tourism system which helps protect the diversity, stability, and resilience of natural ecosystems and helps provide food, energy, shelter, and other material and non-material needs in a sustainable way (Jackson 1994).

**Theory** A statement or group of statements about how some part of the world works-- frequently explaining relations among phenomena (Vogt 1993:232). Kurt Lewin's phrase "There is nothing so practical as a good theory" captures the belief of most researchers (Ibid).

**Tourism** Travel for any purpose (for example business travel, pleasure travel, research, education, religion, diplomatic affairs etc) between 1 day and 1 year in duration.

**CHAPTER 2**  
**LITERATURE REVIEW**

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **Objectives**

The objectives of Chapter 2 are:

1. To describe the emergence of "development" and the impact that the technocratic approach has had on implementation of development strategy in the past.
2. To describe the proposed "people-centered" alternative to the technocratic approach (Cernea 1991).
3. To describe the emergence of sustainable development (specifically, the World Bank's strategy) as a response to development problems.
4. To explore the theoretical need for broad, sustainable development strategies in the sustainable development of industry.
5. To identify the institutional contradictions which may obstruct the successful implementation of the World Bank's strategy.
6. To summarize the research problem.

These objectives are met in four corresponding Sections, as follows:

Section 1 describes how the concept of development emerged to transform developing countries into developed countries, and how development strategy formulation methods evolved to perform this task. The discussion then turns to the content and implementation of development strategy, from its inception in the post-war era to the present day, and summarizes

the major economic, social and environmental implications of the development record. The theoretical link between strategy formulation, content and implementation is then made with a review of research on the impact that the technocratic approach has had on the content and implementation of development strategy. This argument is illustrated with a theoretical model of tourism development planning, developed by this researcher from the tourism development literature.

A review of the policy and development planning literature then explains why a change in approach to strategy formulation is thought to be required, and outlines the major characteristics of one interpretation of this "people-centered" approach (Cernea 1991). Section 1 concludes with the observation that, although a change in strategy formulation is thought to be critical to the implementation of sustainable development strategies, in practice this issue has been overlooked as attention has focused on sustainable development and the promise of a comprehensive solution to today's crises.

Section 2 introduces and defines sustainable development, describes the World Bank's (1992) Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Development in Developing Countries and explores the need for broad, sustainable strategies to guide the sustainable development of industry. The emerging "ecotourism" sector is used as a case study to illustrate the potential usefulness of a broad strategy for achieving sustainable development. Section 3 draws from the literature to identify factors internal to the World Bank that may inhibit its ability to support sustainable development as is intended by its 1992 Strategy. Section 4 summarizes the research problem and restates the research question to which Chapter 3 responds.

## **SECTION 1: DEVELOPMENT**

The objective of Section 1 is to describe the emergence of "development" and the impact that the technocratic approach has had on implementation of development strategy in the past.

### **1.1 Introduction**

The current environmental crisis is the third in a series of major crises in human history. Sustainable development is the revolution responding to this crisis. Like the agricultural and industrial revolutions that preceded it, the sustainable development revolution responds to rising population, rising consumption, and damaging technologies.

The agricultural revolution took place after about 300,000 years of hunting and gathering and was a response to a severe shortage of wild food resources due to population pressures. Starting around 8,000 years BC, and continuing for 10,000 years, forests were cleared for farming, construction and industry. Economic growth, coupled with a period of global warming (which improved crop yields) led to higher wages and a rapid rise in population because people married younger and had more children. Population pressure created a second major resource shortage (this time of wood) and a huge potential market for consumer goods (Burke 1991).

The second, industrial revolution (England, circa 1750) solved the wood shortage problem by switching from wood to coal. Among other things, the steam engine, Edison's light bulb and mass production of interchangeable parts (including military hardware) allowed industrialists to exploit latent demand and secure access to raw materials. According to Ekins (1993), the power of productive capital was legitimized by a period of social turmoil in which Church and aristocracy were under pressure, by the scientific world view of Newton and

Descartes, and by Adam Smith, who saw these wealth creators as the new saviors of society (although he also said in The Theory of Moral Sentiments that individual conscience needed to be embedded in a system of justice to restrain the excesses of self-interest). Industrial capitalism generated the greatest productive power in human history (Berger 1986). By the 1850s scholars such as George P. Marsh (the founder of conservation) realized that man could work huge changes on earth without divine intervention.

Industrialization kept pace because when coal became scarce, the West colonized developing countries. This was made possible with transportation systems, telegraph, Western management and military garrisons. This arrangement secured an unlimited supply of mineral resources and created profitable markets for tea, coffee, rubber, palm oil and other commodities in the West (Burke 1991). Production and consumption in industrialized countries accelerated and resources seemed unlimited. However, these changes had only benefitted developed countries. Though many non-industrialized countries eventually became politically independent, they were still dependent on single-product exports and the fortunes of Western markets (Ibid). For these countries, reality failed to catch up with the image of the capitalist horn of plenty (Berger 1986). The concept of "development" emerged to help bridge the economic gap. A brief history of development is provided below.

## **1.2 Development**

Development was regarded as the modernization, industrialization and growth in gross national product of developing countries through public investment and comprehensive national planning (major dimensions of development are shown in Table 1). In the late 1940's and early 1950's multilateral institutions emerged, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Health Organization and others. The conventional wisdom called for

**Table 1: Dimensions of Development**

<b>1. Economic growth:</b>	The indispensable material base for a better life.
<b>2. Equity:</b>	Fair distribution of the fruits of economic expansion.
<b>3. Capacity:</b>	Cultivation of skills, institutions, and incentives that enable societies to sustain improvements and to cope with fresh challenges.
<b>4. Authenticity:</b>	While learning from foreign experience, the distinctive qualities of each society are expressed in its institutions and practices.
<b>5. Empowerment:</b>	Expanded opportunities for individuals and collectivities to participate and make their influence felt in economic and political transactions.

Source: Esman, M.J. (1991). Management Dimensions of Development. West Hartford, Connecticut: Kumarian Press.

comprehensive economic plans and capital intensive projects to accelerate growth, reduce reliance on imports and improve the material standard of life for large masses of people. The assumption by W.W. Rostow and others was that third world countries were in the same stage England was in about two hundred years earlier, and that they just had to follow a set course. The objective of development was to transform developing countries into "developed" countries. Additional capital, technical, high-level skills; and later, managerial skills, institutional leadership and sound policies, would facilitate rapid societal transformation and modernization to overcome poverty, ignorance, and disease and foster economic growth (Esman 1991).

### **1.3 Development strategy formulation**

During the post-war era, the field of "policy sciences" emerged with the objective of addressing the most difficult problems facing society (deLeon 1988). The policy sciences were grounded in the emergence of science as a social phenomenon in the nineteenth century, and with it political acceptance of the idea that knowledge was of value to those with ruling responsibilities (reflecting the influence of eighteenth-century political philosophers such as Burke, Bentham and Hume). The belief that social laws, like their natural counterparts, could be discovered and applied, had a profound effect on the development of the policy sciences. For example, the thesis of the influential American pragmatic and positivist philosophers William James and John Dewey was that rational, scientific advice and procedures should and could have direct effect on social problems (Ibid, p.17). As new thinking, technologies and techniques for shaping the modern world developed (a process Weber called "rationalization"), so too did confidence in positivism and in the view that knowledge would replace politics, especially in an increasingly technology-oriented world. This "classical" paradigm is still dominant today. According to Dwight Waldo (1984):

"...not only is the classical theory still today the formal working theory of large numbers of persons technically concerned with administrative-organizational matters, both in the public and private spheres, but I expect it will be around a long, long time. This is not necessarily because it is true...But in any event a social theory widely held by the actors has a self-confirming tendency and the classical theory is now deeply ingrained in our culture."

The view that human interactions can be observed, dissected and manipulated by the tenets of scientific inquiry and technology had a profound impact on the use of social science knowledge in policy analysis, which gave rise to the "technocratic approach." In the technocratic approach, the technical expert uses specialized knowledge to formulate an efficient solution to a social problem and educates others on how to implement the solution. The expert stands above the development process to identify problems and develop solutions from an objective standpoint. Drawing on Jennings (1987), Kelly and Maynard-Moody (1993:136) explain this view:

"The analyst's claim to knowledge is based on the value-neutral observation of facts that can then be employed by decision makers as they formulate and implement policies. The more scientific or objective the analyst, the more credible his or her claims."

In the area of development, the technocratic approach enabled development institutions to introduce change into societies, which is their main purpose (Esman 1991). Change is achieved through development projects, which are "purposive interventions used for directing and accelerating economic growth and social development" (Cernea 1991:6), and managed through the "project cycle," the standard framework through which development projects are

informed, conceived and implemented in non-industrialized countries (Ibid). Its stages are described in Table 2. Through the project cycle, development projects may concentrate resources on selected priorities, focus on a geographic area and often address specific population groups and constraints on development. They can also be used to test out innovative approaches before trying them out on a larger scale (Ibid).

#### **1.4 Development strategy content and implementation**

Development problems were approached in the post-war era with a sense of optimism, which was created by a period of high confidence in the efficacy and beneficence of the modern state, following the success of the New Deal in the U.S. and the wartime and welfare states in Europe, and the work of scholars such as John Maynard Keynes, who showed how the state could manage a capitalist, free-enterprise, market economy to produce sustained economic growth with full employment and price stability (Esman 1991).

The prevailing consensus regarded the state as the prime mover in development, whose ability to undertake this complex task could be enhanced through technical assistance from development institutions (Ibid). During the 1950's GNP grew at twice the rate of the developed world. Developing countries tended to use GNP as a yardstick of performance, which came to define development. However, they did not take into account the different circumstances in which these countries were developing and placed too much confidence in the theory that growth would trickle down (South Commission 1990). Accompanying growth was a widening in the gap between the haves and have-nots within and between countries. Many reasons were given for the problems, which led in the 1960's to opposition to development economics. The new position, informed by Lenin's theory of imperialism, was dependency theory, which holds that the development of the third world has been distorted by the forces of international

**Table 2: The Project Cycle**

<u>Stages in the Project Cycle</u>	
1. <b>Project identification</b>	Potential of a particular development intervention is approximated.
2. <b>Project preparation</b>	Verifies hypotheses about development potential and translates them into planned sequences of actions.
3. <b>Project appraisal</b>	Critically reexamines preliminary version of project, often introducing significant corrections.
4. <b>Project implementation</b>	The shaping of project approaches to specific tasks (often involving changes, struggles and reinterpretations).
5. <b>Project (ex post) evaluation</b>	Assessment of project performance.

Source: Adapted from Cernea, M. (1991). Discussion paper 114: Using knowledge from social science in development projects. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

capitalism, creating the "development of underdevelopment" (Frank 1966).

The concept of dependency emerged from the need to understand why countries such as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico did not take-off as expected. Many of the presuppositions of dependency theory, such as the view that capitalism has been bad for development in the third world, have shaky empirical bases, and have also been undermined by recent trends such as the development of East Asia (Berger 1986). At the time, however, dependency theory helped reinforce calls for new approaches that would reduce reliance on imports and balance trade accounts.

### **The "First Decade of Development"**

New ideas such as changing the terms of trade and financing broader loans for sectors rather than individual projects helped launch the United Nation's "decade of development" in 1964. Institutions such as the U.S. Agency for International Development and the World Bank required all governments needing assistance to create a framework for multilevel, multisectoral development plans within which public and private investments could be managed (Esman 1991). However, thinking about development remained within established orthodoxies (Stone 1992). Aid remained mainly on a government-to-government basis, results were measured in terms of overall growth; positive benefits were assumed to trickle down to the population. While in the policy sciences there was a backlash against the technocratic approach, in actual development projects it persisted.

### **The "Second Decade of Development"**

After less than impressive results there were calls to consider principles of equity as well

as growth, which led to the emergence of the second decade of development in the 1970's. McNamara's (then World Bank president) series of programs helped direct attention away from the world's capitals to the world's rural sector. A bottom-up orientation emerged, symbolized by the Inter-American Foundation's They Know How. Grassroots initiatives reflecting the interests and preferences of community members would be supported by new technologies which were appropriate to small-scale activities in labor-intensive environments (Schumacher 1973).

Many of the basic-needs initiatives failed due to lack of experience, excessive ambition, impatience and a tendency to start from scratch rather than build on existing social structures (Lewis 1988). Also, ninety percent of development aid in the 1970's went to the creation of energy projects which were designed to support an industrial economy (Burke 1991). The problem was that developing countries then had to import the machines, spare parts, expertise and resources to build the industrial economy (Ibid).

Countries were borrowing more than they could afford to repay (in part because governments knew they could pass on costs to their successors) and commercial banks underestimated the risks, believing that countries cannot go bankrupt (Woodward 1992). A proportion of debts was not used for productive purposes, so benefits were confined to the elite. The debt crisis got worse after a failure of both creditors and debtors to anticipate the major changes in the international economic environment in the 1970's (particularly the oil crisis of 1973, lower commodity prices and higher interest rates). This weakened the debt-servicing capacity of borrowers and caused donor nations to reduce aid to developing countries.

### **The "Third Decade of Development"**

The oil shock, the economic slowdown of the 1970's, the political successes in the U.S. and the U.K. at the end of the decade, and the fiscal bankruptcy and managerial incompetence

of overextended governments led to the rise of neoconservative ideology and a reassessment of the state's role in development (Friedman 1963; Hayek 1990). The new orthodoxy saw neoclassical economics as the guide for development, which relegated the state's role to functions that could not be privatized.

Development strategies switched their focus to "structural adjustment programs," which encouraged countries to reduce debt burdens through austere domestic policy and increasing exports. The evidence reviewed by Woodward (1992) suggests that the benefits of structural adjustment are at best limited for the vast majority of developing countries, and particularly for those with lower income levels. The main reason given is that the current approach to adjustment owes more to theoretical assumptions and constructs than to reality. According to Woodward the current approach assumes the need for adjustment arises from economic problems specific to developing countries, when in fact the roots of the debt crisis lie primarily in changes in the global economic environment.

## **Summary**

Competing strategies for development, which gave primacy either to governments, markets or communities, came with their own ideological baggage, each claiming to be the only path to economic salvation. The pro-government supporters argued that development problems were the result of conditions operating outside of developing countries. The pro-market supporters attributed these problems to developing countries. Behind the ideological struggle hides the issue of who should control economic and political resources. However, according to Esman (1991), a consensus is now emerging on the need to abandon ideological positions and address the realities of economic policy and management in developing countries, although this seems to conflict with the work of think-tanks representing developing countries (also known as

"the South"). According to the South Commission (1990:14):

"The responsibility for the South's development lies in the South. Sustained development cannot simply be imported. The structural transformation implicit in development can materialize only if the efforts, ingenuity, and resources of the people of the South are fully mobilized in its support."

The record of the last fifty years has not all been bad. Average real income in the developing world has doubled; child death rates have been more than halved; average life expectancy has increased by about one third; the percentage of rural families with access to safe drinking water has risen from less than 10 percent to almost 60 percent (Oxfam 1993). On the other hand, it is also important to consider the problematic economic, social and environmental implications of development.

### **1.5 The Legacy of Development**

Rapid population growth, environmental degradation and deepening poverty are reinforcing each other in a downward spiral in many countries (according to the World Bank, per capita GNP had fallen in 49 countries during the eighties, affecting 846 million people). Some of the economic, social and environmental implications are discussed below.

#### **Economic Implications**

The economic downside is that total developing country debt will stand at about \$1.4 trillion in 1994. Industrialized countries maintain tariffs on imported goods to protect their own

workers, so that developing countries cannot not get the access to world trade they need to diversify and reduce their reliance on imports. The net result is that most developing countries continue to rely on single-product economies, making them vulnerable to price changes in overseas markets.

### **Social Implications**

These implications are described by the following facts:

- \* Although the world produces enough food to feed everyone, 1.2 billion (1/5) of the world lives in absolute poverty.
- \* The top fifth of the people on the global economic ladder enjoy 60 times the goods and services of the lower fifth.
- \* Malnutrition claims the lives of 250,000 children each week. An estimated half-million children die each year because of the debt crisis.
- \* One third of the grain grown in the world and one half of the fish caught are fed to animals in developed countries.
- \* People in developed countries cause 100-1000 times more pollution than people in the developing world.
- \* The US population (4-5 percent of the world's total) creates half the world's toxic waste.
- \* According to the UN, women do 2/3 of the world's work, yet receive only 10 percent of the world's total income and own only one percent of property.

Source: Oxfam (1993)

UNICEF estimates that within a decade, it would be possible to bring an end to child malnutrition, preventable diseases and widespread illiteracy. This would cost \$25 billion a year.

To put this in perspective, Americans spend \$31 billion on beer every year. However, less than 10 percent of all international bilateral aid goes toward meeting people's basic needs: nutrition, primary health care, water and sanitation, and primary education (Oxfam 1993). And the number of people is increasing exponentially - the population rise that has taken a hundred thousand years to happen is about to happen again, in only seventy years.

### **Environmental Implications**

Under the economic and social conditions described above, the easiest and quickest way for many developing countries to pay off their debts is to strip their natural assets, such as rainforests (Burke 1991). Each year, deforestation costs the world about 17 million hectares of tropical forests alone. According to Brown (1993), this is, in effect, the conversion of a highly productive ecosystem into a wasteland in exchange for a short term economic gain (after deforestation, soils can be farmed for between 3-5 years and then grazed for between 5-10 years). Deforestation is but one of the more visible environmental deficits combining to deplete the earth's natural capital. It is widely believed that damaging technologies, population growth, rising consumption and the environmental degradation that results will obstruct future human progress. The logic of this argument is explained as follows. In 1958, scientists first identified man-made intrusions into the natural processes regulating the earth's natural balances. Their principal concern was the effect of man's activities on the natural "greenhouse effect." In simple terms, the greenhouse effect refers to the trapping of some of the sun's heat in the earth's atmosphere. This heat is trapped by water vapor and three main gases: carbon dioxide, nitrous oxide and methane, which have helped keep the earth's average temperature within 1-2 degrees Celsius for the last 10,000 years.

Three natural processes also help regulate the average temperature in the greenhouse:

the Earth's orbit (changes in the distance of the earth from the sun over cycles of 100,000 years); the "Atlantic conveyor" (ocean movements which regulate ocean and hence atmospheric temperatures); and the carbon cycle.

## **Global Warming**

The climate treaty, signed by 154 countries at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, recognized global warming as a serious issue (even though the U.S. insisted that goals and timetables for restricting carbon emissions be removed from it). Man-made activities are combining to increase the concentration of greenhouse gases which trap more of the sun's heat in the atmosphere. For example, carbon dioxide is produced from the combustion of fossil fuels such as coal and oil and from deforestation by the burning of trees and brush cleared from land. The energy-intensive Western lifestyle emits 1 billion pounds of oil-based plastic packaging a year; uses 600 million trees a year in junk mail and newsprint; and generates 140 million tons of carbon a year from car emissions. Inefficient buildings use the equivalent of OPEC's oil production every year, emitting 900 million tons of carbon into the atmosphere (Burke 1991).

Deforestation significantly reduces the earth's capacity to absorb excess carbon (vegetation and soils from unmanaged forests hold 20 to 100 times more carbon per unit area than agricultural land). According to one estimate, burning of fossil fuels, deforestation and changes in land use from 1950 to 1986 add up to an input of 312 billion tons of carbon (i.e. about 41 percent of the carbon that has been added to the atmosphere).

Methane is released from crops, livestock and landfills. Nitrous oxide is emitted from industry and fertilizers (emissions from cultivated land doubled between 1930 and 1980). Industry also emits sulphur oxides and nitrogen oxides, which are transported by winds and descend as acidified rain, which damages man-made structures and the environment. Chlorofluor-

chlorofluorocarbons (CFC's) come from aerosol spray cans, air conditioners, fridges, plastic foam and solvents. CFC's release chlorine atoms which speed up the breakdown of ozone into oxygen gas. The Ozone shields the earth from the sun's ultraviolet radiation. Its breakdown causes harmful effects on humans and the environment (e.g. skin cancer, eye cataracts and decreased yields of crops such as corn, rice, soybeans and wheat). CFC's are exclusively man-made and their phase-out will probably be achieved through international agreements such as the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer (Nilsson 1992).

The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) constructed different scenarios ranging from business-as-usual to one with accelerated control policies. They estimated that, if emissions continue to grow with no changes, the concentration of greenhouse gases expressed as carbon dioxide equivalents would double by 2025. With a lower-emissions scenario, the doubling would occur in 2040 (the assumptions are that population will rise according to World Bank estimates, along with rises in methane, nitrous oxide and other emissions associated with more land being used to produce food to feed more people). Information is lacking on the precise implications of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas increases. However, there is deepening concern among scientists that the technological optimism of the twentieth century cannot ensure a better future.

## **1.6 The technocratic approach and development problems**

In 1992 the U.S. National Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society of London, two of the world's leading scientific bodies, issued a report that began:

"If current predictions of population growth prove accurate and patterns of human activity on the planet remain unchanged, science and technology may not be able to

prevent either irreversible degradation of the environment or continued poverty for much of the world" (quoted in Brown et al 1993:3).

Accompanying the challenge to technological optimism was the challenge to the technocratic approach, which began to show its vulnerable side when confronted with the Gordian knots of the last two decade's policy problems. This can partly be explained by limitations of the positivist paradigm in which the technocratic approach is grounded. According to deLeon (1988:112) positivism produced a relatively inflexible structure, one which could not accommodate political realities. The major point of vulnerability is the failure to recognize the centrality of people to the policy process. Torgerson's (1986:35) observation is instructive:

"Consider the conventional posture of the policy analyst. The guiding outlook is a technocratic one--that is, one of detachment in developing knowledge of society in order that the knowledge can subsequently be applied to society. The place of the analyst in society as a social being dealing with others of his kind tends not to be raised as a point of discussion. Removed from society, social science produces the knowledge from which to fashion an effective social technology; and the analyst--as both scientist and technician--becomes one who performs remote operations on an essentially alien object."

In this detached position, the mode of reasoning taken by the analyst has a "confirmatory rationality" which assumes that sound policy advice can be offered without first discovering the boundaries of complex problems. This rationality stems in part from the assumptions of commonly accepted methods for conducting policy analysis, which hold that the boundaries of complex problems have been adequately defined prior to the generation of

potential solutions to them (Dunn 1993:2). The use of the wrong types of methods violates the principle of methodological congruence: The appropriateness of a particular type of method is a function of its congruence with the type of problem under investigation (Dunn 1988:724). Lacking methods that can deal with complexity, the boundaries of problems are typically limited to what appears to be politically feasible, or, the wrong problem is solved because the boundaries of a problem as defined by the analyst are different from the problem's real boundaries (Ibid, p.8).

In the case of development planning, the technocratic approach makes the erroneous assumption that, through a rational model of decision-making, development projects will create the conditions for their own success by providing the best option for the intended beneficiaries. However, the evidence suggests that the values of the intended beneficiaries have not coincided with the assumptions of the development architects. Cernea (1991) argues that repeated failures in development planning have been largely the result of ill-informed and ill-conceived development programs which fail to see development as part of a larger social process. This happens when development problems are interpreted through one paradigm. The risk of social imbalance inherent in accelerated development through planned investment projects is amplified when injection of resources into a society occurs without regard for the capacity of the socioeconomic structure to absorb and use surplus. Technical plans may result in an initial spurt of success. However, experience has shown that without appropriate institutional and social scaffolding at all levels, unanticipated and undesired outcomes may emerge. Cernea (1991) argued that:

"...it is a grievous misunderstanding to imagine that project interventions are a simple linear unfolding of a well-reasoned, time-bound sequence of preprogrammed activities with all but predefined outcomes. Beyond what is being planned, and often despite it,

development interventions occur as processes subject to political pressures, social bargaining, administrative inadequacy, circumstantial distortions, and a host of either necessary or unwarranted interventions" (p.7).

A study of 57 World-Bank financed projects found that 27 had serious sociocultural incompatibilities. The average rate of return of the 27 projects was about half that of the compatible projects, whose average rate of return was 18.3 percent. Another study by Cernea (1988) evaluated 25 World Bank projects several years after financial flows had been terminated. Thirteen projects were found not to be sustainable and the primary reasons were because important sociocultural variables--the human dimension of development--had been overlooked. The major implication is that the sustainability of technical advancement itself is undermined when that investment creates a social, cultural, ecological and institutional disinvestment. Rondinelli (1993:154) summarized the problem with his conclusion that:

"Conventional approaches to development administration are based on inaccurate assumptions about the process of development, the tasks of development planning, the conditions under which change is possible, and the means through which it occurs in developing societies."

Similarly, Caiden and Wildavsky (1974:293) challenged comprehensive planning, with its technocratic, centralized, "coordination and control" approach. The major problems are that it "calls for unavailable information, non-existent knowledge, and a political stability in consistent pursuit of aims undreamed of in their existence" with the result that "this kind of planning turns the most characteristic features of poor countries into obstacles to development."

Continued use of the technocratic approach in development planning is not confined to

multilateral development institutions such as the World Bank. The literature also suggests this approach may be pervasive in the formulation of industrial policy, even for relatively new industries. This is shown by the example of tourism planning.

### **1.7 The case of tourism development**

Observers have long called for more integration of tourism into national economic development plans. Principle X, Section 4 of the Hague Declaration on Tourism, stated:

"Recognizing the international dimensions of tourism, worldwide as well as regional, international co-operation is essential for its harmonious development through direct inter-State cooperation and through the channel of international organizations, such as WTO, and between different components of the private sector of tourism through non-governmental and professional organizations."

Tourism industry associations are particularly concerned that tourism should become part of comprehensive national policies and priorities for development, because "The tourism industry has failed to present the real image of tourism and, at least until now, has not been successful in developing effective support for tourism particularly from parliamentarians" (Hague Declaration on Tourism, 1989). However, the suggested solution, that public authorities at all levels in all countries take an active role in creating conditions for tourism development through the provision of infrastructure, finance, marketing, etc, is not consistent with the direction of development today. Although public authorities are ultimately responsible, much of the burden for change is falling on the shoulders of development agencies, NGO's and industry. A model of tourism development policymaking, developed from the tourism planning literature by this

researcher, is provided below to demonstrate the pervasiveness and implications of the technocratic approach.

### **1.8 A Model of Tourism Development Policymaking**

Tourism planning, especially in developing countries, is a very recent phenomenon. Many developing countries that in the last two decades saw tourism as a development vehicle were caught by surprise by the tourism boom because of a lack of preparation and understanding. The model discussed here has been developed from the tourism development literature and its objective is to illustrate that the technocratic approach and the problems it creates are not confined to development institutions, but operate at other levels. The center of the model represents the development environment, and the loop around it represents tourism policymaking and its efforts to manage in this environment. The model is arranged as a circular process to emphasize that tourism policymakers try and deal with increasingly complex development problems using the same planning approaches that helped create these problems (Figure 1).

#### **1. Increasingly complex development problems**

At the center of the model is the increasing complexity of development problems. In the past tourism development problems were not complex because growth was the major objective and this objective was universally accepted (according to the World Travel and Tourism Council, the tourism industry grew by 260 percent between 1970 and 1990). Growth was made possible through technocratic planning approaches informed and conceived by the expert (e.g. master planning and zoning, spatial design, locational analysis, infrastructure planning, economic

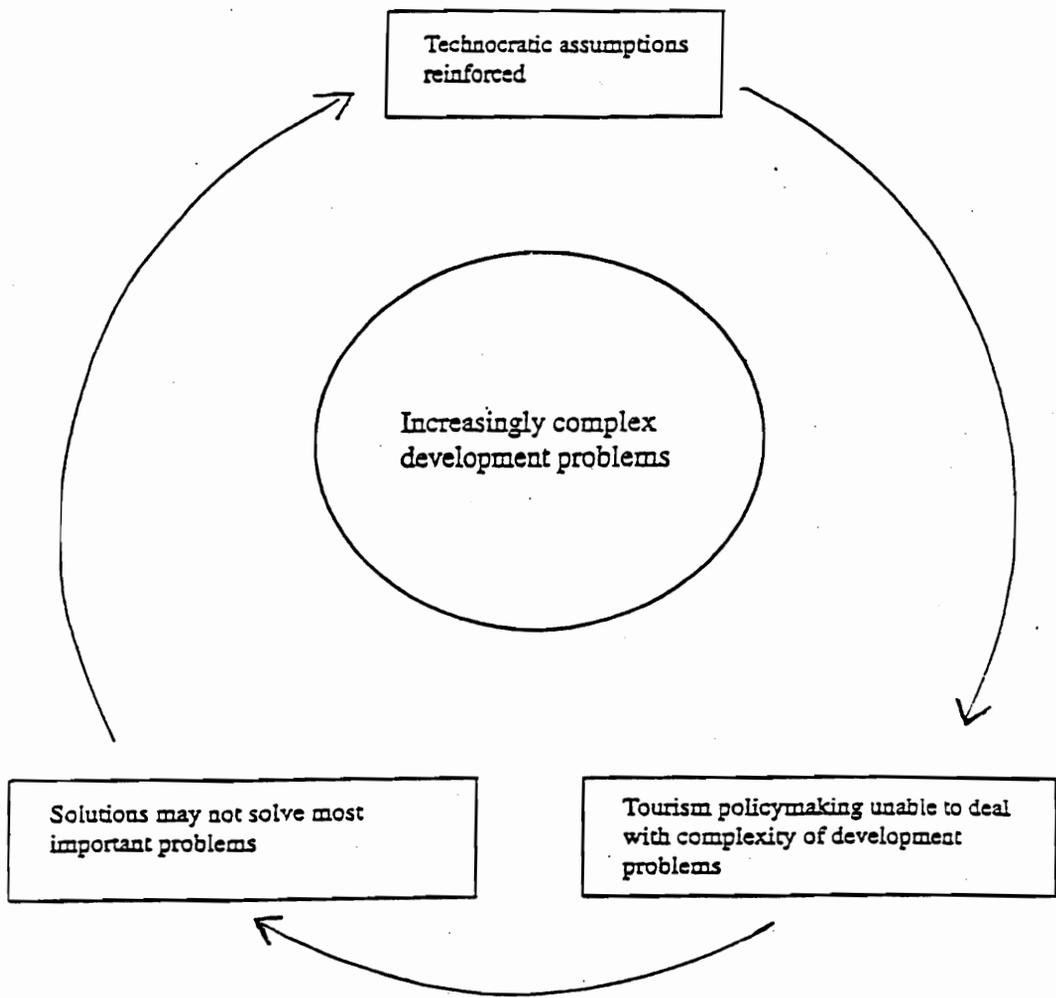


Figure 1: A Model of Tourism Development Planning

feasibility studies, budget analysis, environmental engineering, project development, marketing assistance, and so on). The set of goals, options, values and evaluation criteria involved in these problems was fairly self-evident. Tourism was treated as a self-contained policy area geared to providing for the escalating expectations of affluent tourist generating countries (70 percent of tourists come from 20 of the world's 233 countries). Wheeler (1992:105) argued that this trend is set to continue;

"Rather than there being any return to travel [according to the traditional connotation] I would argue strongly that the next step of the traveller/ tourist/ mass tourist evolutionary process is in fact one of, for want of a better word, megamass tourism."

As the international tourism industry grew and became more complex, it appears that tourism studies reacted by dividing tourism into self-contained parts (such as ski-field tourism, urban tourism, coastal tourism, etc). Each of these parts could then be studied as well-structured problems. This was accomplished in different locations using case study analyses. For example, Smith's (1990) thesis showed that the beach resort segment of the tourism industry has become a complex phenomenon worthy of study in its own right. With the growth of the international tourism industry beach resorts have been transformed from natural areas to cities in less than two decades. Smith was able to develop a model to explain the dynamics of beach resort evolution based on four case studies in the Asia-Pacific region. Many other descriptive models and typologies were developed to observe the stages and characteristics of various types of tourism development (for example Miossec 1976,1977; Butler 1980; Gormsen 1981; Thurot 1973; Plog 1973; OECD 1981; Pearce 1979; Rodenburg 1980; Lee 1978).

Impact research proliferated throughout the 1980's in response to concerns about mass tourism. For example, in The Golden Hordes (1975) Turner and Ash depicted tourism as a form

of imperialism whose effects were at first invisible but which would eventually alter cultures indefinitely. The impacts of tourism development have been categorized and studied through case studies. Through the analysis of case studies, experts have been able to describe typical impacts of a given type of tourism in a given type of location at a given time. It was clear from this impact research that tourism development problems were becoming more and more complex and were inextricably linked with forces operating outside the tourism industry.

Although a great deal of research has been done on the impacts of tourism on communities, the body of knowledge for understanding the processes that create them is in its infancy. Hinch (1991) summarized the problem by suggesting that "The theoretical understanding of the spatial development process associated with tourism development has not kept pace with the practice of intervention into this development process." There has been comparatively little research on the impact that the broader development context has on the path of tourism development. Lacking an understanding of the underlying processes of development affecting the path of tourism, tourism development planners tried to reduce the negative impacts of tourism with the same technocratic approach that helped create those impacts--in effect tackling the problems with the same framework that helped create them. The problems with this are discussed below.

## **2. Tourism policymaking unable to deal with complexity of development problems**

Approaches to tourism planning have attempted to meet the mandates set by governments and organizations involved in tourism by conceiving of some optimum state and then specifying the means to achieve it. This technocratic approach to tourism planning is rooted in the notion of a "tourism functional system" (Gunn 1988), derived from the structural functionalist perspective of systems (cf. Parsons 1949; Easton 1953). The structural functionalist

perspective emphasizes regulation and control of a system. The system is identified by an objective boundary; it has subsystems which are interdependent and can be understood by observing critical roles and functions of the system and the people who play these roles. The system is examined as a process (input, throughput, output and feedback) which satisfies needs. The function of science is to maintain order and regulation of the system. This background is useful for interpreting why tourism development studies evolved as they did. It is thought that the system can be ordered and regulated according to objectives defined by the observer once the functions and the boundaries of that system have been properly defined. For example, Getz (1987:3) defined tourism planning as "A process, based on research and evaluation, which seeks to optimize the potential contribution of tourism to human welfare and environmental quality." According to Murphy (1985:156):

"Planning is concerned with anticipating and regulating change in a system, to promote orderly development so as to increase the social, economic and environmental benefits of the development process."

Kloke (1977:3) argued that policy maker should determine "...the net result of the welfare of its people, comprising the sum of the desirable and undesirable effects over the full range of social conditions." Atac-Rosch (1984) developed a public planning method for tourism. Using a systems approach Atac-Rosch suggested that the tourism policy-maker will be able to optimize and control seasonal and cyclical fluctuations and the impacts and externalities of tourism. A great many similar proposals for steering development have been developed out of specific case study situations. Many of their recommendations conflict but all have one thing in common -- the expert stands above the development process to define the most efficient solution. Curry (1990) called for the use of cost-benefit analysis to assess the compatibility of tourism with the

broader development context. Lin and Sung (1984) proposed the use of input-output analysis to assess tourism's role in development. Getz (1983) called for the development of a planned system to guide tourism development. Inskip (1987) suggests that controlled tourism can be achieved through cost-benefit analysis. Hazra's (1987) study arrived at broad objectives for regional tourism planning based on the assumption that it is better to plan and promote tourism on a regional rather than a community level. Seely et al (1980) called for "goal planning" at the individual organization level and the development of measures that can be applied across situations. Chow (1980) suggests that tourism policies can be understood in a regional equity/economic efficiency trade-off. Jenkins and Henry (1982) approach the planning problem from the position of active/passive government involvement, suggesting that more active involvement is required in the early stages. Pearce (1980) called for a "genetic approach," i.e. by looking at past development we can project a normative path that maximizes the benefits of tourism. Smith (1985) advocates a more scientific evaluation of tourism regions and the development of indices of tourism structures. Pigram (1980) suggested that tourism be merged with conservation. Schulmeister (1980) called for more extensive demand models. Baker (1990) advocated the development of an "objective tree" to delineate between different levels of planning objectives. Jenkins (1982) suggested that the effects of development can be mitigated through pre-project planning. Choy (1991) recommended the use of the PPBS (planning, programming, budgeting systems) framework for tourism planning. Wu (1982) called for the use of new conceptual frameworks (political-economy, ethnic relationships, moral values and religion). Jansen-Verbeke (1987) proposed that geographic perspectives be used to integrate leisure, recreation and tourism and to consider both the individual and the broader social structure rather than just the latter. Harris also proposed greater social and economic linkages between outdoor recreation and tourism. MacNaught (1982) proposed that future studies draw attention to the historical context of development. In making these proposals many tourism

policy analysts have assumed that all problems can be defined and solutions prescribed by one or a few stakeholders rather than investigating conflicting problem representations.

In spite of the many prescriptions for optimum tourism development planning, in practice tourism planning has been beset by real-world difficulties (Pearce 1989), many of which has originated outside the tourism functional system. A World Tourism Organization (WTO) study (1980) found that of 1600 tourism plans studied, only a third were implemented. This does not include those that were implemented but failed. The WTO found that critical elements of these plans were lacking. Few plans were integrated into the broader development context. Few made provision for the environment or were supported with legislation. Few countries were in a position to follow a policy of continuity. Smith, Hetherington and Brumbaugh (1986) noted how tourism planning is characterized by provincialism and turfdom, by lack of continuity, inability to reach consensus, dependence on outside interests and lack of local leadership. In a similar vein Pearce described tourism planning are having a severe lack of coordination, unnecessary competition, duplication in some areas and neglect in others. Smyth (1986) argued that in this kind of climate it is impossible to evolve purposeful strategies. Ashworth and Bergsma (1987) identified a noticeable proliferation of goals and instruments, a search for functional and administrative integration and an uncertainty of roles in the policy process. Others (cf. Morris and Dickenson 1987; Kofman 1985; Pearce 1989) have identified outright hostility or ambivalence toward tourism plans. Selin and Beason (1991) found a lack of cooperative relations among organizations with vested interests in tourism. Kearney (1992:35) argued that:

"The rapid growth of world tourism over the past 25 years has exceeded the capacity of local and national authorities to plan, manage and operate tourism development in an environmentally sound manner."

Komilis (1987) studied tourism in Greece and concluded that "The ineffectiveness of tourism and physical planning to influence endogenous or exogenous factors, underlying tourism's spatial structure, is evidenced by the absence of any substantial rapport between the kind of physical development taking place, and concurrent planning practices." Tourism planning models have not captured the real-world dynamism, complexity and contradictions of tourism development that are derived from broader forces in the political, economic, social, ecological and technological environment. The impact of the broader development context on tourism development was shown by Johnston's (1987) study of tourism development and resource relations, which showed that by being resident responsive, tourism provides an opportunity for key actors to change resource value and use and transform the balance of group access and control over resources:

"In my research, I found that the tourism development process essentially restructured the pattern of resource relations. In this process, specific individuals or groups gained control over critical resources. Control was also exercised over the system of decision making, via economic development interest groups' influence in structuring the development and utilization of criteria for making decisions (p.263)."

Most of the reasons given for the failure of tourism planning can be traced to a lack of understanding of the relationship between tourism and the broader development context. Tourism policy analysis continues to seek the one best way of planning development. In the tourism development literature it is assumed that the objectives of the tourism plan are also the objectives of those affected by it. When "the community" is identified as an important factor it is often treated as a homogenous value-system. The tourism system is defined around a demand-supply model with the assumption that injection of financial resources alone can promote an

autonomous and stable institutional structure (Hinch 1991).

Richter (1991) summarized the problem in tourism development theory and research as a failure to consider the following factors in proposals for a better world for tourism:

- ◆ The distribution challenge (who gets what, when and how).
- ◆ The evolving political organization of power where issues compel more decisive planning and where political dynamics encourage the emergence of more claimants to decision-making.
- ◆ The political climate which includes the polarization of attitudes concerning tourism development.
- ◆ The recognition that past tourism policy has not prepared decision-makers for the environmental pressures of 21st century tourism policymaking.

### **3. Solutions do not solve the most important problems**

Recently tourism experts have attempted to overcome past planning problems with a "systems integrative" approach. The concept of an integrated strategy implies a shift to more coordination and sharing of the rewards of tourism (Collins 1991). Inskeep (1991) provided a detailed account of the systems integrative approach for tourism planning. He suggested that planning can overcome problems associated with a lack of experience with tourism, ensure all the diverse elements of tourism (from agriculture to infrastructure) are coordinated and integrated, match tourist products and markets, optimize the type and level of tourism, sustain natural and cultural resources, plan new areas, create special organization planning structures, promotion, legislation and fiscal measures, satisfy manpower needs and provide a rational basis for development staging and project programming. Planning will succeed if it is continuous,

incremental, flexible, comprehensive, systematized, community-oriented and implementable. The plan and work program should be prepared by a team of various specialists, the team's composition determined by specific circumstances. The application of sound planning principles can negate any potentially harmful political constraints. The final plan is evaluated in terms of economic benefits and costs and environmental and sociocultural impacts to make certain that it is the optimum plan. Government should assume the overall responsibility for tourism management with respect to development policy and planning, setting standards and ensuring environmental quality, "Otherwise, integrated, planned, and controlled tourism would not necessarily be achieved, nor would tourism be responsive to the area's and society's needs" (Inskip 1991:411).

However, in spite of the comprehensive connotations of "integration," in reality these approaches have fallen short of their ideals when it comes to implementation. The reason is that the systems integrative perspective is no more than an extension of the tourism functional system. The systems integrative perspective still stresses planned order and regulation of a system to achieve its ideals. Yet the reality of tourism development appears to be rather different from what various technocratic approaches suggest, as has been shown by Richter's (1989) examination of tourism policy in Asia. Her analysis was driven by the question "who gets what, when and how" (Lasswell 1936) in tourism. The major findings of her analysis of countries such as China, India, The Philippines and Nepal were as follows:

- ◆ The politics of international tourism are fought within and between nations. These politics determine the degree of autonomy of and reciprocity between countries and the people in them.
- ◆ The success or failure of tourism is dependent on political and administrative action more than economic or business expertise.

- ◆ To meet political needs tourism is typically portrayed as a minority activity despite its enormous scale.
- ◆ Tourism is initially shaped by government ground rules but its development may activate forces that eventually undermine these rules.
- ◆ The political and economic imperatives shaping tourism reflect elite regime values which are divorced from the public interest and deny control by those affected.
- ◆ Variations between countries in the development of tourism are affected by how political elites reconcile tensions between the domestic situation and the international tourism system.
- ◆ Tourism is by nature very closely linked with other sectors but its impacts are not readily perceived. Hence the same problems tend to be repeated (lack of pacing, sociocultural fit and overall control).
- ◆ The criteria for policy evaluation is objectified and simplistic while political goals are often covert and unarticulated.
- ◆ Hidden political power and other preconditions shape the nature of the political process and policy outcomes and effects. These outcomes and effects include exploitation, commodification, reification, dependency, inequality, distortion of national identity, the development of "edifice complexes" (large, conspicuous, concentrated commercial development) and environmental degradation.

#### 4. **Technocratic assumptions reinforced**

When important political, social and other factors are overlooked in the planning process, revenge is taken on the outcome when the initial positive effects of financially induced development convert into unanticipated and undesired outcomes (Cernea 1991). The solution is

for the expert to objectively analyze the problem, set new objectives and reset the course for achieving them. A consequence of this is that the reliance on experts to solve problems is reinforced. According to the model, experts become further and further removed from the realities of the development process even though the burdens placed on them increase. Seidman and Gilmour (1984:219) describe the tourism planning mentality as follows:

"If only we can find the right formula for coordination, we can reconcile the irreconcilable, harmonize competing and wholly divergent interests, overcome irrationalities in our government structures, and make hard policy choices to which no-one will dissent."

The following section explains one of many attempts to provide an alternative model for strategy formulation--an attempt to better match strategy formulation to the nature of today's development problems.

## 1.9 Alternative approaches to strategy formulation

In a discussion of the future of the policy sciences, deLeon (1988) concluded that a new paradigm of policymaking is required;

"...a post-positivist perspective in which the principal components are twofold: the reaffirmation of the "human" aspects of policy and an expanded set of participants. In combination, the two serve to make the policy sciences more adaptive and responsive to the needs of society at large."

The assumption underlying the argument for a post-positivist approach is that, whenever an expert claims to know, he or she imposes his or her own categories on a situation (Schon 1983). Therefore, the idea that objectivity can only be achieved from the standpoint of the observer must be rejected -- there is no distinction between policy analysis and political argument. Behind reasoned analysis (such as cost-benefit analysis) lie categories which have themselves been defined through political struggle and which are constantly being redefined depending on the meanings attached to events and the people bringing these meanings to the policy arena. Formulas for the best way of doing things (as implied by the technocratic approach) are but strategies for framing an issue in a particular way (Stone 1988:310). For example,

"...economics, far from being a cold, scientific inquiry, is inextricably enmeshed in the political and judgemental values of our society" (Heilbroner 1993).

The argument to focus on values and enlarge the number of actors is intended to

improve the chances that induced development will work, by understanding other paradigms and classifications of ideas, problems and solutions. The rationale behind this was explained by Lindblom (1990), who argued that:

- ◆ Much social problem-solving takes the form of altering people's perceptions and evaluations.
- ◆ Outcomes follow from complex interactions of countless influential participants.
- ◆ Common norms or shared volitions of stakeholders emerge from partisan self-interest.
- ◆ No-one ever decides on each series of interim solutions that emerge.
- ◆ Social problems are part of some totality that must be recognized, but the problem itself must be bounded for rational choice to take place.
- ◆ The case for "scientific" problem solving (controller and controlled) is questionable. Professional inquiry cannot claim more conclusive testing than lay probing.
- ◆ The assumptions of value-neutrality and objectivity do not hold water in a policy context where multiple values, concepts, cognitive structures and scenarios are a fact of life.
- ◆ The path to a solution is widespread socially-based inquiry and knowledge, where science plays a supportive rather than a central role in future planning situations.

Of course, participatory analysis has its limitations. It is resource intensive, does not guarantee agreement, creates problems in assessment of evidence, and may not be equitable. Nonetheless, institutions are designed to restrict surprises and must adopt more flexible approaches to prepare themselves for the inevitable surprises that accompany the new generation of sustainable development problems. With this need in mind, Michael Cernea of the World Bank proposed a new approach to the project cycle.

## **The Project Cycle: A People-Centered Approach**

Cernea's rationale in developing the people-centered approach to the project cycle is that, although the project cycle has inherent limitations, it is likely to remain the basic means for translating ideas into action programs in development projects (Cernea 1991:8). From this perspective, the major challenge facing development policymaking is not to formulate an alternative to the project cycle but to improve the quality of development planning using this model (Ibid). Cernea argues that the way forward is to replace the technocratic approach with a people-centered approach.

The people-centered approach involves employing the power of the expert--not to control the process, but to "...democratize the planning process itself by facilitating broader participation in it of the development actors themselves" (Ibid, p.38). It helps chart the relationship between means and goals in programs. It encourages social scientists to descend from generalities to operationally-usable know how (Ibid, p.39). It encourages experts to think through their recommendations and draw from experts with other specialties and those affected by policy rather than assume that they know what is best for people.

In this context "experts" are not charged with providing the optimum solution but with releasing the innovation potential of those affecting and affected by projects. In The Nature of Development Stone (1992) suggested that for sustainable development to be achieved, effective community institutions need to be established that work within community hierarchies, thereby promoting self-reliant decision-making. In order to do this, experts must tackle the human side of development head-on, bringing different world views together at the junction where interests overlap.

The argument for more people-centered development planning is not a new appeal. The real challenge now lies in implementing it. As Cernea (1991:32) argues:

"..we often hear sudden declarations of fashionable support for participatory approaches from politicians, planners, economists, and technocrats...(but) under the cloud of cosmetic rhetoric, technocratic planning continues to rule."

Becoming "people-centered" is not a simple metaphor but requires a reversal from conventional planning approaches:

"Putting people first in projects is not just a goodwill appeal to the humanitarian feelings of project planners, a mere ethical advocacy. It is a concept for constructing programs for inducing development and an imperative for their effectiveness...This interpretation implies a call for changing the approach to planning (Ibid, p.8)."

How is development planning to become more people-centered? Cernea (1991) suggested that this may occur by broadening the number of entrance points for sociocultural knowledge in the project cycle. Traditionally the only entrance point for non-economic social scientists was in the ex-post evaluation of development projects. This is inadequate because it only deals with one end of the development cycle--after action has been taken. Although lessons may be learned from ex-post evaluation, these are unlikely to be assimilated into future planning when the technocratic approach continues to dominate the planning process. In other situations social knowledge is brought in during an ex-ante "Social Impact Assessment," but this is often just to re-validate or modify a ready-made package (Ibid).

Multiple points of entrance are required to increase the mileage from development projects (Ibid, p.15). This means doing more than just providing knowledge, it implies full participation of development actors in the modeling of planned development (gathering information at all levels, incorporating it into the design for improvement, resource allocation

decisions and the sequencing of planned actions). A key difficulty here is that people-centered approaches have usually been formulated without policy concerns in mind (Scott and Shore 1979). Therefore, in order to open up more entrance points for sociocultural knowledge in development projects, Cernea suggests starting with the needs intrinsic to the project cycle itself. As discussed earlier in this Section, the project cycle's stages consist of:

1. Project identification
2. Project preparation (design)
3. Project appraisal (including design correction)
4. Project implementation
5. Project (ex post) evaluation

These stages are explained below, focusing on the uses of sociocultural knowledge at each stage. Following this a model is presented that locates the research problem in the context of the people-centered approach to the project cycle.

#### **1. Project identification**

Project identification is the stage when a development project intervention idea is conceived and its potential assessed. The initial problem sensing and idea development may take place in expert circles. It is essential at this stage to ensure representation and cooperation of many different development experts. The major risks can be identified and subsequent data gathering, social analysis and design processes set in motion for the more in-depth project preparation stage.

## **2. Project preparation**

In this stage the hypotheses about development potential are translated into planned actions, anticipating changes in social arrangements and designing alternative organizations, institutions or strategies for participation. Surveys, case studies, piloting, interviews and other methods may be used.

## **3. Project appraisal**

In this stage the prepared project is subjected to different stakeholders who reassess freshly, independently and critically the preliminary version. Four main elements are important (World Bank 1984):

1. The sociocultural and demographic characteristics of local beneficiaries, including groups that may be adversely affected (size and social structure, ethnic, tribal and class composition).
2. The social organization of productive activities of the population in the project area (access, use of and control over resources, access to and information on wider markets, land tenure systems, usage rights, alternative employment opportunities).
3. The cultural acceptability of the project and its compatibility with the needs of the intended beneficiaries (values, customs, beliefs, felt needs).
4. The social strategy for project implementation and operation needed to elicit and sustain the beneficiaries' participation (helping them organize themselves to carry out functions through information, education and motivation within a

specified time frame).

#### **4. Project implementation**

Implementation is the stage when it becomes obvious that projects do not unfold linearly but involve changes, struggles between interested parties and reinterpretations. The application of sociocultural knowledge helps in organization, communication and management of projects, and in mobilizing participation and daily problem-solving.

#### **5. Project evaluation**

This stage attempts to determine whether or not this was the right solution, and to elicit the reasons why. The information obtained may help understand other problem situations and help identify new projects.

Source: Adapted from Cernea (1991)

### **Summary**

The technocratic - people-centered debate is an emerging topic in the development and policy sciences literature which has not had a significant impact either in theory or in practice. Cernea (1991:45) observed that, "...in my own experience at the World Bank and in different countries, an enduring obstacle to the influx of sociological knowledge into development work has been that many technical experts lack understanding of what social science and social engineering could bring to their own efforts." Technical experts grown in the groves of academe

"..remain ignorant of the sociostructural and cultural dimensions of technical/production processes because of outdated training philosophies and practices" (Ibid, p.46). Methods for implementing the people-centered approach have not been codified or made widely available; "The conventional range of operationally usable products generated by social scientists is still narrow and insufficient.." (Ibid, p.47).

The implication of these theoretical and practical difficulties is that the impact of approaches to strategy formulation on strategy implementation has not been a research priority in development. This may have far-reaching implications given evidence of the impact of the technocratic approach to strategy formulation on development outcomes. The following Section explains the emergence of sustainable development and the shift in strategy content effected by the World Bank. The final Section of this Chapter explains the institutional contradiction which suggests that the World Bank is not equipped to support sustainable development.

## SECTION 2: SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

### 2.1 Introduction

Within 300 years of the industrial revolution, we have been brought face-to-face with an environmental crisis far bigger than those which the agricultural and industrial revolutions responded to (Harrison 1993). The idea of "sustainability" suggests that, in the long term, our problems cannot be alleviated through economic growth alone. Although the size of the world economy has quintupled since 1950, much of the affluence has been borrowed from future generations (Brown et al 1993). Sustainable development is an attempt to prevent the capitalist system from irreparably damaging its own foundations, while opening up new opportunities to enhance its problem-solving capabilities.

### 2.2 Definitions of sustainable development

The term sustainable development was institutionalized by The World Commission on Environment and Development (The Brundtland Commission) in its 1987 report Our Common Future. They defined it as:

"..development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (1990:87).

According to the World Resources Institute (1993:10):

"In essence, sustainable development means economic growth that we can live with and

that future generations can live with too. It means growth that improves human welfare but does not squander the resources of the planet nor undermine the biological systems on which life depends. Sustainable development essentially requires human societies to take into account the long term consequences of their actions. The concept is thus not easy to translate into specific actions that individuals or governments can grapple with. It is nonetheless important: sustainable development may well become the basis of a rethinking of economic principles and national accounting systems. And as the environmental consequences of "business as usual" become ever more apparent, sustainable development may even become the organizing principle of the 21st century."

According to the World Commission on Environment and Development (1990), sustainable development:

- ◆ Helps secure effective citizen participation in decision-making (political benefits).
- ◆ Helps generate surpluses and technical knowledge on a self-reliant and sustained basis (economic benefits).
- ◆ Helps provide solutions for the tensions arising from disharmonious development (social benefits).
- ◆ Respects the obligation to preserve the ecological base for development (productive benefits).
- ◆ Helps search for new solutions (technological benefits).
- ◆ Fosters sustainable patterns of trade and finance.
- ◆ Helps develop an administrative system that is flexible and has the capacity for self-correction.

Source: World Commission on Environment and Development 1990:109

The United Nation's Report Global Outlook 2000 (1990:332) concluded that policy choices will determine whether or not positive change will take place;

"..the outlook for the next decade depends vitally on the progress made both in national policy-making and in international co-operation. It is impossible to look forward to the 1990s without the impression that the confrontation between the forces making for an internationalization of the world economy and those seeking to retain a measure of national and local autonomy will be intensified and have to find new solutions and compromises. The future of the world economy has not been decided, and no study can reveal it. There are limits to the possible, but they are wide. At one extreme, there is the specter of stagnation and environmental disaster. At the other extreme, there are opportunities for relieving poverty, improving the quality of life, safeguarding the environment for future generations, stabilizing the world economy, and moving toward a global community. Neither perspective can be dismissed as impossible. The world's actual course in the vast gulf between them will be decided by how individual people, countries, and the international community meet these challenges."

The major problem now is determining how sustainable development is to become reality. According to the United Nations (1990):

"Far less is known about how to guide economic and social progress through channels that will reduce such damage and make it possible to leave the world with better prospects for the future in 2000 than in 1990" (Ibid, p.332).

Since the United Nation's statement, there have been numerous attempts to create

comprehensive, global frameworks for achieving sustainable development, the most recent being the Earth Summit. At the Earth Summit in 1992 (attended by nations representing 98 percent of the world's population), treaties were signed to control global warming and the loss of biodiversity. Non-binding agreements were reached on a statement of forest conservation principles, the Rio Declaration of environmental ideals and Agenda 21, a blueprint for reducing the environmental impact of developed nations, revitalizing development in developing nations, eliminating poverty world-wide and stabilizing the level of human population (Sitarz 1993). Agenda 21 does not presume to propose solutions to all of the problems facing humankind. Rather, it introduces a series of actions by which local, regional and global solutions can be identified and implemented (Ibid, p.7).

Although the Summit bridged historic differences between North (developed countries) and South (developing countries), the agreements leaned more to rhetoric than actual commitment. Fundamental problems in the global economic order remain, such as the internationally accepted system of national accounting used to calculate gross national product. This system subtracts the depreciation of plant and equipment from the output of goods and services, but takes no account of the depreciation of natural capital (e.g. rainforest destruction). According to Brown et al (1993), governments have permitted demands on natural systems to become excessive because they lack information on sustainable yields.

Recognizing the scale of change needed to move toward sustainable development, non-government organizations (NGOs) initiated a coordinated effort called the Multilateral Development Bank (MDB) Campaign, which used tactics such as publicizing World Bank financed ecological disasters in Brazil, India and Indonesia, organizing congressional and parliamentary hearings and media campaigns to pressure the banks. In May 1987 the World Bank's President, Barbara Conable, publicly acknowledged that the Bank had been "part of the problem in the past" and announced that the Bank would commit to environmental reform.

Since 1987 the World Bank has been at the forefront of the multilateral development banks and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in initiating reform of its lending policies (Rich 1990). The World Bank's strategy is explained below.

### **2.3 The World Bank's Strategy**

The World Bank's strategy for achieving sustainable development in developing countries was published in The 1992 World Development Report. The strategy is part of a broader effort between institutions to reduce poverty, develop human resources, and promote environmentally sustainable growth through the United Nation's (fourth) International Development Strategy (IDS). The assumption underlying IDS is that, although primary responsibility for creating an environmentally sustainable economic system rests with governments, which represent the interests of society as a whole, the reality is that governments of developing countries face poverty and resource constraints. A large number of Third World governments are themselves obstacles to development and their policies often have the direct effect of perpetuating underdevelopment (Berger 1986). For example, policies may discourage enterprise and international trade through excessive regulation and licensing, and government policies designed to control economic growth for equality's sake typically produce the opposite of the intended effect. Even when policies do not obstruct development, the latter still encounters widespread ineffectiveness and pervasive corruption (Berger 1986). The World Bank's strategy, part of a broader attempt to develop the private sector and restructure the public sector, is intended to help governments meet their responsibilities.

The assumption underlying the World Bank's strategy is that continued and even accelerated economic and human development is sustainable and can be consistent with improving environmental conditions, but that this will require major policy, program and

institutional shifts (World Bank 1992:iii). This strategy stresses factors that were viewed as relatively unimportant before evidence showed that many development programs failed repeatedly because of a lack of consideration for them. According to Preston (1992:iii):

"The lasting result is that environmental considerations will become more deeply embedded in every aspect of the Bank's work."

Environmental considerations are important because,

"The protection of the environment is an essential part of development. Without adequate environmental protection, development is undermined; without development, resources will be inadequate for needed investments, and environmental protection will fail (Ibid)."

It is also argued in the World Development Report that, while industrial countries need to solve their own problems, they have a crucial role to play in helping to improve the environments of developing countries. These assumptions are discussed below:

### **Assumptions**

- ◆ Developing countries need access to less-polluting technologies and know-how.
- ◆ Some of the benefits of environmental policies in developing countries accrue to rich countries, which ought to bear an equivalent part of the costs.
- ◆ Some of the potential problems facing developing countries stem from high consumption levels in rich countries, which should share the burden in finding and

implementing solutions.

- ◆ Evidence of the links between poverty reduction and environmental goals suggest a need for greater support for programs that reduce poverty and population growth.
- ◆ The capacity of developing countries to enjoy sustained income growth will depend on rich countries' economic, social and environmental policies (World Bank 1992:3).

The report observes that the important issues of sustainable development are and will be concentrated in developing countries. Meeting the needs of the poor in this generation is an essential aspect of sustainably meeting the needs of future generations (World Bank 1992:8). Both development policy and environmental protection must be designed to improve welfare.

According to the World Bank, there are two kinds of environmental problems, those resulting from overdevelopment and those resulting from under-development. At the heart of these problems is the undervaluation of natural resources by those who make decisions about their use. Accordingly, there are two types of policies required for a sustainable future:

- 1) Those that harness the positive links between the environment and development.
- 2) Those that break the negative links between environment and development.

### **Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Development in Developing Countries**

#### **1. Policies that harness the positive links between environment and development:**

- ◆ Removal of subsidies for inefficient and environmentally damaging practices.
- ◆ Improving evaluation of natural resources (i.e. removal of incentives for their abuse and provision of incentives for environmentally responsible innovation).

- ◆ Clarifying property rights to stimulate more responsible use of resources (through zoning, participation, allocation of legal rights, etc).
- ◆ Accelerating education (especially of the primary users of natural resources), better natural resource management and development of lower-cost technologies.
- ◆ Investing in water and sanitation (harness the initiative and efficiency of the private sector).

However, even though new technologies in all sectors are available, this does not mean that they will be employed in a sustainable fashion, nor does it mean that the environment will be recognized in decision-making. Hence the need for other kinds of policies; policies that break the negative links between environment and development.

## 2. **Policies that break the negative links between environment and development:**

- ◆ Targeted regulation and incentives (change the behavior of consumers and producers with market-based incentives where possible; focus on specific types of environmental problems).
- ◆ Improved knowledge (successful projects need to build on indigenous knowledge and improved research methods).
- ◆ Strengthened, accountable institutions (set policies and programs realistically within the administrative capacity of institutions at all levels).
- ◆ Policy coordination across all sectors of government and society (achieve appropriate balance between centralization and decentralization, e.g. national plans and self-enforced policies, coordinate efforts across industry sectors).

## 2.4 Implementing the World Bank's Strategy

Inevitably it is industry which has the technological capacity, management skills and investment capital to achieve an environmentally sustainable economy. This is particularly true in developing countries, where institutions and policies are often inadequate (Flavin and Young 1993; Harrison 1993). On the other hand, much of industry in developing countries cannot meet the challenge because many countries are still industrializing like the West did in the 1950s and 1960s, focusing on resource extraction -- forests, mineral deposits, sources of hydroelectric power. Their desperate attempt to play off large debts often fails to deliver the economic rewards promised and results in long term environmental degradation. According to Flavin and Young (1993:199):

"If the Third World is to join the next Industrial Revolution, basic changes in development plans will be essential, as well as international programs to facilitate the spread of green technologies."

The World Bank's Strategy is essentially a framework for an international program to facilitate sustainable development. Two questions need to be answered. First, why is this kind of a broad framework needed to facilitate the spread of green technologies? Second, can this framework actually implement sustainable development as intended, given the fact that it has been formulated with the technocratic approach? The following discussion explores the need for a broader framework for sustainable development, using the example of an emerging green technology known as "Ecotourism." The final Section of this Chapter then identifies factors that may prevent the World Bank from supporting sustainable development as intended.

## 2.5 Ecotourism and development

According to Boo (1990), ecotourism "...has rapidly evolved from a pastime of a select few, to a range of activities that encompasses many people pursuing a wide range of interests in nature." Appendix 1 shows a recent example of how ecotourism is being used to achieve sustainable development. Members of Earthwatch serve as staff volunteers in expeditions to research sites all over the world, accompanying leading scholars and scientists.

Ecotourism is growing rapidly (one estimate is that ecotourism generates \$30 billion a year), and its growth is being fueled by four major factors. First, and largely the result of global communications, is the increasing concern about environmental problems in general by citizens in most of the world's countries. Gallup's Health of the Planet survey (1993) interviewed over 30,000 people in 24 countries and found that all gave strong support for environmental protection. It was suggested that, as environmental degradation more directly affects human health and welfare, environmental quality will be viewed less and less as a postmaterialist value, and more and more as a basic human need (Dunlap, Gallup & Gallup 1993).

Second, the more specific concern with the severe problems caused by the recent development of large scale tourism helped create interest in ecotourism. Tourist arrivals increased sixteen times from 1950 to 1990, and the World Tourism Organization predicts a further increase of 50 percent to 2000. According to Butler (1991), the problems accompanying this growth include: ignorance of the dimensions, nature and power of tourism; lack of capability to determine the level of sustainable development; lack of ability to manage tourism and control its development; lack of realization that tourism does cause impacts, is an industry, and cannot easily be reversed; lack of appreciation that tourism is dynamic, causing change as well as responding to it; and, lack of agreement over desirable levels of development, necessary control, and preferable direction of tourism.

Third, these concerns can be translated into action because the international tourism industry is sufficiently developed to transport people at relatively low cost and in a relatively short time all over the globe. A sector of the travel and tourism industry has recognized that biodiversity is and can be an immense economic resource and believes that profitable and sustainable economic exploitation of biodiversity is perhaps the best way to save and protect it. It is also recognized that the environmental health of protected areas and the economic health of tourism are inextricably linked (Foundation for the Conservation of Nature, International (FCN) 1993).

Fourth, many protected areas in the world are threatened one way or another, because they cannot afford better management and use of natural resources. The majority of protected areas are undervalued, and the jobs are unattractive because they are underpaid. Those responsible for these areas are interested in making tourism part of the economic base that supports the creation, management and conservation of these areas (FCN 1993).

Although people have travelled to exotic areas of the world for leisure activities since the early 1800's, the practice, planning and principles of ecotourism as a development tool are in their infancy. There is a danger that ecotourism, in an attempt to establish its identity, will take the same route as conventional tourism by defining itself as a self-contained policy area. The following discussion describes a plan by one enterprising ecotourism operator (the Real Estate Investment Overseas Company, or RIOC) to create a nature tourism/science network in Central America, including Nicaragua, Panama and Costa Rica. This example illustrates why ecotourism cannot survive if treated as a self-contained policy area, and why it must work within a broader strategy for achieving sustainable development.

## **The Case of RIOC**

RIOC builds resorts whose physical structures and leisure activities respect and are in harmony with their natural and cultural environments. The activities are chosen create a positive leisure experience and an understanding and respect for nature and the local surroundings. RIOC was founded in 1988 by experts in hospitality planning and operations and European closed real estate investment funds to establish the basis for a sound investment structure.

RIOC recognizes two major market segments in ecotourism. The majority of ecotourists have no specialized interest in wildlife or natural history, but visit protected areas for their natural beauty. This group generates enough tourists to be profitable and socially beneficial, in contrast to the minority of nature tourists who demand the most pristine environment. On the other hand, the latter group demand less capital outlay for services and infra-structure development. The RIOC solution to ecotourism serves both markets.

Based on impact statements and people-centered planning, a vacation village is developed which consists of multiple lodging complexes, a services and support center (restaurants, shops, etc), activity centers and employee housing. It functions as a village and can be integrated with local environment, culture and economy, yet offer the activities tourists want at a resort. The resort's components are broken down into logical components and each component is established as an individual, profit-making business which is tied to the resort through contracts and leases. The resort management company provides training for local owners and staff; assistance in obtaining financing; equipment and initial inventory; quality and price standards; selection, acquisition, and construction of business premises; management and accounting systems; and, advertising, public relations and marketing services. More revenues stay in the community as tourist dollars are spent at locally-owned businesses. This also reduces risk for the resort, since return is based on rent and not operations.

Additional tourist stations are strategically located in adjoining protected areas. These stations, which include an appropriate number of lodging units, education facilities, shops, a restaurant and an airstrip, serve tourists exclusively interested in nature-tourism activities and those tourists who engage in nature-activities as an add-on to their visit. The stations are built in a buffer zone connected to the protected area, which is accessed through locally-guided groups by foot, horseback or boat. Guides are trained through workshops and a video program. Scientific research is also undertaken at the nature stations, which provide access to biodiversity of the protected area to gather biotic samples and prepare them as extracts for screening by other organizations. Revenues come from sales of extracts, sales of rights to identified active compounds, and royalties from commercially developed products (in the pharmaceutical and agrochemical industries). Field work (such as reforestation) is also supported and may involve guests. Indigenous people are compensated for their genetic, species and intellectual resources.

The vacation village and tourism stations are designed to maximize use of renewable energy (such as solar energy and biomass), solid waste recycling, and solar-aquatic wastewater treatment. They incorporate an organic architectural style and landscaping that complements the natural land forms, and use indigenous building materials and signage. The stake the community has in the success of the project ensures self-regulation and avoidance of negative side-effects that accompany tourism projects, such as uncontrolled development, crime and prostitution.

To ensure that the income created through the guide service is directed to assist park management, an independent non-profit company is formed in cooperation with the local communities, government, the Foundation for the Conservation of Nature, and RIOC to manage or own new or undeveloped protected areas, and may be advised by community leaders. One tourist station of 45 lodging units at double occupancy brings 90 visitors, which are supported

by 15 guides (6 visitors per guide) charging a guided tour fee of \$25 per person per day. This creates a daily income of \$2,250, which at 50 percent occupancy yields \$411,750 per year, and at 70 percent \$576,000. A proportion of revenues are reinvested in the community for education and basic services. As tourism demand increases, more land is bought from landowners by investors, and in return landowners receive an equity stake in the development.

It is obvious from the above example (which is not yet a reality) that ecotourism takes a enormous amount of planning and organization. Regardless of this effort, the chances of success are diminished when ecotourism projects are not integrated with a broader, committed strategy for sustainable development. For example, the RIOC project is encountering problems in Costa Rica because the government there is endorsing both ecotourism and conventional mass tourism. A broader strategy is also important for tourism because of the nature of the business. Tourism is fickle and cannot be developed as a monoculture--it must be developed in tandem with other sectors. Tourism businesses are typically small and must be developed as part of a network to survive. Finally, a broader strategy prevents successful ecotourism projects from developing unsustainable tendencies. Therefore, partnerships are essential to the success of ecotourism because they help foster the affirmative business environment needed to support sustainable development.

In spite of the need for partnerships between actors (e.g entrepreneurs, NGO's and MDB's) operating at different levels, these have been very difficult to achieve in practice. The following section explains how institutional contradictions (particularly the technocratic approach) are preventing institutions such as the World Bank from responding effectively to sustainable development. This discussion leads logically to the research question: What implementation problems and issues are anticipated for the World Bank's strategy that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach to development planning?

## SECTION 3: OBSTACLES TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

### 3.1 Introduction

In its World Development Report (1992), the World Bank argued that, for sustainable development to be achieved, major policy, program and institutional shifts would be required. However, there is mounting evidence to suggest that, although the World Bank continues to stress its commitment to the environment, deep institutional and political contradictions prevent it from implementing reform in any meaningful way. This Section discusses the nature of this institutional contradiction.

Even after the World Bank's commitment to widespread environmental reforms in the late 1980's, serious violation of its environmental and social policies took place. In 1989, one month after a 60,000 - strong protest in India, activists testified in the U.S. Congress over the lack of environmental studies and action plans and the social disruption created by the Sardar Sarovar Dam project in India, which would displace 90,000 people. According to Rich (1990:305):

"..the Sardar Sarovar project is only one of literally scores of ongoing and proposed World Bank ecological debacles that have come to congressional and international attention over the last two years - debacles that have occurred despite a tenfold increase in bank environmental staff and a proliferation of new environmental policies, action plans and task forces."

and;

"...the Bank has become an arena where the political, practical, and theoretical difficulties of reconciling economic development with ecological sustainability are most

glaring...Unless these contradictions are resolved, they will continue to inhibit real environmental change."

### **3.2 Development contradictions**

The major contradictions associated with World Bank operations, relations with member governments, the multilateral system, and the global economic environment that inhibit the transition to sustainable development are described below.

#### **A. Operational contradictions**

##### **1. Lack of coordination**

There has been a lack of coordination between the Bank's operations staff, who identify and prepare loans, and its policy, planning and research divisions. Critical economic planning documents in large part do not reflect the existence of the efforts being made regarding the environment (Rich 1990).

##### **2. Overruling of environmental considerations**

Recommendations from the Bank's environmental staff have occasionally been overruled by senior management for political reasons (Ibid).

### **3. Career pressures**

There are career pressures on operations staff to move more money more quickly (creating a bias towards large energy-infrastructure projects). This was exacerbated by the near-doubling of the Bank's lending capacity in 1988 (Ibid).

### **B. Contradictory pressures of member governments**

#### **1. Lending policy**

The U.S. has viewed increased multilateral and private lending to heavily indebted nations as a preferred alternative to forgiving large portions of commercial debt. At least in the short term, structural adjustment programs could channel more money while increasing a country's capacity to pay off debts. However, these programs often heighten pressures to exploit resources in an unsustainable fashion to increase exports (Ibid).

#### **2. Vested interests**

The most powerful vested interests in borrowing countries often resist as a matter of principle any attempts by the Bank to incorporate conditionality and oversight in MDB lending. Environmental advocates in these countries are not powerful enough to pose a real challenge (Ibid).

## **C. Contradictions of the Multilateral System**

### **1. Lack of internal access to documents**

Although a development project may take over two years to prepare, directors are given access to appraisal reports on average only two weeks before they are asked to approve a project (Ibid).

### **2. Lack of accountability**

The Bank, which uses public monies for public purposes, is not directly accountable to civil society within borrower and donor countries, or even fully to the representatives of its member nations. The Bank withholds all written documents prepared in the planning of projects from the public in borrower and donor countries. The lack of transparency and accountability is justified on the grounds that the Bank deals mainly with the nation-state (Ibid).

Although consultation with NGOs is increasing (in 1992 66 of the Bank's 222 projects involved NGO's), Rich argues that in practice, the Bank has not pressured local governments unwilling to involve local populations. Or, public meetings are held to inform people of decisions that have already been made. In any case, argues Rich, "a top-down, technocratic approach prevails in which local peoples are treated merely as 'project-affected populations'." This problem is perpetuated by the Bank's charter, which stipulates that officers and staff base their decisions and actions exclusively on economic considerations (Ibid). This has far-reaching implications. As Cernea (1991:9) has argued:

"..the model adopted in projects that do not put people first clashes with the model

intrinsic to the real social process of development, at the core of which are--simply--its actors. This clash seriously undercuts the effectiveness of projects that attempt to induce and accelerate development."

According to Rich (1990), the World Bank and other multilateral international institutions are caught in a double bind. They are constrained by their modus operandi to treat environmental matters as technical, apolitical matters. This is thought to have serious repercussions for the implementation of sustainable development, whose crucial challenges are political and social in nature. According to Norton (1992):

"An effective environmental policy is one that maximizes multiple values in many levels, not one that can be supported by a single ultimate and universal value."

Sustainable development calls for people-centered planning and decision-making that give much more legitimacy to civil society (Rich 1990).

#### **D. Contradictions of Global Economic Development**

##### **1. Economics and the environment**

Rich argues that the World Bank has enthusiastically embraced the concept of sustainable development without addressing the Brundtland Commission's other imperatives, such as the need to conserve and enhance the resource base and the need to change the quality of growth to one that is less material and energy intensive. Some of these concerns have been addressed in the World Bank's (1992) Strategy for Achieving Sustainable

Development in Developing Countries. The question is whether the World Bank is structured to cope with the fundamental political challenge posed by sustainable development. The epistemological framework for multilateral development institutions, located in developed countries and the capitals of developing countries, has been reified and abstracted from the realities of development (as demonstrated by the traditional view that the Third World is made up of empty space waiting to be developed by outside interests). This framework perpetuates the view that fundamental changes can be managed with economic and technical fixes.

#### **SECTION 4: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH PROBLEM**

Development institutions emerged with their vision for the developing world, which was to convert developing countries to developed countries. However, rapid population growth, environmental degradation and deepening poverty are still reinforcing each other in a downward spiral in many countries. According to the World Bank, per capita GNP had fallen in 49 countries during the eighties, affecting 846 million people. Sustainable development emerged as a transformational concept to bring about the "Third Revolution" - the reconstruction of the material basis of civilization through the integration of economic, social and ecological values. Organized pressure from NGO's, coupled with the internationalization of Third World concerns, forced the World Bank and other MDB's to initiate widespread environmental reforms. The World Bank addressed its critics with its 1992 Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Development.

However, the World Bank's strategy was developed with the inherited technocratic approach, which helped create the problems the new strategy is intended to solve by creating ill-conceived projects based on an ill-informed understanding of development problems. These projects were ill-informed because they overlooked important social and cultural factors that determine the viability of development projects after funding has finished. The technocratic approach is pervasive in development planning in general, as shown by the example of the tourism industry.

Calls for greater emphasis on project quality and the democratization of the development process have not posed a serious challenge to the modus operandi of development policymakers due to theoretical and practical difficulties, and attention has instead focused on the promise of a comprehensive solution through sustainable development. The World Bank's (1992) Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Development in Developing Countries is one example of how development institutions responded to external pressure for reform.

However, there is evidence to suggest that the institutional contradiction persists. Research is now required to explore whether the inherited, technocratic approach to strategy formulation will obstruct the implementation of the new generation of sustainable strategies. Insights into this issue may help MDB's respond to mounting pressures to resolve their conflicting priorities and choose their identity.

### **Research Question**

What implementation problems and issues are anticipated for the World Bank's strategy that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach to development planning?

**CHAPTER 3**  
**METHODOLOGY**

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **Objectives**

The objectives of Chapter 3 are:

1. To describe the assumptions underlying the choice of methodology for this study
2. To describe and justify the methodology used in this study
3. To explain the steps taken to apply the methodology in this study

These objectives are met in three corresponding sections, as follows:

Every research paradigm has its own set of assumptions, rules and criteria. Section 1 briefly describes the research paradigm of constructivism used in this study, and the rules and criteria it uses to establish methodological soundness. This is included to alert the reader that constructivism (which is inherently people-centered) approaches scientific problems differently from the conventional methodological paradigm, and is thought by some to be more suitable for understanding certain kinds of problems than the latter paradigm (it allows the researcher to explore questions that would be more difficult to explore with the conventional, positivist paradigm).

Section 2 starts by introducing "social policy analysis," the body of knowledge from which the methodology of this study was developed. Social policy analysis is a formal term for "people-centered," and provides specific procedures and standards with which to conduct people-centered inquiry of complex policy problems. The discussion then turns to the specific

procedure used in this study; "problem-structuring," the objective of which is to turn a complex and uncertain problem into something manageable. (The complex and uncertain problem in this study involves identifying problems and issues associated with the implementation of the World Bank's Strategy that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach). This is followed by a brief discussion of methodological issues and standards in problem-structuring.

Section 3 details the nine steps taken in this study to apply the problem-structuring procedure and analyze the obtained data to produce the findings reported in Chapter 4.

## **SECTION 1: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

### **1.1 Research Paradigm: Constructivism**

The research paradigm in this study is the emerging paradigm of constructivism, which has been described as offering a workable rationale for performing significant research in human settings and obtaining practical answers to important questions (Erlandson et al 1993). This paradigm accepts a number of key assumptions belonging to most methods used in people-centered inquiry. (Note: the people-centered approach used in this study has evolved more specific standards to guide research, which are explained in Section 2).

1. The ways things are constructed to be and to work depends on the particular human constructor entertaining the ideas. There is not one "true," universal, value-free, single reality but multiple realities. These realities are interrelated, meaning that an understanding of the whole can begin with a holistic investigation of any portion of it.
2. The aim of inquiry is the development of shared constructions among members of a particular group, society, or culture, not the development of generalizations.
3. All studies are value-influenced to an indeterminate degree.
4. Qualitative methods are preferred because they allow for "thick data" to be collected that demonstrate their interrelationship with their context. From this understanding of context, grounded (as opposed to a priori) theory may emerge.
5. Contextual inquiry has its own appropriate rules and criteria for guiding inquiry and assessing its quality. For example, "validity" -- the extent of isomorphism between study findings and the reality they represent, has little meaning when realities are multiple and exist only in people's minds. Tables 3 and 4 describe the rules and criteria for a

constructivist study.

6. In contextual inquiry the instrument of choice is the human instrument, which is less reliable or focused but infinitely adaptable. There are limits to how far research design can be specified in advance because data collection and analysis tend to go in integrated, concurrent steps.
7. In contextual inquiry, findings are created through a joint-effort, not "discovered." Creation takes place through hermeneutic-dialectic interaction between and among the inquirer and stakeholders (e.g. interviewees). This interaction involves a process of destruction and reconstruction, resulting (hopefully) in a consensus that provides stimulus and guidance for action. This final consensus is successful only to the extent that it provides working hypotheses that are useful in directing inquiry in future studies.
8. While both relevance and rigor are important in research, relevance is paramount.

Source: Adapted from Erlandson, D.A. et al (1993). [Doing naturalistic inquiry: A guide to methods](#). London, UK: Sage

In summary, the process of inquiry for the constructivist researcher is people-centered because it is one of developing and verifying shared constructions that will enable the meaningful expansion of knowledge. The following section introduces social policy analysis, which provides standards and tools for putting this into practice in a complex policy setting.

Table 3: Rules and criteria for establishing methodological soundness

Criterion	Constructivist terms	Techniques
1. Truth value	Credibility (internal validity)	<p>Prolonged engagement (study over an extended period of time to temper distortion by researcher's presence)</p> <p>Persistent observation (in-depth investigation to ensure integration of various perspectives rather than choice of one as dominant and objective)</p> <p>Triangulation (use of different sources of data, methods, investigators, theory)</p> <p>Referential adequacy (ensure context-rich materials that provide background meaning to support data analysis, interpretations and audits)</p> <p>Peer debriefing (use of a devil's advocate who is not in an authority relationship with the researcher)</p> <p>Member checks (allow members of stakeholder groups to check categories, interpretations and conclusions)</p> <p>Reflexive journal (a diary of the research experience)</p>
2. Applicability	Transferability (external validity)	<p>Thick description (database from which findings were generated)</p> <p>Purposive sampling (purposively seek both typical and divergent data to maximize the range of information gained about the context)</p> <p>Reflexive journal (as above)</p>
3. Consistency	Dependability (reliability)	<p>Audit (raw data, data reduction and analysis products, data reconstruction and synthesis products, process notes [journal], materials relating to researcher intentions and dispositions, information relating to instrument development)</p> <p>Reflexive journal (as above)</p>
4. Neutrality	Conformability (objectivity)	<p>Audit (as above)</p> <p>Reflexive journal (as above)</p>

Source: Adapted from Erlandson, D.A. et al (1993). Doing Naturalistic Inquiry. London, UK: Sage Publications.

**Table 4: Criteria for establishing authenticity and ethics**

Criteria	
1. Fairness	Ensure equal access of all stakeholder constructions to the process. Renew informed consent obtained at the beginning of the research.
2. Ontological authenticity	Testimony from respondents that they have expanded their own constructions of the world around them by participating in the study.
3. Educative authenticity	Testimony from respondents that they have enhanced their understanding and appreciation of constructions of other stakeholder groups.
4. Catalytic authenticity	Testimony from respondents that they would use their expanded constructions as a basis for decisions and action.
5. Tactical authenticity	Testimony from respondents that they are able to use their expanded constructions as a basis for decisions and action.

Source: Adapted from Erlandson, D.A. et al (1993). *Doing Naturalistic Inquiry*. London, UK: Sage Publications.

## SECTION 3: METHODOLOGY

### 2.1 Social policy analysis

This inquiry is grounded in "social policy analysis," operationalized in this study with a "problem-structuring" technique developed by William N. Dunn at the University of Pittsburgh. Social policy analysis emerged with the objective of better coupling social research with practical problems, and accepts two major theses. First, the search for appropriate diagnoses of policy problems and potential solutions should be a collaborative effort (i.e. people-centered), and second, a specific set of norms and standards are required to assess the quality of this knowledge (van de Vall 1976; 1987; 1991, quoted in Dunn 1993:1).

Dunn's argument is that these two theses are not being heeded in policy analysis because the complexity of contemporary problems is beyond the capability of conventional methods. The mismatch between problem and method is unrealized because policy analysis is technocratic--i.e. it assumes that the assumptions of policy analysts are universally valid. According to Dunn:

"The problem is that most commonly accepted methods for conducting policy analysis assume that the boundaries of complex problems have been adequately defined prior to the analysis of potential solutions for these problems" (Dunn 1993:2).

For example;

"The methodology of cost-benefit analysis comes with explicit instructions to be comprehensive, but provides few procedures for generating the knowledge required to

succeed in this task" (Ibid).

Cost-benefit analysis enables calculations of net benefits for a well-bounded set of alternatives, but cannot and will not generate the policy goals, phases and instruments that should be included in the set (Dunn 1986:725). Conventional methods such as input-output analysis, linear and non-linear programming, the delphi technique, macro and microeconomic analysis, land-use analysis, game theory and system dynamics are only appropriate for direct application to relatively "well-structured" problems, about which enough is known so that problems can be formulated in ways that are susceptible to precise analytic methods of attack" (Mitroff 1974:224, quoted in Dunn 1986:72).

However, development problems are rarely well-structured, simply because they are not just technical problems but are "...unrealized needs and values, or opportunities for improvement, that may be achieved through public action" (Dunn 1993:4). Policy problems are systemic, socially constructed, subjective and dynamic (Dunn 1993:12; Berger and Luckman 1967; Churchman 1971). Such problems can be described as being "ill-structured."

Chapters 1 and 2 demonstrated that the problem of implementing sustainable development is ill-structured in nature. The definition, meaning, and operationalization of sustainable development is a topic of lively discussion among researchers and practitioners and accounts for many of the problems experienced in trying to reach some kind of a consensus. For example, there is considerable disagreement over whether or not the language of development should be changed now that sustainable development has moved center-stage. Labels given for different kinds of countries are a case in point. Some (such as the World Bank) prefer to maintain the traditional distinction between "developed" and "developing" countries. Others now argue that the term "developing" should be discarded in favor of "non-industrialized" because developed countries may not be a suitable model for other countries.

The technocratic approach to strategy formulation treats these kinds of ill-structured problems as well-structured problems. To use the above example, the technocratic approach would not recognize alternative ways of describing countries. When the technocratic approach is used, the assumptions of value-neutrality and objectivity make it impossible to enter the "phenomenological worlds" of policy stakeholders; representations of problems and solutions by stakeholders are devalued; methods used ignore or are unable to investigate how stakeholders construct social meanings and how knowledge claims are contested; and, conventional methods cannot approximate the boundaries of ill-structured problems (Dunn 1988). According to Dunn (1988), when technocratic methods are used to define ill-structured problems, a "type III error" may be made. A type III error is made when the solution fails to solve the problem because the problem has been defined wrongly in the first place (Hogwood and Peters 1985; Ackoff 1974; Mitroff, Mason and Barabba 1983).

The problem of inappropriate methodology is not just confined to policy analysis. In Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis Burrell and Morgan (1979:399) concluded that:

"The problem of developing methods appropriate to the nature of the phenomena to be studied remains one of the most pressing issues within the whole realm of social science research."

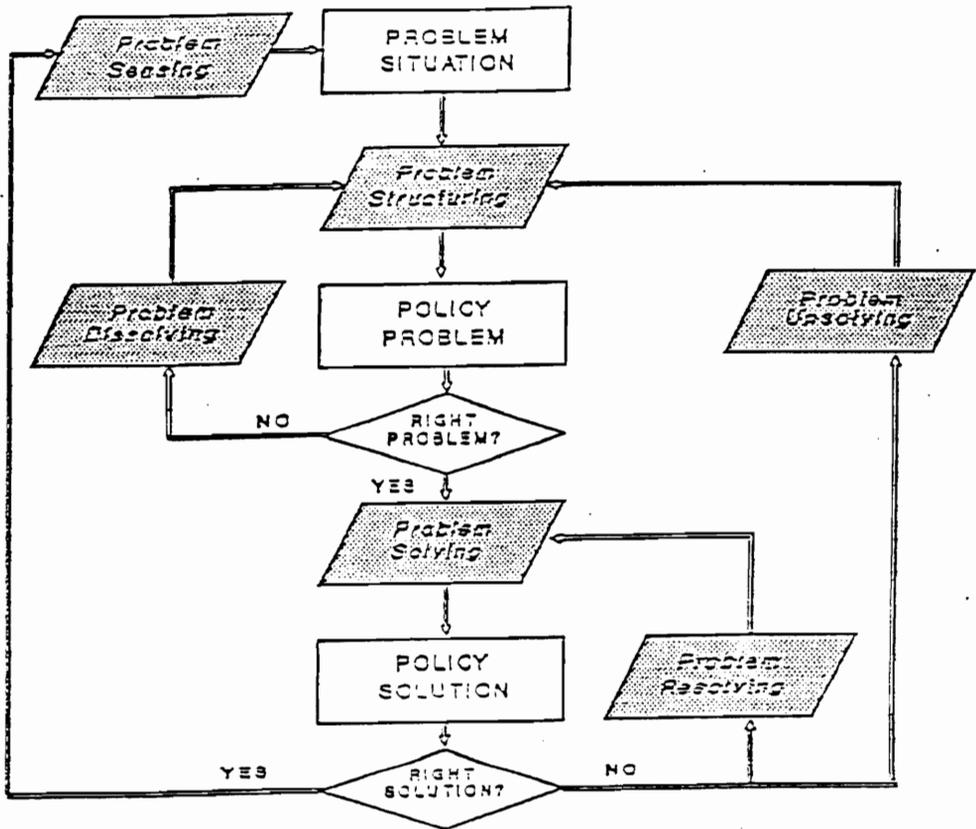
In order to avoid type III errors from being made, Dunn argues that conventional techniques such as cost-benefit analysis need to be preceded and followed by problem structuring techniques. Problem structuring and its role in policy analysis is explained below.

## 2.2 Problem Structuring

In social policy analysis, problem-structuring takes priority over problem solving in an arrangement characterized by feedback loops and cycles (see Figure 2). From this perspective, policy analysis is a series of interdependent cycles embedded in a hierarchy of inquiry, in which problem-solving depends on conclusions reached earlier on, at higher levels of the process. The highest level is problem-sensing, which refers to signs of a problem situation. Problem-structuring turns this situation into a defined policy problem by searching and evaluating competing problem representations of multiple policy stakeholders. How the problem is defined then determines how it is solved.

Problem-structuring is like a central guidance system which affects all subsequent phases of policy analysis (Dunn 1993:6). During problem-structuring, every stakeholder is viewed a "personal scientist" (Mancuso and Shaw 1988). Each person classifies, categorizes and theorizes about his or her world, anticipates on the basis of these theories and acts on the basis of his or her anticipation. After experiencing events (which may or may not be affected by his or her actions) the personal scientist fits this experience to his or her model, which is then reviewed or revised (Mancuso and Shaw 1988:20). This model is accessible through "personal constructs," which are the unit of analysis for understanding people's frames of reference (Holzner and Marz 1979), also referred to as cognitive maps (Axelrod 1976) and construction systems (Dunn, Cahill, Dukes and Ginsberg 1986). These concepts originate in cognitive anthropology and personal construct psychology (Kelly 1955).

When applied to a policy context, this "constructivist view" suggests that important policy information does not exist independently of people's reference frames and these reference frames are impossible to anticipate in complex situations. The frames are interdependent and constantly evolving due to incremental policy learning. From this point of view, ill-structured



Source: Dunn (1995)

Figure 2: Problem structuring in policy analysis

problems are tangled networks of competing problem formulations that are socially constructed and distributed as well as dynamic (Dunn 1986:723).

The objective of most problem-structuring techniques is to transform uncertain problems into something more manageable (cf. Simon 1973; Ackoff 1974) so rational choice is possible. However, it is critical that the boundaries of problems, as defined by the interpretations of relevant stakeholders, are properly defined. The implications of this were explained by Dunn (1993:10):

"A critical task of problem structuring is estimating whether a system of individual problem formulations (a metaproblem) is relatively complete."

This task has methodological implications, which are discussed below.

### **1.5 Methodological Issues in Problem Structuring**

There are some methodological problems with most problem structuring techniques. Some approaches (such as brainstorming) are metaphorical and are hard to operationalize for practical policy settings (Dunn 1993:9). Other problem-structuring techniques take a collaborative approach to knowledge creation but fail to estimate whether a system of individual problem formulations or interpretations is relatively complete (for short of meeting the standards set for the generation of usable knowledge. In other words, they do not meet the standards of "transferability" described in Table 3 above. According to Dunn (1991:9):

"...there really is no expert community which is a good source of problem-structuring and advice."

Dunn (1986) suggested that methods for problem structuring can be assessed for their ability to approximate the boundaries of policy problems according to the principle of methodological congruence: The appropriateness of a particular type of method is a function of its congruence with the type of problem under investigation. Dunn developed a set of standards for estimating the boundaries of policy problems under conditions of uncertainty and complexity. These standards and their implications are explained below.

#### **2.4 Standards for Usable Knowledge Creation: "The Four C's"**

Four criteria (the 4 C's) must be satisfied so that a) the full range of interpretations of a problem is approximated, and b) checks can be employed to ensure the "completeness" of information gathered from a system of stakeholders. These criteria are:

**Character:** The unit of analysis must be the "problem representations" of each participant in the study. These should be investigated using an open-ended, question-and-answering (an "erotetic" or "discovery") rationality as opposed to a closed, (confirmatory) rationality which would exist in a structured survey format.

**Coordination:** Problem-representations are part of an interconnected "system of interpretation" (Hecl 1976), which cannot be investigated with random sample. A random sample would ignore the relational nature of interpretations in a system. A non-probability sampling procedure is required to sample the entire system of interpretation. This technique begins with a set of individuals who are believed to differ in their perceptions of problems due to differences in roles, experiences and functions. These people are interviewed face-to-face or by telephone to elicit ideas, perspectives, arguments, claims, assumptions and variables. At the end of the interview

the interviewee is asked to name one person who would agree strongly with their perspective and one who would disagree. The interview process is continued until no new information is obtained (see Cost-effectiveness below).

**Correctness-in-Limit:** This standard is important for problem boundary estimation. In order to estimate the boundaries of a problem, problem representations must be converted into "personal constructs" through content analysis and new (non-repetitive) constructs plotted on a frequency distribution until "saturation point" (the point at which the plotted curve levels off). At saturation point we can state that the boundaries of a problem have been approximated (thus meeting the criterion of transferability).

**Cost-Effectiveness:** The costs of making an estimate of the boundaries of a problem must be reasonable given resource constraints. Experience has shown that no new constructs are normally yielded after 15-25 interviews. More complex problems will probably require nearer to 25 interviews because there will be more interpretations.

The following section explains how Dunn's problem-structuring procedure was used to apply the World Bank's Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Development in Developing Countries to the tourism industry.

## SECTION 3: THE STUDY

### Introduction

The research question explored in this study is:

What implementation problems and issues are anticipated for the World Bank's strategy that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach to development planning?

This researcher could not ask the interviewees directly what they thought of World Bank development planning, because this would have weighted the results in favor of the hypothesis that the technocratic approach to sustainable development strategy formulation creates development strategy content that probably cannot be implemented as intended. In order to properly operationalize the research question, interviewees were asked to provide the following (in the order shown):

1. An overall assessment of the World Bank's strategy and its usefulness to the tourism industry.
2. The potential role of tourism in implementing each of the nine components of the World Bank's strategy.
3. Obstacles that may prevent the potential roles identified above from being realized.
4. Issues that need to be addressed in the future.

The theoretical link between strategy formulation, content and implementation led the researcher to expect that answers to the above questions would include problems and issues

anticipated for the World Bank's strategy that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach. These problems and issues were elicited through a series of nine consecutive steps (Table 5), summarized below.

Materials (including a World Bank videotape) and questions were sent to a pilot sample (Step 1), were then refined (Step 2) and sent to the remaining participants (Step 3). Interviews were transcribed (Step 4) and sent back to participants for verification and amendment (Step 5). In order to satisfy the standards set forth by Dunn for problem-structuring, responses were then converted into personal constructs (Step 6) and analyzed to determine if the information obtained from the interviewees (the "sustainable tourism system of interpretation") was relatively complete (Step 7). Once it was clear that most of the important information had probably been obtained, it was then possible to move on to Step 8, which analyzed and reduced the obtained data in several stages, each following directly from the last, culminating in a specific response to the research question of this study (Step 9).

### **3.1 Steps in the research process**

#### **Step 1: Sent materials to pilot sample**

The in-depth, semi-structured interview was used in this study, to satisfy the criterion of "Character." Three individuals were chosen for the pilot study who were believed to differ in their perceptions of problems due to differences in roles, experiences and functions (one academic, one industry operator, one non-government director and consultant). Prior to being interviewed, these specialists read a cover letter and description of the World Bank strategy, watched a videotape produced by the World Bank, and prepared their answers to research questions. The videotape explained the nine component strategies of the World Bank's Strategy for Achieving

**Table 5: Steps in Research Process**

Steps 1-9	Description	Reference
	<p><u>Data collection:</u></p>	
STEP 1	Sent materials to pilot sample	Appendix 2
STEP 2	Refined materials and sampling procedure	Appendix 3
STEP 3	Conducted in-depth interviews	
STEP 4	Transcribed data	Appendix 4
STEP 5	Members checked data	
STEP 6	Content analyzed data into personal constructs	Appendix 5
STEP 7	Estimated problem-boundaries	Appendix 6
	<p><u>Data analysis:</u></p>	
STEP 8	A. Data analysis by World Bank strategy	Appendix 7
	B. Data analysis by conceptual framework	Chapter 4
	C. Data analysis by policy level	Chapter 4
STEP 9	Response to research question	Chapter 4

Sustainable Development in Developing Countries (1992). The videotape helped each interviewee gain a more complete understanding of the World Bank's intentions for each component strategy. Before applying these nine component strategies to tourism, each individual provided an overall assessment of the World Bank's strategy and its usefulness in a tourism context.

### **Step 2: Refined materials and sampling procedure**

The only change to the instrument was a request by an academic that a definition of terms be included in the materials sent (materials are shown in Appendix 2). Since the instrument itself did not change, the researcher decided to include responses from the three individuals in the pilot study in the body of data to be analyzed. The major contribution of the pilot study was in making sampling decisions. The industry representative expressed the opinion that most industry operators unfamiliar with sustainable development would not be able to comprehend the World Bank's strategy, let alone apply it to the tourism industry (a view that was re-affirmed in later interviews). The feedback of the NGO director/consultant was also significant. This individual suggested that it would be very difficult for experts with no knowledge of tourism to provide any useful insights into the usefulness of the World Bank's strategy in tourism (this view was also re-affirmed during later interviews). The outcome of the pilot study was a the decision to include only those individuals who had direct experience and/or knowledge of both tourism and sustainable development.

### **Step 3: In-depth interviews**

Site and sample selection decisions were made to satisfy the criterion of "Coordination."

The system of interpretation in this study is defined as people who have managed, operated, invested in, advised or researched sustainable tourism development. Respondents were drawn purposively from five stakeholder groups (5 academics, 7 industry operators, 5 consultants, 8 non-government organizations) and were located in Europe (England) and the United States (but all of them had direct experience and/or knowledge of tourism development in developing countries). The method of sampling used was "purposive sampling." According to Patton (1990:169):

"The logic and power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of research.." (quoted in Erlandson et al 1991:82).

Purposive and directed sampling increases the range of data exposed and maximizes the researcher's ability to identify emerging themes that take adequate account of contextual conditions and cultural norms (Erlandson et al 1991:82). Random or representative sampling is not used because the major concern is not to generalize the findings to a broad population but to maximize discovery of heterogeneous patterns and problems. The procedure for purposive sampling was based on emergent design. The only a priori decision made was to achieve a reasonable balance between stakeholder groups and to satisfy the criteria for inclusion in the study, which were that the participant must speak English and have managed, operated, invested in, advised and/or researched sustainable tourism development. The decision to stop the sampling process was made when the criteria of Correctness-in-limit and Cost-effectiveness were satisfied.

Sets of individuals representing each stakeholder group (academics, industry,

consultants, non-government organizations) were interviewed face-to-face or by telephone. The advantage of the telephone interview is that the researcher is not physically present in the context of the study, thus minimizing the possibility of distortion. The disadvantage of the telephone interview is that most interviews were only 40 minutes in duration (the range being 15 minutes to 2.5 hours), which restricted opportunities for persistent, in-depth observation. At the end of each interview the interviewees were asked to name one person who would agree strongly with their perspective and one who would disagree. Most interviewees could name others in the field (which helped in making purposive sampling decisions), but were usually unable to determine how far these others agreed or disagreed. This is explained by the fact that sustainable tourism development is a relatively new phenomenon. Interviewees were also asked to provide or recommend documents or artifacts that helped explain their position. Academics provided their own research papers and reports and recommended others. Industry executives provided ecotourism brochures. These referential materials helped protect the credibility of the study.

A preliminary analysis of each potential interviewee's organization, background and role was conducted during the first telephone call, in order to determine whether each individual was suited for participation in this study and to satisfy the criterion of fairness. Each interviewee was asked to repeat this information before the actual interview so as to "break the ice" and provide recorded information that could be relevant in understanding a participant's position regarding the research questions. After the study's purpose and the researcher's motives and intentions were explained, data were recorded on original field notes and on audio cassettes (where interviewees agreed to do so) and organized per interviewee and round of interviews. In addition, notes were kept on important issues and events, particularly those methodological in nature. A summary of the background and orientation of each participant is provided in Appendix 3.

#### **Step 4: Transcription**

Data were transcribed by a research fellow from the Durrell Institute in Virginia and then checked against the original recordings by this researcher.

#### **Step 5: Member checking**

Interviewees were mailed a printed copy of the interview and were asked to add to, delete or amend the researcher's summary as necessary and sign an authorization permitting the researcher to quote any part of the amended document for publication purposes (example shown in Appendix 4). After two successive mailings (the second mailing including a fountain pen as an incentive for participation), 22 of the 25 respondents returned these summaries. The remaining 3 individuals could not be reached because they were overseas. One of the returned summaries included a letter from an academic, which did not authorize use of their responses for publication. The reason given was that this individual was unable to spend enough time thinking about the issues prior to the interview.

For the most part, this study satisfied the rules and criteria for establishing authenticity and ethics (Table 4). Although the leap from tourism to the World Bank's strategy was a difficult one, almost all respondents commented that they had learned a great deal from participating and had enhanced their understanding of what the World Bank is doing to further the cause of sustainable development. This helped bridge the gap between tourism and development, but did not necessarily provide a basis for decisions and action, because many of the respondents took issue with the World Bank's strategy. Some respondents gained tactical advantages from participating by being able to use the World Bank's video in their future activities. All were interested in receiving a summary of the results of the study, which was promised them by the

researcher.

### **Step 6: Content analysis of data into personal constructs**

This researcher read and content-analyzed the transcribed and member-checked interviews to unitize the data into "personal constructs," thereby satisfying Dunn's criterion of "Correctness-in-limit." According to Manheim and Rich (1991:160-161) content analysis is:

"The systematic counting, assessing, and interpreting of the form and substance of communication. Content analysis provides us with a method--really a set of methods--by which we may summarize fairly rigorously certain direct physical evidences of the behaviors of, and the relationships between, various types of political actors."

The raw data were summarized with the objective of making the data manageable for further analysis. The decision rule used to create these constructs was "identify each idea and summarize it as far as is possible without distorting its original meaning." Content analysis was chosen for this study because it is one of the techniques recommended by Dunn (1993) for this kind of research, and also because it is a technique with which this researcher is very familiar. It was also at this stage that "peer debriefing" was employed, in which this researcher's interpretation of personal constructs was challenged (this peer being Aura Syed, Ph.D. candidate in public policy, Virginia Tech). The resultant constructs are included in Appendix 5.

### **Step 7: Estimation of problem-boundaries**

The estimation of problem boundaries (to satisfy Dunn's criterion of "Correctness-in-

limit") is the final stage in the problem structuring procedure. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the objective of problem-boundary estimation is to ensure, before proceeding to data analysis, that most of the important information from the system of interpretation has been obtained (it is equivalent to a validity check). There were ten problems for which boundaries had to be estimated--the overall assessment of the World Bank's strategy and its usefulness to tourism, and tourism's role in implementing each of the nine components of the World Bank's strategy (Appendix 6).

Estimation of the problem boundaries in Appendix 6 consisted of four stages, which are explained below. The first stage in problem boundary estimation was to group the constructs generated in Step 6 into the ten problem groups (Table 6). For example, constructs from all 25 participants on the potential role of tourism in removing inefficient and environmentally damaging subsidies, the obstacles to fulfillment of the roles identified, and issues to be addressed in the future, were grouped together. This created ten problem groups.

The second stage in problem-boundary estimation was to rank the interviewees within each of the above ten groups based on the number of constructs they generated. For example, the interviewee who generated the most constructs for the strategy "remove inefficient and environmentally damaging subsidies" was ranked first. Participants who provided only one construct were ranked last (and those who provided no constructs at all were excluded). In the case of a tie (for example, if two participants both generated five constructs), the participant who was interviewed first was ranked first. This second stage resulted in ten groups of rank-ordered interviews, based on the number of constructs generated by each interviewee.

The third stage in problem-boundary estimation was to determine the number of new (non-repetitive) constructs generated by each interviewee (it is these new constructs that were plotted on the frequency distributions shown in Appendix 6). This was done by reading through the constructs generated by each interviewee (in the order described above) and recording only

**Table 6: Ten Problem Groups**

Group 1:	Overall assessment of World Bank Strategy and its applicability to the tourism industry.
Group 2:	Remove inefficient and environmentally damaging subsidies.
Group 3:	Improve evaluation of natural resources.
Group 4:	Clarify property rights.
Group 5:	Accelerate education and better natural resource management.
Group 6:	Invest in water and sanitation.
Group 7:	Change behavior of consumers and producers.
Group 8:	Improve knowledge.
Group 9:	Strengthen institutions.
Group 10:	Coordinate policy.

Note: Interviews were ranked within each of the above groups, based on the number of constructs generated (interview with most constructs was ranked 1). Interviews were then studied in rank-order to determine how many new (non-repetitive) constructs were generated by each interviewee.

the number of constructs which had not been thought of by the previous interviewees in each of the ten groups studied. This resulted in a list of the number of new (as opposed to total) constructs generated by each participant for each of the ten groups of problems.

The fourth stage in problem-boundary estimation was to plot the new (non-repetitive) constructs on the 10 frequency distribution curves shown in Appendix 6. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, Dunn estimates that saturation point (where no new information is obtained and the curve levels off) should occur after plotting between 15 and 25 interviews. In this study nine of the ten curves levelled off after between 17 and 21 interviews, meaning that most of the important information from the sustainable tourism development system of interpretation had probably been obtained in this study. More interviews could have been conducted to level off the one curve which did not saturate. This researcher decided this was not cost-effective and would have added unnecessary complexity to the study.

The intention in the original study proposal was to send the constructs generated from this study to a new round of interviewees, in order to identify any remaining constructs that had not been captured in the initial data collection process. However, in a personal conversation, William Dunn advised against this. The reason given was that this procedure would fundamentally change the nature of the study. He argued that the results of interviews should not form the basis for further interviews, but should instead be kept independent of each other. This would prevent "personal construct contamination."

Having established that the problem boundaries, as defined by the sustainable tourism system of interpretation, had probably been defined properly through the problem-structuring process, it was now possible to move on to data analysis. The following discussion described how this was carried out. Chapter 4 then describes the results of this analysis.

## **Step 8: Data analysis**

The objective of this section is to describe how this study analyzed the data in Appendix 5 to identify important strategy implementation issues and problems that might be attributable to use of the technocratic approach to development planning. Following an introduction to the nature of data analysis in a constructivist study, this section describes the stages through which the data obtained through in-depth interviews was transformed to respond to the research question.

### **Data analysis in a constructivist study**

According to Schatzman and Strauss (1973), "Probably the most fundamental operation in the analysis of qualitative research data is that of discovering significant classes of things, persons and events and the properties which characterize them" (p.108-110). Qualitative data analysis builds theory--it is a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data (Marshall and Rossman 1989). Each stage in data analysis involves data reduction and data interpretation (Ibid). Although data analysis is explained here as a separate section, this study confirmed that data analysis is a progression, rather than a stage--it started during the first interview and developed inductively as data was analyzed and sorted into categories that provided descriptive and inferential meaning about the context being studied. The objective of data analysis was to make sense of the data in ways which would facilitate the continuing unfolding of the inquiry and lead to a maximal understanding of the problem context being studied.

## **Steps in data analysis**

The objective of data analysis was to identify problems and issues relating to implementation of the World Bank's strategy. In order to do this, data in Appendix 5 had first to be content-analyzed, reduced, and sub-categorized where necessary to create a more manageable format. Step 8 (a) (Data analysis by World Bank strategy) accomplished this using the procedure of "emergent category designation" (Lincoln and Guba 1985). The data in Appendix 5 was converted to the data shown in Appendix 7 through the following steps:

1. Read the first construct in each of the ten groups of constructs in Appendix 5. Summarize the construct without unduly fragmenting its structure.
2. Read the second construct in each of the ten groups of constructs in Appendix 5. Summarize the construct without unduly fragmenting its structure. Add the summarized construct to the same category as the first if its content has the same tacit feel. Otherwise, create a new category.
3. Proceed in this fashion until all constructs have been assigned to categories (use existing or develop new category titles that become decision rules that distinguish each category from the others).
4. Start over (allow new categories to emerge and old categories to dissipate as empty sets).

Thus, Appendix 7 is different from Appendix 5 because the original constructs have been reduced and sub-categorized using the procedure described above. This process of emergent category designation was one of trial and error. Having analyzed the data by World Bank strategy, it was then possible to move to the second stage (Step 8 (b)) of data analysis. This

second stage took the categories and the data from the first stage and re-organized them according to the strategy formulation-content-implementation framework developed in Chapter 2. This stage is described below.

### **Step 8 (b): Data analysis by conceptual framework**

As discussed above, the objective of data analysis was to identify implementation problems and issues that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach. The task of Step 8 (b) was to further reduce the constructs in Step 8 (a) and to re-categorize them depending on where they fitted into the conceptual framework of this study. This enabled the researcher to distinguish implementation issues from content and formulation issues. (Note: this step in data analysis emerged after it was clear that the data produced in Step 8 (a) could not be used to respond to the research question of this study). Using "emergent category designation," a process of trial and error resulted four categories: a) strategy formulation and content, b) strategy implementation, c) obstacles to strategy implementation, and d) other strategic issues.

The questions asked in each interview had been confined to strategy implementation. As expected, most of the responses given were implementation-related, although some formulation and content issues were raised in participants' overall assessment of the World Bank strategy. However, there was an unexpected diversity in the implementation issues raised. Although participants had been asked to apply the World Bank's strategy to the tourism industry, responses were not confined to this industry, but seemed to extend to many other actors in development. This created a problem in responding to the research question in a meaningful fashion, because there was no obvious pattern to these findings. In a constructivist study, the major objective of data analysis is to form a connection between the constructions provided by

each interviewee--to reach a consensus. In this case, a consensus needed to be found on where and for whom the World Bank's strategy was useful and where and for whom it was less useful. This would require the use of a framework that would help locate the strategic issues identified in Step 8 (b) into the context of non-industrialized countries.

The researcher recalled a possible solution to this problem from one of the interviews conducted for this study (with a development consultant), and returned to the original interview transcripts to investigate. As he assessed the World Bank's strategy and applied it to the tourism industry, this consultant had employed a simple policy framework which he said was commonly used in development projects (his background included the Peace Corps, U.S. Agency for International Development, U.S. Department of Agriculture). Components of this framework have been discussed and documented in the development literature by practitioners and researchers, such as Bill Mollison (1990), author of Permaculture: A practical guide for a sustainable future.

This framework recognizes the existence of three interrelated domains or policy levels within non-industrialized countries. In each of these domains processes of exchange operate on different terms because the constructions of actors are different in each domain. This framework provided a means for understanding implementation issues identified in Step 8 (b) that did and did not relate specifically to the tourism industry. In summary, Step 8 (c) consisted of locating the findings of Step 8 (b) in one of the following three policy levels:

#### **The "parastatal level"**

This level consists of the state, international and national development institutions and agencies, semi-privately owned organizations and non-government organizations.

### **The "formal economic sector"**

According to Mollison (1990:536), "Formal' means that goods and services are conducted under a legal umbrella, and are regulated by accounting procedures. Exchange is accounted for in terms of stocks or services. Formal economics are necessary where managers act for a group of members or investors, not just for themselves or their households. Legal procedures must also be followed by selfemployed people or family businesses, where cash is received for goods or services rendered or offered publicly." Formal structures exist within and outside communities. Local, regional, national and international tourism organizations and businesses which connect communities to external trading systems are the focus of the formal economic sector in this study.

### **The non-formal (or informal) economic sector**

The non-formal economic sector refers to the intuitively organized side of communities, where the mass of business is done in developing countries. This is often labelled "third world" because it is not organized by "modern" standards. This sector operates predominantly in rural and neighborhood areas, where people are more likely to know each other. At the household level, people exchange garden products and plants, share labor, and exchange goods and services. Some activities (such as labor exchange) are coordinated on a community level. In addition to barter, the non-formal economy includes purely volunteer labor, exchanges of gifts (e.g. of time as advisors or entertainers), and taking responsibility for a certain community project or area (e.g. adoption by a household by a few acres of a community forest). (Mollison 1990:536). Here, social accounting replaces fiscal accounting (the system is based on reciprocation). Only in very mobile societies does money start to replace fair dealing, but even

in fiscal societies barter and exchange are highly developed (a trend that has accelerated as faith in the fiscal system has diminished).

By locating the findings of the previous stage in data analysis in the context of non-industrialized countries, it was possible to address the strategy implementation issue with greater specificity. For example, it was possible not only to identify implementation problems and issues that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach, but also to identify how these issues and problems were distributed in non-industrialized countries. This would be useful in explaining why as well as where implementation problems and issues existed. Once Step 8 (c) had been completed, all that was required was to synthesize the findings and respond to the research question.

#### **Step 9: Response to research questions**

The final procedure synthesized the findings from the previous stage in data analysis to answer the research question of this study and respond to this study's guiding hypothesis that:

The technocratic approach formulates strategy that probably cannot be implemented as intended.

This procedure involved synthesizing the findings at each policy level for all components of the World Bank's strategy, to create a summary of the major implementation problems and issues at each policy level that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach to development strategy formulation.

## **3.2 Summary**

This chapter described the methodology used for exploring the research question. Section 1 explained the assumptions underlying this methodology. Section 2 discussed the methodology and its operationalization. Section 3 demonstrated how the methodology was used in this study. Steps 1-7 applied a problem-structuring procedure from social policy analysis and indicated that most of the important information on implementation problems and issues from the sustainable tourism system of interpretation had been collected in this study. Steps 8-9 then analyzed the obtained data to identify implementation problems and issues that might arise at three different policy levels when the World Bank's strategy is employed in non-industrialized countries. Chapter 4 describes the data and then shows the results of data analysis Steps 8 (a-c).

**CHAPTER 4**  
**RESULTS**

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

#### **Objectives**

The objectives of this Chapter are:

1. To profile the data obtained in this study
2. To show how the data was analyzed to respond to the research question of this study

These objectives are met in two sections. Section 1 profiles the data obtained in this study. Section 2 shows how the data was analyzed to respond to the research question of this study.

## SECTION 1: DATA PROFILE

### 1.1 Data Profile

As was discussed in Chapter 3, twenty-five interviews were conducted for this study with persons who have managed, operated, invested in, advised and/or researched sustainable tourism development. Respondents were drawn purposively from five stakeholder groups (5 academics, 7 industry operators, 5 consultants, 8 non-government organizations). As was discussed in Chapter 3, the responses of each interviewee to the three research questions asked were content-analyzed into personal constructs, which were then organized by World Bank strategy (Appendix 6). These constructs relate to the potential role of tourism in implementing each component of the World Bank's strategy, the obstacles that may prevent these roles from being fulfilled, and other issues that need to be addressed in the future. Participants were also asked to provide an overall assessment of the World Bank's strategy and its applicability to the tourism industry. It is from the responses to these questions that implementation problems and issues that might be explained by use of the technocratic approach were identified.

The first row of Table 7 shows the total number of constructs generated by each participant (T); the number of constructs generated by each participant for the overall assessment of the World Bank's strategy and its applicability to the tourism industry (1); and the number of constructs generated by each participant for each strategy component (2-10). The first column of Table 7 shows the last names of each participant, in the order in which they were interviewed.

As can be seen from Table 7, there was a wide range in the number of constructs generated by the participants (from 2 to 47). The number of constructs generated for each component strategy did not vary as greatly. Excepting one outlier ("Improve knowledge and

**Table 7: Constructs generated by participants**

Key:

- T Total constructs generated by each stakeholder
- 1 Constructs generated for overall assessment of World Bank's strategy
- 2-10 Constructs generated for nine components of World Bank's strategy

NAME	T	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
CATER	43	2	4	8	6	6	4	4	3	3	3
MCWFORTH	14	1	1	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	-
SINCLAIR	16	2	1	3	2	1	3	1	1	1	1
ALLENDER	15	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	2	-	1
BALLANTINE	25	-	5	5	2	3	3	3	1	2	1
WEBER	47	3	3	4	3	7	4	5	5	7	6
PATTERSON	18	1	4	-	1	3	2	1	1	3	2
CONLON	29	2	4	4	5	5	3	2	2	1	1
CHRIST	11	3	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	2
VASS	28	2	3	2	3	4	-	9	1	2	2
GRASSE	13	1	3	1	-	2	1	1	1	2	1
OLSON	16	4	2	2	-	2	-	-	1	-	5
MCNULTY	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BOO	25	3	3	2	4	2	3	3	2	2	1
SELBY	15	3	2	-	1	-	2	3	1	3	-
D'AMORE	5	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	2
ANZOLA	21	1	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	3
HARVEY	25	1	2	2	4	7	2	2	1	1	3
NEILAN	20	2	-	-	4	2	4	2	1	3	2
HOLLAND	26	-	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	3	4
NELSON-PALMAYER	7	3	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-
DONNELLY	15	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	-	2	-
LADOW	12	-	-	2	1	1	1	2	-	3	2
MCGREGOR	28	1	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	4	3
UTTAL	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>TOTAL</u>	480	47	51	47	46	60	48	57	33	46	45

make the development planning process more transparent" only generated 33 constructs), the number of constructs generated only varied by 15, ranging from 45 to 60. Strategies that generated the most constructs were "Accelerate education and better natural resource management" and "Change the behavior of producers and consumers through targeted regulation and incentives." The total number of constructs generated was 480. The mean number of constructs generated was 19.

As was discussed in Chapter 3, only new (non-replicated) constructs were plotted on the ten frequency distributions used to estimate whether the problem boundaries had been properly defined prior to data analysis. Table 8 compares the total number of constructs (repetitive and non-repetitive) with the number of non-repetitive constructs. This table shows that 125 (26 percent) of the 480 constructs generated were shared by more than one participant; the remaining 74 percent were unique constructs. It appears that the more contentious and specific issues (such as subsidy removal and clarification of property rights) generated more non-repetitive constructs, reflecting the wide range of positions taken on these issues. On the other hand, the more familiar and general issues (such as accelerating education, providing water and sanitation, and strengthening institutions) did not generate as much diversity of interpretation. This would seem to indicate that, if all the World Bank's strategies had been as specific and contentious as the topics of subsidies and property rights, more non-repetitive constructs would have been generated and it would have taken another round of interviews to generate the constructs needed to increase the repetition level and cause the frequency distribution curves to level off.

## **Summary**

Section 1 provided a descriptive profile of the data obtained in this study. The overall

**Table 8: Comparison of total and non-repetitive constructs**

<b>World Bank strategy and components</b>	<b>Total (repetitive and non-repetitive constructs)</b>	<b>Non-repetitive constructs</b>	<b>Difference</b>
1 Overall assessment	47	34	-13
2 Subsidies	51	45	-6
3 Natural resources	47	39	-8
4 Property rights	46	38	-8
5 Education	60	37	-23
6 Water & sanitation	48	32	-16
7 Behavior change	57	43	-14
8 Knowledge	33	22	-11
9 Institutions	46	31	-15
10 Coordination	45	34	-11
<b>Total</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>355</b>	<b>-125</b>

conclusion of this section is that, the more complex and contentious the issues being investigated, the greater the diversity of interpretation and the greater the demands placed on the research process. Section 2 explores the substance in the constructs generated, identifying patterns and relationships that enabled this study to address its research question.

## **SECTION 2: RESULTS OF DATA ANALYSIS**

The results of the data analysis are presented below in three subsections, corresponding with data analysis stages (b) and (c) of Step 8, and the synthesis in Step 9 (both of Section 3, Chapter 3). Section 2.1 organizes the construct data according to the strategy formulation, content and implementation framework described in previous chapters. Section 2.2 identifies implementation problems and issues by policy level. Section 2.3 synthesizes the data from the previous subsection to address the research question of this study. Chapter 5 then discusses these findings and their implications, identifies limitations of this study, and makes recommendations for future research.

## **2.1 Data analysis by conceptual framework**

This section describes the major strategy formulation, content and implementation issues identified by this study's sample, which was the task of Step 8 (b). As was discussed in Chapter 3, this involved reducing the constructs in Step 8 (a) and re-categorizing them depending on where they fitted into the conceptual framework of this study. This enabled the researcher to distinguish implementation issues from content and formulation issues. (Note: this step in data analysis emerged after it was clear that the data produced in Step 8 (a) could not be used to respond to the research question of this study). Using "emergent category designation," a process of trial and error resulted four categories: a) strategy formulation and content, b) strategy implementation, c) obstacles to strategy implementation, and d) other strategic issues. These categories and their content are shown in the tables that follow.

**Table 9: Overall assessment of the World Bank's strategy and usefulness for the tourism industry**

Strategy Formulation and Content	Strategy Implementation Issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The strategy addresses most of the important development issues.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The problem with trying to replicate grass-roots successes from a centralized position is that these successes are successful because they avoided this approach. These projects operate with a different kind of logic, at a different level and on a different scale.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The strategy is a set of labels produced in response to the buzz-term "sustainable development." It is hard to judge strategy without any precedent. However, the practices of the World Bank (i.e. emphasis on large scale projects, perceived need to control development process now that the effects of past policy have surfaced, wealth and consumption of Bank representatives) detract from the Bank's credibility as an institution able to respond to indigenous needs.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The successful implementation of formalized strategy from the top downwards demands certain preconditions that do not exist in developing countries. These include a free-flow of information, cooperation between policy levels and an active electorate.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The World Bank has applied the same logic used in past development projects (i.e. decide the "one best way" and impose it) to the new problem of sustainable development.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ People in the non-formal sector (about 75 percent of the population) view governments as a capricious enforcer of mysterious regulations trying to control the non-formal sector, but whose rules have little to do with the real workings of this sector, which evolved in spite of governments.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The World Bank is facing a contradiction between its internal modus operandi and sustainable development, reflected in the schizophrenic nature of its strategy (cooperation versus control).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Contrary to the World Bank's logic, "win-win strategies" use policies that promote understanding and voluntary compliance rather than regulations that all too often exacerbate suspicion and animosity between governments and their citizens.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ In spite of the attempt to combine a bottom-up and top-down approach, the strategy overlooked some fundamental issues (i.e. population, corruption, inequality) and ignored the equal or greater changes required in developed countries and the responsibilities that come with them.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There are limits to control by the World Bank of the development process. However, this strategy may help in restructuring the development process. Progress could be made with partnerships at the right levels with the right people.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The Bank's division of development problems into two kinds is simplistic because there are various stratifications within and between these two problems.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There is no evidence to suggest that this strategy is workable on a large scale. Some of success stories in the video (e.g. Indonesia) turned out to be disasters.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Like its predecessors, the strategy ignores values (e.g. assumes people view "efficiency" and "effectiveness" in the same way).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Communities will fear World Bank involvement under any disguise or premise.</li> </ul>

**Table 9: Overall assessment of the World Bank's strategy and usefulness for the tourism industry (contd)**

Strategy Formulation and Content (Contd)	Strategy Implementation Issues (Contd)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The strategy treats the developing world as homogenous.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The strategy works well at an analytical and intellectual level, but may not work well in more intuitive and traditionally organized societies.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Many strategies have been thought of already.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The strategy is useful for dialogue between people familiar with this approach in the First World, but not in the Third World (due to the technical and language requirements it imposes).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The strategy fails to give a sense of the scale of changes required in moving toward sustainable development. The assumption that people can solve problems themselves is unrealistic.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There may be incentives for any one actor to not participate in implementing this strategy.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The Bank's strategy did not confront the tension between development and environment institutions, which is key to the future of sustainable development.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Economic pressures from development institutions will prevent implementation of strategy (e.g. countries such as Thailand are using prostitution to pay off debts).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The video was impressive but lacked any reference to the potential of tourism as a tool for generating foreign exchange or protecting biodiversity. The problem is that development strategies do not know how to deal with tourism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ A standardized planning format may only re-create the pathologies of developed countries in developing countries.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Given the nature of the development class structure, the World Bank is probably best suited to redirecting the projects it has already established at the macro level and promoting the establishment of national environmental policies that allow for local community participation in the design and implementation of environment sensitive development projects from the very start, creating the partnerships and sense of ownership important to implementation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Use of the strategy in tourism would probably come too late, when the problems of scale have set in (tourism is typically developed with short-term benefits in mind).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ World Bank resources might support integrated environmental resources management strategies, of which ecotourism might be one component. These strategies would identify alternative approaches to improving people's life conditions and regenerating natural resources that work within the needs of the natural and social system.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Use of the strategy for tourism might be approached at the on-site level, the level at which the World Bank Strategy video focused.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ It is difficult to translate this strategy, which covers so many broad and complex issues, into a tourism economic development agenda.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The strategy is not all that useful to tourism because it provides no specific techniques.</li> </ul>

**Table 9: Overall assessment of the World Bank's strategy and usefulness for the tourism industry (contd)**

Strategy Formulation and Content (Contd)	Strategy Implementation Issues (Contd)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Through the World Bank's strategy, industries such as tourism could be viewed from a completely different perspective. Entire layers of the tourism system could be removed that only exist because they are self-perpetuating. This change would be consistent with the broader need for developing countries to bypass centralized industrialization (which is the chief destroyer of the environment) and move to a more self-sustaining civilization.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Can conditions for sustainable tourism development realistically be met? Will tourists want to visit areas with the greatest need for improvement?</li> <li>◆ The transition to sustainable development will require a move away from the view that the vacation is a two-week hiatus from life.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ A different investment logic is required that recognizes the benefits that flow from naturally functioning ecosystems and protects them from conventional "development." This would mean identifying sustainable tourism development options and asking "what do people want and how can we make these options attractive?" It is then possible to create an investment which links the rewards of conservation to local people.</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ A secondary strategy product is required which addresses all segments of the tourism industry, attracts investment for sustainable development, and makes the case that including sustainable tourism in political agendas will help relevant ministries shape their country's future. This is a different mindset and audience than that targeted by the World Bank Video.</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The World Bank must recognize and deal with the problem of communication in the development process. This might be solved by using technology to democratize the development process.</li> </ul>	

**Table 10: Remove subsidies that encourage inefficient and environmentally damaging practices**

Strategy Implementation	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ This strategy could discourage intensive development resulting from subsidized real-estate speculation (a major cause of unsustainable tourism development projects).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The effectiveness of this strategy may be diluted by accelerating development problems (e.g. rapid population growth).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ This strategy helps create win-win situations (e.g. by reducing costs, curbing excessive use of fossil fuels).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Subsidies enable the elite (and mass tourists) maintain their lifestyles, reinforcing the view that energy-intensive development is a realistic paradigm for the future.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Use of this strategy demonstrates energy-efficiency and allows real costs (e.g. of park use) to be calculated.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The cultural tradition of accepting methods originating in Western environments may prevent removal of subsidies from taking place.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Subsidies can be removed and areas opened for sustainable tourism (e.g. Peruvian government created a 250,000 acre sanctuary in the Upper Amazon region and allowed companies to establish new facilities and attractions such as research centers and canopy walkways).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Many countries do want to reduce reliance on imports, but in many countries taxes on imports are a primary source of revenue.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Governments will remove damaging subsidies when tourism markets demand sustainable tourism development.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There is a view in many countries that "foreign is best" (due to imports, the colonial legacy, television, and stratification of society along economic lines).</li> <li>◆ Governments often take action too late, despite obvious problems.</li> </ul>

**Table 10: Remove subsidies that encourage inefficient and environmentally damaging practices (contd)**

Strategy Implementation (Contd)	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation (Contd)
◆ The countries in and channels through which subsidies are organized must be examined and understood.	◆ Fuel-efficiency does not necessarily solve resource problems.
◆ Market-based incentives require legislative backing because operation of the free market does not result in sustainable practice.	◆ Removal of damaging subsidies may also remove benefits accruing from them, and create social unrest.
◆ Prospects for this strategy depend on the support and empowerment of NGO's.	◆ There is a problem in identifying environmentally damaging practices.
<b>Other Strategy Issues</b>	◆ The private sector cannot easily identify where subsidies exist.
◆ There is no one definition of subsidies, which are viewed differently depending on context, circumstances and values.	◆ Subsidies may have to be <i>provided</i> to encourage sustainable development or protect the environment or social order. However, subsidy provision may have damaging consequences.
◆ Any development project which takes resources out of traditional use is a subsidy of sorts. Any large development project is an <i>inefficient</i> subsidy.	◆ The success of sustainable tourism (achieved without damaging subsidies) may nevertheless bring mass tourism tendencies.
◆ Can sustainable tourism guarantee at least the standard of living that some industrious logging communities have acquired, and on a larger scale?	◆ Practices that enhance the environment (c.g. creation of parks) may not be sustainable due to lack of funds.

**Table 11: Improve evaluation of natural resources**

Strategy Implementation	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism can be as powerful an incentive for preservation of natural and cultural environments as some other industries are to destroy them. Tourists re-evaluate natural resources by seeing problems and innovations for themselves. Tourism may positively impact communities living around resources, which are abundant in the Third World.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The Third World is especially vulnerable to political-economic forces. Tourism development can only realistically be judged in the context of the precarious situation facing these countries.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism organizations can help achieve the critical mass needed for change by getting tourists involved in responsible actions (e.g. reforestation).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Decisions about tourism development are driven by short-term factors, not the viability of natural environments to sustain tourism development.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism improves valuation of natural resources by creating new uses for them (adaptation of resources for tourism is not limited to rainforests).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Development incentives tend to be covert. For example, government laws on resettlement of refugees can be used as a guise for clearing timber in a unique and precious area.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The lower operational costs of renewable energy provide an incentive for responsible actions (particularly since tourism is energy-intensive).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism changes relationships between individuals, communities and resources. Sustainable tourism development may not be good for all communities.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Implementation of this strategy is possible through better organization of tourism. Under certain conditions, tourists will be prepared to dedicate funds to resource conservation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Indigenous people tend to have a lower regard for environments because they take them for granted.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The "demand-pull" of ecotourism markets ensures that resource values remain stable over time. Visitors are stronger than laws, traditions and the legal system.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Environmentalists may have unrealistic expectations (e.g. about what is economically feasible).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Improved evaluation is made possible in tourism when fees go directly to parks and not general revenues, when local people are stewards of their resources and when environmental assessments are mandatory.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The tourist's idea of efficiency is use of amenities at all times.</li> <li>◆ Policy instruments to replace damaging subsidies are not well developed.</li> <li>◆ A responsible idea may have damaging consequences.</li> </ul>

**Table 11: Improve evaluation of natural resources (contd)**

Strategy Implementation (Contd)	Other Strategic Issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Natural resource protection is the foundation for all other decisions. Natural resources are often externalized from decision-making. A financial value should be placed on natural resources that do not belong to the "global commons."</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Different interests have different ideas about the value of natural resources.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There is a need to raise consciousness of issues such as establishing quantity constraints.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism may require special criteria for evaluation (e.g. the aesthetic quality of environments), which bring their own set of problems.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The pricing of natural resources should be managed through property rights.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ It is not clear whether "green auditing" can work on a large scale, or who should conduct environmental assessments.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Incentives must comply with specific requirements for achieving sustainable development (e.g. appropriate training of staff).</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ People need information to make decisions as to whether tourism is a viable development option for their communities, and should be able to participate at the international level.</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Success of this strategy depends on the support and empowerment of NGO's.</li> </ul>	

**Table 12: Clarify property rights to owning land, forests and industry, while enhancing competitiveness and stability**

Strategy Implementation	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation
◆ Private ownership (e.g. of parks) generally leads to better performance because it promotes self-reliance.	◆ Third world countries are not integrated into international trade--a key source of power for changing (or resisting changes to) property rights.
◆ Conference tourism provides a turning point to get new political relationships formed and make changes in property rights possible.	◆ Local ownership may not favor sustainable development due to corruption, threats to elite control, bureaucracy.
◆ Sustainable tourism is complex but relatively unsophisticated. It implies fewer community changes than some alternatives (e.g. migration to cities to work in factories).	◆ The lack of infrastructure in some countries and the economics of many development options reinforce the reliance on imports and therefore control of development by those with existing rights to property (powerful economic and political interests).
◆ Self-government helps scittle land claims and promotes preservation. The feeling of self-directedness among people who own property rights results in greater productivity.	◆ Property rights are not clarified at national levels, creating barriers to implementation at lower levels.
◆ Property rights can be clarified productively when landowners are offered an equity stake in development in exchange for their land, and when rights to this land are divided appropriately amongst legitimate interests and given an independent "scal of approval."	◆ Property rights are not immutable, even when clarified. They are tied to public processes. How governments receive sustainable development depends on what their priorities are.
◆ Changes in property rights allow locals to own and operate tourism businesses and establish partnerships with NGOs. The "hub and spoke" tourism distribution model (where spokes connect a central hub to attractions) may be effective.	◆ Clarification of property rights may create adverse developments when the traditional use is the more appropriate ecological use.
	◆ The consequences (good or bad) of clarification depend on the motives of the owner.
	◆ The rules governing ownership may be arcane, the notion of title being established by tradition that everyone recognizes implicitly. Conflicts are then created when rights are clarified.

Table 12: Clarify property rights to owning land, forests and industry, while enhancing competitiveness and stability (contd)

Strategy Implementation (Contd)	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation (Contd)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ It is important to put the needs of the World's desperate poor first so that projects that involve large land purchases do not further marginalize large numbers of people.</li> <li>◆ Tourism development would benefit from forced land demarkation and land use regulation.</li> <li>◆ The Third World should be able to declare bankruptcy.</li> <li>◆ Governments must be more proactive in encouraging local ownership and in managing inevitable conflict between tourism, agriculture and traditional practices.</li> <li>◆ Indigenous people should have the right to enjoy as well as own resources (a two-tier fee structure is required).</li> <li>◆ Property rights need to be integrated with other dimensions of the World Bank's strategy.</li> <li>◆ Prospects for success of this strategy depend on the support and empowerment of NGO's.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Local people granted rights to development will develop as much as they can get away with. Many tourism operators will adapt to changes in property rights only if they can still operate freely.</li> <li>◆ Old methods (the tradition in which the West provides the answers) are being used to develop new solutions. Tourism is developed to a nation's long-term disadvantage. The major problem is misinformation.</li> <li>◆ Conventional tourism infrastructure maintains barriers to access to resources by local people, who may nevertheless be taxed for it (thereby subsidizing tourism). Ideas about redistribution are unlikely to receive much support from those who might compromise their political position.</li> </ul> <p><b>Strategic Issues</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism, more than most other industries, demonstrates a close relationship between property speculation and development. More information is needed on who gains and who loses in development.</li> <li>◆ This strategy is an oversimplification. Often, there are no existing or formal rights to property.</li> <li>◆ The balance between individual and community rights is different in different societies. The North American emphasis on individual rights will be inappropriate in many countries (for example, it may promote concentration of power and inequitable development).</li> <li>◆ This strategy creates a standardized and familiar format for those who would acquire and exploit land viciously, but now "legally."</li> </ul>

**Table 13: Accelerate education and better natural resource management**

Strategy Implementation	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Sustainable tourism encourages more sustainable use of resources than extractive industries.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Many potential ecotourists still cannot understand how a company can be profitable and protect natural and social environments at the same time.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism makes fund-raising for conservation possible in developed countries (and may be one of its beneficiaries).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Anonymous foreign operators used to operating at scale may prevent meaningful change (and the perception is still that the greater the scale of development, the greater the benefits that will accrue).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Educational programs allow tourists to re-think their realities and make changes in communities in developed countries (e.g. in curricula). These programs also motivate local citizens to question their life conditions and demand improvements.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Travel companies have created distorted pictures of developing countries in their marketing activities.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tour operators can help people examine taken-for-granted assumptions, some of which are embedded in terminology (e.g. "developing country").</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Despite the best intentions of tourists, tourism is still stuck in the "hand-out" mode, which converts proud people into beggars.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism creates a model of inquiry which brings people on-sight for unique educational experiences (e.g. direct participation in scientific research projects).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Political struggles over property rights will be a major barrier to change.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Eventually, tourism will be a means through which people in developed countries experience ways in which they might live.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Governments may limit what visitors are allowed to see and experience, so a complete picture of reality is not available.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Education enables local people to pursue opportunities that benefit themselves and lead to better natural resource management (e.g. business advisory services train local people to become owners and managers of tourism businesses).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Not all environments in need of better natural resource management have the potential for sustainable tourism development (e.g. they may be aesthetically unappealing). These problems are not always realized when the decision to develop is made.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Educational radio may generate support for sustainable tourism initiatives (radio is very popular in these countries).</li> </ul>	

**Table 13: Accelerate education and better natural resource management (contd)**

Strategy Implementation (contd)	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation (Contd)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism trips may include visits to schools, embellishing curricula and furthering understanding between peoples. Schools may also help in the collection of tourism data.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism education in developed countries is built around frameworks which are now obsolete.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Conference tourism may permit effective knowledge transfer (villager to villager, not experts in suits to villager) and educate people about the value of their own resources.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism accentuates the differences between rich and poor (and ecotourists operate closer to indigenous people).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Codes of ethics accelerate sustainable development education in the tourism industry. However, sustainable development needs to be more explicitly defined. Codes of ethics must be simplified and integrated.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There is a persistent problem of standards and protocol in tourism activities due to clashes between people, expectations and technology.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There is a need to reverse the view in developing countries that culture must be adapted to the needs of tourism markets. Tourism should not idealize cultural or environmental features.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ It is impossible for a country to learn about the problems of unsustainable development without going through the experience first-hand, because unsustainable development brings immediate (not long term) benefits.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism can help politically unconnected people by contributing to education, providing cash gifts, inviting people to developed countries.</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Poverty and sanitation issues must be addressed before anything else can happen. Women must be educated first because they are the key to change.</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ A pre-focused effort on young people in developed countries (through schools and universities) is required because they are tomorrow's change-agents.</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Speakers, courses, videos and nature tours should be sponsored that communicate "the facts, the truth" about development.</li> </ul>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Prospects for implementation of this strategy depend on support and empowerment of NGO's.</li> </ul>	

**Table 13: Accelerate education and better natural resource management (contd)**

Strategy Implementation (Contd)	Other Strategic Issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There is a need to understand traditional practices rather than superimpose Western value-systems. It is through knowledgeable indigenous people that communication and diffusion of ideas about different cultures, traditions, practices, languages and needs is possible.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The educational process is difficult for tourism as everyone is directly or indirectly tied to its success or failure.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There is a need to remove colonial master-servant stereotypes and educate tourists about the inevitable contradictions in development (e.g. between ecology and economics).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Aid, the media and tourism are the three major vehicles for cross-cultural experiences. Tourism has a major impact on people's expectations whether or not institutions pay any attention to it. If no attention is paid to it, tourism may only create resistance to other kinds of development projects.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The media distorts perceptions of countries (i.e. "is not safe, stable or clean) and has convinced local people that their foods are inferior. Governments need to be aware of these perceptions, which, distorted or not, determine whether and how tourism takes place.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Awareness is developing of specific issues personalized in the media, but not of the global context. Peoples of all countries have a thirst for information which has yet to be satisfied.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The full range and depth of motives of different kinds of tourists (e.g. missionaries, anthropologists, officials, doctors) and their "education" efforts must be understood (i.e. whose interests do they promote and represent?). Development projects tend to promote only one side of contentious issues such as free markets, reflecting the values of those providing the education, not those who receive it.</li> </ul>	

**Table 14: Invest in water and sanitation**

Strategy Implementation	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ This is a basic requirement for efficient tourism development to take place and stems from effective natural resource management.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The poor in developing countries typically subsidize the rich through taxes.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism requires sophisticated levels of water and sanitation, the benefits of which could potentially be felt in local communities (i.e. improved access and quality).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There is little evidence of this kind of investment in tourism.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Domestic tourism in developing countries can make use of capable and available manpower to bring improvements in water and sanitation (e.g. peace-corps type projects).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tax collection, regulation and enforcement are typically lax in developing countries.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ NGO's can find people with the expertise to help the private sector invest.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Mistakes can be made through lack of foresight (solutions often cannot be duplicated; a water and sanitation investment may raise property values and create an oasis that cannot be sustained; a reliable technology may create a dependence and then break down; some solutions may not be logistically possible).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ A proportion of revenues from tourism may be invested in community healthcare foundations.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Locally administered projects portrayed in the World Bank video wouldn't meet the demands of tourism markets.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Investment is only likely where developers have strong ties with communities.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Small enterprises do not have the capacity for this investment.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The spirit of free-enterprise and the individual may not ensure equitable access to water and sanitation facilities.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Local people are often barred from using basic services provided for tourists.</li> </ul>

**Table 14: Invest in water and sanitation (contd)**

Strategy Implementation (contd)	Strategic Issues
◆ Investment leakages in different countries should be considered.	
◆ Development institutions should assist in meeting basic human rights because there are many things the private sector will not be interested in doing.	◆ There is a trade-off between provision for basic human needs as a subsidized service and as a paid-for profitable enterprise (e.g. through tourism development). The decision should be based on the criterion of access.
◆ People are better equipped to take action when they understand what is possible within their own system. Education is important. For example, education and training in sanitation administration is required (especially of government officials) to ensure services are provided at the required standard.	◆ There will always be discrepancies between tourist and local needs, a dichotomy that will have to be recognized and managed.
◆ It is important to determine who are the users (e.g. children) in order to satisfy their specific needs. Facilities are typically designed with adults (usually men) in mind.	
◆ It is important to address differences in the timing and rate of change in different countries. For example, some countries are underpopulated and have excellent well-systems.	
◆ Other issues also need to be addressed, such as birth control.	
◆ Progress depends largely on political will.	
◆ Prospects for success depend on the support and empowerment of NGOs.	

**Table 15: Change the behavior of producers and consumers through targeted regulation and incentives**

Strategy Implementation	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Consumer behavior change is already taking place in that world problems motivate people to "get their hands dirty" when they travel, to find out what it is like to live in different parts of the world. Changes in demand will force the supply side to follow.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There is a natural tendency to bend the rules when there are monetary incentives.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Ecotourism projects are typically less expensive than conventional tourism investments. They may also lower individual risk (which can be assumed by local owners of businesses) and provide higher returns at lower occupancy rates. This may change behavior of investors.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Political decisions seldom conform to ecological principles or professional resource management. The locus of control in tourism lies outside developing countries.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Industry responses to green consumerism (and green shareholders and employees) can be ensured by regulation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The tourism development process has a set of covert incentives that make behavior change difficult (e.g. government officials prefer mass tourism due to the deception pay-off).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Countries and companies should be encouraged to set their own standards, providing regulation and incentives for use of local resources (e.g. by making use of local foodstuffs explicit in contracts).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Ecotourists behave in a certain way and bring technology. There is nothing to prevent local people from wanting what they have.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Countries should charge entrance fees and reinvest in natural attractions.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Behavior is easier to restrict in high-profile places like the Galapagos Islands, which never fail to offer plenty of wildlife. Otherwise, restricted access is hard to justify.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The market rewards companies that are "green." Tour operators should also be ranked independently for their "sustainability."</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The idea of exploiting resources to capacity is ingrained in tourism (developed as a commodity) and the economic system. This mindset is protected by travel lobbies.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Gasoline and other goods should at least be imported at market rates.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The monoculture philosophy to development, which is ingrained in developing countries, may undermine the best regulation and incentives for diversification.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Women should be organized to contact legislators and lobby for regulation (e.g. cruise taxes).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourists have low standards with which to judge the "sustainability" of tourism experiences, and many do not care. The perception is that limits to personal freedom (which are a priority in tourism) limit fun, comfort and value for money.</li> </ul>

**Table 15: Change the behavior of producers and consumers through targeted regulation and incentives (contd)**

Strategy Implementation (contd)	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation (contd)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Before regulation and incentives should come consensus on what is important. A long process of education of travel markets is required through experience, word of mouth and the media must take place before behavior change can take place. Use of information is potentially more effective than actions at the destination level.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Sustainable development guidelines are not acceptable to all operators lured to the industry by money. The option of "doing it our way" is easier.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Knowledge improvements (e.g. provision of community libraries) will have to be made to prepare local people to assume management positions as "producers."</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The higher rent charged to compensate for regulation only works for tourism when the experience is perceived as exclusive. However, governments undervalue resources and cannot afford the necessary infrastructure to meet these expectations.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Development experts should change their behavior and give local people more opportunities to participate in development.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Responsibly-minded producers and consumers lack information.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Developing countries should demand more of tour operators (demand local knowledge and issue licenses).</li> </ul>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Strategic Issues</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Incentives are more normally associated with building positive links, not breaking negative links.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The costs and benefits of tourism and alternatives should be compared with the same unit of analysis (e.g. to compare the potential revenues of tourism with hunting). The case for sustainable development must be justified in economic, social and ecological terms.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Behavior change is not confined to producers and consumers.</li> <li>◆ Regulation should not be viewed as second option. Regulation is intelligent and very necessary. There will always be problems that the market cannot rectify immediately (such as misrepresentation by travel companies).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The right target markets should be pursued - it is important to determine which tourism markets have the greatest potential for change and the greatest ability to translate this into action. The dynamism of markets should also be recognized.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ It is important to determine who is the target of regulation and incentives. In the past credits have been given that benefit those in power and disadvantage the rest.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Negative reactions should be anticipated by tour companies from indigenous groups and managed appropriately (e.g. reach consensus on where selected development can take place).</li> <li>◆ The case for sustainable tourism must be justifiable in economic as well as social and ecological terms to change producer and investor behavior. Sustainable tourism projects will need institutional endorsement to gain credibility.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ How price sensitive are tourism markets? Can additional costs be passed on to them without jeopardizing demand or diverting demand elsewhere? (sectorally and/or spatially?).</li> </ul>

**Table 16: Improve knowledge and make the development planning process more transparent**

Strategy Implementation	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Sustainable tourism projects help establish the new "rules of the game" for development. If the objective is to make natural and cultural environments sustainable, then greater value will be placed on knowledge and access to decision-making.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The remoteness of administration) is a major barrier to change.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Only local peoples have the knowledge to interpret their environments and their participation gives credibility to ecotourism projects.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Different actors have a completely different base of experience in the development process. People at the grass-roots level cannot anticipate all possible problems, while those who impose projects cannot share their knowledge with communities.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ "Stakeholder tourists" (who recognize the needs and contradictions of development) may become active in diffusing important knowledge and taking action in their home communities.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ All development deals are cut based on proprietary information. People make a living by controlling imports and using various and devious means.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism enables the scientific community to generate new knowledge.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The distribution of property rights will affect knowledge transmission (e.g. expatriate owners of tourism businesses send inaccurate tourism data to governments, local tourism operators resent the privileged position of expatriate owners).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Educational tourism helps local people struggle for new schools.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ A complex and dynamic population structure makes implementation difficult. Currents of animosity, change and diversity create problems for education and planning efforts.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Accelerating development problems will force innovations in developing countries, which will be transmitted back to developed countries through tourism (e.g. "floating cities").</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Development operates at scale and excludes those who are uneducated, unconnected or not proximal to the development itself.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Sustainable tourism development may help break stereotypes people have of tourists (e.g. that locals have to adapt themselves and their cultures to tourists).</li> <li>◆ Networks can be created so that success stories of sustainable tourism be shared.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Many tour operators perceive that it is inefficient and risky to include locals when they can transport guides, etc.</li> </ul>

**Table 16: Improve knowledge and make the development planning process more transparent (cont'd)**

Strategy Implementation (cont'd)	Other Strategic Issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The logistics and past record of grass-roots efforts suggests that it may be better to coordinate development projects with greater emphasis from the top (but only when people at top are not self-serving and have an appropriate development vision).</li> <li>◆ Information has at least as great an impact on people's priorities. It is important to consider who provides information and direction.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The strategy makes the democratic assumption that people feel they have a right to speak. In many countries people expect to be told.</li> <li>◆ Corruption operates at all levels. People do not expect government to operate in their interests. We cannot assume that because people live close to the land, are poor and live innocent lives that they will make the best decisions for themselves or their communities.</li> <li>◆ Planning is always an arrogant exercise when conducted by expatriate professionals, because they can never know for sure what local people are thinking, what they want or what is "best."</li> <li>◆ Planned change is achieved through dialogue in which people discover alternatives. Constructive dialogue starts when people realize they are stakeholders in the outcome. Formalized frameworks are no substitute for this process.</li> </ul>

**Table 17: Strengthen institutions and make them more accountable**

Strategy Implementation	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ This strategy is important because tourism is a process that involves all actors in the development process, representing multiple interests distributed across great geographical distances. Institutional networks solve the problem of scale.</li> <li>◆ Sustainable tourism organizations that develop an allegiance to communities typically work with or create institutions small enough so that small contributions make a significant impact (e.g. schools, clinics, temples, museums). This direct support, based on conscience, may develop into a relationship that continues long after the tourism experience. When a sound management structure is in place, this model is effective and can be replicated for threatened environments. It provides funding on-site and does not need an entire program with a government or other system to work through which tries to bring everything up to a certain standard.</li> <li>◆ Institutions can provide a platform for resolving tensions in development. For example, in Kenya the educational programs of an environmental museum initiated by a community and supported by a tour operator helped people understand why the cutting of mangrove must be regulated.</li> <li>◆ Institutional structures have a greater chance of success when they have strong and visible leadership (for example, Dr. Leakey in Kenya). However, institutions must also have specific roles and be held accountable as part of a larger institutional network.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Existing policy and institutional networks already have well-established relationships. New approaches will not be developed through these networks.</li> <li>◆ Institutional frameworks are often weak and are difficult to establish for tourism, which cuts across many sectors.</li> <li>◆ Mistrust of administration, the colonial heritage, and lack of precedent obstruct institutional development.</li> <li>◆ This strategy will be viewed as an intrusion of sovereignty and as a ploy to limit the freedom of politicians and ministers. Also, accountability runs counter to the self-interest of those in power.</li> <li>◆ Most countries are concerned with volume, not sustainable development or the ideas that development should proceed cautiously. Many NGO's have negative attitudes toward tourism.</li> <li>◆ Many institutions are too slow in responding to obvious problems, even from an enlightened self-interest standpoint.</li> <li>◆ Governments may endorse incompatible development strategies (e.g. mass tourism and ecotourism).</li> <li>◆ Lack of communication between peoples (more than money, enforcement or laws) prevents well-thought out projects from being implemented. When people do not know why things are being done, they undermine the institutions that serve them with strategies such as "Investment in water and sanitation."</li> </ul>

**Table 17: Strengthen institutions and make them more accountable (contd)**

Strategy Implementation (Contd)	Strategy Implementation (Contd)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Donor and recipient countries must simplify the development process, coordinate among donors (e.g. with an Aid consortium) and recognize the importance of timing of development projects (i.e. before a financial crisis, such as a major currency devaluation).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The value-systems determining how money is spent do not consider the full implications of what is decided (e.g. the gender implications).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The policy process must be restructured to ensure open access and results that represent the values represented (this may be achieved where it failed in the past by using new communications technology).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Most tourism organizations are not familiar with new development possibilities. This industry is not organized to bridge the gap with sustainable development.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ NGO involvement is critical because people perceive them as neutral, and they have the resources and time to conduct research and workshops that could not be managed by the private sector.</li> </ul>	<p><b>Strategic Issues</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Successful implementation of this strategy will depend on the institutions involved and the interests they represent.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Institutions help prevent exploitation but the creation of institutional frameworks depends on whether tourism markets demand this. The tourism industry can help make this connection by informing the tourist about the importance of sustainable development, the role institutions play in achieving this, and how this helps ensure an enjoyable experience.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The World Bank may be the only agent powerful enough to overcome the intractable problem of short-sighted greed.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The tourism industry needs to give more people the opportunity to give needy projects direct support.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Single-owner businesses backed by wealthy investors, rather than institutions, are the actors getting projects started and sustained.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Standards and programs (government or self-regulated) should be required of all operators.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Institutions have different value-systems and will take different positions on the issue of what constitutes sustainable behavior (for example, some believe sustainable tourism should not be profit-oriented).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Television and the media should be used to make connections between tourism, third world ecological and cultural destruction, and debt payment policies of the World Bank.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ It is difficult to identify a universal model for institutional organization because each situation tends to be unique.</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Ultimately, the strength of sustainable tourism, and therefore institutions, will be decided by its economic viability.</li> </ul>

**Table 18: Coordinate tourism activities with other sectors in society**

Strategy Implementation	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Natural resources cannot be managed properly without intersectoral coordination. The success of success of sustainable tourism development depends on coordination because one project cannot generate enough tourism flows to survive, while too many tourists destroys tourism's asset base. A regional development framework which guarantees controlled development is vital.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Stated policy may not reflect reality and certain interests will not relinquish control. For example, the Costa Rican Tourist Board rated its support for ecotourism, yet the country is experiencing rapid growth in conventional mass tourism and its various consequences (drugs, prostitution, money laundering, etc).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism can be a catalyst for sustainable development because it interfaces with so many sectors. For example, mutually beneficial relationships may be formed between sustainable tourism, pharmaceuticals, scientific research and agriculture.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ There are limits to coordination because tourism is a secondary commodity. The economic importance of tourism is not acknowledged, due to an image problem. Tourism ministers are often changed, reflecting a lack of political clout. Countries will pay off debts with mineral extractions rather than rely on the fickle travel decisions of anonymous consumers.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Tourism helps make conservation more economical and beneficial than asset stripping (communities benefit from as well as provide resources). Tourism which uses natural environments as they are builds a positive image for countries and spreads tourism dollars more broadly. Sustainable tourism advocates have started pressurizing governments by boycotting conventional tourism conferences.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ It is difficult to coordinate tourism with other sectors in a way that distributes benefits equally. Even when governments encourage local support for the tourism industry, the industry ultimately decides.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Successful sustainable tourism provides a benchmark for enlightened foreign investment which generates earnings for communities and creates a self-reinforcing pattern of change.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Decisions about tourism development still tend to be driven more by short term factors such as natural disasters, military action, famine and drought than about long term concerns, such as the viability of natural environments that produce water or provide areas where tourism is possible.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ As a development catalyst, tourism may help countries leapfrog fossil fuel dependence (which they cannot afford anyway) to renewable energy systems and advanced communications that will make them energy-efficient and energy-independent.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The concept of a large ecotourism project is a contradiction in terms, but is probably unstoppable because the priorities of the development-driven investment machine are decided outside the tourism industry by developers, who limit investment options to projects which create large returns and channel them disproportionately (so as to meet rate of return requirements).</li> </ul>

**Table 18: Coordinate tourism activities with other sectors in society (contd)**

Strategic Implementation (contd)	Obstacles to Strategy Implementation (Contd)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ The integration of tourism and sustainable development must be done simultaneously from inside and outside tourism, which requires expertise from many fields (including public policy, development, sociology, impact analysis and futures research).</li> <li>◆ Sustainable tourism provides an incentive for people to remain around resources and communities rather than be forced to migrate to cities or exploit their resources in an unsustainable fashion.</li> <li>◆ Tourism operators need to resist exploitative and extractive industries vociferously.</li> <li>◆ There is a need to put environmental policies in a more primary position in tourism. There is a need to stimulate industry knowledge of environmental alternatives and improve government understanding of sustainable tourism principles.</li> <li>◆ Governments need to realize the opportunities that tourism creates for them to become more popular with their people.</li> <li>◆ The reality is that every ripple of change is traumatic and has consequences. A conceptual framework needs to be developed to identify and link all the elements in and outside of tourism to understand how changes do and could take place.</li> <li>◆ What can happen in tourism is dependent on what is happening in other sectors. The most elaborate schemes to improve service will fail if people are treated unjustly themselves. Incremental change will not be sufficient to achieve the necessary level of integration. A systems approach is required, and communication, rather than formal planning, is the key to change.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Coordination between tourism and other sectors can be self-defeating. For example, tourism planning and control in Nepal only served to prevent growth of ecotourism where potential existed and weakened this country's ability to compete in world markets. Institutions that quantify impacts may not do the most good.</li> <li>◆ Areas like West Africa are rapidly losing their natural environments unnecessarily because there is no understanding of what the modern tourist wants (for example, it is not purely "animals" but wild areas).</li> <li>◆ The World Bank does not have a policy for the tourism industry.</li> </ul> <p><b>Other Strategic Issues</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◆ Sustainable tourism development involves many people, interests and relationships undergoing change across large distances. The problem lies in figuring out the process so that these kinds of strategies can work.</li> <li>◆ How far tourism will become a sustainable development tool will depend on the combined changes taking place in technological, social, economic, political and ecological arenas. The effects of the extreme growth that has taken place since the 1950's will probably drive a rearrangement of priorities in which the richness of life experiences, rather than net worth, will be key. As leading-edge philosophies of ecotourism make their way into mainstream tourism, sustainable tourism experiences will then receive a higher priority.</li> <li>◆ Sustainable development will emerge only when a convergence of ideas takes place. Tourism cannot operate in a vacuum if it is to be sustainable.</li> </ul>

## **2.2 Data analysis by policy level**

The objective of Section 2.2 is to translate the issues identified in the previous section into a tri-level policy framework, which was introduced in Chapter 3. This framework consists of three levels: parastatal, formal economic sector and non-formal economic sector. By locating the results of the previous subsection in the context of this framework, it was possible to explore the distribution of strategy implementation problems and issues in developing countries, and therefore obtain a better insight into where and why the World Bank's Strategy is more or less useful.

Table 19: Overall assessment of the World Bank's strategy and its usefulness to the tourism industry

Policy Level	Perceptions of study sample
<p>1. The parastatal level.</p> <p>2. The formal and non-formal economic sectors.</p>	<p>The World Bank may use its strategy at this level to redirect existing projects and promote the establishment of national environmental policies that create a sense of ownership at the implementation level (e.g. by including local partners from the very start of a project's design). Integrated environmental resource management strategies might also be created from this strategy to integrate the efforts of various industry sectors. However, until the underlying problems of misinformation, animosity and mistrust between policy levels are confronted, there is little chance of any new solution making a positive impact. A computer-based information infrastructure may help overcome these problems by providing access and building consensus within and between development levels, within and between countries.</p> <p>The strategy is useful in the formal economic sector for generating dialogue about how industries such as tourism might be developed as sustainable development vehicles (e.g. by helping define the "necessary conditions" for sustainable tourism development). However, the strategy's usefulness may be undermined in practice by many factors, including the attempt to approach complex issues with a blueprint solution; the technical and language requirements the strategy imposes on the non-formal sector; the absence of other conditions that need to be present for a formalized strategy to work (free-flow of information, cooperation between policy levels, an active electorate); the short-term economic pressures of other MDB policies; the probable poor timing of implementation; the fear that World Bank involvement is a guise to gain control now that the effects of past policies have surfaced; and, the difficulty of translating a strategy that covers so many broad and complex issues into an economic development agenda. A secondary product is required for industry, which would employ a different mindset and target a different audience.</p> <p>The strategy ignored the existence of multiple values, which create tensions that must be resolved for sustainable development to be achieved. The inherited, top-down development framework is ill-suited to sustainable development. For development to be sustainable, it must start from an understanding of what is possible within natural and social ecosystems. Economic strategies may then be developed that help sustain these systems. This requires a different development logic than that employed by the World Bank.</p>

**Table 20: Remove subsidies that encourage inefficient and environmentally damaging practices**

Policy Level	Perceptions of Study Sample
<p>1. The parastatal level.</p>	<p>This strategy is useful for removing disincentives to resource conservation (e.g. subsidized real-estate speculation) and allowing the real costs of resource use to be calculated. This strategy may also be used to re-direct conventional development projects. However, subsidies are unlikely to be removed just because they encourage inefficient and environmentally damaging practices, because these practices may be a primary source of general revenue (e.g. taxes on imports) and personal revenue (e.g. for the elite). Also, these practices may be tied to non-economic factors (e.g. the view that "foreign is best"). Governments may not have the administrative capacity to implement this strategy, due to accelerating development problems and the tendency of governments to act too late. However, sustainable development provides governments with a potential reason for removing damaging subsidies, if the economic benefits can be demonstrated.</p>
<p>2. The formal and non-formal economic sectors.</p>	<p>Use of this strategy in the formal economic sector may create win-win (sustainable) situations. However, there are many disincentives for using this strategy, including the radical changes this strategy implies to the way tourism is currently organized; the ability of international companies to switch destinations should policy be too restrictive; the probability that less damaging alternatives (such as ecotourism) may eventually become damaging themselves as they become successful and grow in scale; the limits to how far industry practices can be made efficient (e.g. any form of international tourism requires a great deal of air and ground transportation); and, the possibility that less damaging practices may not be more efficient in the long run (e.g. they may not solve resource problems).</p> <p>From the non-formal sector's perspective, any development project that takes resources out of traditional use is a subsidy of sorts. Typically, the larger the project, the more inefficient the subsidy. From this point of view, removal of subsidies would imply removal of any practice whose logic conflicts with sustainable practices. This becomes a political question in that what is considered "sustainable" and "unsustainable" varies by value-system.</p> <p>The World Bank's interpretation of subsidies (which stems from its view that development must have an economic cost or benefit at the end of it) is not universal. Subsidies are viewed differently, depending on context, circumstances and values. "Environmental damage," "efficiency" and "sustainable development" are also matters of interpretation.</p> <p>This strategy makes sense in theory, but in practice the potential for removal of harmful subsidies depends on the culture and channels through which they are organized and implemented.</p>

Table 21: Improve evaluation of natural resources by removing incentives to exploit them and providing incentives for responsible actions

Policy Level	Perceptions of Study Sample
<p>1. The parastatal level.</p>	<p>This strategy is necessary because natural resources are often externalized from decision-making. However, the precarious situation facing developing countries means that sectors such as tourism are developed with short-term concerns in mind, not by long-term concerns such as the viability of natural environments to sustain development. Development incentives tend to be covert as well as overt; governments do not always take environmental problems seriously; the tourism industry and local elites will resist many measures; incentives for responsible actions have not been fully developed; the prospects for the success of this strategy depend on support and empowerment of NGOs; and, public administration is not generally organized to manage sustainable development (e.g. governments generally have fees from parks go to general revenues rather than be reinvested directly in parks).</p>
<p>2. The formal and non-formal economic sectors.</p>	<p>This strategy is useful because it generates dialogue about how industry may be developed in sustainable ways. For example, sustainable tourism may create the conditions for resource evaluation by facilitating direct experience of problems and innovations in developing countries; by helping achieve the critical mass needed for change; creating new, sustainable uses for natural resources; using renewable energy sources; channeling tourism dollars directly into communities living around resources; and, expanding the criteria used to arrive at resource values. On the other hand, tourism may not be good for all communities and responsible actions may conflict with the expectations of tourists and with the modus operandi of tourism businesses.</p>
	<p>This strategy is of limited use in the non-formal sector. Small-scale, sustainable developments are sustainable because they are self-reliant--they do not rely on externally-imposed incentives organized through an entire development system.</p> <p>Different interests have different ideas about the value of natural resources and about whether and how natural resources should be managed through incentives. A responsible action in one situation may not be responsible in others. The standards for responsibility as defined by industry or tourists may not meet those defined by environmentalists. Methodological issues surrounding resource evaluation are yet to be resolved, as is the issue of who has the right to make resource evaluation decisions and conduct environmental assessments.</p>

Table 22: Clarify property rights to owning land, forests and industry, while enhancing competitiveness and stability

Policy Level	Perceptions of Study Sample
<p>1. The parastatal level.</p> <p>2. The formal and non-formal economic sectors.</p>	<p>This strategy is useful for preventing politicians from selling land to developers, for tackling human rights issues and safeguarding the assets of communities (e.g. by establishing the right fee structure, developing within the carrying capacity of land and forests, ensuring self-sufficiency). However, those in control will resist this strategy if it threatens their agendas or power position (e.g. by redistributing rights to the poor), even if to a nation's long-term disadvantage. Governments often do not clarify property rights at the national level and may not be proactive in encouraging local ownership or in managing conflicts between sectors. Governments need to recognize interrelationships and potential conflicts between strategies, sectors and interests when considering changes in property rights. NGO support and empowerment may also be critical to change.</p> <p>In the formal economic sector, clarification of property rights helps achieve sustainable development when it promotes private ownership of land and forests. In tourism, private ownership improves performance and productivity; promotes self-reliance; allows redistribution of rights; promotes preservation; allows partnerships to be formed for sustainable development initiatives; and improves communication (e.g. conference tourism may create a turning point to get new political relationships formed). However, where property rights are held by powerful internal or external interests (e.g. in tourism), clarification may not be possible. External interests (e.g. tour companies) will only accept terms which do not threaten their freedom. Power structures are difficult to change because the lack of infrastructure and the economics of many development options reinforces reliance on imports and therefore control of development by those with existing rights to property. In the non-formal economic sector, clarification of property rights may have adverse effects when the traditional use is the more appropriate ecological use. Even when the traditional use is not the most appropriate use, clarification of property rights may create conflicts. The reason is that the rules governing ownership are often arcane—explicit clarification of rights conflicts with rights established by tradition that are recognized implicitly by everyone in a community. Clarification of property rights that promotes individual rights may intensify competition, centralization and unsustainable, inequitable development.</p> <p>The biggest obstacle to change is misinformation. The balance between individual and collective rights is different in different societies. Different interests have different views on what is possible through property rights. Clarification of property rights may provide a standardized and familiar format for exploiting land legally (i.e. the benefits of clarification depend on the underlying motives). Property rights are not immutable, even when clarified—they are tied to public processes. Clarification of property rights is a useful idea, but when managed through a formalized system, fails to break the age-old pattern that the West provides the answers. Some argue that, if Western logic is to be applied to developing countries, the latter should be able to declare bankruptcy.</p>

Table 23: Accelerate education and better natural resource management

Policy Level	Perceptions of Study Sample
1. The parastatal level.	<p>Education may not be perceived as being in the best interests of a nation. In the case of tourism, governments may limit what visitors are allowed to see and experience, creating an incomplete picture of reality. Education about what is sustainable and unsustainable may not change behavior, simply because short-term benefits are prioritized in development. Implementation of this strategy will depend on political struggles over property rights.</p>
2. The formal and non-formal economic sectors.	<p>This strategy is useful because it helps generate dialogue about the role of industry in achieving sustainable development. For example, sustainable tourism accelerates education by encouraging tourists and indigenous peoples to re-think their realities and taken-for-granted assumptions and make changes in their communities; bringing visitors on-site to schools; permitting effective knowledge-transfer between indigenous people facing similar situations; helping politically unconnected people by creating economic opportunities; and, creating standards in the formal economic sector. Sustainable tourism also accelerates better natural resource management by encouraging better natural resource management than extractive industries; making fund-raising for conservation possible in developed countries; involving visitors in research projects; and, funding training, education and communications networks (e.g. radio programs).</p> <p>This strategy is useful for identifying barriers to the achievement of sustainable development, which include the power of foreign tourism operators; public confusion over the meaning of sustainable development; misrepresentation by tourism companies; government attempts to restrict the tourism experience; ignorance on the part of tourists; outdated tourism education in developed countries; the suitability of sustainable tourism for some situations but not others; and, the scale and complexity of tourism, which creates problems for establishing standards and protocol in the tourism industry. Education is required in developed countries to raise consciousness about development issues, examine tourism practices, and enlarge the market for sustainable tourism by challenging taken-for-granted assumptions about conventional tourism.</p>
	<p>The need for education in development is undisputed (particularly the need to educate people about inevitable contradictions in development). However, by focusing on the Aid process, the World Bank considered just one of three ways in which cross-cultural education takes place (the other two being tourism and the media). Tourism and the media may nevertheless obstruct attempts at reforming the Aid process (e.g. by reinforcing master-servant and developing country stereotypes). The full depth and motives of different kinds of tourists (including development consultants) must be understood. Education typically promotes the values of providers, not receivers (e.g. development projects tend to promote one side of contentious issues such as free markets). This deemphasizes the importance of culture, traditions, practices, languages and needs and the role of knowledgeable indigenous people in communicating them.</p>

Table 24: Invest in water and sanitation

Policy Level	Perceptions of study sample
<p>1. The parastatal level.</p>	<p>Strategy implementation will be obstructed by lax collection, regulation and enforcement of taxes in developing countries, inequitable taxation policy, and lack of management foresight. Progress depends largely on political will and NGO support (e.g. education and training in sanitation for government officials). Development institutions such as the World Bank can assist in meeting basic human rights where there is no incentive for the private sector to do so.</p>
<p>2. The formal and non-formal economic sectors.</p>	<p>The strategy is useful in the formal economic sector because it raises consciousness of areas where tourism industry can assist in achieving sustainable development. Tourism has not contributed significantly to this basic infrastructure because small enterprises do not have the capacity; the tourism industry limits usage of facilities to tourists; investment is only likely where developers have strong ties to communities; tourism is not developed where services are needed most; and, locally administered projects probably would not meet the demands of tourist markets. Sustainable tourism may help change this situation by making use of available and capable manpower; investing a proportion of revenues in community healthcare foundations; finding, through NGO networks, people with water and sanitation expertise to help the private sector; and, by reducing the discrepancy between tourist and indigenous needs.</p> <p>The World Bank's strategy did not address the trade-off between provision for basic human needs as a subsidized service and as a paid-for profitable enterprise (because the strategy leans towards the individualistic American value system); the impact of the difference in the timing and rate of change in different countries; provision for other basic needs (e.g. population control); the side-effects of this strategy (it may raise property values and create an oasis that is unsustainable in other ways); and the limitations of this strategy (basic needs cannot be provided for equitably in overpopulated regions where resources are unproductive; a reliable technology brought in from outside may break down after creating a dependence). The issue of water and sanitation if closely related to that of education, since people are better equipped to take matters into their own hands when they understand what is possible within their own system. Research is required to identify the needs of the users and develop new kinds of sustainable technologies.</p>

Table 25: Change the behavior of producers and consumers through targeted regulation and incentives

Policy Level	Perceptions of study sample
<p>1. The parastatal level.</p>	<p>Political decisions seldom conform to ecological principles or professional resource management. For example, the tourism development process has a set of covert incentives that make behavior change difficult (government officials prefer mass tourism due to the deception pay-off), while the locus of control in tourism lies outside developing countries. Regulation appears to be intelligent and very necessary (e.g. requiring use of local resources), but regulations all too often exacerbate suspicion and animosity between governments and their citizens, and are developed by regulators, who are usually the ones most in need of regulation, restructuring and reduction. Relevant parastatal organizations should provide information for responsible producers and consumers (and development experts).</p>
<p>2. The formal and non-formal economic sectors.</p>	<p>Many incentives for changing producer behavior in the formal economic sector will work through free markets. In tourism, these may include changes in consumer behavior, stemming from knowledge and concern of world ecological problems and of sustainable tours; the development and use of standardized measures to compare the costs and benefits of sustainable tourism against other economic options; improved knowledge by the tourism industry of target markets with the most potential for ecotourism; more sophisticated approaches by tour operators in their negotiations with indigenous groups; realization by the investment community that sustainable tourism can be profitable; independent ranking of the sustainability of tourism businesses; and, improved understanding of "sustainable development."</p>
	<p>Before incentives can work through the free market, consensus must be reached on what is important through a long process of education of travel markets through experience, word of mouth and the media. This may defuse travel lobbies in favor of conventional tourism development, encourage reluctant tourism operators to comply with sustainable development guidelines, and resolve the conflict between leisure expectations and resource stewardship. Ideally, regulation and incentives at the destination level would help ensure industry responses to green consumerism (including local sourcing), providing funds needed to reinvest in natural attractions and meet visitor expectations. However, such intervention will be undermined by problems at the parastatal level, the ingrained monoculture philosophy in developing countries, and the difficulty of imposing controls where the tourism experience is not perceived as being exclusive. Progress may depend on the support of NGO's and the efforts of sustainable tourism lobbies, women's groups, and others.</p> <p>The World Bank called for targeted regulation and incentives but did not clarify "the target." Also, targets for behavior change were confined to producers and consumers, yet there may be other targets. Policy decisions should be based on a better understanding of the perceptions of indigenous groups (e.g. can the behavior of the non-formal sector be manipulated through formalized policies?).</p>

Table 26: Improve knowledge and make the development planning process more transparent

Policy Level	Perceptions of study sample
<p>1. The parastatal level.</p> <p>2. The formal and non-formal economic sectors.</p>	<p>At this level development deals are made based on proprietary information and covert incentives and governments are secretive, fearing threats to sovereignty from remote MDB administration. This strategy is necessary because institutions like the World Bank must promote the establishment of national environmental policies that allow for community participation in the design and implementation of environment sensitive development projects (allowing the sense of ownership that is important to the implementation of projects to be created at lower levels). The issue is whether action at this level will replicate small-scale successes in the non-formal sector, or merely suffocate them.</p> <p>This strategy is useful because it helps the formal economic sector sustain the natural and cultural resources upon which their activities depend. In the case of tourism, only indigenous people have the knowledge to interpret their environments. Tourism experiences will be more credible with their involvement, and their involvement will facilitate knowledge diffusion within and between countries, perhaps bringing the formal and non-formal sectors together. Through tourism a convergence of ideas between countries may take place, as tourists return to their own countries with ideas for innovative projects developed in response to accelerating problems. Sustainable tourism also acts as a catalyst for knowledge generation (e.g. scientific research). Responsible, "stakeholder tourists" may help break stereotypes indigenous people have of people from industrialized countries. On the other hand, conflicts between tourism businesses in the formal and non-formal economic sectors will obstruct the implementation of this strategy (the former may exclude the latter, who typically lack formal education, lack connections or proximity to development). The animosity and diversity that accompany complex population structures will distort and obstruct knowledge transfer. People at all levels may expect to be told rather than be included in a democratic process and will probably not expect governments to act in their own interests. They may not make the best decisions for themselves or their communities either.</p> <p>The problem with this strategy is that different actors have a completely different base of experience, which will prevent meaningful knowledge-transfer from taking place. The gulf between actors at different levels stems from class divisions ("the elite," established by original bilateral Aid organizations, the "middle class" of bureaucrats and businessmen established by post-war development, and the "lower class" of traditional, indigenous groups labeled "third world"). Nevertheless, technology may play a role in linking people at each level laterally within and between countries. How the vertical gulf within developing countries and between developing and developed countries can be crossed is an unresolved issue. Until people understand they are stakeholders in the process and constructive dialogue starts through which people discover alternatives, planning will always be an arrogant exercise because expatriate professionals in control of development projects can never really know what others think, want or feel is best.</p>

Table 27: Strengthen institutions and make them more accountable

Policy Level	Perceptions of study sample
<p>1. The parastatal level.</p> <p>2. The formal and non-formal economic sectors.</p>	<p>Existing policy and institutional networks already have well-established relationships, but these networks may not be receptive to new ways of organizing, because this may be perceived as an intrusion of sovereignty and as a ploy to limit the freedom of politicians and ministers; accountability runs counter to the self-interest of those in power; most countries are concerned with growth, not sustainable development; many parastatal organizations are slow to respond to obvious problems, even from an enlightened self-interest standpoint; governments may endorse incompatible development strategies and ignore the values of those it serves; institutional networks may lack strong leadership; donor and recipient countries may not properly coordinate donors or time development interventions; and, the media may not raise consciousness about the role of parastatal organizations and other organizations in development. The World Bank may be the only agent powerful enough to overcome intractable problems (such as short-sighted greed).</p> <p>This strategy raises consciousness of the role of industry in institutional networks. Institutions solve the problem of scale in industries such as tourism, which involve all actors in the development process, and represent many interests that cut across many sectors and geographical boundaries. Although most tour operators are not familiar with sustainable development and the role of institutions in assuring the economic viability of sustainable tourism, progress is being made on a small scale. Tour companies or individuals with an allegiance to communities may help build institutions initiated locally which are small enough that small contributions can make a significant impact. This model is replicable for threatened environments because it is self-sufficient. With sound local management and on-site funding from visitors who continue to invest after their experience, this model does not require management through an entire development system, and may resolve tensions between the formal and non-formal economic sectors. Communication is thought to be more important than money, enforcement or laws in assuring the success of this model, because lack of communication undermines the institutions and individuals serving communities.</p> <p>Institutions have different value systems and will take different positions on the issue of what constitutes sustainable behavior. The World Bank's strategy is useful to the extent that it legitimizes the importance of this issue. However, it cannot provide a universal model for institutional organization because each situation tends to be unique.</p>

Table 28: Coordinate tourism activities with other sectors in society

Policy Level	Perceptions of study sample
<p>1. The parastatal level.</p>	<p>Natural resources cannot be managed properly without intersectoral coordination. The success of tourism as a vehicle for achieving sustainable development depends on coordination because: any one project cannot generate enough tourism flow to survive, while too many tourists destroys tourism's asset base; the integration of tourism with sustainable development must be done simultaneously from inside and outside tourism, drawing on expertise from many fields; and, the most elaborate schemes in tourism fail if tourism is developed in a vacuum. A regional, cross-sector development framework would appear to be vital, although formal tourism planning may only serve to prevent the growth of sustainable tourism where potential exists and weaken a country's ability to compete globally. There are major obstacles to implementation of this policy at the parastatal level. Stated policy often does not reflect reality; decisions about tourism development are driven by short-term factors, and tourism is still considered a secondary commodity because its inputs and outputs cannot be easily characterized, predicted or controlled.</p>
<p>2. The formal and non-formal economic sectors.</p>	<p>This strategy points to tourism's potential role as a catalyst for sustainable development, because it interfaces with so many sectors. Sustainable tourism also helps make the case for reducing reliance on asset stripping, because it builds a positive image for countries and spreads tourism dollars more broadly. Sustainable tourism may provide a benchmark for further foreign investment in sustainable development, and could help countries leapfrog fossil fuel dependence (which they cannot afford) to renewable energy systems and advanced communications that will make them energy-efficient and energy-independent. Progress will depend on the industry's efforts to organize itself in order to resist exploitative development, put environmental policies in a more primary position in tourism, and gain a better understanding of all the kinds of environments that could support sustainable tourism development (based on what the modern tourist wants). Inevitably, the extent to which tourism becomes a sustainable development tool will depend on value changes in the developed world (i.e. when "richness of life experience" is prioritized over "net worth"). The continued development of sustainable tourism may help governments realize the opportunities that tourism creates for them to be popular with their people and rekindle World Bank interest in tourism as a development vehicle.</p> <p>Formal planning will not achieve the level of coordination required for achieving sustainable development because it attempts to achieve control without comprehending the context of developing countries and the dynamics and implications of change. A systems framework is required which identifies and links all the elements inside and outside tourism to understand and communicate how change takes place and how the development process can be re-structured.</p>

### 2.3 Response to research question

This subsection synthesizes the results of the previous subsection to create a single statement on the applicability of the World Bank's strategy to non-industrialized countries. The objective is to respond to the research question by identifying problems and issues at each policy level which might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach in development planning. The technocratic approach is defined here as an approach in which technocrats (experts working in or for a development institutions) treat development problems as technical, apolitical problems, developing strategies for non-industrialized countries based on their individual or group frames of reference. All findings that explicitly or implicitly challenged the frame of reference underlying the World Bank's strategy are included in the following subsection. In addition, this subsection also summarizes the perceived benefits of the World Bank's strategy at each level.

## **Section 2.4: Benefits, implementation problems and issues by policy level**

### **THE PARASTATAL LEVEL**

#### **A. Benefits of World Bank strategy at this level**

1. The World Bank's strategy can be used to redirect existing projects and prevent conventional, unsustainable development from taking place by putting environmental considerations in a more primary position on political agendas.
2. The World Bank's strategy can be used to formulate national environmental policies that require inclusion of local partners at the start of the project cycle.
3. The World Bank's strategy can be used to help design integrated resource management strategies that coordinate the specific needs of industries in the formal economic sector.
4. The World Bank's strategy can be used to get an information infrastructure established to tackle communications problems within and between policy levels.

#### **B. Implementation problems that might be attributable to use of the technocratic approach in development planning**

1. The World Bank's strategy may not be transmitted across policy levels as is assumed by this strategy. Different development institutions and actors have a completely different base of experience. Also, communications problems may occur due to inequality,

misinformation, animosity and mistrust.

2. The World Bank's strategy appears to underestimate the fundamental changes implied by sustainable development and the problems this poses for creating solutions that are sustainable in the long term (the transition may not be possible, or, may be short-lived).
3. The World Bank's strategy appears to underestimate the existence of covert political and social incentives and relationships and their role in maintaining current practices. Political decisions are seldom based on ecological principles and professional resource management.
4. The World Bank's strategy purports to achieve sustainable development but has not been proven in practice (there is no indication of how elements are interrelated or should be sequenced, and the strategy does not give a sense of the scale of changes needed to achieve sustainable development. Finally, some of the success stories in the video have turned out otherwise).
5. The World Bank assumed that formal planning can achieve the level of coordination required to achieve sustainable development. However, implementation of each element is tied to public processes, in which communication is more important than formalization. Until communications problems are solved, planning will remain technocratic, creating a barrier to communication.
6. The World Bank appears to have de-emphasized the impact that the precarious situation facing developing countries (i.e. global political-economic factors and demands of other

MDB policies such as structural adjustment) will have on implementation of its strategy.

7. The World Bank appears to have de-emphasized the role of Non-government organizations in implementing sustainable development.
8. The World Bank has not recognized the tension between environment and development institutions, the resolution of which is key to the success of sustainable development.

## **THE FORMAL ECONOMIC SECTOR**

### **A. Benefits of World Bank strategy at this level**

1. The World Bank's strategy is very useful for linking industry with broader social, economic and ecological needs, so that industries are not developed in a vacuum. This is particularly important in tourism, which crosses many sectors and whose ultimate success is dependent on everyone.

For example, the World Bank's strategy is very useful for re-thinking the tourism phenomenon from the broader vantage point of sustainable development. Using the World Bank's strategy, it may be possible to explore new roles for tourism (e.g. in helping developing countries by-pass industrialization to become economically as well as politically independent).

**B. Implementation problems that may be attributable to use of the technocratic approach in development planning**

1. The World Bank's strategy was not developed with the specific needs of the formal economic sector in mind. It is difficult to translate this strategy, which covers so many broad and complex issues in a blueprint format, into a development strategy for this sector. Also, the World Bank's assumptions may not always coincide with those of industry.
2. The World Bank overlooked industry-specific factors limiting use of its strategy in specific industries. The case of tourism showed that these might include:
  - a) The size and ownership of its enterprises

World Bank/IMF investments are typically \$10 million or more in size (Cain 1994; Younger 1994). Sustainable tourism investments are typically on a much smaller scale. The specific requirements of sustainable tourism development may not fit the familiar investment profile and criteria of development institutions.

- b) The scale and complexity of the industry and the problems this creates for control

As discussed above, tourism is not a discreet industry, but cuts across many sectors and geographical regions and its success is ultimately dependent on everyone in a country. This creates unique challenges from a development point of view.

- c) The difficulties involved in developing industry where solutions are most needed

This study revealed that there are some unanswered questions as to tourism's role in implementing sustainable development. There are approximately 630 million "extremely poor" people in the developing world (i.e. with \$275 dollars per capita a year or less income). On the one hand, tourism is labor intensive and as a "low-technology," is easily transferable. On the other hand, it is not clear whether tourism is realistic where it is needed most (the poor are now more likely to be African, women, landless, urban, war-affected and/or living in resource-poor areas).

- d) The political image of industry at the parastatal level

For example, tourism does not have the political leverage that other industries might have.

- e) The willingness of industry operators to compromise for sustainable development and accept that development must proceed cautiously

There is a problem of standards and protocol in the sustainable tourism industry. Some of these problems may be resolved as the industry matures. However, there may be limits as to how far the behavior of industry operators can be changed.

- f) The role that people in developed countries play in sustainable development in developing countries

The case of tourism indicated that solutions to problems in developing countries are not confined to developing countries and development institutions but extend to lay people in developed countries. This untapped potential has not been recognized in the formulation of sustainable development strategies.

- g) The minimum energy and resource requirements of industries

How far can industries be made sustainable? Tourism will always be a large consumer of land, air and sea transportation, however "sustainable" its development.

- h) The difficulty of identifying damaging practices

Industry operators expressed the concern in this study that a "damaging practice" is more likely to be one that does not fit into established plans than one that is actually damaging.

- i) The impact that the nature of an industry has on the criteria used for natural resource evaluation

For example, the criteria used to evaluate natural resources in tourism include aesthetics, which have not been included in technical models for resource evaluation.

3. The World Bank appears to have de-emphasized the fact that progress in achieving sustainable development will depend on factors beyond the World Bank's control, such as experience, word of mouth and media attention in developed countries.
  
4. The World Bank may have underestimated the role of industry in achieving its objectives. The benefits of sustainable tourism include its ability to:
  - a) Facilitate direct experience of problems and innovations, creating a long-term commitment based on conscience, which does not work through an entire administrative system that tries to bring everything up to a predetermined standard.
  - b) Integrate resources and forge relationships to create the critical mass needed for change at the local level.
  - c) Create new, sustainable uses for resources.
  - d) Channel tourism dollars directly into communities living around resources.
  - e) Expand the criteria used to arrive at resource values.
  - f) Promote self-reliance and redistribution of rights.
  - g) Facilitate knowledge transfer horizontally between peoples and vertically between countries.
  - h) Make fund-raising for resource management possible.
  - i) Support locally-initiated institutions and attractions.
  - j) Enhance the credibility of indigenous culture and knowledge.
  - k) Build a positive image for countries.
  - l) Reduce reliance on asset stripping and reduce leakages.
  - m) Provide a benchmark for foreign investment in sustainable development.
  - n) Help countries leapfrog fossil-fuel dependence to become more energy-independent.

The findings of this study also suggest that sustainable tourism can potentially meet what Harrison (1987) called "The Keys to Success," which help countries go for the quickest gains first by focusing on the actions that produce the biggest impact for the least cost. For example:

- a) Sustainable tourism involves low costs to beneficiaries (low or nil cash cost; low or nil forgone benefits).
  - b) Sustainable tourism is easy to maintain (low import content, low skill requirements).
  - c) Sustainable tourism is easy to disseminate (it is based partly on familiar principles, teachable in 1-2 day courses).
  - d) Sustainable tourism can be disseminated through many different channels (market, extension systems, mass organizations, schools, media, bureaucracy).
  - e) Sustainable tourism encourages strong local participation (in design, execution and management).
  - f) Sustainable tourism can adopt a "learning process approach" (it is flexible, and can be pilot-tested and refined).
  - g) Sustainable tourism can generate political backing (for example, conference tourism provides allows new political relationships to be formed).
  - h) Sustainable tourism can generate its own donor backing (i.e. tourists).
5. A secondary strategy is required for industries such as tourism, which would show relevant ministries how including tourism in their development plans would make them more popular and enhance their role in shaping their country's future.

## **THE NON-FORMAL ECONOMIC SECTOR**

### **A. Benefits of World Bank strategy at this level**

1. The World Bank might use its strategy and influence to establish communications networks that connect people who share the same base of experience at this level (within and between countries).

### **B. Implementation problems that may be attributable to use of the technocratic approach in development planning**

1. The World Bank appears to have overlooked the impact that socio- economic divisions will have on implementation. It is assumed that participation and commitment will flow from its strategy, but the Bank did not address how indigenous people perceive governments and the planning process, or how they could be made stakeholders in the outcome of development strategies. The strategy may only be useful for communicating ideas between people who are well-versed in the World Bank's approach, due to the technical and language requirements it imposes.
2. The World Bank's strategy appears to have ignored the fact that certain preconditions for its formalized strategy to work do not exist in non-industrialized countries (for example, free-flow of information, cooperation between policy levels, an active electorate).
3. The World Bank underestimated the impact that the past will have on how its new

solution is received. Its strategy may be perceived by the non-formal sector as a guise to gain control over development now that the effects of past policies have surfaced. The life-style of World Bank representatives may detract from its credibility as an institution able to respond to indigenous needs.

4. The World Bank appears to have overlooked the different interpretations of each strategy at this level (for example, any development project that takes resources out of traditional use may be perceived as an inefficient subsidy).
5. It is possible that some of the World Bank's strategies conflict with what is required to achieve sustainable development (small-scale successes are successful because they are not managed through an entire development system and do not rely on externally-imposed regulation and incentives).
6. The World Bank appears to have underestimated the impact that the ingrained monoculture philosophy in many countries will have on attempts at diversification.
7. The World Bank treated developing countries as homogenous and appears to have overlooked the impact that population dynamics will have on implementation.
8. The assumption is made that small-scale successes can be replicated through a system managed from the top-down, when sustainable development may have to start at the other end of the development process, with an understanding of the parameters established by economic, social and ecological systems.

## Summary

This chapter explored the hypothesis of this study, that continued use of the technocratic approach will in all probability prevent the World Bank's strategy from being implemented as intended. This was accomplished by identifying implementation problems and issues that might be attributed to use of the technocratic approach to development planning.

The findings appear to show support for this study's hypothesis, in that the World Bank's strategy was dominantly perceived as a necessary but insufficient solution to the problem of unsustainable development. It is necessary and useful at the parastatal level in helping prevent conventional projects from taking place. The example of the tourism industry showed its usefulness for creating dialogue about how the gap between the formal economic sector and sustainable development might be bridged, although many of its strategic assumptions have been challenged. Its usefulness in the non-formal economic sector is limited. Indeed, it may undermine rather than replicate grass-roots successes such as those portrayed in the World Bank videotape.

**CHAPTER 5**  
**DISCUSSION**

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### **DISCUSSION**

#### **Objectives**

The objectives of Chapter 5 are as follows:

1. To provide an overview of Chapters 1-4
2. To provide an overview of the significant findings of the study
3. To identify limitations and delimitations that affect the use of the study's findings
4. To consider the findings in light of existing theory, methodology and professional practice
5. To make recommendations for further research

These objectives are met in five corresponding sections.

## **SECTION 1: OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS 1-4**

Chapter 1 opened with a discussion of the emergence of sustainable development and the strategic response by development institutions, under pressure from non-government organizations. The discussion then identified the problem of implementation and suggested that this might be caused in part by an institutional contradiction -- a mismatch between strategy formulation, content and implementation. Most of the work on sustainable development has focused on development problems and solutions, without linking them to what happens inside institutions. Chapter 1 concluded that there is a need to solve the sustainable development problem conceptually by linking all the diverse elements and putting them in a broader development context. This knowledge might also serve as a benchmark for evaluating proposed alternatives to the technocratic approach.

Chapter 2 built the conceptual linkage between development strategy formulation, content and implementation, drawing on the development and tourism development literature. Alternatives to the technocratic approach were introduced, after which it was suggested that formulation issues have been overshadowed by interest in sustainable development. The discussion then introduced and explained sustainable development and the World Bank's strategy for achieving sustainable development, and illustrated the need for broader sustainable development strategies in the development industries such as sustainable tourism. Chapter 2 concluded with a discussion of institutional contradictions preventing development institutions from being able to support sustainable development, which led to the hypothesis that the technocratic approach to sustainable development strategy formulation creates development strategy content that probably cannot be implemented as intended.

Chapter 3 described the assumptions underlying the people-centered methodology used in this study. Section 2 then explained how the problem-structuring procedure would be used to

a) explore the hypothesis of this study by applying the World Bank's strategy to the tourism industry, and b) ensure that this implementation problem had been properly defined prior to data analysis. Section 3 then detailed the nine steps taken to collect, analyze and interpret the data.

Chapter 4 showed the major findings of three consecutive stages of data analysis, which had been articulated in Chapter 3. The objective of this was to show how this researcher responded to the research question of this study. The constructs generated in the interviews were summarized and categorized according to the conceptual framework developed in previous Chapters. These issues were summarized once more and located in a policy framework, which served to identify the distribution of implementation problems and issues in non-industrialized countries. Chapter 4 concluded by identifying the benefits of the World Bank's strategy at each of these policy levels, and anticipated implementation problems that might be explained by use of the technocratic approach to development planning. Chapter 4 concluded that the technocratic approach to development planning formulates sustainable development strategy that is unlikely to achieve sustainable development as the World Bank intended, with the implication that development institutions may not be internally equipped to support sustainable development.

## **SECTION 2: OVERVIEW OF THE SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

The findings of this study question the World Bank's assumption that its Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Development in Developing Countries will achieve sustainable development as intended. Respondents challenged the World Bank's interpretation of sustainable development, including its understanding of development problems and assumptions about where and how its solutions can be implemented and with what results.

Respondents thought the strategy a necessary but insufficient means for achieving sustainable development. The strategy is necessary at the parastatal level, where it can be used to redirect and prevent conventional development projects from taking place, and help establish people-centered national environmental policy and integrated resource management strategies for industry.

However, in formulating its strategy, the World Bank did not proceed from an understanding of the needs and potentials of specific industries, and overlooked the contributions they can make in achieving the strategy's objectives. As a result, the strategy is not directly useful in the formal economic sector. However, it is very useful for stimulating dialogue about how the gap between industry and sustainable development can be bridged.

The strategy is thought to be inappropriate for the non-formal economic sector because it tries to do the impossible, and that is replicate small-scale, self-sufficient successes through a centralized, formalized strategy. This is very difficult because the preconditions for the implementation of formalized strategy do not exist in the non-formal economic sector. Perhaps more importantly, sustainable development successes in non-industrialized countries are thought to start from an understanding of the needs and benefits of protecting natural and social systems, rather than from a set of economic building blocks.

The World Bank is best suited to narrowing the scope of its activities to the level at

which it is accustomed to operating--the parastatal level, implying that its strategy can only expect to help create affirmative conditions for sustainable development, rather than expect to achieve it.

### **SECTION 3: LIMITATIONS AND DELIMITATIONS THAT AFFECT THE USE OF THE STUDY'S FINDINGS**

This study performed a small-scale, "snapshot" analysis of anticipated potentials, problems and issues in implementing sustainable development, not a large-scale, country-specific, historical, longitudinal study. The latter alternative was not tenable in this study, first, because sustainable development has no precedent, and second, because this study did not have the resources to undertake such a task. Resource limitations also meant that the assessment of the usefulness of the World Bank's strategy in developing countries was based on the observations of people from developed, not developing countries, and focused on the experience of one, relatively new industry. The implications of these points are discussed below.

#### **Limitations of World Bank strategy materials**

The World Bank's approach to sustainable development was represented to participants only through the institution's formal public relations face (the strategy statement and videotape). The formal strategy documents and public relations products of a large institution such as the World Bank are an imperfect representation of what actually takes place. Nevertheless, the purpose of these materials was to build support for and commitment to the World Bank's approach to sustainable development. It is upon this basis that actors who have not worked directly with the World Bank (and whom the World Bank is trying to bring on board), make judgments about what really happens. Though simplified and symbolic, the World Bank's strategy does represent the backbone of its approach to sustainable development (confirmed in a discussion between this researcher and Andrew Steer, who coordinated the development of the World Bank's strategy).

### **Delimitations of data analysis**

From a practitioner's point of view, the findings of this study may be difficult to interpret operationally. For example, it is difficult to determine what "traditional practices" mean in the context of a sustainable tourism project. A richer set of recommendations or findings could perhaps have been generated from the data by investigating in more depth the policy issues that surround sustainable tourism, and its role in the development of a given country's tourism sector. On the other hand, the lack of operational specificity of the findings is also reflective of the general nature of the World Bank's strategy, and only serves to support the argument made by many participants, that the World Bank's strategy is difficult to translate into a tourism development agenda.

Finally, although specific policy issues surrounding sustainable tourism are very important and topical, the primary purpose of this dissertation was to probe behind specific development contexts and programs to understand the ability of development institutions to support sustainable development of industries such as tourism. Finally, this researcher resisted the temptation to make operational recommendations because this would have been technocratic. The major point that can be supported by this study is that sustainable development is a political, economic, social and ecological process informed by certain kinds of values.

### **Limitations of sample**

The sample in this study did not include World Bank professionals or managers. The reason for this was strategic -- to choose a subset of the strategy's audience outside the World Bank. The sample in this study did not include tourism industry leaders, including trade

associations and major hotel chains. There was an initial intention to do so, however, two practical problems intervened to prevent this researcher from maximizing the range of divergent constructions. The first emerged in the pilot study, when it became clear that people who were not well-versed in sustainable development issues struggled with the concepts in the World Bank's strategy. The second problem emerged as the interviews progressed. Originally it was anticipated that the viewpoints of people in sustainable tourism could be saturated after about eight interviews. It then became clear that many more interviews were required. Saturation of views in the tourism community will require a second study.

The limitation of the sample is that it represents a fairly narrow range of viewpoints. It is quite possible that the conclusions reached by the respondents were based not only on the World Bank's strategy but on their preconceptions of the World Bank. Like the World Bank, the people interviewed in this study also selected a narrow view of reality that suited their organizational needs. This observation strengthens the argument that sustainable development strategies cannot be divorced from the organizations that create them. Nevertheless, further rounds of interviews need to be conducted with stakeholders who were not represented to ensure that as many stakeholders as possible have the opportunity to contribute their constructions.

#### **Limitations of use in other contexts**

As was discussed in Chapter 3, the findings of this study are not directly transferable to other contexts. This stems from the methodological assumption that development contexts are unique and constantly changing. The usefulness of the study derives from another assumption, that all aspects of reality are interrelated--that we can understand the whole by examining a small portion of it in depth. The implications of this are that the theoretical frameworks and

recommendations that result from this study may be of use in guiding future research in similar situations.

There is of course the possibility that the implementation problems anticipated by the participants this study may have existed even if the technocratic approach was replaced with another approach to strategy formulation. It should be stated that this study did not seek to establish causality between strategy formulation, content and implementation but only to identify plausible linkages between them.

#### **SECTION 4: A CONSIDERATION OF THE FINDINGS IN LIGHT OF EXISTING THEORY, METHODOLOGY AND PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE**

The major contribution of this study was that it helped solve the sustainable development problem conceptually by linking development strategy implementation and content with strategy formulation. The findings support the argument made by Cernea (1990), Rich (1990), Esman (1991) and others that a change in approach to strategy formulation and development management is needed. It also suggests that development institutions are not well-equipped to support the sustainable development of industries that need support for effecting fundamental change, such as tourism. Development institutions continue to treat development problems as technical, apolitical problems, when sustainable development, because of the trade-offs it implies, is a highly contestable and politically charged issue. The findings of this study help explain why efforts to work together in the implementation of sustainable development often disintegrate. It is commonly thought that the reason for this is that there is some inherent problem with the concept of sustainable development which makes it impossible to implement. The findings of this study suggest that the problem lies more in the approaches used to respond to sustainable development than with the concept itself. The question that remains is, will the proposed alternatives to the technocratic approach work, and what can be learned from this study that might help identify ways of improving the chances of consensus on sustainable development? The purpose of this section is to explore this issue.

As was discussed above, the findings of this study suggest that the strategy implementation problem will not be resolved with a change in strategy content alone -- a shift in strategy formulation is also required to address the mismatch between development strategy formulation, content and implementation. In this context, Cernea argued that the "people-centered approach" will prevent repeated development failures from taking place by reversing

the conventional wisdom in development planning:

"Putting people first is a reversal because it proposes another starting point in the planning and design of project than that taken by current technology-centered approaches. This specific "reversal" demands to identify--in every single technical, financial, or administrative intervention--the sociological angle and the variables pertinent to the social organization affected or targeted by intervention" (Ibid 1991:9).

Cernea's principal recommendation is that economic and technical experts work alongside sociologists and anthropologists, thereby formalizing the position of the social analyst within the structure of technical and development agencies:

"Sociological knowledge--and the social analyst--can help identify, conceptualize, and deal with the social and cultural variables involved in financially induced programs. In so doing, the sociologist's contribution consists not just of uncovering social variables overlooked in the planner's approach; it often amounts, as Robert Merton pointed out, to a reformulation of the problem that requires solving" (Ibid, p.13).

Action-oriented research work, in which sociologists go outside the academic cocoon of their disciplines, may reduce the risks of induced development by creating operationally useable know-how and models for action and learning. The question is, is Cernea's people-centered approach adequate for addressing the strategy formulation problems of development institutions?

The findings of this study suggest that this approach will not be sufficient. The principal reason is that it only opens up entrance points for different kinds of experts at the parastatal

level, and does not address the role of stakeholders in the formal and non-formal economic sectors in strategy formulation. From this perspective, Cernea's people-centered approach is not really a reversal in approach to development planning, but a modification of the technocratic approach used to plan development interventions.

Effecting a reversal in development planning will require more than the opening up of more entrance points for social scientific knowledge. Although the inclusion of social scientific knowledge reduces the risks inherent in induced development, it does not address a more fundamental problem: that induced and sustainable development are incompatible. Induced development, defined as "purposive interventions used for directing and accelerating economic growth and social development" (Cernea 1991:6), starts with a set of predetermined assumptions and building blocks and tries to adapt the receiving system to them. Induced development relies on strict scientific definition to produce a set of imperatives and prohibitions for imposing order where there appears to be chaos. Induced development rests on immutable rules which deemphasize self-reliance and responsibility (by relegating responsibility for care of resources to the professional elite). Sustainable development, in contrast, starts with an understanding of the social, ecological, political, technological and economic parameters of a system in order to determine what is possible and desirable within that system. Sustainable development cannot rely on strict scientific definition because living systems (social and ecological) do not lend themselves to this. On the one hand, they are always in flux and transformation, and on the other hand, living systems react negatively to investigation and experimentation. They typically respond to strict control (removal or constant input of stimuli) by becoming uncontrolled or dysfunctional (Mollison 1990). The development legacy shows that, although development institutions are powerful in their own right, this power is relative--their development strategies cannot create the conditions for their own success.

Sustainable development means working with rather than against living systems. The

underlying assumption is that the best course for survival is that which recognizes that the fate of people and the earth are intertwined. It is a doctrine of enlightened self-interest which starts with the stabilization and care of natural resources, which then allows household and local needs to be served within predetermined limits of population and consumption, only thereafter producing a surplus for sale or exchange (Ibid). Sustainable systems are self-reliant, for example, their energy needs are provided for within the system, not external to it. This means that, unlike technocratic, induced development, sustainable development cannot relegate responsibility for care of resources to the professional elite. Development becomes sustainable when it has an agreed-upon common basis for action, just as a people becomes a nation when it has an agreed-upon common basis for action. Sustainable development is guided by a "minimal ethic," one which, among other things, views the duties and responsibilities of people to nature as being equal to those of people to people; thinks in terms of a total systems integrative framework (avoiding over-specialization); gives thought to some ultimate end; and, provides practical guidance for the pursuit of "right livelihood" (Ibid).

There is an urgent need for stakeholders in development to meet, discuss and accept a minimal ethic, thereby recognizing each other and building a foundation for deciding on the most effective way to assist systems and people. The technocratic, induced approach does not assist in this task because assumptions and ethics are predetermined and built into development strategies at the parastatal level.

A pluralistic approach is required that opens up entrance points not only at the parastatal level, but in the formal and non-formal economic sectors--i.e. one which stimulates, activates, welcomes and rewards creative initiatives in all sectors of society. This represents a marked departure from Cernea's people-centered approach, which proceeds from the inherited assumption that the only model for development is the induced model. Esman (1991) suggested that the pluralistic approach may be operationalized through the development of

entrepreneurial and political skills in development managers. Similarly, in Development Projects as Policy Experiments, Rondinelli (1993) argued that the resolution of development problems depends on the "ability of planners and administrators to use more effectively the political, social and economic mechanisms of authority, exchange and persuasion.." However, the findings of this study indicate that these solutions, although necessary, may not be sufficient. For example, there appears to be considerable resistance built into existing relationships between actors operating at different levels in the development paradigm. Fundamental problems of animosity and mistrust between the non-formal sector and the parastatal level cast serious doubt on Esman's idea that senior development managers will be able to broker development networks successfully. Indeed, the findings of this study suggest that relationships should first be developed laterally (between people who share a similar base of experience within and between countries) before trying to make vertical connections between policy levels as Esman and Rondinelli's paradigm would suggest. Some respondents in this study suggested that this need may be met through existing and new communications technology (e.g. radio and satellite communications, respectively). (Note: research is already being done at the interface between computerized knowledge systems and indigenous knowledge systems (for example, Doris M. Schoenhoff's The Barefoot Expert). However, it is not clear what the prerequisites, management requirements, social impacts and ethical implications of this technology will be).

The major implication of the above discussion is that neither the use of social scientific knowledge in development projects, nor the development of a field of "development management," may be sufficient to implement the pluralistic approach to development planning. There is a need to re-assess the development strategy formulation-content-implementation process in its entirety, using first-hand knowledge of each policy level/domain and requirements for achieving sustainable development as a benchmark. With this need in mind, the researcher proposes the Development Strategy Matrix (DSM) which couples the strategy process more

directly with the context of development in developing countries (Figure 3). This matrix may be applied to a country to explore formulation, content and implementation issues specific to each sector and policy level. The DSM supports the call in the development literature for a movement away from the ideological positions that have characterized the development debate over the last two decades. The DSM does this by combining all three ideological positions--the "state" (the parastatal level), the "market" (the formal economic sector), and "development from below" (the non-formal sector). The DSM encourages development actors to address the mismatch between strategy formulation, content and implementation by relating all three phases to all three policy levels, rather than address implementation issues after strategies have been set in stone (as is the case in the technocratic approach).

The DSM and other pluralistic approaches are useful as theoretical frameworks, but, given what we know about the power of the technocratic approach as a deeply ingrained, self-confirming social theory shared by members of the development community, face enormous institutional obstacles. A more fundamental reexamination of the values governing development decisions may first be required before new ideas and frameworks can be considered. This would address the inherent contradiction between induced and sustainable development. What follows is a discussion of how the values governing development might be identified, examined and transformed.

### **Examining governing values**

Dubos (1979) observed that adaptation always involves a very complicated situation, which is why adaptation itself is rarely studied. This study made an attempt to understand the nature of this problem. It appears as if the proposed alternatives to the people-centered approach may not solve formulation problems, while many barriers exist to the implementation

Strategy Level

Formulation	Content	Implementation	
Strategic Issues	Strategic Issues	Strategic Issues	Parastatal Level
Strategic Issues	Strategic Issues	Strategic Issues	Formal economic sector
Strategic Issues	Strategic Issues	Strategic Issues	Non-formal economic sector

Policy Level

**Figure 3: Development Strategy Matrix**

of a more pluralistic approach to development. An exploration of possible solutions to this problem requires the help of a different body of knowledge -- the organizational behavior and learning literature. This body of knowledge has shed some light on the problem of institutional adaptation. What follows is an application of some of the ideas of Chris Argyris on "organizational limited learning systems."

In Knowledge for Action Argyris argued that the kind of predicament faced by the World Bank is encountered universally. Organizations facing the World Bank's predicament are unable to create an organizational behavioral world that is consistent with the governing values they espouse (such as sustainable development) because their theory-in-use rewards limited learning. The theory-in-use characterizing most organizations is described by Argyris as "Model I." It has four governing values:

1. Achieve your intended purpose
2. Maximize winning and minimize losing
3. Suppress negative feelings
4. Behave according to what you consider rational

The prevalent action strategies that arise from Model I are:

1. Advocate your position
2. Evaluate the thoughts and actions of yourself and others
3. Attribute causes for whatever you are trying to understand

According to Argyris, the latter action strategies are performed in a way that satisfies the former governing values, which tells individuals to craft their positions, evaluations, and

attributions in ways that inhibit inquiries into them and tests of them with others' logic (Ibid 1993:52). The World Bank has achieved this by grounding the project cycle in the 400 year-old positivist tradition. The positivist claim is that positivist methods ensure scientific inquiry is "objective" because it is value-free. Thus the World Bank's strategy must be based on the way things really are and really work because it is grounded in economic building blocks, whose ability to predict and to control has been demonstrated through value-free scientific research. Any new interpretation that does not fit this scientific model is dismissed as being "subjective" and therefore, irrelevant.

The claim for scientific objectivity serves an important function as an "organizational defensive routine," which serves to inhibit inquiries and tests of the World Bank's approach to sustainable development. The results of this study support Argyris's idea that organizational defensive routines are caused by a circular, self-reinforcing process in which individuals' theories-in-use produce individual strategies of bypass and cover-up, which result in organizational bypass and cover-up, which in turn reinforce individuals' theories-in-use. The World Bank's strategy helps it avoid further embarrassment or threat and increases the credibility of its actions by hiding the uncertainty of sustainable development behind a set of rigid assumptions.

However, this kind of response inevitably does not reduce risks, because the uncertainty of the situation persists (Devons 1954). Also, this kind of response only serves to prevent people from discovering the causes of the embarrassment or threat (Argyris 1993). This has an important implication for use of this study's results. Used in isolation, the results of this study may only create additional conditions of embarrassment and threat and trigger the more defensiveness routines and "skillful incompetence" (Argyris 1986). Argyris suggests that the only way to get individuals in organizations to recognize their Model I blindness is to introduce Model II theories-in-use, which include a new set of skills and governing values. These values are a)

valid information, b) informed choice, and c) vigilant monitoring of the implementation of the choice in order to detect and correct error (all of which are violated by the technocratic approach, which says "this is the best way to do x"). In Model II, action strategies openly illustrate how the actors reached their evaluations or attributions and how they crafted them to encourage inquiry and testing by others (Ibid). This replaces self-serving, anti-learning and over-protective reasoning with productive reasoning.

Other researchers (for example Gareth Morgan) have delineated the kind of organization what would result from Model II. It would encourage an openness and reflexivity that accepts error and uncertainty as an inevitable feature of life in complex environments and encourage an approach to analysis and solution that recognizes the importance of exploring different viewpoints. This would imply avoiding structures and strategies that predetermine everything. For example, Rondinelli (1993) advocated a shift to "adaptive administration," in which institutions would employ a more experimental, learning approach to development problems.

The "master-plan" approach ingrained in World Bank project planning would be replaced with a view of strategy as an evolving space of possible actions that satisfy critical limits. The typical mechanistic Western view in which values are forced into the background would be replaced with a view that views values as the limits that define the set of possible actions at any one time. An analogy might be drawn with what management theorists describe as the future organizational model, in which the traditional hierarchy is turned upside-down so that the role of managers at all levels is to support efforts at achieving competitive advantage at the interface between the organization and the customer--at the summit. In the context of this study, the World Bank's role would be to support efforts at achieving sustainable development at the interface between enterprise, NGO's and people in developing countries, in which the latter would occupy the summit.

The knowledge gained from this study may support a research and intervention strategy

whose goal is to demonstrate pattern causality (relationships between theories-in-use, organizational defensiveness routines and limited-learning systems) as a basis for changing the values governing development projects. However, the idea of a change in governing values may be unpopular for several reasons. First, it goes against the "can do" orientation to development, in which a solution can be found to all problems in all countries. Western societies and institutions have presented themselves as development models for the "developing" world (and the latter is captivated by "developed" countries). Second, a change in governing values will conflict with the World Bank's charter, which mandates control of the conditions under which development projects are selected and carried out. Third, it is important to recognize that development institutions do not exist in isolation--they are part of a political system and seek to impose a policy control over as wide an area of influence as possible (Mollison 1990). The tension between induced, controlled development and sustainable development is reflected in the schizophrenic nature of the World Bank's strategy, which on the one hand emphasizes cooperation, and on the other, strict control of the non-formal and formal economic sectors. According to Mollison (1990:506):

"..very few sustainable systems are designed or applied by those who hold power, and the reason for this is obvious and simple: to let people arrange their own food, energy, and shelter is to lose economic and political control over them."

Nevertheless, a re-examination of governing values might be necessary to bring a sense of realism into development planning, particularly now that the entire Aid process is being brought into question. The view from "the South" (an alternative label for the developing or non-industrialized world) is that achieving sustainable development requires far more than an institutional shift in governing values--it requires a shift in the relationships between institutions in

different countries. The Challenge to the South, the report of the South Commission published in 1990, concluded that:

"..what is needed is that the world community as a whole should transform radically the institutions and arrangements which arose in a different age-an age of domination, imperialism, and inequality..(p.285)."

This transformation would prevent dominant countries of the North from redesigning the development system to their own advantage, and would be achieved by:

- a) Acquiring maximum countervailing power through increased exploitation of the South's collective resources (three-fourth's of humanity).
- b) Setting in motion a multilateral, democratic process to arrive at a global consensus on the new international system, its basic goals, how it should be managed, and the institutions it requires.
- c) Playing a leading role in this process by speaking with a united voice that captures the imagination of the world's people, especially the young.

Meanwhile, in the North (industrialized countries), education and information about development are changing people's worldviews. If and when enough people change, the World Bank and other development institutions may appear increasingly irrelevant in terms of real solutions to sustainable development unless a change in identity and priorities takes place.

## **SECTION 5: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

### **a) Sustainable development**

Sustainable development has been defined in many different ways, reflecting divergent assumptions about what it means and what it should achieve, which seem to reflect the political position of those sitting in judgment. The lack of a common definition should not be interpreted as an insurmountable barrier, for diversity is the key to sustainable development. It implies that the means for achieving sustainable development depends on the context (e.g country, sector, organization and policy level) in which development takes place. It cannot be prescribed from any other vantage point, except in very general terms. The attempt to create a definition that is both universal and practical may be futile and inappropriate. Research is required to determine whether the Development Strategy Matrix presented in this study is of use for linking development problems, institutions and solutions.

### **b) People-centered approach**

The attempt to make planning more people-centered has been limited to incorporating social and anthropological knowledge into the design of induced development projects. However, this study suggests an inherent conflict between the induced model and sustainable development, particularly in the non-formal economic sector. However, sustainable development is still in its infancy as an organizing principle, and the findings of this study are based on the limited experience of one emerging industry sector. Research is required to investigate whether "induced sustainable development" is in fact a contradiction in terms.

**c) Strategy studies**

Development problems and development strategy formulation, content and implementation tend to be treated as if they exist in separate categories. The conceptual framework of this study attempted to link these elements. Although this study could not demonstrate causality between development strategy formulation, content and implementation, there appears to be a plausible linkage between them. It is impossible to predict whether or how far a change in the way development projects are designed would actually improve development outcomes. However, the knowledge that such a linkage exists supports the view that future research is needed in this area.

**d) Tourism development**

The Model of Tourism Development Planning presented in Chapter 2 suggested that tourism has been developed in a vacuum. In this respect, the World Bank's strategy was very useful for stimulating dialogue about the relationship between tourism and sustainable development. However, the role of tourism in sustainable development is still largely an unanswered question. A systems framework needs to be developed to link together the elements in tourism development at the parastatal level and in both economic sectors. The knowledge generated by this study might help define the elements and their relationships. This framework would serve to bridge the gap between tourism and sustainable development and avoid the tendency to treat tourism as a self-contained policy area. It would also help define the secondary strategy that is required to articulate tourism's role in sustainable development, and to get sustainable tourism on the development agenda.

**e) World Bank's transition to sustainable development**

The results of this study indicate that the program, policy and institutional shifts the World Bank intended to take place have not been sufficient to meet the requirements of sustainable development, which is fundamentally different from conventional development. The World Bank created a strategy that may have a distorted view of what is possible and how "the possible" will be achieved. The World Bank's assumption that a macro policy will create the conditions for its own success fails to see the texture of developing countries completely and the complex relationships between individuals, organizations and ecosystems within and between policy levels and countries. It appears important to craft sustainable development strategy based on individual circumstances. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the knowledge generated from this study might be used as part of a broader effort to justify and develop new skills and governing values in the World Bank.

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International Finance Corporation.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: EARTHWATCH ECOTOURISM VENTURES

# EARTHWATCH

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Come with us to Maya ceremonial caves,  
China's bustard haunts, Florida's dolphin playgrounds,  
Majorca's Bronze Age sanctuaries.

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## Invitation to membership

Dear Membership Candidate:

I'm writing to offer you a job.

It's not a permanent job, understand. You'll be working for only as much time as you find it rewarding and fun.

It's not even a paying job. On the contrary, it will cost you money.

But if you're willing to travel to offbeat places all over the U.S. and abroad ... to meet fascinating new people of all ages and nationalities ... to open your mind to new perspectives and ideas ... and in the process to help make this planet of ours a better place for us all ...

... then please accept this invitation to become a member of EARTHWATCH and prepare yourself to enjoy some of the richest rewards that human existence offers.

Adventure. Fellowship. Challenge. Growth. A feeling of personal fulfillment like you may have never experienced before.

EARTHWATCH is a nonprofit organization that works a bit like the Peace Corps. We organize expeditions to research sites all over the world for leading scholars and scientists. We then recruit interested men and women like yourself who are willing to lend a hand by serving as staff volunteers.

We've recently been supporting archaeological digs in Mexico,

(over, please)

Spain, Japan, Chile.

We're involved in environmental and conservation programs in the U.S. and abroad.

We not long ago opened cultural bridges linking America with China and Russia.

We're also helping to preserve endangered species and habitats.

Worthy goals, don't you agree? And if you'd like to play a more active role in seeing them come to fruition, a good place to start is with a membership in EARTHWATCH..

By returning the enclosed acceptance form, you'll immediately become eligible to participate in any and all expeditions.

You'll also enjoy all other member benefits including a lively and beautiful magazine.

You'll be invited to special outings, lectures and receptions in your area so you can meet your fellow members, and rub shoulders with scholars, scientists, authors.

In addition, you'll also start getting the magazine EARTHWATCH -- a publication that's been characterized as a cross between the National Geographic, Smithsonian, and the departures board at the airport for the way it reports on scientific and cultural phenomena of all kinds ...

... then also binds into each issue a special section that lists and describes all the different expeditions you can go on. Pick your date! Pick your place! Pick your project!

How much time do expeditions require? As many days or weeks as you care to give. It's entirely your decision. Recent issues of EARTHWATCH have listed an extraordinary variety of choices:

\* A week or two at North Carolina's Pisgah Bear Sanctuary to help determine what the animals do with themselves all day now that they no longer have to be on the run

\* A few more weeks at Fort Peck Reservoir in Montana trying to find out why there were dinosaurs still on the prowl half a million years after they were supposedly

all wiped out by a falling asteroid

\* A month or so in the Auvergne region of France, helping to dig up from underneath vineyards and Romanesque churches new revelations about Stone Age settlements

\* A winter getaway to Wild Cane Cay, Belize collecting and analyzing Caribbean artifacts to learn what role ceremonial caves played in Maya life and religion

\* Spring breaks in Majorca exploring sanctuaries that hold clues to life in the Bronze Age, or in the waters off Florida making new entries in the dictionary of the language of dolphins

\* A summer odyssey in the taiga forests of Alaska to monitor changes in the water in this "land of little sticks," as Russians call the taiga, and learn how the watershed affects wildlife and weather patterns

\* An entire season in China's Beidaihe headland helping ornithologists from all over the world survey native great bustards, cranes, pied harriers, Oriental white storks.

Tempted? Want to learn more? Once you locate a project that fits your schedule, interests and budget, you can send for a detailed Expedition Briefing Kit containing maps, background information, biographies, goals and scenarios, requirements.

These dossiers make such good reading that many stay-at-home members order them to pore over purely for pleasure, the way armchair globe-trotters curl up with Fodor and Fielding guidebooks. Other members use them as teaching aids.

How much money will an expedition cost you? It all depends. Certainly less than you'd have to budget for crowding onto the Interstate highways and checking in and out of motels. And far less than you'd probably need to pay to see the world on your own -- the great cities, deserts, seas, mountains, jungles, wildlife preserves.

What keeps your costs low is sharing expenses with others who make up your team. Informal hostels and camps instead of pricey hotels. Native cooks and foods. Too, all reasonable expedition costs are tax-deductible, including getting there and returning back home.

What special skills will you need? Few that you don't have already. The ability to measure wildflower growth in our burned-out national

(over, please)

parks. To brush the dust off an Egyptian tomb that's lain buried for over three thousand years. To count the shining cuckoos remaining in New Zealand's Kowhai Forest.

The ability to explain to an African mother, through a village translator, how to prepare more nourishing food for her child. To record the song of a humpback whale from a skiff idling off the beaches of Hawaii.

The ability to gaze up into the heavens and discover a new comet, a new star, a new galaxy, and to see it christened with your own name ...

Since its founding in 1971, EARTHWATCH has provided a meeting ground for like-minded men and women. Young people and retirees who share a common concern for the planet. Doctors, architects, lawyers looking to contribute to the betterment of the world.

Business people seeking worthwhile outlets for their own specialized skills and know-how. Technicians. Carpenters. Teachers. Photographers. Mechanics. Nurses. Librarians.

If our organization sounds like something that you too would take pleasure in being a part of -- whether by participation actively, or cheering us on from the sidelines -- I urge you to send in the membership form at your earliest convenience ... so your adventure can begin with the very next issue of EARTHWATCH.

May we look for your acceptance by return mail? Thanks from all of us here, and welcome!

Faithfully yours,



Brian Rosborough  
President

BR:jp

P.S. Important tax benefits. Like virtually all EARTHWATCH contributions, membership is tax-deductible.

## EARTHWATCH

680 Mt. Auburn Street · Box 403  
Watertown, Massachusetts 02272

## MEMBER BENEFITS

**1. Earthwatch Magazine.**  
Illustrated member magazine brings you science updates, announcements of new expeditions.

**2. Annual Catalog.**  
Special January edition of *Earthwatch* Magazine describes all scheduled expeditions.

**3. Eligibility.**  
Membership qualifies you for any and all expeditions.

**4. Get-Away Kits.**  
At cost, detailed expedition briefing kits tell you what, where, when, who, how.

**5. Invitational Events.**  
Meet leading scientists, fellow members at regional gatherings.

**6. Make a Difference.**  
Whether you go, or cheer from the sidelines, you help advance the frontiers of knowledge.

**7. Tax Deductions.**  
Membership contributions and shared expedition expenses are fully tax deductible except for \$10 applied to the magazine subscription.

DATE \_\_\_\_\_ \$ \_\_\_\_\_ DEDUCTION \_\_\_\_\_  
CHECK # \_\_\_\_\_ CREDIT CARD \_\_\_\_\_

## I accept your invitation with anticipation.

Please put me down to receive all benefits—*Earthwatch* Magazine (including annual catalog issue), eligibility for all expeditions, get-away kits, invitational events, plus the satisfaction of making a difference.

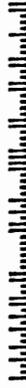
Check for my \$25 membership contribution (\$35 for Canadian, \$40 for all other foreign) is enclosed.

Please charge my credit card:  
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CARD # \_\_\_\_\_ EXP. DATE \_\_\_\_\_

For fast, toll-free service with your credit card call  
1-800-825-0061 between 8:30 AM and 5:00 PM EST.

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Giles Jackson  
School Of Business  
Shenandoah University  
1460 University Drive  
Winchester, VA 22601-5100



Postmark early. Participation limited. Be on the safe side.  
Mail card now in post-paid envelope to make next pick-up.

# EARTHWATCH

Membership Services ■ P.O. Box 403 ■ Watertown, MA 02272



APPENDIX 2: MATERIALS SENT TO RESPONDENTS



SHENANDOAH  
UNIVERSITY

*Harry F. Byrd, Jr. School of Business*

August 1, 1993

Address

Dear :

It was a pleasure talking to you this morning. Your participation in exploring the usefulness of the World Bank's strategy as a guide for sustainable growth of travel and tourism in developing countries is greatly appreciated. You will recall that this study is partially funded by the Durrell Institute in Virginia and partially fulfills the requirements for a Ph.D. degree from Virginia Tech.

Please find enclosed a) a summary of the World Bank's strategy and this study, b) a videotape explaining this strategy, and c) two matrices provided to help you apply the World Bank's strategy to the travel and tourism industry, in preparation for the interview. Please review the videotape prior to completing the matrices.

Following the interview, I will transcribe and summarize your interpretations and validate them by having you add, delete or amend a printed copy of my summary. I look forward to sending you a copy of the major findings of this study. Thanks again for your participation.

Yours sincerely,

Giles Jackson  
Assistant Professor

*1460 University Drive • Winchester, Virginia 22601*

*(703) 665-4572*

*FAX (703) 665-5437*

The World Bank's (1992) Strategy for Achieving Sustainable  
Development in Developing Countries

Summary of Major Points on Videotape

Priorities for Action:

- ◆ ensuring clean air and water
- ◆ providing adequate sanitation
- ◆ maintaining productive soils
- ◆ protecting forests and other natural habitats

The World Bank identifies two kinds of development problems:

1. Those that result from too little development.
2. Those that result from uncontrolled development.

Development problems may be solved with two development policies:

1. Those that harness the positive links between environment and development.
2. Those that break the negative links between environment and development.

The matrices overleaf list the elements of each development policy.

The Study

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to improve our understanding of the usefulness of the sustainable development strategies of multilateral development banks for industry sectors.

Objectives:

1. to explore the potential role of tourism in implementing each of the elements in the World Bank's strategy
2. to identify obstacles to the development of tourism's potential role in implementing the World Bank's strategy
3. to explore key issues that need to be addressed in the future

Please make use of the matrices to list key points that you would like to address during the interview.

1. Role of tourism in harnessing the positive links between environment and development

	POTENTIAL role of tourism in implementing World Bank strategy.	OBSTACLES to developing tourism's potential role in World Bank strategy.	ISSUES that need to be addressed in the future.
World Bank Strategies			
<p>a) Remove subsidies that encourage inefficient and environmentally damaging practices. Example: curb excessive use of fossil fuels.</p>			
<p>b) Improve evaluation of natural resources by removing incentives to exploit them and providing incentives for responsible actions. Example: renewable energy, resource stewardship.</p>			
<p>c) Clarify property rights to managing and owning land, forests and industry, while enhancing competitiveness and stability. Example: zoning, infrastructure, legal decisions, new forms of organization, integration with world trade.</p>			
<p>d) Accelerate education and better natural resource management. Example: lower-cost technologies, empowerment of those affected by policy.</p>			
<p>e) Invest in water and sanitation. Example: harnessing the initiative of the private sector.</p>			

2. Role of tourism in breaking the negative links between environment and development

	POTENTIAL role of tourism in implementing World Bank strategy.	OBSTACLES to developing tourism's potential role in World Bank strategy.	ISSUES that need to be addressed in the future.
<p><b>World Bank Strategies</b></p>			
<p><b>a)</b> Change the behavior of producers and consumers through targeted regulation and incentives Example: regulation when direct control is efficient. Otherwise, market-based incentives (e.g. polluter pays).</p>			
<p><b>b)</b> Improve knowledge and make the development planning process more transparent Example: using indigenous knowledge, making the process more people-centered.</p>			
<p><b>c)</b> Strengthen institutions and make them more accountable Example: set realistic standards, build constituencies for change.</p>			
<p><b>d)</b> Coordinate tourism activities with other sectors in society Example: building partnerships at various levels and ensuring consistency with an overall policy framework.</p>			

## Definitions

Capital	Wealth or property that is used to produce more wealth, the money with which a business etc. is started.
Developing Country	A poor or primitive country that is developing better economic and social conditions.
Economics	The study of how resources are allocated among alternative uses to satisfy human wants.
Ecotourism	Responsible travel that conserves natural environments and sustains the well-being of local people.
Incentive	Something that rouses or encourages a person to some action or effort.
Infrastructure	The subordinate parts and installations etc. that form the basis of an enterprise.
Policy	The course or general plan of action adopted by a government or party or person.
Property right	A legal right or interest in or against specific property.
Regulation	An authoritative rule dealing with details or procedure.
Strategy	A plan...to achieve something
Subsidy	A grant of money paid to an industry or other cause needing help, or to keep down the price at which commodities etc. are sold to the public.
Sustainable Development	Using, conserving and enhancing resources in a way that maintains the ecological processes on which all life depends while increasing the total quality of life of present and future generations.
Technology	Society's pool of knowledge for producing goods and services from a given resource pool.
Tourism	Travel for any purpose (for example business travel, short-term pleasure travel, research and development, education, religion, diplomatic affairs, etc) between 1 day and 1 year in duration.

### APPENDIX 3: SAMPLE ISSUES

1 Robert Vass, Tour Guide, Encounter Overland Ltd., UK

Mr. Vass has conducted tours in Africa, Asia and South America. He provided some down-to-earth insights on tourism and development. He found the strategy to be idealistic. The only difficulty encountered was that Mr. Vass's responses did not always seem relevant to the question. Some terms were difficult for him to comprehend. I tried to simplify them during the interview as required.

2 Dr. Erlet Cater, University of Reading, UK

Dr. Cater was well prepared, and filled out each of the boxes on the matrices in writing. Her responses were relevant to each section. She had written an article on ecotourism in Tourism Management to which she referred during the interview.

3 Dr. Martin Mowforth, University College London, UK

Dr. Mowforth concentrated more on the shortcomings of the World Bank Strategy than on applications to tourism. However, his comments were instructive. He has been trying to establish ecotourism research centers in Central America.

4 Dr. Thea Sinclair, University of Kent, UK

Dr. Sinclair was referred by Dr. Cater. She has written several articles and books on sustainable tourism development. Nevertheless, she was ill-prepared, having only briefly glanced through the World Bank Development Report I supplied her. Her responses were very generalized and the leap from her economics background to sustainable development issues seemed to be a great one. She requested that her insights not be recorded on tape.

5 Will Weber PhD, Director of Journeys, USA

Dr. Weber (Ph.D. natural resources, University of Michigan) provided some excellent responses, based on 15 years experience as Director of Journeys, and prior to that, experience in the Peace Corps and as a science teacher in Nepal. He was uncertain of what the World Bank meant by "subsidy." I phoned Will Wade-Gary at the World Bank who provided a myriad of technical definitions which amounted to lowering prices or lowering production costs. I also asked why sustainable development was not defined explicitly in the strategy and the answer given was that this controversy has not yet been resolved.

6 Audrey Patterson, Tread Lightly Limited, USA

Audrey provided some interesting ideas and accepted the World Bank's strategy as given. She had a "nuts and bolts" approach, substantiated with considerable exposure to developing countries and a keen interest in ecotourism. Her major interest is in building partnerships. She believed that progress in sustainable tourism development would come through entrepreneurial action beneath bureaucracy. She also provided examples of the destructiveness of conventional tourism.

7 Steve Conlon, Director, Above The Clouds Trekking, USA

Mr. Conlon's insights were insightful. He talked for well over an hour and was very well prepared. He seemed to have considerable depth of experience to draw from and was innovative in his suggestions for the World Bank strategy (e.g. use of radio to communicate ideas). He believed that the World Bank was probably the only actor left powerful enough to force local elites to change.

8 Bob Olson, Alternative Futures Associates, USA

Mr. Olson provided some useful insights into the strategy as a whole. He simply related it to his existing research in trends analysis. His focus was on tourism's role in the transformation of societies (tourism as a catalyst for sustainable development).

9 Bob McNulty, Partners for Liveable Places, USA

Mr. McNulty suggested that the World Bank's strategy is too far removed from tourism to be workable. Rather than reject the strategy outright, he suggested that a secondary strategy be produced.

10 Elizabeth Boo, World Wildlife Fund, USA

Ms. Boo provided some excellent insights and had spent considerable time preparing for the interview. She published one of the first studies on ecotourism in 1990. She thought bringing a sustainable development framework in from outside tourism was an excellent idea but had more questions than answers about tourism's role in the World Bank's strategy.

11 Tom Grasse, Marketing Director, International Expeditions

Mr. Grasse provided the party line on how ecotourism companies are being blamed for problems they are in fact trying to solve. After making his opening statements he

focused on the World Bank's strategy and was able to apply it to projects in South America.

12 Dick Selby, Consultant, USA

Mr. Selby attended a Tourism Policy conference at George Washington University in 1990, and has a background in the International Monetary Fund. Some of his terminology was difficult to follow, but fortunately I had recorded it. He provided some good information on how tourism development really happens.

13 Lou D'Amora, Institute for Peace, Canada

Dr. D'Amora provided some good examples of how NGO's may contribute to sustainable tourism development. However, he did not focus a great deal on the World Bank's strategy. He focused instead on his Institute's activities.

14 Ricardo Anzola, Inter-American Institute for Tourism

Mr. Anzola embraced the World Bank's strategy and was very concerned with the impact of real estate speculation on the future of tourism. He intends to use the World Bank videotape in his future activities.

15 Bob Harvey and Associates, Jacana Trust, USA

The Jacana Trust is organizing the Second World Congress on Ecotourism in Venezuela. Their focus was on communications and how it impacts the prospects for sustainable tourism. Mr. Harvey suggested that lack of communication between the World Bank and stakeholders was at the heart of problems with the strategy.

16 Jennifer Ballantine, Canada

Ms. Ballantine had completed a master's thesis on ecotourism in Kenya and provided some useful information from the demand (tourists's) perspective.

17 Angela Neilan, USA

Ms. Neilan has considerable experience in food policy in developing countries and worked on a tourism project in Dominica. Her focus was on education and how it may be used to change attitudes.

18 Jeffrey Allender, University of Central Arkansas, USA

Dr. Allender teaches geography. His doctoral work examined ecotourism in Belize over a three year period. His knowledge of this country was extraordinary. He

applied the World Bank's strategy to the situation in Belize, which raised some interesting questions.

19 Costas Christ, Tamu Safaris, USA

Dr. Christ has a great deal of experience in ecotourism and provided some grass-roots perspectives on how tourism may fit into sustainable development, using examples from Africa.

20 Rick Norris, Norris & Holland (also, Peat Marwick, New York), USA

Mr. Norris has developed and implemented a sustainable tourism ranking scheme of 500 lodging properties in Costa Rica. His comments were very relevant and useful.

21 Sara Nelson-Palmayer, Center for Global Education, USA

Ms. Nelson-Palmayer concentrated on the role of tourism in globalizing curricula in schools and universities in both developed and developing countries.

22 Dody Donnelly, Center for Responsible Tourism, USA

Dr. Donnelly has a Ph.D. in historical theology. Her research focuses on the negative social impacts of tourism (e.g. prostitution in Thailand). She said the World Bank's strategy cannot be implemented because the effects of past policies of this institution (i.e. the debt burden) prohibit it.

23 David LaDow, Attorney, Real Estate Overseas Investment Company, USA

Mr. LaDow directs a nature tourism/science network with plans for expansion across South America. He approached the World Bank's strategy from the point of view of a practitioner. For the most part, he said it was not very instructive for tourism development. On the other hand, the idea of integrating tourism with sustainable development was a good one.

24 James McGregor, EcoPlanet Institute, Canada

Mr. MacGregor's focus was on the need to move away from talking about sustainable tourism to actually doing something about it. In this respect he found the World Bank's strategy to be more talk and less action.

25 Lynn Uttal, Consultant, USA

Mr. Uttal worked as a Peace Corps director in Africa

for about fifteen years and has worked on many USAID projects around the world on a contract basis. Some of these projects involved tourism development. He thought the World Bank's strategy to be necessary, but only at the levels at which the World Bank usually works (not where the work of sustainable development is done).

#### APPENDIX 4: EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW CHECKED BY RESPONDENT

Will Weber

Will--please feel free to amend, add to or delete any part of this document, then pop it in the mail. Please write as clearly as possible so I can properly make changes. Thanks again for your help.

#### Overall Interpretation of the World Bank's Strategy for Achieving Sustainable Development and its Usefulness for Tourism

This strategy works well at an analytical and intellectual level, but may not work well in more intuitive and traditionally organized societies.

Most development benefits flow from the protection of natural ecosystems. It would be better to work backwards from the needs of this "natural bank" than to attempt to manage natural and other processes through the World Bank.

*The poor reputation of the World Bank in servicing the environment of countries of development should cause any community to fear its involvement in any project under any disguise or promise.*

1. Removal of Subsidies that encourage inefficient and environmentally damaging practices

Potential roles of travel and tourism in implementing strategy

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Potential obstacles to implementation of these roles

One typically sees money from one privileged group in one region being used to buy up land for a large development (e.g. a hotel) at the expense of more traditional property development. Sophisticated communications networks have enabled these groups to monopolize the tourism industry. Hence, people are channelled into experiences owned and conceived by non-locals. This kind of subsidy overwhelms anything that indigenous people can produce.

*The scale of WB projects and the personal wealth and compensation level of its representatives detracts from the credibility of the institution as an organization able to comprehend and respond to the needs and interests of indigenous people.*

*Depend on*

We need different ways of evaluating natural resources that do not necessarily ~~for in~~ with how much oil there is in the ground or how many trees in the forest or volume in cubic feet per second of a river.

The danger with aesthetic criteria is that those with control over resources can justify change by claiming that "the view will be better without the trees there" or "the silt in the stream doesn't obstruct the view and comes from logging you cannot see."

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- 3. Clarify property rights to managing and owning land, forests and industry, while enhancing competitiveness and stability.

Potential roles of travel and tourism in implementing strategy

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Potential obstacles to implementation of these roles

When property rights may benefit from being clarified, obstacles may stand in the way. Often the rules that govern ownership are arcane. The notion of title is established by tradition that everyone recognizes implicitly. So when you try to change use, by for example planting rather than cutting trees, conflicts are created.

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Other questions and issues and suggested modifications

Clarifying property rights may not always be effective. When the traditional use is a more appropriate ecological use, the fact that property rights are not clarified prevents adverse developments from taking place.

For example, when property rights are not clarified it becomes harder for an outsider to come in and use resources for damaging purposes (e.g. buy land and sell it to a timber

company). The World Bank's analytical approach may not fit into more intuitive and traditionally organized societies.

*Clarifying property rights ~~education~~ creates a standardized and familiar format for those who would acquire and exploit land vicariously, but now "legally."*

4. Accelerate education and better natural resource management

Potential roles of travel and tourism in implementing strategy

An informal kind of education takes place as people visit remote areas. Tourism creates a model of inquiry that helps people acquire more of a sense of the world. But it is necessary to understand the full range of motives of different kinds of tourists, whether missionaries, anthropologists, government officials, doctors setting up health clinics.

For each of these, the depth and intent of the motive should be examined by asking what is at stake for indigenous peoples. This may be a standard against which each kind of tourism may be judged.

*Tourism can help politically unconsented people obtain direct economic and educational benefits through private scholarships, invitations to visit a border country, etc. like*

Potential obstacles to implementation of these roles

Some forms of tourism have as their objective to take something away. Of course, all forms of tourism (including ecotourism) have some sort of impact, such as leaving toilet paper, but compared to other kinds of tourism these impacts are minimal.

*Conventional tourism in large hotels for large groups may cause education and behaviors designed to satisfy tourists rather than local cultural expectations.*

Other questions and issues and suggested modifications

Although awareness is developing of specific issues which have been personalized in the media, what's missing is an understanding of things in a global context. Peoples of all countries have a thirst for information.

People's views of a country are based on perception. Many

national governments are perhaps unaware, when designing tourism development, of what these perceptions are. Many of these perceptions, because they are driven by the media, may not be a good reflection of what really exists (i.e. "its not safe, not stable, not clean"). Yet these perceptions affect whether or not tourism takes place.

*Tourism starts by idealize cultural or environmental features which do not exist. For example suggesting a opportunity multi million dollar hotel displays traditional architecture. This is dishonest and damages local culture.*

#### 5. Invest in water and sanitation

Potential roles of travel and tourism in implementing strategy

*Tourists are more susceptible to water borne diseases than locals. Participating tourism should include cleaning up unsanitary aspects of local environments.*

Potential obstacles to implementation of these roles

There is no doubt that living conditions may be improved through such investment. On the other hand, you may also raise property values and create an oasis that may not be sustainable in other ways.

Investing in water and sanitation may amount to little more than a band aid on the overall problem. Water and sanitation are basic needs but cannot easily be provided equitably for overpopulated regions whose resources are unproductive (e.g. where trees have been cleared and watersheds depleted).

Another problem is related to the subject of education. People are better equipped to take action into their own hands when they understand what is possible within their own system. The problem arises when a reliable resource (a technology developed from outside) creates a dependence and then breaks down. A solution to a problem then becomes unsustainable.

*For example a mechanical pump extracts ground water from the water table, supports higher population and then breaks down leaving people without any access to water.*

Other questions and issues and suggested modifications

"Sustainability" needs to be more explicitly defined. The preservation of naturally functioning ecosystems lies at the heart of sustainable development because it addresses all the

elements in the development equation.

From preservation come a myriad of benefits, such as water, oxygen, clean air, and so on. However, it appears that the logic of this "natural bank" conflicts with the World Bank's analytical logic which maintains that processes have to be evaluated, changed, improved, managed, manipulated.

*Investment might be best thought of as purchase of all development rights and spending a site against development, roads, dams etc*

6. Change the behavior of producers and consumers through targeted regulation and incentives.

Potential roles of travel and tourism in implementing strategy

Indigenous groups may react negatively or violently to tourism development (the Cunas Indians of Panama being one example).

Journeys took an alternative route by starting a few small scale projects in segregated islands and places in order to restrict the movements of outsiders (including Panamanians of other ethnic origins) in accordance with the needs of indigenous groups.

*You can't keep them down on the farm as the saying goes, but it is possible to help maintain tolerance to cultural preservation*

Potential obstacles to implementation of these roles

It is important to recognize that the higher rent charged to compensate for resource usage regulation is only likely to be achieved when the experience is perceived by tourists as exclusive. However, in many cases governments undervalue resources and as a result cannot budget for their proper management. The infrastructure is not there for the interpretive experience people expect, or the systems (e.g. fences and roads) needed to control misuse.

*Political decision seldom conform to ecologically sensible principles and professional resource management.*

Other questions and issues and suggested modifications

Tourism is regulated by the value of the price that governments charge for everything from visas to airfare to minimum costs per day, from port entry fees to national park entry fees, and so on. This works as long as it applies to everyone and properly reflects the value of what is offered.

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7. Improving knowledge and making the planning process more transparent

Potential roles of travel and tourism in implementing strategy

*This survey is a good idea!*

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Potential obstacles to implementation of these roles

The seductiveness of operating at scale tends to exclude those who are illiterate or uneducated or not well connected or not proximal to the development itself.

There are definite limitations to how transparent the process can be when actors in the development process have a completely different base of experience. Those people operating at the grass roots level cannot know all the things that can go wrong with the development process. People who impose projects usually have a base of knowledge that simply cannot be shared with these communities.

*Impetuous professional planners must start from a base of awareness that they can never know for sure what local people are thinking, what they want or what is "Best" planning is always an interrogative exercise!*

Other questions and issues and suggested modifications

It may be better to rely on those who operate at higher levels (but only those who have a vision and whose goals are not self-serving), rather than to pull together an unwieldy grass-roots effort governed by a plan. And the bottom-up approach does not show a great deal of evidence of success.

The strategy makes a democratic assumption that people feel they have a right ~~for something to say~~. In many places people do *to speak*

not expect to be asked, they expect to be told. Also, corruption operates at all levels. There is a fatalism that acts in many countries where people do not expect governments to act in their interests, that that's the way governments have been and always will be. We cannot assume that because people are poor, live innocent lives and work close to the land that they will make the best decisions for themselves or their communities.

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8. Strengthen institutions and make them more accountable

Potential roles of travel and tourism in implementing strategy

There have been many situations in which tourism organizations have worked with other institutions, particularly schools, clinics and monasteries or temples, where they are small enough so that small contributions can have a significant effect (e.g. providing building supplies, etc).

For example, the Monteverde<sup>R</sup> League in Costa Rica has developed a constituency worldwide of people who became members, donated to its forest preserve after a presentation and who continue to donate money or buy land for preservation purposes. It is direct support that starts during the on-site experience and develops into a relationship.

The incentive to tie tourism with development is based on conscience--supporting something so that it can continue in a way that you experienced it. This silent partnership does not involve a stake in management. It provides funding on site and does not need an entire program with a government or other system to work through which tries to bring everything up to a certain standard. It is easier to establish accountability in that kind of situation, as long as there is a sound management structure in place. This kind of a model can be replicated for other threatened environments.

*at a lower scale of relationship individuals as opposed to institutions can be pivotal of an in tourism. It is really single or new businesses making contact with a community leader that gets project started and sustained.*

Potential obstacles to implementation of these roles

Travel and tourism operators and institutions are not familiar with project development possibilities of this nature.

There is a problem in accepting that development has to

proceed slowly and cautiously.

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#### Other questions and issues and suggested modifications

For benefits to accrue to indigenous cultures, some form of organization is essential--whether a cooperative or whether their own culture provides them with a means for making decisions about what is good and what is not good.

People have not been given enough opportunity to give projects direct support.

*Specifically, wealthy travelers should be given a chance to make direct contributions to enable charities, education, environmental preservation*

9. Coordinate tourism activities with other sectors in society.

#### Potential roles of travel and tourism in implementing strategy

New forms of tourism are using natural environments as they are rather than trying to create new ones. This kind of forward-thinking is building a positive image for countries and spreading the tourism dollars more broadly. Some tourism organizers are now putting pressure on governments by, for example, boycotting national tourism conferences which promote conventional tourism development.

*Tourism operators need to recognize exploitation and extractive industries are not in their interest and resist them vociferously.*

#### Potential obstacles to implementation of these roles

Many countries were surprised at how quickly tourism became a primary source of foreign exchange. However, this encouraged the development of an economic monoculture and the idea that tourism equals salvation.

The problem was that in order to attract tourists a country had to attract investment to provide a pre-defined standard of service. Investment options were limited to projects that

channeled tourism dollars disproportionately (achieving a high rate of return for overseas investors). The problem with conventional tourism is that alot of the capital and skills required are only obtainable from outside. This is not a market-driven but a developer-driven approach which limits the kind of benefit that tourism can have for these societies.

Decisions about tourism development still tend to be driven more by short term factors such as natural disasters, military action, famine and drought than about longer term concerns such as the viability of natural environments that serve to produce water or provide areas where tourism is possible.

For example, East Africa is rapidly losing its natural environments because there is no understanding of what it is the modern tourist wants. Its isn't purely animals but wild areas.

Coordination between tourism and other policy areas can be self-defeating. In Nepal efforts at tourism planning and control only served to prevent growth of ecotourism where the potential lay and weakened the ability of this country as a competitor in the world market. The institutions that quantify the impacts are not always those who are going to do the most good.

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Other questions and issues and suggested modifications

There is a need to put environmental policies in a more primary position in tourism.

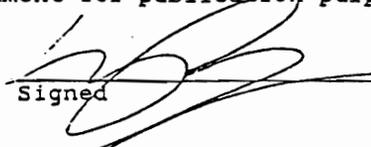
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Authorization

I authorize Giles Jackson to quote any part of this amended document for publications purposes.

Signed 

Date Nov 11, 1993

*PS. you make a good editor. I sound more articulate than I am. Please do not portray me as in. on. & support in the next public!*

## APPENDIX 5: CONTENT ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS INTO PERSONAL CONSTRUCTS

### A. Overall Assessment of World Bank Strategy and its Usefulness to the Travel and Tourism Industry

#### Bob Olson, Alternative Futures Associates, USA

- ◆ The World Bank's strategy might be seen as the "necessary conditions" that need to be in place if a country is going to be a viable tourism destination.
- ◆ The video fails to give a sense of the scale of change that is involved in moving toward sustainable development.
- ◆ The World Bank's strategy concentrates on the problems of developing countries without considering some of the equal or greater changes that will have to take place in the developed world, and the special responsibilities that come with it.

The U.S. and other developed nations produce the most pollution, use most of the Earth's resources, have the greatest capability to produce environmentally superior technologies, and set the development model for the rest of the world. These nations need to pioneer the new low-impact technologies and development patterns that can be emulated in the South without causing unacceptable environmental damage.

#### Lynn Uttal, Consultant, USA

- ◆ The World Bank has applied the same logic used in past development projects (i.e. decide the "one best way" and impose it) to the new problem of sustainable development. In this case the World Bank identified two kinds of development problems and the two kinds of development policies that would solve them. The assumption is that governments may implement these policies and achieve the kinds of grass-roots successes illustrated in the World Bank's video.

Replicating grass-roots successes from a centralized position would enable the Bank to achieve sustainable development without making major changes in its modus operandi. The problem is that the grass-roots successes in the video were successful because they avoided the conventional approach, in which development projects are designed to establish, through initial capital and technical inputs, self-sufficient operations (and which fail when the funding finishes).

The major reasons why it is difficult to replicate a bottom up activity like Orangi using World Bank top-down methodologies are twofold. First, the World Bank's attempt to replicate these successes by formalizing them will probably undermine the foundation for their success, because they operate with a different kind of logic, at a different level and on a different scale (as described in Paul Harrison's Greening of Africa). Second, the successful implementation of formalized strategy from the top downwards demands certain preconditions that do not exist in developing countries. These include a free-flow of information, cooperation between policy levels and an active electorate.

- ◆ The reality is that powerless people in poverty view governments as a capricious

enforcer of mysterious regulations trying to control the informal sector (where the mass of business is done), but whose rules have little to do with the real workings of this sector, because this sector evolved in spite of governments. Contrary to the World Bank's logic, "win-win strategies" use policies that promote understanding and voluntary compliance rather than regulations that all too often exacerbate suspicion and animosity between governments and their citizens. Indeed, the regulators are usually the ones most in need of regulation, restructuring, and reduction.

- ◆ It does seem implausible that the World Bank would promote decentralized, small scale activities when its own behavior tends to be centralized and macro scale. In fact the World Bank might be seen to resemble a large corporation that espouses the advantages of vertical integration, transparent management, and employee initiative, but finds it hard to actually implement these changes. This internal tension is reflected in the World Bank's strategy, which is schizophrenic in that strategies based on the assumption that man is basically bad (such as property rights, incentives and regulation), coexist with policies based on the opposing assumption (such as improving knowledge and making the planning process more transparent).
- ◆ The World Bank's strategies start at the wrong end of the development process. The starting point should be an understanding of the natural and social ecosystem, from which could come actions that are both sustainable and possible within that system. However, this logic conflicts directly with that of the World Bank's logic, and will be difficult to change because it conflicts with the Bank's mandate and modus operandi.

In most developing countries there exists simultaneously an upper class which resembles and was indeed created by first world bilateral Aid Organizations, and a lower class which lives by the traditional, indigenous practices that are often labelled "third world." The more "developed" developing countries have experienced growth of an educated middle class of bureaucrats and businessmen. Within this class structure the World Bank is probably best suited to redirecting the projects it has already established at the macro level and to promoting the establishment of national environmental policies that allow for local community participation in the design and implementation of environment sensitive development projects. A sense of ownership at the implementation level is important to project success and this requires including as partners local communities from the very start of a project's design.

- ◆ The World Bank must also recognize and deal with the problem of communication that has always underlined the development process. This might be solved by using technology to democratize the development process, enabling people at all levels to communicate with people at their respective levels and discuss alternatives to the destructive mindset and practices originating in the colonial system. World Bank resources might support integrated environmental resources management strategies, of which ecotourism might be one component. These strategies would be different from the World Bank's strategy because they would identify alternative approaches to improving people's life conditions and regenerating natural resources that work within the needs of the natural and social system. A secondary advantage would be that industries such as tourism could be viewed from a completely different perspective. Entire layers of the tourism system could be removed that only exist because they are self-perpetuating. Direct links could be promoted between host and guest to allow for

efficient exchange of knowledge and positive behavioral changes for both parties.

This change in the tourism system is consistent with the broader need for developing countries to bypass centralized industrialization (which is the chief destroyer of the environment) and move to a more desirable civilization of self-sustaining communities in harmony with their environment, peacefully coexisting with each other by maintaining open communications, an equitable exchange of resources, and a mutual respect for basic human and environmental rights. This sounds perhaps too idyllic, but the principle of sharing power and responsibility for living correctly seems the best way to a better life for all.

**Dr. Will Weber, Director, Journeys, USA**

- ◆ This strategy works well at an analytical and intellectual level, but may not work well in more intuitive and traditionally organized societies.
- ◆ Most development benefits flow from the protection of natural ecosystems. It would be better to work backwards from the needs of this "natural bank" than to attempt to manage natural and other processes through the World Bank.
- ◆ The poor reputation of the World Bank in servicing the environmental accounts of development should cause every community to fear its involvement in any project under any disguise or premise.

**Costas Christ, Director, Tamu Safaris, USA**

- ◆ The World Bank's strategy is not all that helpful for tourism because it does not provide specific techniques.
- ◆ The World Bank's division of development problems into two kinds is rather simplistic since there are various stratifications within and between each kind of development problem.
- ◆ The World Bank's approach avoids the unresolved tension between environmental and development institutions. The former fear a selling-out of the idea of conservation, while the latter fear conservation which comes at the expense of meeting human needs.

Understanding this tension is key to understanding the problems of making sustainable development work for industry sectors. For example, it explains the present confusion over how ecotourism should be defined and explains why institutions have not yet decided whether ecotourism is a viable development vehicle.

**Elizabeth Boo, World Wildlife Fund, USA**

- ◆ The video was a good and clear statement of how conservation and development can be integrated. How tourism fits into the World Bank's strategy is an unanswered question. There is some overlap between the World Bank's strategy and tourism, in that tourism is potentially a catalyst for the kinds of changes outlined in the World Bank's video. This issue might be approached at an "on-site" level--the level at which the video

concentrated, focusing on how tourism may impact very poor areas.

- ◆ There are some conditions that need to be addressed for tourism to work as a sustainable development strategy. First, are tourists going to visit the kind of very poor areas shown on the videotape? And second, if some of these places show promise, can strategies be implemented in a way that benefits local people? In other words, who is the development for?
- ◆ The priorities for action mentioned in the video (ensuring clean air and water, providing adequate sanitation, maintaining productive soils, protecting forests and other natural habitats) are basic conditions that need to be present for tourism to be successful. Since there is little conflict between tourism and these priorities, tourism could in fact help implement them. A government or the private sector may see potential for tourism development, which would be an incentive to build infrastructure to bring in visitors, agriculture to provide food for visitors, and other activities that would also benefit communities. It is for this reason that the World Bank should revisit tourism.

#### **Dick Selby, Consultant, USA**

- ◆ The strategy underestimated the population problem in countries like Haiti. Even in sparsely populated areas population is a problem because the land yields little in the way of food. There was nothing in the video on birth control.
- ◆ The World Bank did not recognize that some of their strategies are interrelated. For example, improved hygiene can create more population problems.
- ◆ The strategy did not confront corruption. For example, the argument is often made that tourism will be developed to bring a country out of relative isolation. In reality the receipts earned from tourism go to imports for the elite, to military hardware or end up in Zurich.

#### **Sara Nelson-Palmeyer, Center for Global Education, USA**

- ◆ The reality is that institutions like the World Bank have placed immense economic pressures on developing countries. Ironically, these countries are unable to implement this new World Bank strategy.
- ◆ Some of the success stories highlighted in the video (such as Indonesia) have in reality resulted in disastrous results. No evidence is presented to suggest that any of the World Bank's programs are workable on a significant scale.
- ◆ It should also be mentioned that a lot of the strategies in the video have been thought of already. The strategy is not very useful for organizations which are at a more mature stage of development and face problems such as finding new ways of marketing themselves.

#### **Dr. Dody Donnelly, Center for Responsible Tourism, USA**

- ◆ The video paints an idyllic picture that overlooks the realities facing developing

countries. For example, the Thai government permits prostitution to pay off the huge debts it owes to institutions like the World Bank, while it can't feed its own people.

- ◆ The strategy does refer to projects in the hands of local peoples, but this should not be confused with "self-determination." The bank's overall approach is the same old "missionary" approach to development. This institution's true intentions should be exposed.
- ◆ The strategy represents an attempt by the World Bank to maintain control over the identification and management of development projects now that the effects of past policies on societies and the environment have surfaced.

**Dr. Erlet Cater, University of Reading, UK**

- ◆ In spite of the attempt to combine a bottom-up and top-down approach, the strategy tends to overlook perhaps what is the most fundamental problem, and that is global inequality, the legacy of past development policy. (It is of course in the World Bank's interest to overlook this).
- ◆ A major obstacle will be universal implementation of this strategy. There is a great incentive for any one actor to not participate when others are participating if there is a commercial advantage in doing so. This implies the need for strong legislative backing requiring compliance by all.

**Dr. Thea Sinclair, University of Kent, UK**

- ◆ The strategy helps meet the need for more research on the relationship between tourism and the environment, the economic advantages of which have been underestimated.
- ◆ The World Bank's strategy demonstrates consciousness that changes are needed, however, the underlying goals of the World Bank may be different.

**Dr. Jeffrey Allender, University of Central Arkansas, USA**

- ◆ The World Bank's strategy could potentially have some relevance to tourism. However, this has to be seen in the context of how tourism has grown in the past. Tourism development goes unchecked in much of the developing world because many countries have few competitive options besides tourism and single product exports. Because of the circumstances under which tourism develops, it tends to develop in ways that will bring short term benefits. It is only at a certain scale that problems emerge that would justify the use of the World Bank's strategy. Ironically, by this stage it will probably be too late for this strategy to effect meaningful change.
- ◆ The World Bank's strategy tends to treat the developing world as homogenous. There is a need to recognize individual differences which may affect the character and timing of change.

### **Steve Conlon, Director, Above the Clouds Trekking, USA**

- ◆ The World Bank and other institutions carry great weight. This strategy is a good indication of a change in course for the World Bank. If some other conditions can be met (notably in planning approach and implementation) and some large obstacles overcome, then the potential is there for constructive change on a great scale.
- ◆ Tourism's role in sustainable development will require a move away from the view that the vacation is a two-week hiatus from life.

### **Robert Vass, Tour Guide, Encounter Overland, UK**

- ◆ The World Bank's presentation of development problems is reassuring but oversimplified. People's lives are short term and their horizons shorter still. The power of greed, corruption and material wealth that go hand in hand with development is underestimated.
- ◆ The World Bank's presentation of development solutions is unrealistic, particularly the assumption that people can solve problems themselves.

### **Bob McNulty, Partners for Liveable Places, USA**

- ◆ It is difficult to translate the World Bank strategy, which covers so many broad and complex issues, into a tourism economic development agenda. While the connection between tourism and sustainable development can be made at a specific level (e.g. problems such as deforestation in Nepal have direct implications for tourism products), the context becomes more complicated in the mixed settings of a Mexico or a Sri Lanka or Indonesia. For example, the strategy does not illuminate principles of tourism investment in Bali to those responsible for its management or mismanagement.
- ◆ Much of tourism is unsustainable. But as a component of a sustainable development strategy, tourism can provide a sustainable income stream which is supportive of local small business, which creates a product that is long term and which has some secondary benefits. These include goodwill and a broader understanding by the first world people of the value of the people and places of the third world.

In order to demonstrate this, a secondary type of product needs to make the case that heritage or cultural or ecotourism can attract investment and cover the points in the World Bank's work. This would take a different kind of infrastructure that supports indigenous culture and art and creates a structure of small business development so that tourism would not be enclaved or exploited by foreign capital. It would take a network of suppliers of handicrafts and foods, and so on.

A case has to be made for investing some attention and resources into turning the distinctiveness of a country into an eco or heritage or cultural tourism destination. This is a different mindset and audience than that targeted by the world bank video. It needs to be directed at relevant ministries (tourism, crafts, culture), so they can see how including this kind of tourism development in their agenda would enhance their role in the shaping their country's future.

**Angela Neilan, Virginia Tech, USA**

- ◆ The development record shows that, although the World Bank is a powerful actor in the development process, this process is beyond its control. What the World Bank can do is re-structure the development process, and its strategy is a movement in the right direction.
- ◆ The strategy falls short in one important respect. The underlying assumptions have not changed. It is assumed that people attach equal priorities and meanings to words like "efficiency" and "effectiveness." Values are excluded from the strategy, just as they were in earlier development initiatives. This will create a major barrier to implementation.

**Dr. Martin Mowforth, University College London, UK**

- ◆ In its present form, the strategy is a set of labels produced in response to a common acceptance and use of the buzz term "sustainability." It is difficult to judge its worth without seeing it in practice. It is my belief that the underlying philosophy and prevailing practices of the World Bank run in the opposite direction to those associated with sustainable development.

**Audrey Patterson, Tread-Lightly Ltd, USA**

- ◆ This is a very useful strategy. If the World Bank can properly deal with sanitation, education and population issues using partnerships at the right levels with the right people, progress could be made.

**Tom Grasse, Marketing Director, International Expeditions**

- ◆ The video addressed most of the issues that need to be understood. However, the role of travel was not portrayed as being significant.

**Ricardo Anzola, Director, Inter-American Institute for Tourism, USA**

- ◆ The only regret is that tourism was not included as an example in the videotape. The advantages of doing so are quite obvious because tourism's basic products are the natural and cultural environments. Tourism should provide an incentive to preserve these environments and help achieve the World Bank's strategies.

**Bob Harvey, The Jacana Trust, USA**

- ◆ The strategy is a useful tool for dialogue in the first world, but not in the third world, due to the technical and language requirements it imposes. The potential of this strategy lies in discussing ideas already put on the table by those well versed in this approach, not in communicating ideas to other parties.

**James McGregor, Ecoplanet Institute, Canada**

- ◆ The video was impressive but lacked any reference to the potential of tourism as a tool for generating foreign exchange or protecting biodiversity in developing communities.

The problem is that development strategies do not know how to deal with tourism. This is unfortunate because market needs are changing and the investment community has seen the window of opportunity created by ecotourism. Ecotourism minimizes many of the problems now affecting mass tourism, such as the impact of city problems on the quality of tourist experience at destinations.

**B. STRATEGY: Remove subsidies that encourage inefficient and environmentally damaging practices**  
(1 of 9)

**Jennifer Ballantine, Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Control type and use of vehicles in parks (e.g. Kenya does not allow individual vehicles but uses vans and small buses for tours) and conduct guided walking safaris (e.g. Zimbabwe).
- ◆ Curb excessive use of fossil fuels but provide controlled supply of fuel as a disincentive for cutting down trees for firewood.
- ◆ Remove subsidies for clearing land for agriculture and use "wild" land for tourism purposes. Educate farmers about conservation techniques.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Tourism by its nature requires a great deal of air and ground transport (and therefore fuel) and tourists demand western levels of comfort.
- ◆ Population pressures are accelerating the land clearance problem, weakening the impact of subsidies.
- ◆ Educating farmers may not be enough. Other incentives may be required to encourage farmers to change habits and others to use alternative energy sources.

**Dr. Eret Cater, University of Reading, UK**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ There is a need to enhance and maintain the environment for tourism, which becomes an incentive for sustainable development. Removal of subsidies is already happening through developments such as reduced fuel consumption, new generation aircraft and greater fuel efficiency. This is a win-win situation - win for the company in terms of reduced costs, and win for the environment in terms of reduced emissions.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ In tourism the bargaining power lies with international tour operators. Third world countries are desperate for foreign exchange, while tour operators are able to switch to another destination should policy be too restrictive. There will be resistance from major companies when their bargaining position is threatened.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Subsidies should also be provided to encourage research and development of more

sustainable practices.

- ◆ There is a need for legislative backing to market incentives. There is a need for intervention because operation of the free market does not result in sustainable practice.

**Audrey Patterson, Tread Lightly Ltd, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Travel and tourism must be developed in a new way altogether to avoid subsidizing damaging developments (such as mega-resort projects).

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The cultural tradition of accepting methods originating in Western environments may prevent removal of subsidies.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Damaging subsidies can be replaced with subsidies which encourage sustainable development. Local non-profit and profit partnerships and the establishment of lodges, run by locals near to attractions such as parks have been initiated and subsidized by wealthy individuals who want to invest responsibly.
- ◆ Local political issues need to be addressed.

**Steve Conlon, Director, Above the Clouds Trekking, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Sensitive tour operations use relatively less fuel resources than other forms of tourism. However, this does not necessarily solve fuel resource problems. When fuel does need to be used (for example for meal preparation), it can take many forms, depending on the location and the ethics of the inbound operator. Use of local firewood is becoming more expensive, less available or legally prohibited. Kerosene may not be the best answer either. In places where it is in short supply (e.g. Kathmandu) its use by tourism creates shortages for local people.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Many activities (such as transporting visitors from cities to trailheads) pollute the environment heavily, but governments are unlikely to take action until it is too late.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ An examination of subsidies with a view to changing them should include an examination of the channels through which they are organized. This may determine what is practically possible.

- ◆ From the private sector's perspective, it is not easy to identify where subsidies exist in the first place.

**Dr. Jeffrey Allender, University of Central Arkansas, USA**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Most countries do want to reduce their dependence on imports, but in some countries (such as Belize), taxes on imports are a primary source of revenue.
- ◆ The colonial legacy, the influx of American goods, and television combine to maintain the view in many countries that "foreign is best." Rice and beans are more nutritious, grown locally and one tenth the cost, but instead potatoes are imported to make french fries. The view that foreign is best stems in part from the segregation of society along economic lines. Richer families are the ones people aspire to marry into, and richer families can afford imported goods.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ The environment movement has, on occasion, not had all the facts before making the judgment that development propositions are damaging to the environment. One example was Coca Cola's offer to buy up 11 percent of Belize, establish 90 percent of the acquired territory as a permanent park and 10 percent of the same territory as orange groves. Environmental groups heard "Coca Cola" and "acquisition" and defeated the proposal. However, it may have been far more "fruitful" than any alternatives.

**Dr. Will Weber, Director, Journeys, USA**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ One typically sees money from one privileged group in one region being used to buy up land for a large development (e.g. a hotel) at the expense of more traditional property development. Sophisticated communications networks have enabled these groups to monopolize the tourism industry. Hence, people are channelled into experiences owned and conceived by non-locals. This kind of subsidy overwhelms anything that indigenous people can produce.
- ◆ The scale of World Bank projects and the personal wealth and consumption of its representatives detracts from the credibility of the institution as an institution able to comprehend and respond to the needs and interests of indigenous people.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Any development project that takes resources out of traditional use is a subsidy of sorts. Almost all development projects of a significant scale have damaged the environment enough to be considered an inefficient subsidy.

**Robert Vass, Tour Guide, Encounter Overland, UK**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Where tourism development has been subsidized we often see intensive development, while the potential of other areas is unrealized. The result is heavy impacts in some areas and negligible impacts in others. It may be better to remove subsidies and carefully open up selected areas to tourism.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ For local people, tourism develops into a form of subsidy. It took a very short period of time for people living in remote areas of South America (who had no prior experience with tourism) to realize the same state of mind as people in tourism-infested cities such as Rio De Janiero. They soon developed the consumerism mindset of "getting things from tourists because its easy."

**ISSUES**

- ◆ It is difficult to remove subsidies which encourage environ-mentally damaging practices without also removing the benefits accruing from them. The risk of civil unrest will be high, unless people can see immediate and greater benefits from ecotourism. The question is whether ecotourism can guarantee these benefits in the long run. Can tourism guarantee at least the standard of living that some industrious logging communities have acquired, and on a larger scale?

**Tom Grasse, Marketing Director, International Expeditions, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ In countries where an enlightened planning infrastructure exists, inefficient subsidies for mass tourism development may be removed and replaced with ecotourism development support. For example, the Peruvian government recently set aside 250,000 acres of the Upper Amazon region as a sanctuary. This allows companies such as International Expeditions to establish new facilities such as a research center and a canopy walkway for ecotourists.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The major problem is that, just as ecotourism proves itself to be an economically viable development vehicle, mass tourism tendencies develop. This makes ecotourism operators look like the instigators of problems when in fact most are doing what they can to make sustainable development happen.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ What are intended as subsidies that encourage sustainable development may turn out to have the opposite effect. As ecotourism flourishes, the opportunities for unsustainable use of resources is reduced, placing pressure on ecotourism to provide immediate

benefits to more people.

**Elizabeth Boo, World Wildlife Fund, USA**

**POTENTIAL**

- ◆ Tourism's role in improving natural resource evaluation has been demonstrated in a number of cases. Tourism can replace or reduce reliance on traditional activities such as mining and logging.

An example is the Monarch Butterfly Reserve in Mexico. Before its establishment, the community assumed that the migration of Monarch's from Canada was nothing special. Once the true value of this phenomenon was realized, visitors started coming to see the attraction. People who were previously logging the area realized that they could make money from jobs in the tourism industry and at the same time preserve the land (and trees) that were attracting the monarchs. This has not, however, been a simple process.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Tourism may not be good for all communities. The important thing is to allow the communities to decide if tourism is in their best interest and to what degree. Making this decision will take time and information. Once the decision is made, training in tourism management and enterprise development as well as access to funding for tourism projects is needed.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ It is important to ensure that people have the information to make decisions as to whether tourism is a viable development option for their communities, and to participate at an international level.

**Rick Holland, Norris and Holland, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Travel and tourism adds value to natural resources.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There is often a lack of fees for maintaining natural resources.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ The prospects for success of this strategy depend on local empowerment and support of NGO's.

**James McGregor, Ecoplanet Institute, Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Eliminate low park entry fees and encourage support for energy alternatives to promote appropriate resource use.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There are high import taxes on energy efficient equipment.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Tourism projects can be used to demonstrate energy efficiency. The real costs of park use can be calculated.

**Bob Olson, Alternative Futures Associates, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ The philosophy underlying all activities in travel and tourism must be consistent with the overall transformation toward more efficient uses of resources. This means, for example, pricing energy and resources at their true social cost and viewing pollution as a form of "design failure."

Internalizing environmental and social costs of energy production and use into energy prices will make energy more expensive, but higher taxes on energy and pollution can be balanced by tax cuts on work (income), saving and investment. The net result would be to make travel more expensive, and to shift economic development toward less sprawling, more energy-efficient urban forms.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The concept of sustainable development in developing countries implies the development of mixed-use clusters at the community level, linked by mass transit. This kind of development would protect the uniqueness of communities. However, the model used in conventional tourism is standardized and automobile-oriented. Tourism may in fact re-create the pathologies of developed countries in developing countries. The major obstacle is that most tourism helps reinforce the view that subsidized, energy-intensive development is a realistic paradigm for the future.

**Dick Selby, Consultant, USA**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Subsidies in tourism development are usually used to import goods at a preferred rate of exchange. They take the form of duty-free imports for hotel development, including POL and subsidies on other commodities, such as gasoline. These subsidies will be difficult to remove because they help the elite live in the manner to which they are

accustomed.

- ◆ Hotel companies have deeply ingrained practices which create obstacles to change. For example, companies do not see the need to source locally when their management is rotated out of Chicago.

**Ricardo Anzola, Director, Inter-American Institute for Tourism, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Preservation of resources, funds to protect specific sites, creating consciousness of the importance of nature, cultural heritage, creating jobs and giving the community direct participation.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The reason that most tourism projects have not been sustainable is because of real estate speculation, i.e. when second homes, villas and condominiums and the infrastructure to supply them grow in and around tourism attractions.

This growth has been damaging because of subsidized development (for example ten-year tax free incentives in the Caribbean, Dominican Republic, Northern South America, Columbia and Venezuela). These subsidies paved the way for an almost uncontrollable development process. It is difficult to see how these incentives could be removed. But incentives must be removed!

**Bob Harvey et al, The Jacana Trust, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ The idea of replacing inefficient tourism with sensitive tourism may potentially help governments find excuses to remove subsidies, once sensitive tourism's economic viability is demonstrated.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Communities may initially lobby against the idea of sensitive tourism. However, if travellers continue to support it things will change, because governments respond to "demand-driven noise."

**Dody Donnelly, Center for Responsible Tourism, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Change the nature of "cruises" by insisting cruise owners pay income taxes on profits from U.S. passengers, pay at least a minimum wage to employees, lure indigenous people, follow U.S. safety standards.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Greed, competition, anonymous owners.

**Dr. Martin Mowforth, University College London, UK**

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ It is typical that this strategy should start with the topic of subsidies. The World Bank views development narrowly through a financial lens, and so defines development as that which can be made with a financial cost or an economic gain at the end of it. There is no one accepted definition of subsidies, which are viewed differently depending on context, values and circumstances.

Subsidization of specific practices and/or projects in some cases could be the only ways of either protecting the environment or existing social order from the ravages of development or "kick starting" an appropriate and benign industry or practice.

**Dr. Thea Sinclair, University of Kent, UK**

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ The potential for removal of subsidies depends partly on how they are organized and implemented. This is more likely to work when based on an understanding of the countries in which efforts take place, as opposed to basing development decisions on short visits by development consultants (Mowforth).

**Costas Christ, Tamu Safaris, USA**

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ It is not always easy to determine what practices are environmentally sound and what practices are not, especially when there is a lack of precedent. It is for this reason that the boundary between ecotourism and conventional tourism is a contentious one.

On the one hand there is the argument that ecotourism cannot survive if it sacrifices quality and comforts. From this perspective, ecotourism resorts can be as large as conventional resorts, make as much or more money and can be environmentally sound (e.g. the Harmony Concept by Maho Bay Camps). Destinations such as the Seychelles and Botswana have adopted this philosophy in their efforts to attract the wealthy and not those "roughing it."

On the other hand, others argue that this is an elitist development strategy which excludes many people and so diminishes opportunities to learn about and appreciate threatened environments. The assumption of this argument is that, without access and first-hand experience, people will not care about natural treasures and will not take a stand to protect them.

**C. STRATEGY:** Improve evaluation of natural resources by removing incentives to exploit them and providing incentives for responsible actions.  
(2 of 9)

**Dr. Erlet Cater, University of Reading, UK**

### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ There is great potential for using renewable energy in tourism activities (e.g. Annapurna Conservation Project), particularly since tourists are very intensive energy users. Although the initial costs are quite high, the operational costs are lower than conventional energy sources, particularly if ways can be found to store this energy.
- ◆ Local peoples are the best custodians of their own environment, and so putting them in the position of stewards of tourism resources would be vital (e.g. Masaai involvement in National Parks in Kenya). It also makes sense in terms of using available manpower. This works when people are involved directly rather than indirectly.

### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ A central problem is that of being realistic, when for example the pure environmentalists or conservationists do not always see the business side of things.
- ◆ Another obstacle is the vulnerability of the third world to political-economic factors.

For example, if wood-burning is replaced with alternatives that are not available locally (for example kerosene in Nepal), societies become more vulnerable to changes in prices of these alternatives due to external events (e.g. Persian Gulf War). Tourism development can only realistically be judged in the context of the precarious situation facing these countries.

- ◆ Local elites will be resistant to many measures, as will the travel industry outside of these countries (transport, hotel chains, etc).
- ◆ Different interests have very different ideas about the value of natural resources (e.g. wildlife may be seen as a nuisance or as something worth travelling and spending money to see).

### **ISSUES**

- ◆ The relationship between environment and development is closer for tourism than any other form of economic activity, because tourism depends directly on natural resources. It is important to put a financial value on these resources so that they become an integral part of decision making. The problem lies in finding the right techniques to arrive at this value.
- ◆ Can green auditing for industry be effective on a large scale? Will it be possible to implement this at the destination end, particularly in the developing countries? Who is going to be responsible?

**Jennifer Ballantine, M.S., Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Provide incentives for tourism businesses (e.g. hotels) to use alternative energy sources.
- ◆ Provide disincentives to poaching (e.g. by providing incentives for wildlife farming, legalizing hunting, opening up farms as tourism destinations).

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The tourist's idea of efficiency is use of amenities at all times.
- ◆ A responsible idea may have damaging consequences. For example, fishing rights were removed in Malindi area as part of the creation of a Marine National Park, but many fishermen were left out of work. Incentives should have been provided for alternative income sources (e.g. glass-bottom tours, snorkelling tours). In Costa Rica, subsistence farmers in the Monteverde area were reemployed in parks.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Tourism can benefit when cooperation is achieved with many other sectors.

**Dr. Will Weber, Director, Journeys, USA**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Decisions about tourism development tend to be driven more by short term factors such as natural disasters, military action, famine and drought than about longer term concerns such as the viability of natural environments that serve to produce water or provide areas where tourism is possible.

For example, East Africa is rapidly losing its natural environments because there is no understanding of what it is a tourist wants. It isn't purely animals but wild areas. Thus there are certain aesthetic dimensions to evaluation that are hard to incorporate into an economic formula.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ The problem is that incentives tend to be covert. For example, bribes can be paid, logs can be stolen, or land can be demarcate so that it seems larger than it actually is. Government laws such as resettlement of refugees can be used as a guise for clearing timber in a unique and precious area.
- ◆ We need different ways of evaluating natural resources that do not necessarily depend on how much oil there is in the ground or how many trees in the forest or volume in cubic feet per second of a river.
- ◆ The danger with aesthetic criteria is that those with control over resources can justify

change by claiming that "the view will be better without the trees there" or "the silt in the stream doesn't obstruct the view and comes from logging you cannot see."

**Steve Conlon, Director, Above the Clouds Trekking, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism organizations can help in efforts to achieve the critical mass needed to make a difference in resolving problems (for example by getting tourists involved in reforestation programs during trekking expeditions, or asking them to contribute to seedling purchases).
- ◆ Tour operators could get local people to join in (for example, in transporting seedlings or planting them). This has the additional benefit of building rapport between visitors and locals, which makes the whole tourism experience more meaningful to everyone involved.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Despite the efforts of tourism and other organizations to curb problems such as erosion (for example, there are 35 organizations working on reforestation projects in Nepal), unless the government takes these efforts seriously, the prospects for success are minimized.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ The most successful projects appear to be those in which an outside agency comes in, recognizes an initiative that started locally, and reinforces it by providing technical expertise and funding. Locally derived projects have a far greater chance of success than the customary approach of the World Bank, USAID and others, i.e. "this is what you need and this is how we'll help you get it."

**Dr. Thea Sinclair, University of Kent, UK**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Quantity constraints should be established. This becomes a political question which may be resolved by raising consciousness of the issues and alternatives. For example, some work is being done to persuade the Kenyan and other governments to employ differential pricing (where indigenous people can exercise their right to access to their own resources). Planning controls might also be used.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Many instruments (such as taxation) have not been fully developed.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Natural resources are often externalized from decision-making.

**Rick Holland, Norris and Holland, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Environmental assessments should be mandatory.

The Department of Responsible Tourism, part of the Institute for Central American Studies (ICAS), has instituted a ranking of approximately 500 tourism businesses in Costa Rica, which is updated bi-annually. Based on their commitment to sustainable development, tourism businesses receive a ranking of between 0 and 5 (0 being the lowest evidence of commitment).

The criteria used in the ranking are: Tourism Facility, Customer Satisfaction, Business Practices, Environmental Practices and Social Responsibility (these are based on the Code of Ethics for Responsible Tourism found in the Department's Guide for Responsible Tourism).

Some services are overburdened with the number of residents and visitors (for example in San Jose, Jaco, Manuel Antonio and Flamingo), so their highest possible ranking is a "3."

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ It is not clear who should conduct environmental assessments.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ The prospects for success of this strategy depend on local empowerment and support of NGO's.

**James McGregor, Ecoplanet Institute, Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourists can pay the full price of a protected area if fees go directly to the park and not to general revenues.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Lack of two-tier fees for residents and tourists. Government plans to have fees go to general revenues.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Tourists are prepared to dedicate a portion of their package price to resource conservation if they know where the funds are going.

**Robert Vass, Tour Guide, Encounter Overland, UK**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Many tour guides are still not properly trained and have no knowledge of the areas they are travelling through. Relationships with others on tour routes are developed through trial and error. Some work out, others do not.
- ◆ Local peoples generally have a lower regard for their environment than tourists, because they take it for granted.

**Bob Olson, Alternative Futures Associates, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism may help create the conditions for a new sustainable development paradigm to emerge (and thus an improved evaluation of natural resources), by helping people to see the problems and innovations in developing countries for themselves.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ This strategy is another dimension of getting the pricing of resources right, and is managed through property rights.

**Elizabeth Boo, World Wildlife Fund, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Industry will have to actually use local products and services in their travel programs. This may be difficult or inconvenient at times, but is critical to provide incentives to local residents.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Industry operates in a strictly profit-making mode and may have to modify this somewhat to incorporate local enterprises into their businesses. Local enterprises may not always be the most efficient or easiest way to go. The higher goals of preserving the area long-term by providing financial incentives for locals will have to be realized.

**Ricardo Anzola, Director, Inter-American Institute for Tourism, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Incentives to local tour (receptive operators) companies are adequate if they comply with specific requirements (i.e. properly trained staff, etc). Such incentives should help exploit them properly.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ In tourism the monopolistic approach to the use of natural resources and the immediate returns this generated is an incentive not to re-evaluate these resources.

For example, in Venezuela one airline controls the entire tourism distribution system to one site, from tourism generating countries to the on-site hotels, and demands that tourists purchase the entire package. A re-evaluation of resources would imply a fundamental change to that lucrative but inadequate system.

### **Bob Harvey, The Jacana Trust, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism has the ability to impact communities that live around resources, and these communities are abundant in the third world. Visitors are stronger than laws, tradition and the legal system. This demand pull will ensure that tourism impacts continue to take place and will change relationships between individuals, communities and resources.
- ◆ Tourism can also improve the valuation of man-made resources by creating new uses for them. Rainforests are not the only resources that can be adapted for tourism purposes.

### **Dody Donnelly, Center for Responsible Tourism, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Use elementary and high school talks and classes to influence the home (customers) directly.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Role of World and U.S. Banks in holding 3rd world debt on nations in neo-colonial dollar slavery, e.g. Jamaica must pay \$650 million per year to service its debt to 1st world nations.

### **David Ladow, Professional Value, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Natural resource protection should be the foundation upon which all other decisions are made. By starting with what is required to sustain natural resources and working backwards, we ensure that these assets will be here in the long run.

Working backwards, the first step is to identify development options which are compatible with sustainable development. Then, we answer the question "How can we sell it and what do people want?" From here it is possible to create an investment which provides a source of revenue to conserve the natural resources upon which the

investment depends while linking the rewards of conservation to local peoples.

- ◆ The promise of greater economic returns through tourism removes incentives to exploit natural resources and provides incentives for responsible actions. It is quite possible for investors to receive a 12 percent unleveraged return at conservative 50 percent occupancy rates and below-market room rates.

**Dr. Martin Mowforth, University College London, UK**

#### **ISSUES**

- ◆ It is not only difficult but inappropriate to try and put a financial value on natural resources that belong to "the global commons" (such as Antarctica).

**Dr. Jeffrey Allender, University of Central Arkansas, USA**

#### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ In some cases tourism can be as powerful an incentive to preserve nature as other development vehicles are to destroy it. Witness, for example, the successful baboon and jaguar reserves in Belize, which were started up by entrepreneurs and developed using seed money from NGO's, with little government involvement.

**Tom Grasse, Marketing Director, International Expeditions**

#### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Natural resources are better valued and priced when industries such as tourism are developed in sustainable ways.

**D. STRATEGY:** Clarify property rights to managing and owning land, forests and industry, while enhancing competitiveness and stability.  
(3 of 9)

**Dr. Erlet Cater, University of Reading, UK**

### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Governments need to assume a more proactive role, by providing subsidies to encourage local ownership, while recognizing the conflict between tourism, agriculture and traditional practices. Otherwise, these countries lose out not only from an environmental and cultural standpoint but also an economic standpoint.
- ◆ Indigenous peoples should be given the right not only to manage and own land and resources but also to enjoy their resources (until now they have not been able to afford this). It is vital, for example, that the local population is charged a differential, lower, rate of admission to National Parks.

### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Local ownership may not necessarily be any more sustainable (local elites may be allied to foreign interests).
- ◆ Integration of third world countries into international trade is very optimistic (the slow progress of GATT is but one example).
- ◆ Conventional tourism infrastructure maintains barriers to access to resources for indigenous peoples, who may never-the-less be taxed to pay for it and, in a sense, are effectively subsidizing the rich tourists.

### **ISSUES**

- ◆ What happens to those who have no rights to property--the landless?

**Steve Conlon, Director, Above the Clouds Trekking**

### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ There are ways to encourage tour operators to set aside funds to purchase land in the areas they are using (this seems to be more developed in Latin America).
- ◆ These and other ideas would benefit from some form of "seal of approval" administered by an independent organization. This would overcome problems such as misrepresentation (in 1989 there were only a handful of ecotours; by 1991 most tours had adopted this label, although the tours themselves had not changed).

### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ In most countries there are huge bureaucratic and corruption problems, i.e. one dollar

for the national park and one dollar for my mansion.

- ◆ The World Bank tape did a good job of showing some of the realities of the world's desperate poor. It is important to put these issues first so that projects which involve land purchases do not further marginalize large numbers of people. In such a situation local people cannot be expected to welcome tourists with open arms.

## ISSUES

- ◆ A formula answer may not always work.

### Elizabeth Boo, World Wildlife Fund, USA

## POTENTIALS

- ◆ This is an important strategy for conservation and development in general, particularly when tackling human rights issues. Tourism will be a secondary beneficiary.
- ◆ Within a broader framework established for all sectors (which tackles human rights and other issues), evidence suggests that parks which are owned privately perform better than those which are publicly owned, simply because they develop the capacity to be self-reliant (through management supported by entrance fees and so on).
- ◆ The industry can use its lobbying power to influence the government's administration of lands.

## OBSTACLES

- ◆ National level policies often do not clarify property rights, which creates problems for implementation at other levels.

### Bob Harvey, The Jacana Trust, USA

## POTENTIALS

- ◆ Tourism which involves conferences and other meetings can provide a turning point to get new political relationships formed. In one example this kind of tourism turned a short-term lobby previously in favor of "slash and burn" agriculture into an advocate for long-term sustainable solutions. In another situation a "Destination Mangroves Conference" saved a rapidly-depleting mangrove area by alerting indigenous people to the enormous value placed on such resources by outsiders, and the economic opportunities arising from this.

## OBSTACLES

- ◆ Property rights are not immutable, even when clarified. They are tied to public processes.
- ◆ Old methods are being used to develop new nations. EC consultants are using

inappropriate language such as "technology transfer." The old-age pattern that the West provides answers needs to be broken. Conventional tourism development is not based on preserving the natural assets of countries but on manipulating them to a nation's long term disadvantage. The biggest obstacle to change is misinformation.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ Communities depend on their assets. Safeguards must be in place to ensure the long term viability of each part of that community. To provide an example in tourism, small lodge owners must know that the nearby reserve that brings people to the lodge will not be sold to be logged.

**Angela Neilan, Virginia Tech, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ In Dominica an argument was made that the benefits accruing from using local food production outweighed the benefits from taxes on imported goods. This argument was successful in changing patterns of property rights.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ How governments receive sustainable development arguments depends on what their priorities are.
- ◆ The way things are done now is better suited to the development of conventional tourism than it is to sustainable tourism. For a transition to sustainable development to occur, people must be able to receive immediate benefits (for example, through profit-sharing). However when wealth and power are concentrated in a few hands, the idea of redistributing benefits is unlikely to yield much support.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ The feeling of "self-directedness" among people who have rights to property results in greater productivity.

**Dr. Will Weber, Director, Journeys, USA**

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ When property rights may benefit from being clarified, obstacles may stand in the way. Often the rules that govern ownership are arcane. The notion of title is established by tradition that everyone recognizes implicitly. So when you try to change use, by for example planting rather than cutting trees, conflicts are created.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ Clarifying property rights may not always be effective. When the traditional use is a more appropriate ecological use, the fact that property rights are not clarified prevents

adverse developments from taking place.

For example, when property rights are not clarified it becomes harder for an outsider to come in and use resources for damaging purposes (e.g. buy land and sell it to a timber company). The World Bank's analytical approach may not fit into more intuitive and traditionally organized societies.

- ◆ Clarifying property rights creates a standardized and familiar format for those who would acquire and exploit land viciously, but now "legally."

### **Robert Vass, Tour Guide, Encounter Overland, UK**

#### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism is complex but relatively unsophisticated. There is potential for people who have traditionally been marginalized by development to participate without changing their traditions and identity as much as they would if they migrated to cities and worked in factories.

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Tourism tends to develop at two levels, not at all or too much. Even if local peoples have access to tourism operations, they will develop their particular attraction in a way that attracts as many people as possible, if they can get away with it. This will not be sustainable. Tour operators will adapt to changes in property rights to the extent that they will still be able to operate freely. This may not be sustainable either.

#### **ISSUES**

- ◆ Transferring property rights alone is not enough. The problem will be in integrating property rights with the other dimensions in the World Bank's strategy.

### **Rick Holland, Norris and Holland, USA**

#### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ "Force" land demarkation and spur land use regulation in tourism development.

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There is a problem of competing economic and political interests.

#### **ISSUES**

- ◆ The prospects for success of this strategy depend on local empowerment and support of NGO's.

**Dr. Martin Mowforth, University College London, UK**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ The idea of clarifying property rights is a distinctly North American one. There are many societies that do not see property rights in the same way that American culture sees them (in which individual property rights come first). The balance between individual and community property rights is often different in other societies.

Latin America is a case in point. The assumption by development institutions is that attitudes towards property in societies can be sorted out by reallocating individual property rights so that individuals will act responsibly. The evidence is to the contrary. Over the last 500 years the Hacienda estate owners have been responsible for enormous destruction by replacing natural environments with plantations. This legacy is now being continued in Central America and many other places with multinational companies harvesting plantation crops, and by the infrastructure development projects of institutions such as the World Bank. Even where there has been a shift to smaller scale developments whose impacts are relatively less damaging, they are still damaging enough to be unsustainable.

- ◆ To focus property rights on individual ownership and at the same time to enhance competitiveness will lead to the concentration of property and land in the hands of the few who have the advantage in the first place and to increasing landlessness (and therefore hopelessness) for the majority.

**Dr. Thea Sinclair, University of Kent, UK**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Vested interests are a major obstacle to change.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Tourism, more than most other industries, demonstrates a close relationship between property speculation and development. More information is needed on who gains and who loses in development.

**Jennifer Ballantine, M.S., Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Land claims can be settled and portions of land dedicated to national parks when indigenous peoples benefit from self-government and ownership of land (which enable them to open tourism and other businesses). Example, Inuit people of Northern Canada.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Pastoral rights are hard to define with pastoral lifestyles (e.g. Kenya - Maasai people).

**Ricardo Anzola, Director, Inter-American Institute for Tourism, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ The problem is that, because no rights have been clarified, politicians sell the land to investors who then control its development. This strategy is vital.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Objections by politicians who would lose power.

**James McGregor, Ecoplanet Institute, Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ More local ownership of tour companies and accommodation and partnerships with non-governmental organizations.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Support local people in the development of their own tourism products with international links to tourism generating countries.

**Dr. Jeffrey Allender, University of Central Arkansas, USA**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The lack of infrastructure in some countries and the economics of many development options reinforce the reliance on imports and therefore control of development by those with existing rights to property.

In Belize many lands set aside for national parks rely almost totally on organizations such as the Peace Corps and Audubon. These organizations do not have the resources to do the necessary managing and policing, making these areas vulnerable to poaching and illegal clearing and settlement. Also, in Belize and the Cayo District, prime coastal and island property has been bought up by foreigners, which has appreciated prices so that real estate is beyond the reach of local people.

**Audrey Patterson, Tread Lightly Ltd, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ It is important to establish the right fee structure and carrying capacity for parks, to control volume and ensure self-sufficiency. Spatial patterns of development should also be considered.

For example, experiments have recently been conducted with a "hub and spoke" tourism distribution system. In this system the hub is a central area where infrastructure

is designed to hold many visitors. Spokes connect people to attractions such as parks.

**Dick Selby, Consultant, USA**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ This is an oversimplification since there are often no formal rights to clarify.

**Dody Donnelly, Center for Responsible Tourism, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Suggest that 3rd World can declare bankruptcy, like Pan Am??

**David Ladow, Professional Value, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Property rights may be clarified by buying up thousands of acres of land from landowners, for which they receive a substantial equity stake in an ecotourism development project. The acreage may then be divided to ensure different groups have rights to managing and owning land, forests and industry. These divisions should be based on market needs and the sensitivity of different natural environments.

The "hub and spoke" model seems to be ideally suited to ecotourism, society and the environment. In this model, "the hub" is located in a less sensitive natural environment because it must be well developed to manage large flows of people. The hub provides the contact point with the developed world. The operation of reservation systems and communications technology requires the expertise of a management company. However, wherever business can be run by trained local people, opportunities are created for them to do so. For example, guests at hotels would pay two separate bills--one to the management company and the other directly to the local company cleaning the entire facility. Businesses in and around the hotel are also owned and managed by local people on a competitive basis (they are trained in a school at the hub). Supply industries, restaurants, shops, artisans, and educational workshop programs are all contracted out. This creates a decentralized, entrepreneurial, village structure. Around the hub is a buffer zone, which limits the amount of property development which usually accompanies tourism.

Guests fly from the hub to nature tourism stations. These are designed and operated according to different criteria, because they are located in more sensitive environments. For example, locations and designs are chosen with the help of biologists who have knowledge about the movement of wildlife along natural corridors. Local people are trained as resource stewards and are paid a salary. Other members of their communities manufacture arts and crafts, which are taken back to the hub and sold to tourists through the locally-owned village system.

**4. STRATEGY:** Accelerate education and better natural resource management  
(4 of 9)

**Dr. Will Weber, Director, Journeys, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ An informal kind of education takes place as people visit remote areas. Tourism creates a model of inquiry that helps people acquire more of a sense of the world. But it is necessary to understand the full range of motives of different kinds of tourists, whether missionaries, anthropologists, government officials, doctors setting up health clinics.

For each of these, the depth and intent of the motive should be examined by asking what is at stake for indigenous peoples. This may be a standard against which each kind of tourism may be judged.

- ◆ Tourism can often help politically unconnected people obtain direct economic and educational benefits through private scholarships, invitations to visit a Western country, cash gifts.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Some forms of tourism have as their objective to take something away. Of course, all forms of tourism (including ecotourism) have some sort of impact, such as leaving toilet paper, but compared to other kinds of tourism these impacts are minimal.
- ◆ Conventional tourism in large hotels for large groups may coerce education and behaviors designed to satisfy tourists rather than local cultural expectations.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Although awareness is developing of specific issues which have been personalized in the media, what's missing is an understanding of things in a global context. Peoples of all countries have a thirst for information.
- ◆ People's views of a country are based on perception. Many national governments are perhaps unaware, when designing tourism development, of what these perceptions are. Many of these perceptions, because they are driven by the media, may not be a good reflection of what really exists (i.e. "its not safe, not stable, not clean"). Yet these perceptions affect whether or not tourism takes place.
- ◆ Tourism should not idealize cultural or environmental features which do not exist by, for example, suggesting that a grandiose hotel displays traditional architecture. This is dishonest and demeans local culture.

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Conference tourism, organized in the right way, facilitates effective transmission of knowledge. Conferences have recently been organized in a way that villagers managing one successful sensitive tourism project are brought in to explain to other villagers how the system succeeds.
- ◆ The media and schools can be used in tourism generating countries to inform and build respect. Creating an appreciation for the scarcity of natural resources and the value of traditions is important.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The educational process is a difficult one for tourism, because everyone in a country is part of the tourism industry. Everyone has an economic tie to tourism and a tie to its success or failure. This creates a problem of control, but also explains why some sensitive tourism projects have succeeded in spite of governments.
- ◆ Travel companies may create a distorted picture of natural resources in their marketing campaigns by creating unrealistic expectations. They are sometimes reluctant to show the real picture. As a result of this visitors develop unrealistic expectations. For example, they become disappointed if it rains in the rainforest or if they do not see their "quota" of wildlife.
- ◆ Overall, there is a problem of standards and protocol in tourism activities. This remains a problem because tourism involves the coming together of different peoples, technologies and constantly changing expectations, creating clashes (for example between cruise ships and island cultures). How these clashes are resolved is often a matter of timing. Cruise ships try to meet new expectations of visitors and give them meaningful experiences. Meanwhile, villages are trying to safeguard their own interests. The point of compromise occurs when villages threaten to reject the ships outright.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ Conflicts between environmental and cultural sensitivity are inevitable because development problems involve contradictions. Educating people about these contradictions is necessary but difficult.
- ◆ It is important to understand how knowledge is transmitted. It is not transmitted effectively from people in suits to villagers, but from villagers to villagers. Also, children tend to drive changes in older generations. Adults become interested in watching Sea Turtles when their children do.

**Dr. Erlet Cater, University of Reading, UK**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Codes of conduct for clientele - how to behave in the context they are visiting.
- ◆ Educate local population in the value of their tourism resource.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There is a shortage of people with local know-how. Obviously the locals "know how," but what is required is a greater knowledge of traditional needs and practices to integrate into decision-making.
- ◆ Tourism accentuates the contrast between rich and poor. Although the intentions may be good, ecotourism results in a direct, tangible contact between host and guest. From this point of view, ecotourists should not be singled out as some special breed. In fact, their behavior may be more damaging because they tend to operate closer to more indigenous people.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ There are inevitable conflicts between short-term survival and long-term benefits and costs.
- ◆ There is a need to understand traditional practices rather than superimpose Western value systems (which is easy to do in tourism, which is designed to serve these and other industrialized markets). It is through knowledgeable indigenous people that communication and diffusion of ideas about different cultures, traditions, practices, languages and needs is possible.

**Steve Conlon, Director, Above the Clouds Trekking, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ In places like Nepal or Madagascar, where communications are problematic due to distances and lack of technology infrastructure, one of the greatest places to spend money for education is on a radio program, which may in turn generate support for sustainable tourism efforts.

People in villages all around the world have their radio turned on at night after dinner, and are in a receptive mood after a day's work. The Agricultural Development Program in Nepal was one of the most successful because it was targeted to a population 96 percent of which was farmers, and was entertaining. A similar program could talk about issues such as soil erosion and reforestation (which are familiar to these people) and also tourism (e.g. where these pale-faced, foggy-eyed people are coming from, and why they want to walk up and down steep slopes all day).

Support for reforestation and other programs (e.g. bringing in a water pipe, bridge building, AIDS education etc) could be generated, and locals could also invest time and

a little money (they will then approach it and value it appropriately). A "program of programs" could be developed because different programs would be appropriate at different times of the year. Tourists could become an integral part of these programs. The World Bank could provide seed money for radio programs, radios and other needs.

- ◆ Tourist trips can also be directed through chosen villages and could stop in at local schools.

Children would benefit from hearing English accents for a while, to overcome some of the limitations of the strong accents of their teachers. This helps establish rapport, makes trekkers feel better and makes locals more receptive to future groups (they realize that it does not have to always be people getting something from them, but instead sharing something with them).

- ◆ Codes of ethics produced by organizations with their own agendas (such as Center for Responsible Tourism and The Ecotourism Society) need to be integrated and simplified for use in the travel and tourism industry.

These codes then need to be adapted for cultural survival in individual countries to explain why in many countries you don't hand somebody something with your left hand and why eating with knives and forks may be perceived as putting weapons in your mouth. These could be incorporated by tour operators into pre-departure information for tourists.

## OBSTACLES

- ◆ Tourism is still stuck in a "hand-out" mode. To date many mistakes are made despite the best intentions of tourists.

Candy, pens and balloons are among the things handed out to children by tourists. All this does is convert proud people into beggars. In many places there are no dentists within a 2-3 day walk, no history of dentistry and no money to pay for such services. Tour operators can help people reexamine taken for granted attitudes (for example "we want to help you move forward"), some of which are embodied in terminology (for example "developing" country).

## ISSUES

- ◆ We need to reexamine the motives and means in the whole Aid process and in other means of interface.

Aid, the media and tourism are major vehicles through which cross-cultural experiences take place. Those in Aid should recognize the impact that tourism has on shaping expectations, which happens regardless of whether institutions decide to pay any attention to it. If attention is paid to tourism, it may help further the sustainability cause in these societies. If no attention is paid to tourism, it may only create resistance to other projects.

## Robert Vass, Tour Guide, Encounter Overland, UK

### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ The potential lies in convincing people that what they have is what they can live on without disfiguring it. In order for this to happen tourists themselves have to be educated.

If tourists come in with the attitude that these people are primitive, this will only create resentment and disrespect and encourage exploitation on both sides. If preparations are made beforehand to overcome ignorance, the harmful aspects of the love-hate relationship between tourists and local people might be minimized. Steps will have to be taken to remove colonial "master-servant" stereotypes.

### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Removing master-servant stereotypes will be difficult because these have been ingrained throughout history.
- ◆ People in underdeveloped areas may see ecotourism work in other areas and try it. However, they may fail because their environments are aesthetically unappealing. They may then try and adapt their environments to what they think people want them to be, with disastrous results.
- ◆ Unfortunately, the Western experience has shown that it is impossible for a country to go through the educational process of realizing the problems of development without experiencing them, because they would forego some of the more immediate and obvious benefits. And the perception is that the greater the scale of development, the more benefits will accrue.

## Jennifer Ballantine, M.S., Canada

### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism can contribute indirectly to education in developing countries through contributions to local infrastructure. In Kenya, a new Wildlife Service looks after the national parks and allocates a proportion of the revenues of all tourism activities to build local schools and medical facilities. The schools in turn emphasize the value of the natural resources of the country and help prevent their destruction.
- ◆ Non-governmental organizations have used education as a tool for fund-raising. In situations in which the government profits from the sale of ivory and other damaging practices, non-governmental organizations have raised funds for conservation and protection of natural areas through activities in developing countries (such as seminars on topical issues such as African wildlife).

### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Tourists must be better educated about what they are seeing. Past studies have shown

a high latent interest in learning.

### **Audrey Patterson, Tread Lightly Ltd, USA**

#### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Training and education of local people is essential. For example, tour operators in Costa Rica have created partner-ships with government subsidized universities and added tour guiding and other subjects to the curriculum, in English.

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ One obstacle is existing incentives to exploit resources due to lack of alternatives, or habit. Poverty and sanitation issues have to be addressed before anything else can happen.

#### **ISSUES**

- ◆ It is important to educate women about family planning and other matters (such as labor-saving technology, etc) before any action is attempted in tourism, since they are often the key to change in developing countries.

### **Rick Holland, Norris & Holland, USA**

#### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Codes of ethics for responsible tourism can accelerate education efforts.

For example, the Department of Responsible Tourism's code of ethics, inspired by the Travel Ethic of the National Audubon Society, states that:

Tourism should be culturally sensitive (e.g. tours should build bridges between cultures);

Tourism should be a positive influence on local communities (e.g. by supporting local businesses to convince people that natural habitats are worth saving);

Tourism should be managed and sustainable (e.g. through management of spatial tourism flows);

Waste should be disposed of properly (reduce, reuse, recycle); Wildlife and natural habitats should not be needlessly disturbed (e.g. through interrupting wildlife habits for the sake of a picture, leaving trails or designated areas, touring without a guide);

There must be no commerce in wildlife, wildlife products or native plants (although wood crafts from sustainable timber sources should be encouraged);

Tourists should leave with a greater understanding and appreciation of nature, conservation and the environment (e.g. through responsible and educated guides); and,

Ecotourism should strengthen conservation efforts and enhance the natural integrity of places visited (e.g. tour operator and tourist involvement in sustainable development through contributions, volunteerism, letters of support, tree planting, and so on).

If these kinds of ethics are implemented, tourism provides employment opportunities, both for hiring (especially in rural areas) and for start-up businesses.

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Lack of government spending on education, and foreign control of the development process.

#### **ISSUES**

- ◆ The prospects for success of this strategy depend on local empowerment and support of NGO's.

#### **Sara Nelson-Palmayer, Center for Global Education, USA**

#### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Travel and tourism can contribute to an understanding of development problems through organized education programs. For example, the Center for Global Education organizes travel seminars (1-3 weeks or 1 semester) for groups (such as church groups, educators and students) to developing countries (e.g. India, Namibia, Mexico, Nicaragua, South Africa). Development topics such as human rights, women's studies and Non-Governmental Organizations are included in dialogue which allows people to rethink their realities and create changes (e.g. in University and school curricula).
- ◆ These tours can motivate local citizens to question their life conditions and challenge authorities, demanding improvements in their communities.

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Sometimes governments limit what persons who are visiting are allowed to see and experience, so a complete picture of the reality of life is not available.

#### **James McGregor, Ecoplanet Institute, Canada**

#### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Train locals in tour management, interpretation and environmental protection and management.

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Dominance of foreign operators. Lack of local investment and tourism knowledge.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ Engage in regional strategic planning, identify local operators and require skill development (training).

### **Tom Grasse, Marketing Director, International Expeditions, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Ecotourism brings people on-site for a unique educational experience. The link with conservation activity promotes better natural resource management, builds awareness and shows that tour operators stand behind their purpose.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Many potential ecotourists still cannot understand how a private enterprise can make money and be ecologically and socially sensitive at the same time.

### **Bob Olson, Alternative Futures Associates, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Ecotourism is partly the result of a movement of ideas that started three decades ago, which moved into the media and into industry. Once the image of sustainable development starts to rival other images (such as the "information society" and the "post-industrial society"), ecotourism will form but a part of a new tourism experience-- "experiencing future ways in which you might live."

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There have always been and always will be, groups of people whose interests are at risk. The political struggles over property rights will be a major obstacle to education efforts.

### **Elizabeth Boo, World Wildlife Fund, USA**

- ◆ There is a great deal of overlap between this strategy and tourism. Tourism can be a real vehicle for environmental education, not only for visitors but also for residents.

The tourism industry can play a huge role here not only in the material they send to people pre-departure, but also the information they give while on trips. Using local guides is especially important.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The tourism industry will have to spend more time learning about special circumstances of local areas and perhaps get involved with training some local guides.





**Ricardo Anzola, Director, Inter-American Institute for Tourism, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ This is the most important element of the strategy, and should involve every actor in the development process. In the programs developed by the Inter-American Institute for Tourism, local involvement has been a pleasant surprise as people have taken a stand on the management of their own resources. There is more potential for this pride to flourish in tourism than in other industries.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Tourism education in tourism generating countries is outmoded, based on development models developed 25 years ago. Training institutions do not want to change systems established long ago. They require new programs and up-dated professors!

**Angela Neilan, Virginia Tech, USA**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ The major question is, who are the people who can make sustainable tourism development happen? It is the younger generation, who have or will have an ecological awareness. This will not happen without organization. It has to be a pre-focused effort.

This effort should start in high schools where natural resource education should be linked with studies and field trips or videos including ecotourism. It should also take place in colleges to help make the transition happen (for example by including tourism and ecology issues in policy textbooks). Potential tourists will then be more astute and more realistic about travel experiences. Tourists then become role models who bring advanced practices to developing countries, both in their business and pleasure travel activities.

- ◆ The educational process should not be confined to developed countries but should also take place in developing countries. Assumptions about what the new generation of tourists wants need to be changed. The new generation is more interested in new experiences than in being provided with Western foods, while the media has convinced local peoples that their foods are inferior.

**Dr. Martin Mowforth, University College London, UK**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ This is a good idea, but where does the education come from, and whose values does it promote or reflect? Development projects have tended to promote only one side of contentious issues such as free markets. And education tends to promote the values and ideas of those who fund it and provide the resources rather than of those receiving it.

**Dr. Thea Sinclair, University of Kent, UK**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ There is a need to get back to basics by defining terms. What is meant by "sustainable"? Sustainable in terms of constant earnings? Sustainable in terms of constant monetary value? Sustainable in terms of constant quantity? Sustainable in terms of levels of access with given different levels of investment?

**Dr. Jeffrey Allender, University of Central Arkansas, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Local high school students could collect data periodically on tourist expectations and satisfaction/ dissatisfaction. This would reduce reliance on outside help and improve the quality of tourism planning data.

**Lou D'Amore, Director, Institute for Peace, Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Sustainable development education may be accelerated in tourism through codes of ethics. The Institute for Peace, in cooperation with United Nations Environment Program, conducted a survey to determine how many countries had developed codes of conduct with respect to tourism and the environment and were putting them in practice. 7-8 countries were in the process of implementing them and 4-5 organizations had integrated them into their operations.

**Dody Donnelly, Center for Responsible Tourism, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Sponsor speakers, videos, courses, nature tours. Tell the FACTS, the TRUTH.

**David Ladow, Professional Value, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Education makes an innovative ecotourism system possible. In the emerging "hub and spoke" model, this is managed at the hub through a business advisory service, which trains local people to run businesses. Quality and price guidelines are also provided to ensure a viable market. Education is also involved in educating tourists about this new kind of project before the experience so that their behavior is compatible with the environment, while still giving them the freedom expected in a vacation.

During their stay, tourists have the option of learning about the environment through workshops operated by local resource stewards. They may also participate directly in scientific research projects in remote tourism nature stations, and follow trained guides through varied environments.

**F. STRATEGY:** Invest in Water and Sanitation  
(5 of 9)

**Dr. Erlet Cater, University of Reading**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism demands very sophisticated levels of water and sanitation. The benefits of improved supplies could potentially be felt in local communities, both in terms of access and quality of provision.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There is often a shortage of finance and expertise.
- ◆ Locally-administered projects (such as The Orangi Project in India shown on the video) would probably not meet the demands of tourist markets.
- ◆ The poor in developing countries often have to subsidize the rich through taxes.

**Dr. Will Weber, Director, Journeys, USA**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There is no doubt that living conditions may be improved through such investment. On the other hand, you may also raise property values and create an oasis that may not be sustainable in other ways.

Investing in water and sanitation may amount to little more than a band aid on the overall problem. Water and sanitation are basic needs but cannot easily be provided equitably for overpopulated regions whose resources are unproductive (e.g. where trees have been cleared and watersheds depleted).

- ◆ Another problem is related to the subject of education. People are better equipped to take action into their own hands when they understand what is possible within their own system. The problem arises when a reliable resource (a technology developed from outside) creates a dependence and then breaks down. A solution to a problem then becomes unsustainable.

For example, a mechanical pump which draws down the water table, supports a higher population and then breaks down, leaves people without any access to water.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ "Sustainability" needs to be more explicitly defined. The preservation of naturally functioning ecosystems lies at the heart of sustainable development because it addresses all the elements in the development equation.

From preservation come a myriad of benefits, such as water, oxygen, clean air, and so on, without human intervention. However, it appears that the logic of this "natural bank" conflicts with the World Bank's analytical logic which maintains that processes have to be evaluated, changed, improved, managed, manipulated.

- ◆ "Investment" might best be thought of as purchase of all development rights and defending a sight against development, roads, dams, etc.

**Angela Neilan, Virginia Tech, USA**

### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Investment in water and sanitation is critical to the success of sustainable tourism. For example, in Dominica, an arrangement was made between cruise ship companies and local villages whereby villages would supply passengers with locally grown and prepared foods. Thus arises the question of local sanitation. How safe are the foods and the preparation methods for foreign tourists?
- ◆ The consequences of poisoning could be disastrous for tourism. A great deal of education and training is required to establish operations that can produce food at an acceptable standard. This necessarily includes training for government officials in sanitation administration because, in the food production industry of developing countries, bribes rather than bookkeeping are often the norm.

### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ One obstacle is that the initial systems set up to solve a problem are often re-applied to a superficially similar project with disastrous consequences. When there is no food and sanitation expertise to draw on, people may re-apply methods that are unsuitable for new uses and produce food unfit for consumption.

### **ISSUES**

- ◆ It is important to answer the question "Who are the users?" In developed countries, water and sanitation systems are designed with adults (and especially men) in mind, while in developing countries the users are mainly women and children. Thus, children have a difficult time using pump handles designed for and by men. It is the little things that, when overlooked, prevent people from doing the best they can do.

**Dr. Martin Mowforth, University College London, UK**

### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ This is one area where development aid can assist in meeting these and other basic human rights, so that people can develop their own potential, rather than have us in the North make decisions for what is best for them. However, there is a trade-off between provision for basic human needs as a subsidized service and as a paid-for profitable enterprise (e.g. through tourism development). The decision should be based on the criterion of access to the facility.

- ◆ The danger here is that travel and tourism will invest in water and sanitation facilities only for the visitors. If it can provide for the local host communities as well, and to the same standard, if appropriate, as for the visitor, then all well and good.

#### **ISSUES**

- ◆ Are we only going to invest in water and sanitation through the spirit of the World Bank's strategy? (i.e. the spirit of free enterprise and the individual). If so, many people will go without basic services.

**Dr. Thea Sinclair, University of Kent**

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There is always a problem with the lag time between conception and implementation of new ideas.

#### **ISSUES**

- ◆ We should also consider investment leakages in different countries (e.g. leakages are greater for small island nations).
- ◆ A great deal will depend on political will, i.e. making industry more conscious and providing incentives (to the extent that new investors comply with the law).

**Jennifer Ballantine, M.S., Canada**

#### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ There is little evidence of this investment taking place in tourism.

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Local people are often barred from using water and sanitation facilities provided for tourists.

For example, hotels may not let locals into their facilities to get water. Some locals get around this by dressing up as tourists.

#### **ISSUES**

- ◆ Any business serving tourists will have to supply clean water and adequate sanitation; however, efforts must be made so that local people also benefit from water services.

**Steve Conlon, Director, Above the Clouds Trekking**

#### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism can make use of available and capable manpower and bring immediate

improvement in water and sanitation.

The Nepali government established a local peace-corps type project whereby every college student (many from cities) had a year added to his or her course of studies and went out to remote villages. They returned as more mature individuals.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Mistakes can be made through lack of foresight.

For example, one project built latrines outside every house, which were unused because villagers preferred to have a different, beautiful and natural view 365 days a year for their daily routine. Their values are often taken for granted.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ This is a basic need, which, if provided for, can help reduce demands on other services, such as health clinics.

### **Elizabeth Boo, World Wildlife Fund, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ There are many things that the private sector will not be interested in doing (e.g. providing site-specific basic needs and infrastructure). It is here that the World Bank may provide some assistance and facilitate tourism development (lack of regional/local infrastructure development is a major problem for many tourist sites). The World Bank can only gain from such involvement.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Even if some places receive investments in water and sanitation and other basic services, there will still be a discrepancy between standards expected by travellers and the standard by which very basic needs are provided for. Although ecotourists may enjoy wildlife and adventure during the day, they demand comforts at night. This dichotomy will have to be recognized and managed.
- ◆ On the other side of the spectrum, infrastructure development cannot be too advanced or the tourist site itself or the access will be too easy, overloading the carrying capacity of the site.

### **Ricardo Anzola, Director, Inter-American Institute for Tourism, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Very little is being done in tourism beyond provision for tourists. Investment beyond this is only likely where developers have strong ties with communities.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Small private enterprises do not have the capacity to make such investments.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ Research in new technology should be encouraged and financing made possible.

**Rick Holland, Norris & Holland, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ A good supply and quality of water resources in tourism development should be required.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There is a lack of regulation and enforcement mechanisms.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ The prospects for success of this strategy depend on local empowerment and support of NGO's.

**James McGregor, Ecoplanet Institute, Canada**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Local revenues generated by tourism can be used to finance or assist water, health, and sanitation.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ In most developing countries, 50-75 percent of tourism revenues go to developed countries.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ The World Bank should participate in assuring local product development and should partially transfer funds.

**Dr. Jeffrey Allender, University of Central Arkansas, USA**

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There are significant obstacles to implementation in many countries. Tax collection, regulation and enforcement are lax at best due to the lack of bargaining power against investors and the wheeling and dealing going on between state officials and importers and exporters.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ It is important to address differences in the timing and rate of change in different developing countries. Belize is underpopulated and has an excellent well system. Water and sanitation is not a problem yet.

### **Audrey Patterson, Tread Lightly Ltd, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ This is a basic requirement for efficient tourism development to take place.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The interconnections between water and sanitation and other issues are often overlooked.

For example, what we have seen happening in places like northeast Brazil is the building of hotels on beachfronts without adequate water and sanitation provisions in the locality. Beaches, water and living environments are polluted and when the situation worsens, development moves down the coast to the next beach, and so the cycle continues.

### **Dick Selby, Consultant, USA**

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Many projects are undertaken for the wrong reasons or become obsolete or cannot be maintained.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ This strategy really stems from effective natural resource management.

### **Bob Harvey, The Jacana Trust, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ The private sector may want to invest but may not have the support and expertise to do so. Non-governmental organizations (e.g. the Jacana Trust) in tourism generating countries can help by finding people who know what works and what does not work.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Some environmentally sustainable alternatives may not be socially sustainable or logistically possible. For example, from an environmental point of view, it is better to supply organic products to the tourism industry. However, these may have to be imported.

**Tom Grasse, Marketing Director, International Expeditions, USA**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Water and sanitation may not be the only problems that need to be addressed. For example, birth control is often required to reduce the population pressures that force slash-and-burn activity.

**David Ladow, Professional Value, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ A proportion of revenues from tourism may be reinvested through community foundations into healthcare.

**G. STRATEGY: Change the behavior of producers and consumers through targeted regulation and incentives**  
(6 of 9)

**Robert Vass, Tour Guide, Encounter Overland, UK**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ The failure of many tours to live up to their expectations, and increasing dissatisfaction with mass tourism will act as a natural incentive for the concerned traveller to be more cautious in making travel choices. However, before this incentive to work there must come a long process of education through experience, media comment and word of mouth.
- ◆ Advise developing countries to demand more of tour operators. Demand local knowledge and issue licenses. In the case of developing tourist areas, it would have the following advantages:
  - 1) Improved local relations
  - 2) Encourage the employment of local people as less training would be required.
  - 3) Limit the number of operators and number of tourists.
  - 4) Improve the credibility of the tourist industry.
  - 5) Lessen the impact on the environment and local population, while maintaining the benefits.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The basic problem is that tourism is a reactive industry in which tourism generating countries have the upper hand over developing countries because they control the tourism industry, including its demand.
- ◆ Tourists have few standards to judge tours against and cannot easily evaluate the experience before, during and after it. Evaluation may not even be that important anyway. For young people the main objective is to get drunk, take pictures and have a good time with new friends. Many tourists view these natural destinations the same way they would other destinations. The main objective is to do the circuit, just as they do Oxford, Bath, London, Chester, York, Edinburgh in the UK.
- ◆ Even if the tourist is concerned about damage to the environment, when actually on-site and in an unfamiliar environment, he or she will do whatever he or she is told to do, and will still want the amenities that he or she is used to.
- ◆ Better educated tourists dress in a certain way, behave in a certain way and bring technology with them. There is nothing that can be done to prevent local people from wanting what they have.
- ◆ It is easier to convince tourists that their behavior must be restricted in high-profile places like the Galapagos Islands, whose problems have received a lot of attention and whose environments never fail to offer lots of wildlife, regardless of restrictions.

Otherwise it is difficult to justify restrictions on access to places that appear to be more exciting than the travelled route and which tourists have paid a lot of money to see.

- ◆ We have to recognize that mass tourism has developed attractions in developing countries as commodities. The colonials used and continue to use developing countries as a resource pool to fuel industrial expansion. Business travel helps this to happen and pleasure travel uses these same countries as a leisure commodity. It is hard to convince producers (whether investor controlled companies or desperate local peoples) to not exploit resources to capacity. This is the mindset of the economic system as a whole.
- ◆ Deliberately limiting your tourist market is not the quickest way of making a buck. One solution would be to change the population/government perception of tourism from a short-term, high turnover commodity to a long term, high quality product. But why should they be interested when they want to solve short-term financial problems?

**Dr. Will Weber, Director, Journeys, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Indigenous groups may react negatively or violently to tourism development (the Cunas Indians of Panama being one example). Journeys took an alternative route by starting a few small scale projects in segregated islands and places in order to restrict the movements of outsiders (including Panamanians of other ethnic origins) in accordance with the needs of indigenous groups.
- ◆ "You can't keep them down on the farm" as the saying goes, but it is possible to nourish tendencies towards cultural preservation.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ It is important to recognize that the higher rent charged to compensate for resource usage regulation is only likely to be achieved when the experience is perceived by tourists as exclusive. However, in many cases governments undervalue resources and as a result cannot budget for their proper management. The infrastructure is not there for the interpretive experience people expect, or the systems (e.g. fences and roads) needed to control misuse.
- ◆ Political decisions seldom conform to ecologically sensible principles and professional resource management.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Tourism is regulated by the value of the price that governments charge for everything from visas to airfare to minimum costs per day, from port entry fees to national park entry fees, and so on. This works as long as it applies to everyone and properly reflects the value of what is offered.

**Dr. Eriq Cater, University of Reading**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Charge entrance fees and reinvest in natural attractions/sustainable projects (enhancing development of local population).
- ◆ Encourage more responsible behavior by transnational hotel chains. Green consumerism (and in the future possibly green employees and green shareholders) and other trends will encourage firms to comply, but tighter regulation is also required to force firms to comply.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There is a natural temptation to bend rules when there are financial incentives to do so (e.g. by tipping a driver to take a group on a new route).

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Can responsible tourism be profitable on a large scale? How price-sensitive are tourism markets--can the additional costs be passed on to them without jeopardizing demand or diverting that demand elsewhere (sectorally and/or spatially)?

**Costas Christ, Tamu Safaris, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism can be a sustainable income generator in situations where alternatives are unsustainable (i.e. where resources and people might otherwise be exploited). However, the case for tourism must be justifiable in economic as well as social and ecological terms, otherwise the problems driving development will not be solved. For example, the argument that unrestrained hunting is wrong is insufficient for changing the behavior of producers.
- ◆ Behavior change only takes place when the revenue from hunting is directly compared to the revenue from tourism using the same unit of analysis.

For example, it was estimated that elephants in a Kenyan reserve were worth \$40,000 a year, based on the number of tourists and their average spend. The yield from hunting and trading animal products on the black market was considerably less. This information generated an incentive for behavior change. In some cases, former hunters now work in tourism and conserve their environments.

- ◆ There is skepticism on the part of the general public that if something is good for you or good for the environment, then it probably isn't fun. The idea of global stewardship is a difficult one to accept in a leisure context, where one is supposed to be relatively free of constraint.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The ecotourism philosophy is filtering through to the rest of the industry, because of the lure of more money. This is acceptable on the condition that sustainable guidelines are incorporated into their operations. However, this inevitably involves trade-offs which are not acceptable to all organizations.

For example, Tamu Safaris chooses locally operated businesses, even if the service is not up to standard. Partnerships must be built to help bring local operators up to a minimum standard. Conventional tour operators may not be willing to work within inevitable grass-roots constraints when the option of "doing it their way" is always available.

**Dr. Martin Mowforth, University College London, UK**

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ It is surprising to see incentives under "breaking the negative links" because they are more usually associated with building positive linkages.
- ◆ The notion of "targeted" regulation should be seen in its historical context. Credits have been given (in sectors such as agriculture) which have advantaged larger landowners but not those with less bargaining power. So the question is "who is our target?" I believe that credits should target those who need them most - i.e., the small land holder. If credits are an arm of development strategy, then we should be using them to help people develop their own lives rather than getting them to boost and enrich our consumption potential.
- ◆ Regulation should not be seen as "state intervention" but as society doing something intelligent, and very necessary.

**Jennifer Ballantine, M.S., Canada**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Requirement or incentives for use of locally produced food rather than "familiar" imported foods. Requirement for local employment (Kenya requires that 90 percent be Kenyans). The incentive for tour operators is that Kenyans are more knowledgeable.
- ◆ Enlightened developing countries and tour operators may set their own standards.

For example, the African Safari Club has a policy of using locally-made goods wherever possible, and a Kenyan law demands that a given proportion of supplies be locally sourced.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Tourists demand food that is familiar to them.

**Elizabeth Boo, World Wildlife Fund, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ For the supply side (parks and communities) to be prepared for tourism and able to benefit from it, a great deal of concentrated work needs to be done that won't happen automatically. What will happen automatically (or through the famous invisible hand of the market) consumer demand will affect how the tourism industry behaves and what it offers.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There will always be problems which the market may not be able to rectify immediately (e.g. misrepresentation by travel companies). Supportive policies (such as limits on imports) would also be required.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Anywhere where people's travel decisions are influenced by information there are points of leverage which are potentially more effective in changing behavior than regulation and incentives at the destination level.

**Dick Selby, Consultant, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Sourcing locally and other related matters should be made explicit in tourism development contracts or implicit by telling developers that they will be charged duties on imports.
- ◆ Gasoline and other goods should at least be imported at market rates.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The existing tourism development process has a set of covert incentives which make behavior change very difficult. Usually a state agency in a country seeking development guarantees a loan from an overseas bank. A politically advantageous project is identified and laborers employed to build it. Later on the project defaults on the loan but no-one cares because the hotel is there for good and no-one is directly responsible for the solvency of the loan. Institutions are not made accountable so needed changes (like self-liquidating loans) are not created.

**James McGregor, Ecoplanet Institute, Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Accelerate education on green management, responsible tour management, resource protection and interpretation.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Government officials prefer mass tourism projects because of deception pay-off. Need to improve non-government organization access to project planning.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ Good operators and consumers want to be responsible but they do not know how to access information.

### **Dr. Jeffrey Allender, University of Central Arkansas, USA**

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ Diversification is not a concept that is well understood in many developing countries. For example, in Belize, as soon as someone started making money from sugar cane, everyone followed suit. When the sugar cane market collapsed, rice replaced it. When this market collapsed, farmers cut trees and planted crops to make citrus juices. The monoculture philosophy is a deeply ingrained obstacle which may undermine the best-intentioned regulation and incentives. It is exemplified by the classic Belizian saying "One sell rice and beans, all sell rice and beans."
- ◆ It is not always just producers and consumers whose behavior needs to be changed. In Belize a lack of funds for parks management means that parks are open to multiple uses by those who may not be a part of the market system. In Belize national parks are being increasingly populated by immigrants seeking refuge from troubled neighboring countries.

### **Steve Conlon, Director, Above the Clouds Trekking, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ World problems have created an incentive for people to want to get their hands dirty when they travel, in order to find out what it is like to live in that part of the world.
- ◆ The major incentive for tour operators is to prove that they are "greener" than the next company, because this is the trend.

### **Ricardo Anzola, Director, Inter-American Institute for Tourism, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Proper regulations are necessary. However, this should not improve competition and the growth of existing companies, nor create new ones.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Incentives have not been as effective as was originally thought (e.g. tax incentives).

**Bob Harvey, The Jacana Trust, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ In some cases the industry is being rewarded by providing opportunities for people to behave in a responsible fashion (for example by recycling). For these kinds of efforts to work, the industry must pursue target markets who will spend right, who's intentions are right, and who will minimize the possibility of clashes with local cultures.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There is a lack of information on how to behave. The problem is that incentives are often outdated. The objective of getting as many visitors as possible is not appropriate to sensitive tourism. Not only does it result in the kind of development that creates conflicts (by targeting too many and often incompatible segments, such as "hunting" and "naturalists"), but also in leakages (i.e. when tourism revenues are used to import Western-style amenities).

**Angela Neilan, Virginia Tech, USA**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Although regulation and incentives can be used to modify behavior so that it is more sustainable, this comes at a cost. Many people are employed to take care of problems other people leave behind. So the route to behavior change will not be straightforward, and changes may have a serious economic impact - all the more reason for a holistic approach.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Regulation and incentives alone are not enough. Before this must come consensus on what is important. Then comes actions that are more likely to work because they are consistent with shared, agreed-upon values.

**Rick Holland, Norris and Holland, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism builds concern for environmental protection. For example, the ranking system established by the Department of Responsible Tourism, Costa Rica, provides an incentive for environmentally responsible actions through grassroots advocacy.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Competing economic and political interests obstruct the translation of concern into practice.

**Dody Donnelly, Center for Responsible Tourism, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Organize women, especially to contact legislators and lobby for regulation, e.g. cruise taxes.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Travel lobbies.

**David Ladow, Professional Value, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ The behavior of investors may be changed through the common-sense economics of ecotourism investment. First, the investment is structured to be a passive one. The only involvement of investors is their receiving a rental income from an investment fund. Second, although there would be some overall business risk, there would be no individual risk because locally trained people would be operating individual businesses within the project. Third, ecotourism facilities are less expensive than "cerhisticated. Ecotourists tend to be affluent (over \$100,000 annual income), well educated, older (i.e. more time) and urban (exposed to cultural diversity) and prefer the group format for travel. However, new segments of ecotourists (e.g. honeymooners and families) are emerging as ecotourism enters its growth stage. These segments may be more independent and expect different experiences.

**Lou D'Amore, Director, Institute for Peace, Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism can contribute to sustainable development when travellers become stakeholders and goodwill ambassadors--appreciating, learning about and encouraging development which is environmentally, socially and culturally sensitive. The incentive is built through the educational process (which suggests some overlap with the education and knowledge dimensions of this strategy).

**H. STRATEGY:** Improve knowledge and make the development planning process more transparent  
(7 of 9)

**Dr. Will Weber, Director, Journeys, USA**

### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The seductiveness of operating at scale tends to exclude those who are illiterate or uneducated or not well connected or not proximal to the development itself.
- ◆ There are definite limitations to how transparent the process can be when actors in the development process have a completely different base of experience. Those people operating at the grass roots level cannot know all the things that can go wrong with the development process. People who impose projects usually have a base of knowledge that simply cannot be shared with these communities.
- ◆ Expatriate professional planners must start from a base of awareness that they can never know for sure what local people are thinking, what they want, or what is "Best." Planning is always an arrogant exercise!

### **ISSUES**

- ◆ It may be better to rely on those who operate at higher levels (but only those who have a vision and whose goals are not self-serving), rather than to pull together an unwieldy grass-roots effort governed by a plan. And the bottom-up approach does not show a great deal of evidence of success.
- ◆ The strategy makes a democratic assumption that people feel they have a right to speak. In many places people do not expect to be asked, they expect to be told. Also, corruption operates at all levels. There is a fatalism that acts in many countries where people do not expect governments to act in their interests, that that's the way governments have been and always will be. We cannot assume that because people are poor, live innocent lives and work close to the land that they will make the best decisions for themselves or their communities.

**Dr. Erlet Cater, University of Reading, UK**

### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ If the objective of sustainable tourism is to make natural and cultural environments more sustainable, then greater value will be placed on knowledge and a more accessible, meaningful planning process.

### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The remoteness of administration (stemming in part from the colonial heritage and a Eurocentric approach toward planning) is an obstacle to accessible, meaningful planning.

## ISSUES

- ◆ Is this strategy possible given the realities of corruption and "sweeteners"?

James McGregor, Ecoplanet Institute, Canada

## POTENTIALS

- ◆ Good tourism products is based on contact with local people and their environment. This knowledge transfer is not generally available.

## OBSTACLES

- ◆ Again, foreign operators do not need to involve locals, nor do they have the time and resources (it is easier to transport guides, etc).

## ISSUES

- ◆ Build local capacity to work with tour operators. Improve local understanding of tourism in resource protection and development.

Dr. Jeffrey Allender, University of Central Arkansas, USA

## OBSTACLES

- ◆ The existing distribution of property rights affects prospects for making the planning process more transparent.

In Belize most resorts are owned by private individuals (mainly expatriates), who view the government as an obsolete dinosaur that prevents them from making more money. These owners do not send in accurate data on bed-nights, so the government has an inaccurate picture of tourism development (for example, low and high estimates of numbers of international visitors to Belize in 1985 differed by over 50,000 people). The local Belizians, who got into tourism because every other option failed them, provide rustic accommodations and board to backpackers and resent the resort owners because of their privileged position.

- ◆ The dynamics of a complex and changing population structure makes implementation of this strategy very difficult.

Belize is an example in point. Along the coast of Belize there are the Creoles of African and European ancestry. In the interior are predominantly Latino and Mayan peoples whose native language is Spanish. With immigration of 5,000 people a year (mostly Latinos), there are fears along the coast that the Creoles will soon be outnumbered. The Chinese make up 0.25 percent, but are a powerful economic force (e.g. resort ownership, e are so many people involved, multiple interests distributed across large distances and many different kinds of relationships all undergoing change, the problem lies in figuring out how the process works so that these strategies can work.

**Ricardo Anzola, Director, Inter-American Institute for Tourism, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism always requires planning. Its planning process should allow for local participation thus making it known to local communities.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ This is difficult when languages and ways of doing things are so different. Cultural level differentials may make this process rather difficult as some local communities do not understand either tourism or the planning process.

**Rick Holland, Norris and Holland, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Organized sustainable tourism development projects help establish the "rules of the game," creating opportunities for a more transparent development planning process.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Corruption and control in the hands of the few.

**Dr. Martin Mowforth, University College London, UK**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ There are two valid kinds of development framework now being employed. The first supports genuine, radical sustainable development projects, where it can be ascertained with confidence beforehand that the development will be sustainable. The other is more incremental and involves increasing awareness of environmental issues in the mainstream tourism industry. At the present time efforts in this direction (e.g. through Tourism Concern, Green Flag International) have had only superficial impact. It would be unwise for sustainable development advocates to not confront reality by dismissing the mainstream tourism industry as something evil.

**Dr. Thea Sinclair, University of Kent, UK**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Changing gender roles is particularly important here. Women's cooperatives have been successful in getting support through state funds to provide income and opportunities for women (e.g. in Greece).

**Jennifer Ballantine, M.S., Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Involve locals in park planning and management and in tourism activities and provide them with benefits (e.g. in Kenya, a percentage of all fees). Reinvest funds in schools and hospitals.

**Audrey Patterson, Tread Lightly Limited, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ There is a need to create networks so that people who have had successful experiences with ecotourism can share their ideas and recommendations with those who are new to it.

**Robert Vass, Tour Guide, Encounter Overland, UK**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ People hate not knowing what is going on. Involving them is important.

**Tom Grasse, Marketing Director, International Expeditions, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Knowledge is the crux of ecotourism because only local peoples have the knowledge to interpret their environments and their participation gives credibility to ecotourism programs.

**Bob Olson, Alternative Futures Associates, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ We will start to see knowledge moving from developing to developed countries, and tourism will help make this happen. As pressures on developing countries accelerate, innovations (such as floating cities) will be transferred back to industrialized countries looking for a more sustainable way of life.

**Dick Selby, Consultant, USA**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ This has been attempted in places like Antigua with no success. All deals are cut based on proprietary information. People make a living by controlling particular imports and use various and devious means (such as setting up quota systems and engaging in rigged borrowing).

**Lou D'Amore, Director, Institute for Peace, Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ "Stakeholder" tourists may improve knowledge when they return to their homes and become active in development programs supporting sustainable development in developing countries. The post cold-war era opens up opportunities for this kind of activity.

**Bob Harvey, The Jacana Trust, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism includes travel by the scientific community to developing countries. From this perspective tourism plays an important role in improving and disseminating knowledge.

**Angela Neilan, Virginia Tech, USA**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ The World Bank's strategy portrays knowledge generation and the planning process as a formal process. But planned change is done through convincing arguments and persuasive discussions through which people discover alternatives. Formalized frameworks are no substitute for local participation. But before people will participate, they must recognize that they are stakeholders in the outcome - back to education, media campaigns etc on the importance of sustainable tourism.

**Sara Nelson-Palmeyer, Center for Global Education, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Educational tourism can assist local residents to struggle anew for better schools.

**I. STRATEGY:**  
**(8 of 9)**

**Strengthen institutions and make them more accountable.**

**Dr. Will Weber, Director, Journeys, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ There have been many situations in which tourism organizations have worked with other institutions, particularly schools, clinics and monasteries or temples, where they are small enough so that small contributions can have a significant effect (e.g. providing building supplies, etc).

For example, the Monteverdi League in Costa Rica has developed a constituency worldwide of people who became members, donated to its forest preserve after a presentation and who continue to donate money or buy land for preservation purposes. It is direct support that starts during the on-site experience and develops into a relationship.

- ◆ The incentive to tie tourism with development is based on conscience--supporting something so that it can continue in a way that you experienced it. This silent partnership does not involve a stake in management. It provides funding on site and does not need an entire program with a government or other system to work through which tries to bring everything up to a certain standard. It is easier to establish accountability in that kind of situation, as long as there is a sound management structure in place. This kind of a model can be replicated for other threatened environments.
- ◆ At a lower scale of relationship individuals as opposed to institutions can often be pivotal in tourism. It is really single-owner businesses making contact with a community leader that gets projects started and sustained.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Travel and tourism operators and institutions are not familiar with project development possibilities of this nature.
- ◆ There is a problem in accepting that development has to proceed slowly and cautiously.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ For benefits to accrue to indigenous cultures, some form of organization is essential--whether a cooperative or whether their own culture provides them with a means for making decisions about what is good and what is not good.
- ◆ People have not been given enough opportunity to give projects direct support. Specifically, wealthy travellers should be quick and choose to make direct contributions to credible charities supporting environmental preservation.

**James MacGregor, Ecoplanet Institute, Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Include tourism education in appropriate education programs and training for Tourism and Environment Departments, non-government organizations and conservation groups.
- ◆ Set up organizations working beneath entrenched bureaucracy in developing countries (e.g. U.S. AID in Madagascar).

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Most countries are concerned with building volume, not protection and environmental awareness. Non-government organizations have negative attitudes towards tourism.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Government or self-regulating standards for operators. Green Management Workshops.

**Dr. Eriet Cater, University of Reading, UK**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Community-based tourism can act as a check on sovereignty and limits the freedom of influential politicians and ministers.

**Angela Neilan, Virginia Tech, USA**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ The existing policy and institutional networks through which things are done already have very well established relationships. New ways of doing things will not be achieved through these networks.
- ◆ The policy process must be re-structured to achieve open access and dialogue and results that reflect the values represented.
- ◆ Dialogue may be achieved where it failed in the past with changes in communications technology, such as interactive video, cable TV, video games with a tourism twist.

**Rick Holland, Norris and Holland, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism is a source of revenue for strengthening institutions, when developed with a long term perspective.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Corruption and short-term interests abound. In Costa Rica the conservative government is publicly endorsing both conventional tourism and ecotourism. At the grass-roots level the microtourism industry has been trying to take the initiative, through organizations such as EcoNet and Jade Tour (an agency formed by the Chamber of Microtourism Businesses), which are trying to balance environmental with economic concerns.

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ Ultimately, the strength of sustainable tourism, and therefore institutions, will be decided by its economic viability.

### **David Ladow, Professional Value, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Institutional networks solve the problem of scale. However, in order to survive, the institutional network requires a central point. Hence the value of the "hub and spoke" system. This system creates a workable economic, social and ecological framework to which institutions are held accountable.
- ◆ In the hub and spoke system, institutions are established to perform specific roles. For example, public or quasi-public institutions protect nature tourism stations. Community institutions manage reinvestment projects.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The problem is that the tourism industry is not set up to bridge the gap between sustainable development and tourism.

### **Jennifer Ballantine, Canada**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Institutional structures can be formed to operate independently from government functions, for example, the Kenyan Wildlife Service. Establish strong leadership (for example, Richard Leakey) to spearhead efforts to eliminate corruption, control tourism growth, crack down on poaching, raise funds.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Success of institutional change relies heavily on strong leaders such as Dr. Richard Leakey.

**Robert Vass, Tour Guide, Encounter Overland, UK**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Institutions are required to prevent exploitation taking place. But the creation of such a framework depends on whether tourism markets demand this.
- ◆ Tour operators must inform the tourist about the importance of sustainable development, the role institutions play in achieving this, and how this ensures they have a good time (the bottom line). This will be in the self-interest of the tour operator because it will help give them credibility and distinguish them from companies which only use a green label.

**Tom Grasse, Marketing Director, International Expeditions, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ NGO involvement is essential. One reason is that institutions have the means and time to conduct important research which would not be feasible for private enterprise. Also, consumers perceive NGO's as having a neutral position in the development process and therefore being right at all times. NGO's can organize important programs (such as the African Wildlife Foundation's First African Savannah Workshop).

**ISSUES**

- ◆ While the role of institutions is indisputable, it is not so easy to identify a universal model for institutional organization in ecotourism projects because each situation is unique.

**Elizabeth Boo, World Wildlife Fund, USA**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Tourism is profit-making and needs a profit component to happen. An unresolved question is how to make it profitable while also minimizing negative impacts and distributing benefits equitably. Institutions will take different positions on this issue. Some will say that they do not want to get into profit-making. The realities of different value-systems will have to be dealt with.
- ◆ This strategy is important because ecotourism is a process that necessarily involves all actors in the development process. Because there are so many people involved, multiple interests distributed across large distances and many different kinds of relationships all undergoing change, the problem lies in figuring out how the process works so that these strategies can work. Ecotourism needs to protect natural resources, promote economic development, and be a profitable business at the same time.

**Ricardo Anzola, Director, Inter-American Institute for Tourism, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ The new trend in tourism development is to transfer the planning process to state and

municipal levels with more participation of local business and community.

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Accountability runs counter to the self-interest of those in power.

**Dody Donnelly, Center for Responsible Tourism, USA**

#### **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Bring out in the open (TV and press) the connection between tourism, 3rd world ecological destruction, 3rd world debt to the World Bank and cultural destruction, e.g. child prostitution (Bangkok).

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Monopoly of airlines, cruises, hotels to use 3rd world or the "new colonies."

**Dr. Martin Mowforth, University College London, UK**

#### **ISSUES**

- ◆ It depends very much on which institutions and whose interests they represent.

**Dr. Thea Sinclair, University of Kent, UK**

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The existing development ideology prevents change. There are definite gender implications of what is being done. This ultimately comes back to the value systems determining how money is spent.

**Steve Conlon, Director, Above the Clouds Trekking, USA**

#### **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Institutions are too slow in responding to what are obvious problems.

Kathmandu has a very bad pollution problem and has become Westernized to the extent that tourists now question why they spent the money and airfare when they could have gone to Disneyland. Though institutions (such as tourism ministries) are warned that they are killing the goose that laid the golden egg, they will not act until it is too late. Institutions are not even enlightened from a self-interest viewpoint. The short-sightedness of the greed is an obstacle that defies solutions. Institutions like the World Bank may be the only agent left that can wield enough power to change this.

**Costas Christ, Tamu Safaris, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tour operators may develop, over time, an allegiance to communities. This may develop into a relationship based on trust which yields positive change.

For example, in Lamu, Kenya, local people initiated an idea to establish the first environment museum of its kind on the coast. With the help of Tamu Safaris and others this museum was opened in 1993. This development in turn helped Kenyans make the link between consumption and environmental issues. For example, the museum helped people understand why decisions have to be made to regulate how much mangrove can be cut at any one time.

**Bob Harvey, Jacana Trust, USA**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The reason and direction of new initiatives (such as investing in water and sanitation) are often thought out, but without communities knowing why things are being done, the latter undermine the institutions that serve them. The underlying problem is communication between peoples, not money, enforcement or laws. If problems are created through lack of communication, the chances of success are diminished.

**J. STRATEGY:**  
**(9 of 9)**

**Coordinate tourism activities with other sectors in society**

**Dr. Will Weber, Director, Journeys, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ New forms of tourism are using natural environments as they are rather than trying to create new ones. This kind of forward-thinking is building a positive image for countries and spreading the tourism dollars more broadly. Some tourism organizers are now putting pressure on governments by, for example, boycotting national tourism conferences which promote conventional tourism development.
- ◆ Tourism operators need to recognize exploitative and extractive industries are not in their interest and resist them vociferously.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Many countries were surprised at how quickly tourism became a primary source of foreign exchange. However, this encouraged the development of an economic monoculture and the idea that tourism equals salvation.

The problem was that in order to attract tourists a country had to attract investment to provide a pre-defined standard of service. Investment options were limited to projects that channeled tourism dollars disproportionately (achieving a high rate of return for overseas investors). The problem with conventional tourism is that a lot of the capital and skills required are only obtainable from outside. This is not a market-driven but a developer-driven approach which limits the kind of benefit that tourism can have for these societies.

- ◆ Decisions about tourism development still tend to be driven more by short term factors such as natural disasters, military action, famine and drought than about longer term concerns such as the viability of natural environments that serve to produce water or provide areas where tourism is possible.

For example, East Africa is rapidly losing its natural environments because there is no understanding of what it is the modern tourist wants. Its isn't purely animals but wild areas.

- ◆ Coordination between tourism and other policy areas can be self-defeating.

In Nepal efforts at tourism planning and control only served to prevent growth of ecotourism where the potential lay and weakened the ability of this country as a competitor in the world market. The institutions that quantify the impacts are not always those who are going to do the most good.

## ISSUES

- ◆ There is a need to put environmental policies in a more primary position in tourism.

### Bob Olson, Alternative Futures Associates, USA

## POTENTIALS

- ◆ Through travel, tourism may actually help create a self-reinforcing pattern of change on the scale of some of the greatest changes of the past.
- ◆ Tourism may help developing countries leapfrog fossil fuel dependence (which they cannot afford anyway) to renewable energy systems and advanced communications that will make them energy-independent and energy-efficient.
- ◆ The conditions in developing countries will force innovations that will be transferred through tourism to developed countries. Tourism may help a convergence of ideas to take place.

## OBSTACLES

- ◆ The major obstacle is that there is little precedent. Well-intentioned efforts may have negative effects if the same assumptions that guided development in developed countries are applied to less developed countries.

For example, transportation intensive forms like low density urban housing, regional shopping centers and Edge cities made possible with the automobile in the USA will not be applicable to less affluent societies with high population densities.

## ISSUES

- ◆ It is hard to determine how far tourism will become a sustainable development tool.

In the long term, it will depend on the combined changes taking place in technological, social, economic, political and ecological arenas. The effects of the extreme growth that has taken place since the 1950's (i.e. moral confusion) will probably drive a rearrangement of priorities, a sense of "enoughness," in which the richness of life experiences, rather than net worth, will be key. Leisure will then assume higher priority.

### Rick Holland, Norris and Holland, USA

## POTENTIALS

- ◆ Sustainable tourism may provide a benchmark for enlightened foreign investment that generates local earnings. In Costa Rica, tourism has surpassed bananas and coffee in its ability to generate foreign exchange. The president of the Costa Rican Tourist Board has obtained cabinet status. This minister is capitalizing on his country's reputation in environmental protection by promoting nature oriented tourism.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Certain interests will not want to relinquish control.
- ◆ Despite the Costa Rican Tourist Board's expressed support of ecotourism, the country has been experiencing a rapid expansion of traditional multinational resort/mass tourism, highlighting concerns regarding the negative impacts on local culture and the environment (as those evidenced in other areas where tourism has become the principle economic activity). Other side effects of poorly regulated international tourism are increased corruption, drugs, money laundering and expansion of prostitution (male and female).

## **ISSUES**

- ◆ Tourism development needs to be independently evaluated to show how tourism companies are conducting business and how they compare with others on an environmental and socially responsible scale.

**Dr. Erlet Cater, University of Reading**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism could be a catalyst for coordination between sectors (e.g. forestry and tourism) because it involves so many sectors. It can also provide a demand pull for other sectors, e.g. agricultural outputs.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Existing institutional frameworks are weak.
- ◆ There may be conflicting interests between sectors (e.g. fishing and national parks), at all levels. Inflationary pressures of tourism may result in diversion of land away from original use e.g. subsistence agriculture to market gardening.

**Ricardo Anzola, Director, Inter-American Institute for Tourism, USA**

## **POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Proper tourism planning can only be achieved by inter-sectorial coordination. Natural resources cannot be used properly if this is not achieved.

## **OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Tourism is already coordinated with other sectors, but not in a way that is conducive to sustainable development.
- ◆ The investment machine is the major obstacle. The concept of a large ecotourism project is a contradiction in terms. Unfortunately, the activities of the investment machine are made possible by political and other processes operating outside the

tourism industry.

**Bob Harvey, The Jacana Trust, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Tourism projects can contribute directly to sustainable development, so that communities not only provide resources but benefit from them. For example, tourism may make conservation of natural areas more economical than alternatives (like asset stripping), by providing employment and income for their management.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Sustainable projects make life more difficult for many tour operators, who may become frustrated.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Governments need to realize the opportunities that tourism creates for them to become more popular with their people.

**James MacGregor, Ecoplanet Institute, Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Stimulate industry knowledge of environmental alternatives. Improve industry and government understanding of sustainable tourism principles.

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ The World Bank does not have a policy on tourism.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ The Bank needs to clarify its tourism policy with its environmental programs and sustainable economics. Tourism must be an integral part of all planning processes. Real partnerships need to be developed across sectors and government agencies.

**Audrey Patterson, Tread Lightly Ltd, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Coordinate youth and environmental education programs with school programs, and have young people participate in a tourism event and attend meetings (e.g. in Belize).

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ Sometimes there is little interest in doing things differently.

**Costas Christ, Tamu Safaris, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Better natural resource management is possible through better organization of tourism, as shown by the situation in Kenya. Kenya is strapped for foreign exchange and will not voluntarily cutback on the numbers of tourists. However, through more efficient parks management, more revenues could be brought in with the same numbers of tourists and with more sustainable impacts to the environment. This is being achieved by changing the spatial flows of tourists so that fewer concentrations of tourists are distributed in more areas in parks.
- ◆ Tourism can be useful as a development tool when coordinated with other sectors. In 1993 Costas Christ and Richard Leakey conducted a study to determine what role tourism could play in solving Kenya's urbanization problem. Farmers outside Nairobi have been selling off their landholding in subdivided lots to city developers. The Community Wildlife Service, established by the Kenyan Wildlife Service, was established to address this and other human issues which have ecological implications. The study explored the possible marriage of farming and tourism, and was able to show farmers in large wildlife habitats that tourism was a better long term option because it both preserved their way of life, preserved the environment and brought in more revenue in the long term.

**Robert Vass, Tour Guide, Encounter Overland, UK**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There are limits to coordination because tourism is a secondary commodity. If a country has minerals to exploit then it will do so to pay off its debts rather than rely on the fickle travel decisions of unknown consumers.
- ◆ Unfortunately, because tourism is low down on the priorities of institutions saddled with the problems of past policies, its potential will probably not be developed properly.

**Lou D'Amore, Director, Institute for Peace, Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Coordination is important because the integration of tourism and sustainable development is successful when done simultaneously from inside and outside tourism, as the Canadian experience has demonstrated. This requires a certain level of expertise in public participation and community development, sociology and planning, impact analysis and futures research.

**ISSUES**

- ◆ Tourism, more than any other economic activity, can make a significant contribution to sustainable development in developing countries, particularly as we start to see leading edge philosophies of ecotourism making their way into the mainstream tourism industry.

**Angela Neilan, Virginia Tech, USA**

**ISSUES**

- ◆ The reality of development is that every ripple of change is traumatic and has consequences. A conceptual framework needs to be developed to identify and link all the elements in and outside of tourism, so that business economic returns are connected with food handling, customer expectations and satisfaction, service, working conditions, worker's income, etc.
- ◆ What can happen in tourism is dependent on what is happening in other sectors and how this affects taxation, compensation, treatment of labor, and so on. The most elaborate schemes to improve service will fail if people are treated unfairly themselves. Incremental change will not be sufficient to make the level of integration needed happen--a systems approach is required, and communication, rather than formal planning, is the key to making it happen.

**David Ladow, Professional Value, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ The success of ecotourism projects ultimately depends on coordination with other sectors in society. In tourism, one project cannot generate a large enough tourism flow to survive. On the other hand, too great a flow destroys tourism's asset base. Therefore, a condition of the investment should be that the state develops a regional development plan which guarantees controlled development according to standards applied to all projects.
- ◆ Coordination between tourism development and other sectors of society makes each sector more productive. Ecotourism projects support agriculture, pharmaceuticals and scientific research. Nature tourism stations in remote areas may work alongside scientific research stations, which use the same modes of transportation as the tourism industry to bring back research samples to a central hub for analysis. Tourists may become involved in selected scientific projects, the revenue from which makes new projects possible.

**Dr. Thea Sinclair, University of Kent, UK**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ There has been a lack of acknowledgment about the economic importance of tourism, due to an image problem. Tourism ministers are often changed, reflecting a lack of political clout.

**Dr. Jeffrey Allender, University of Central Arkansas, USA**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ It is not easy to coordinate tourism with other sectors in a way that distributes benefits

equally. Although the government encourages local support for the tourism industry, the industry decides who will best meet its needs.

This creates problems for the organization of tourism. In Belize, many tourism operators are supplied by the Mennonite farmers, who have a strong work ethic and who charge reasonable fees for foodstuffs. This creates antagonism on the part of other groups in this society, which often results in violent acts.

**Jennifer Ballantine, M.S., Canada**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Coordinate tourism and agriculture through wildlife management, farming and viewing. Channel a proportion of funds from tourism into community infrastructure. African Safari Club in Kenya leases land for hotels and camping from the Maasai people, a proportion of which is used to build health care and other facilities.

**Steve Conlon, Director, Above the Clouds Trekking, USA**

**OBSTACLES**

- ◆ A growing segment of international tourism involves travel of people out of developed countries and into cities and rural areas in developing countries. This may potentially provide an incentive for desperate rural poor to remain around the resources and in communities they grew up with rather than be forced to migrate to cities and be exploited.

**Tom Grasse, Marketing Director, International Expeditions, USA**

**POTENTIALS**

- ◆ Sustainable development emerges when a convergence of ideas takes place. On the one hand, the business owner will not listen to directives from outside. On the other hand, tourism development cannot exist in a vacuum if it is to be sustainable.

**Elizabeth Boo, World Wildlife Fund, USA**

**ISSUES**

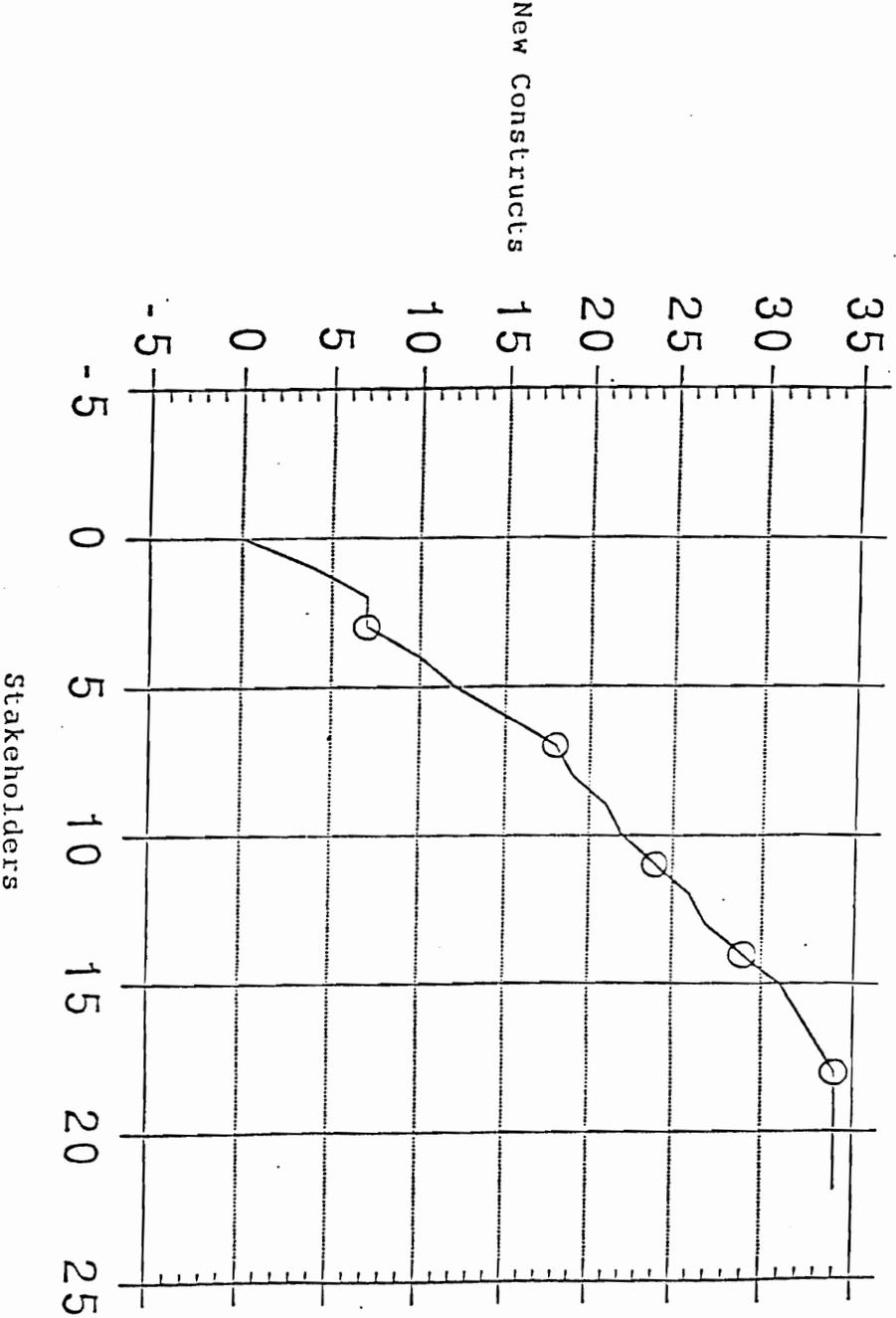
- ◆ This strategy is important because ecotourism is a process that necessarily involves all actors in developing countries.

Because there are so many people involved, multiple interests distributed across large distances and many different kinds of relationships all undergoing change, the problem lies in figuring out how the process works so that these strategies can work.

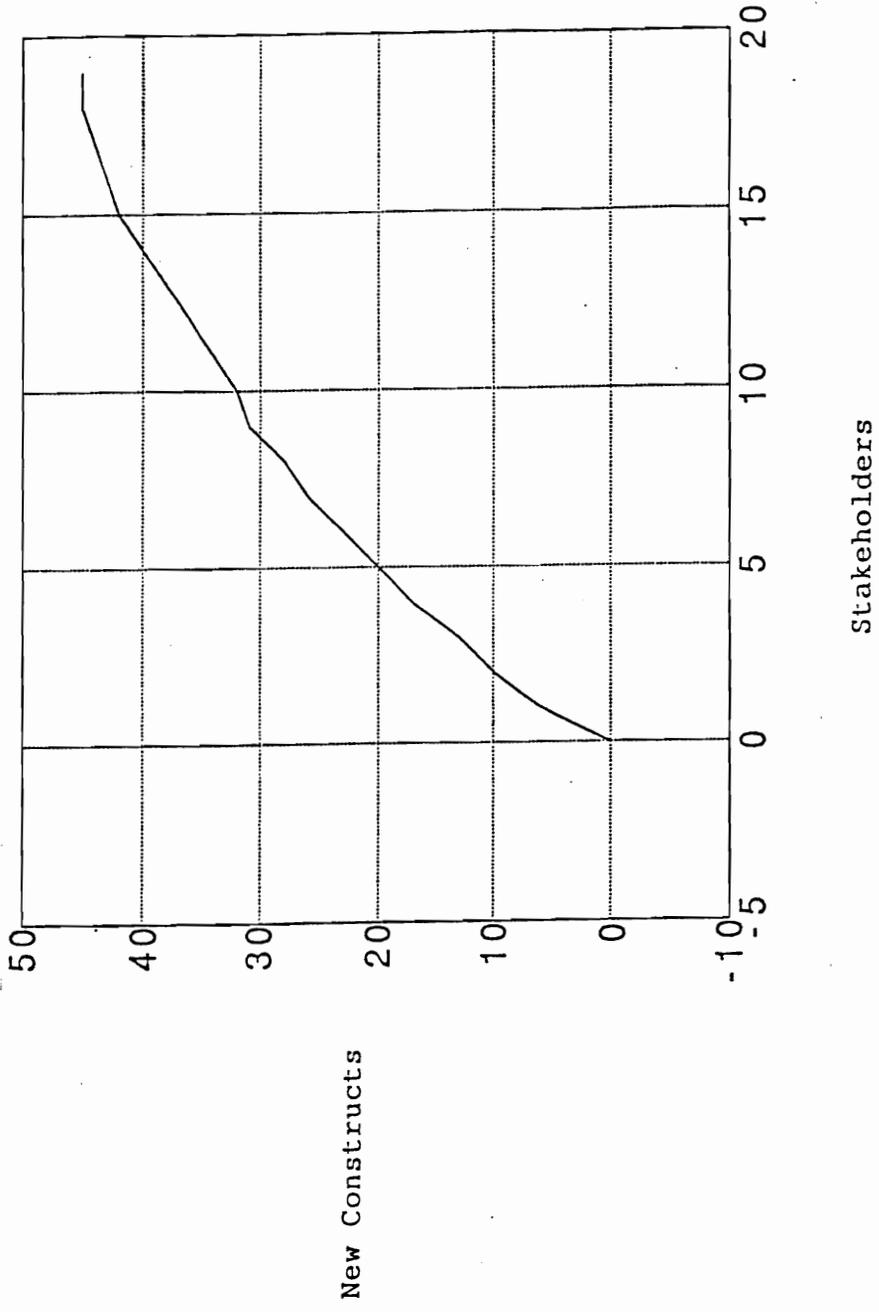
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APPENDIX 6: FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS

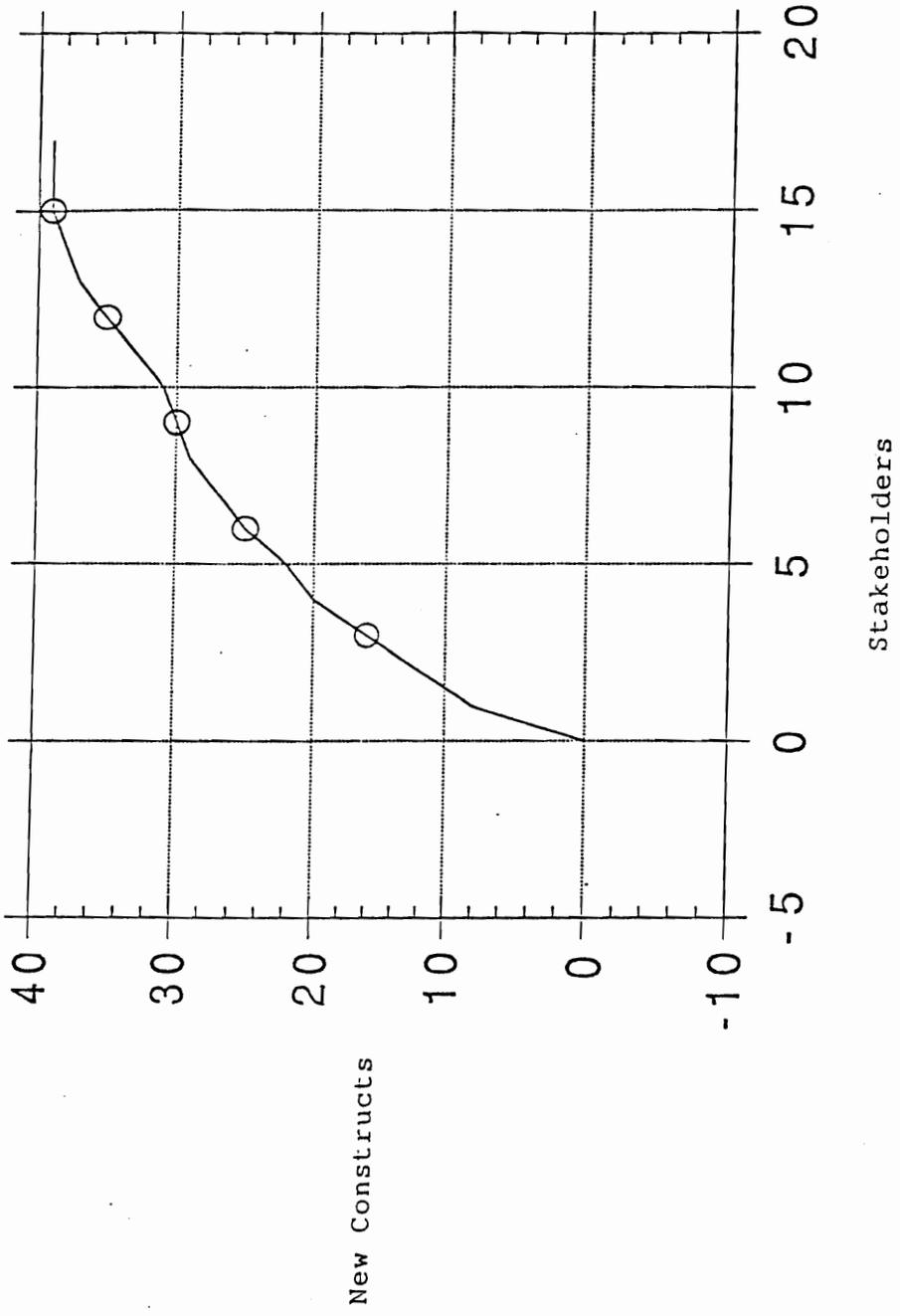
1. Overall Assessment of World Bank's Strategy



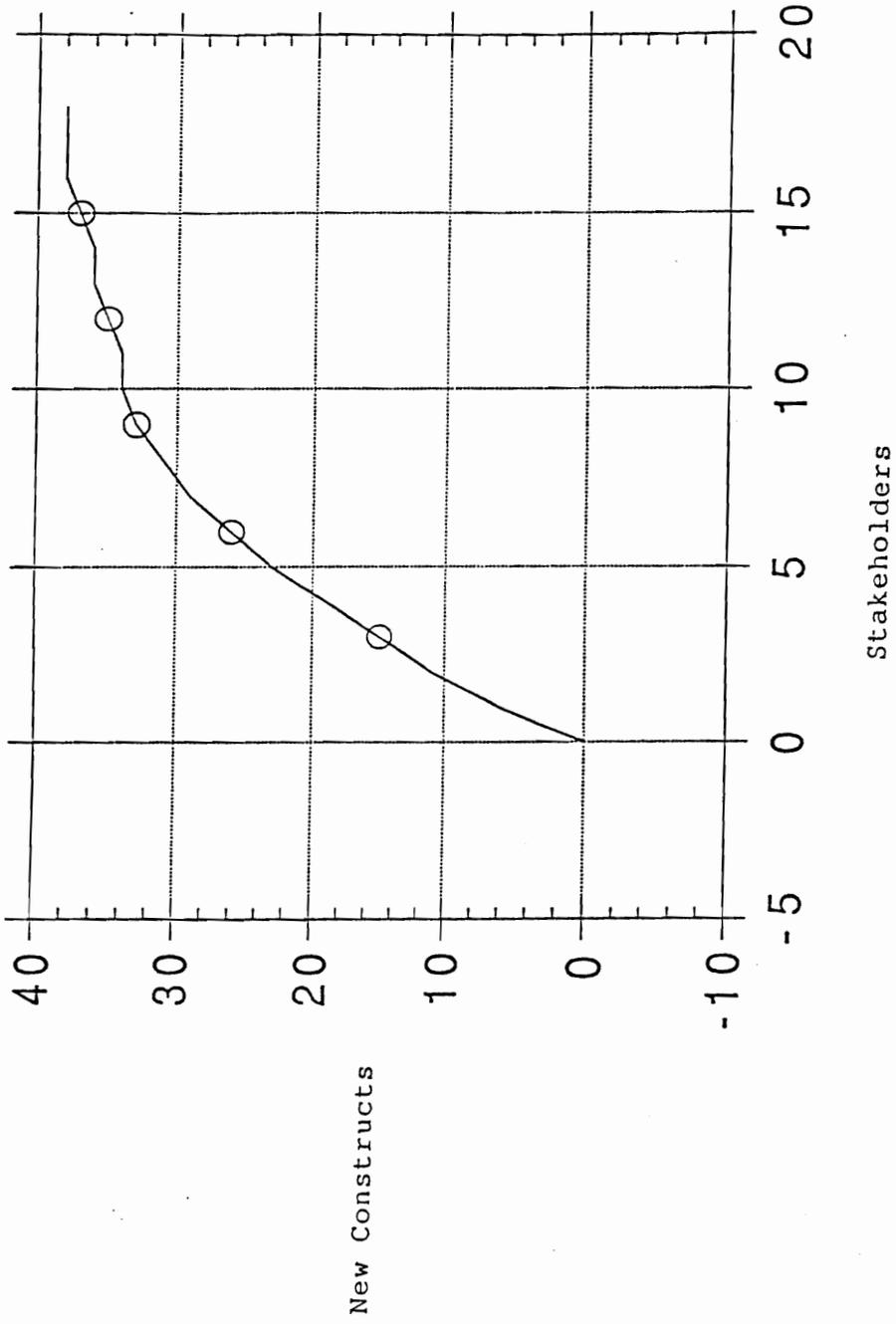
2. Removal of subsidies that encourage inefficient and environmentally damaging practices



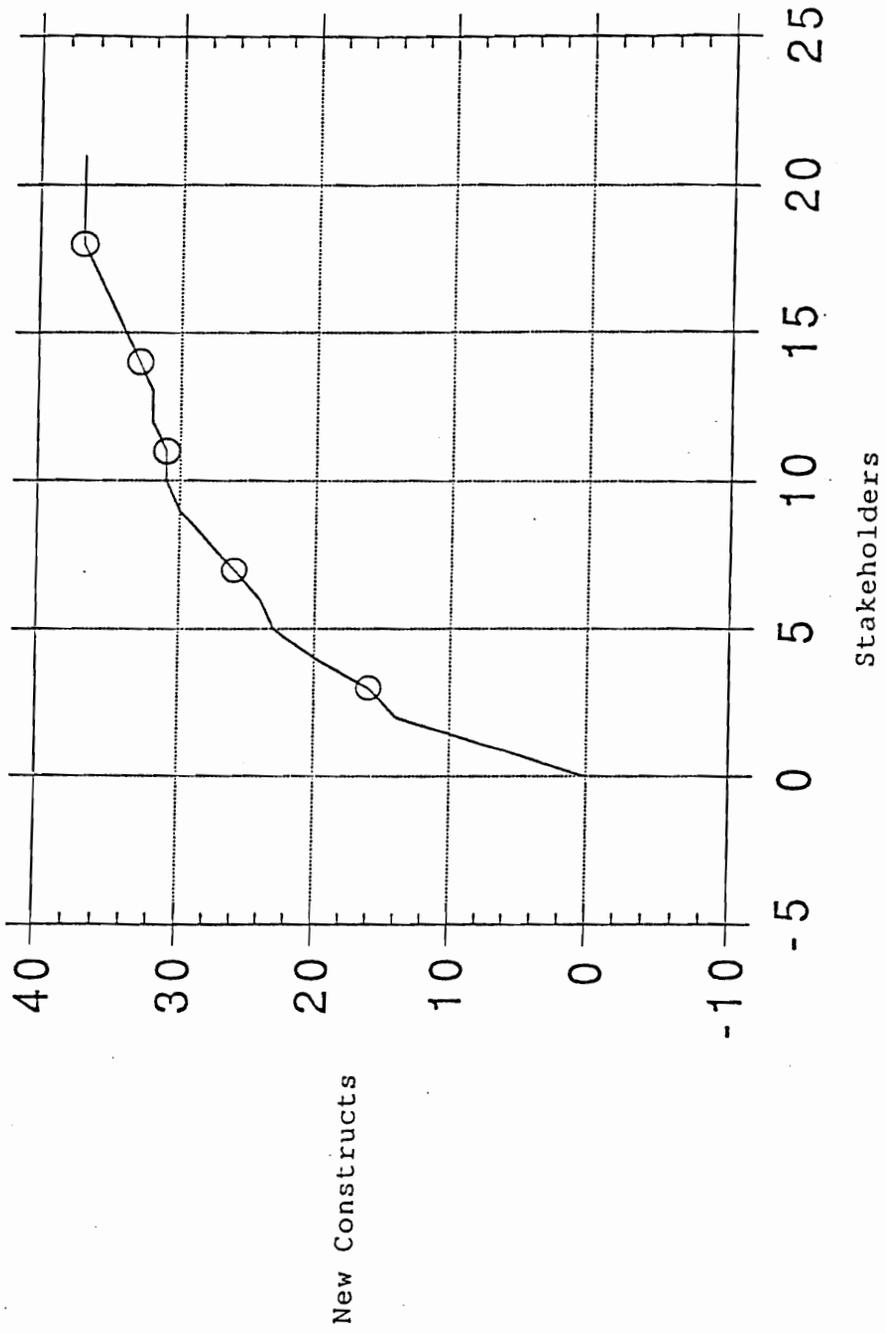
3. Improve evaluation of natural resources



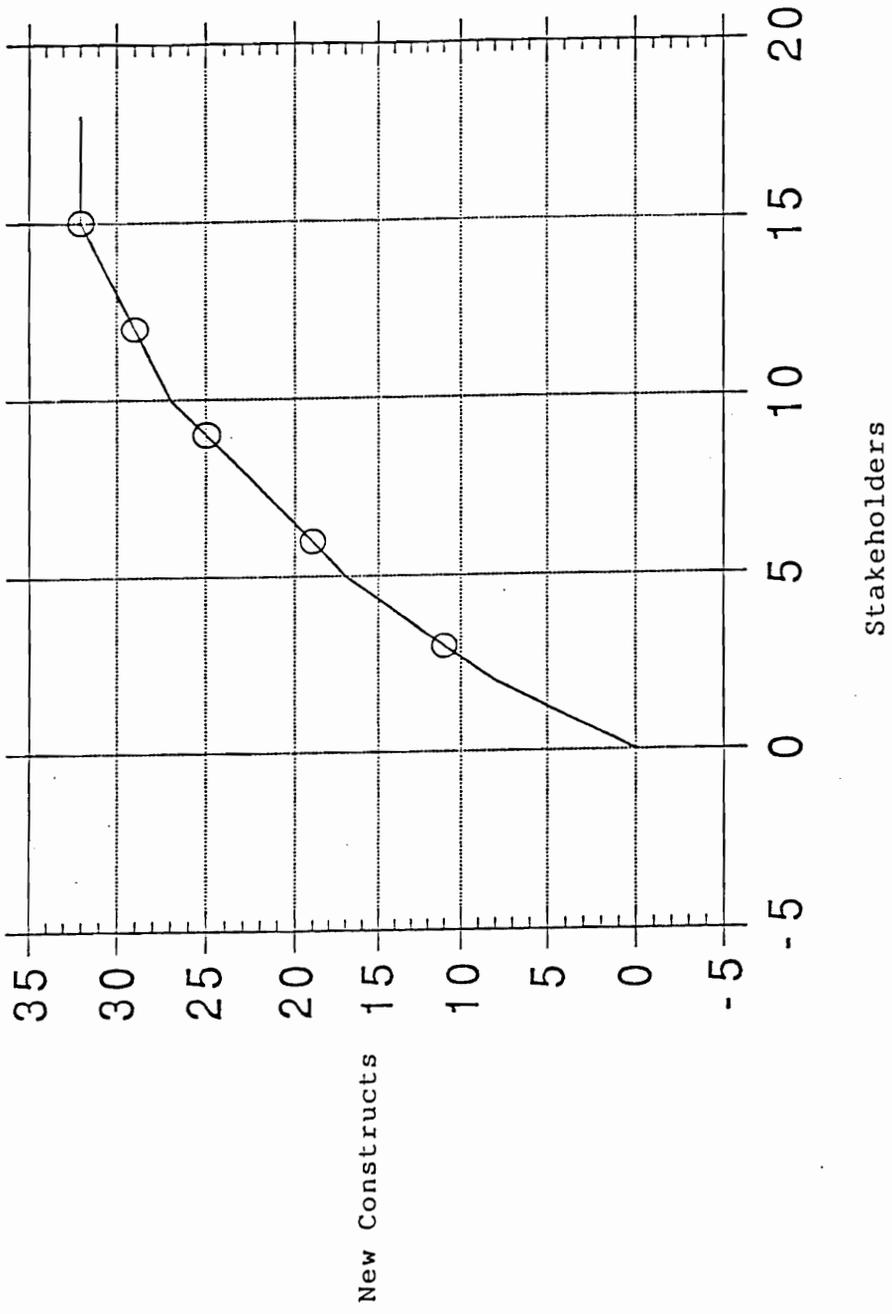
4. Clarify property rights



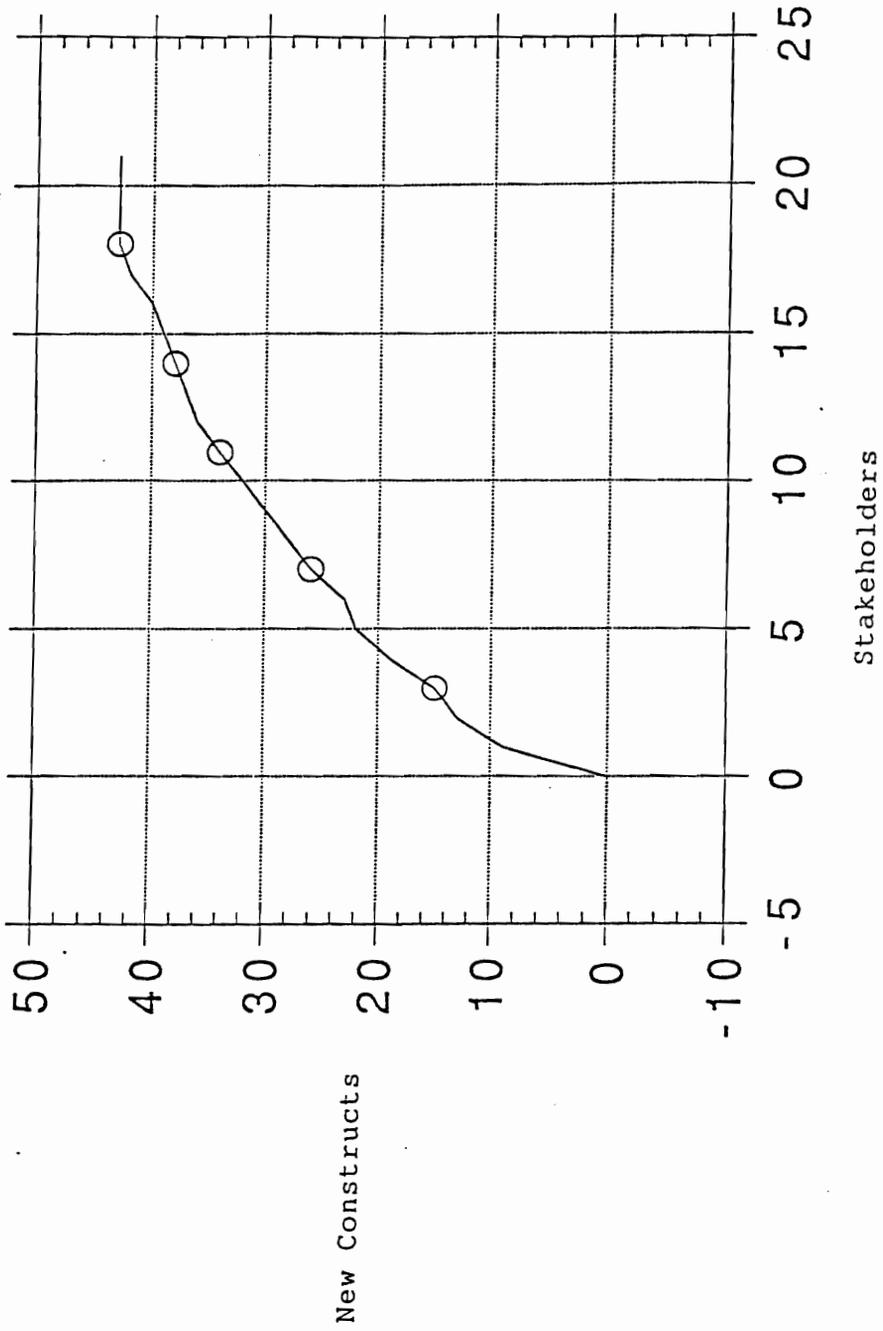
5. Accelerate education and better natural resource management



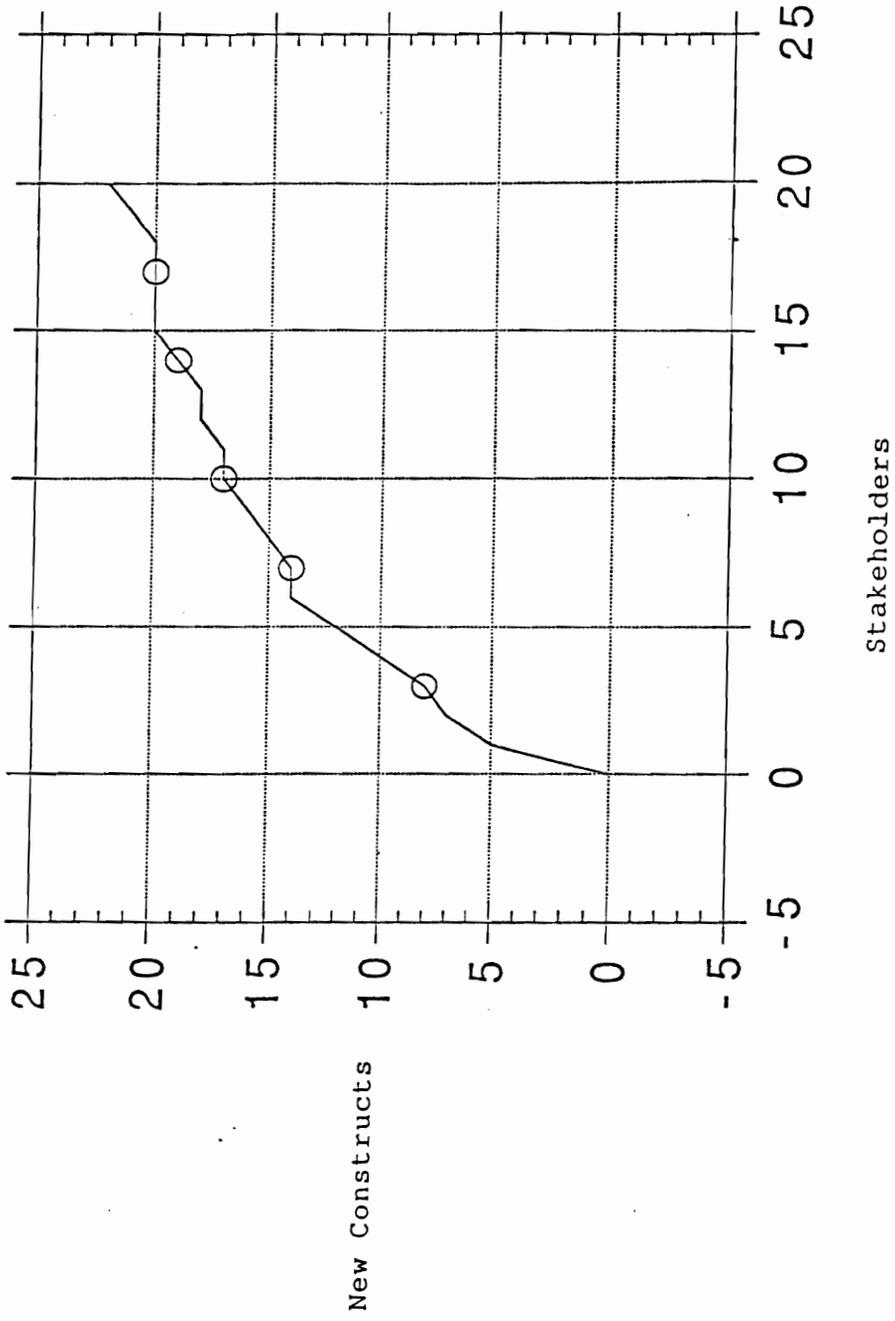
6. Invest in water and sanitation



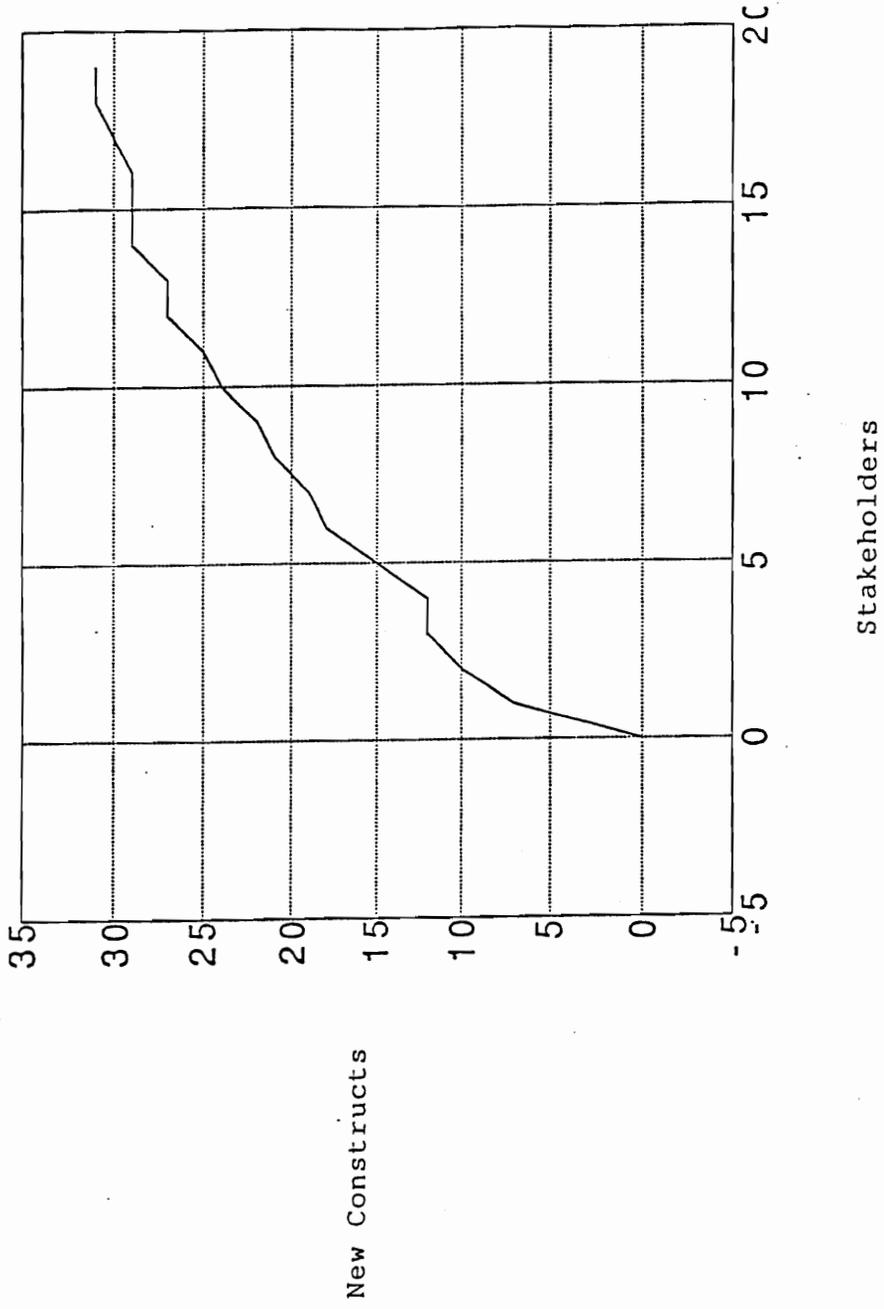
7. Change the behavior of producers and consumers



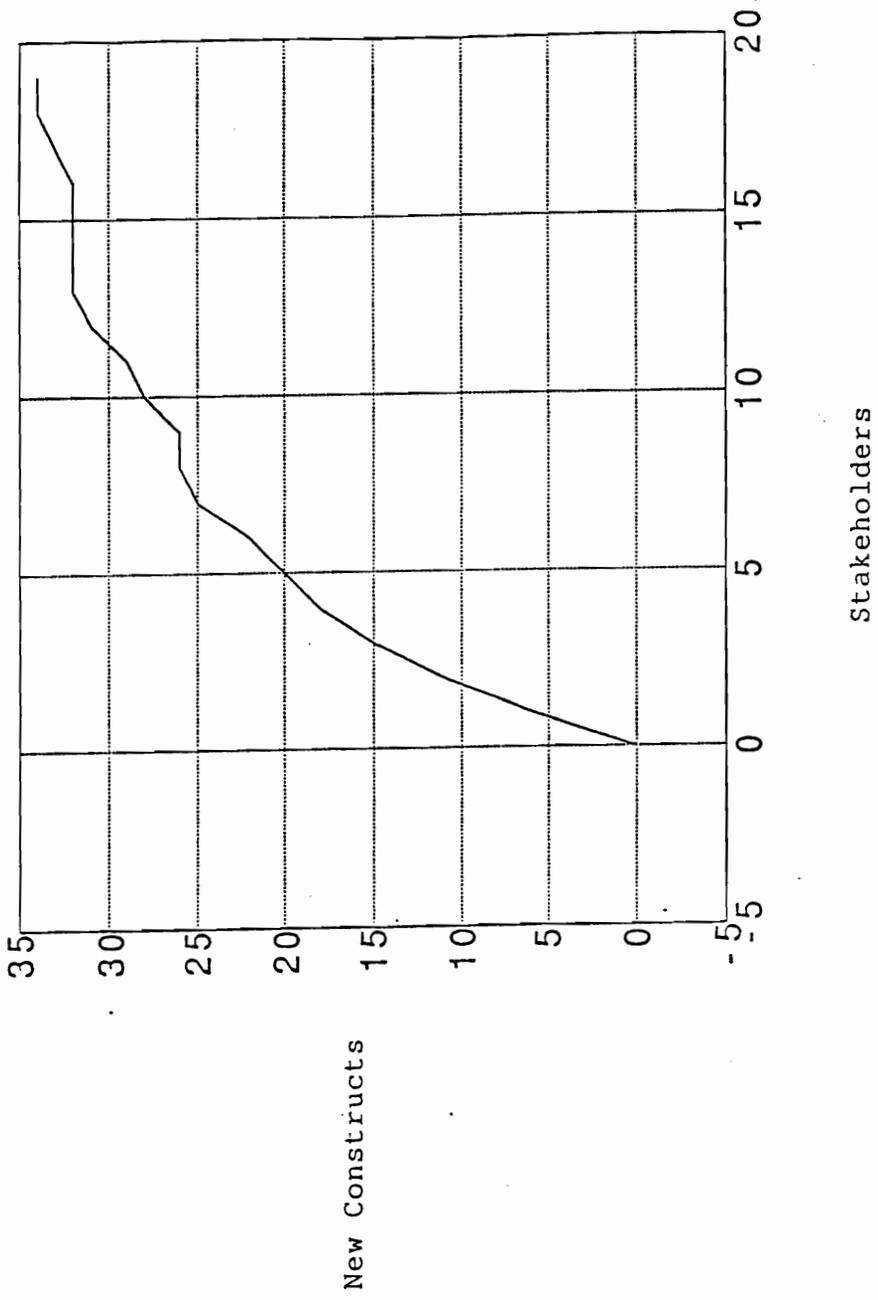
8. Improve knowledge



9. Strengthen institutions



10. Coordinate tourism activities with other sectors



## APPENDIX 7: DATA ANALYSIS BY WORLD BANK STRATEGY

### 1. Overall assessment of World Bank's strategy

#### a) Potential benefits of World Bank's strategy

- ◆ This strategy is a good indication of a change in course for the World Bank. If some other conditions can be met (notably in planning approach and implementation) and some large obstacles overcome, then the potential is there for constructive change on a great scale.
- ◆ The development record shows that, although the World Bank is a powerful actor in the development process, there are definite limits to its control of this process. What the World Bank can do is help re-structure the development process, and this strategy is a movement in the right direction.
- ◆ The World Bank's strategy is necessary and useful at the parastatal level as a means for preventing and redirecting conventional development projects, establishing national environmental policies, and supporting secondary environmental resource management strategies (of which sustainable tourism might be one component). The strategy is useful in the formal economic sector (e.g. international tourism industry) as a means for generating dialogue about how these industries can be integrated into the secondary strategies initiated at the parastatal level.

#### b) General criticisms of World Bank's strategy

- ◆ The strategy is a set of labels produced in response to a common acceptance and use of the buzz term "sustainability." It is difficult to judge its worth without seeing it in practice. However, the underlying philosophy and prevailing practices of the World Bank run counter to what is required to implement sustainable development.
- ◆ The World Bank has applied the same logic used in past development projects (i.e. decide the "one best way" and impose it) to the new problem of sustainable development.
- ◆ The World Bank is attempting to replicate grass-roots successes from a centralized position, enabling it to achieve sustainable development without making major changes in its modus operandi. Ironically, the grass-roots successes in the video were successful because of which assumes man is basically good (such as improving knowledge and making the planning process more transparent).
- ◆ Like its predecessors, the Bank's strategy ignores values by assuming that people attach equal meanings to terms such as "efficiency" and "effectiveness."
- ◆ The Bank's strategy concentrates on developing world and not on the equal or greater changes that must take place in the developed world.
- ◆ The Bank's division of development problems into two kinds is simplistic since there are various stratifications within and between each problem.
- ◆ The strategy tends to treat the developing world as homogenous. There is a need to recognize differences affecting the character and timing of change.
- ◆ The strategy did not confront corruption or population problems; nor did it recognize that many strategies are interrelated.
- ◆ Developing countries are unable to implement the Bank's strategy due to the economic pressures placed on them by development institutions.

- ◆ Many of the success stories highlighted in the video (e.g. Indonesia) have turned out to be development disasters.
- ◆ Many of the Bank's strategies are not new, and few are useful for mature organizations seeking new kinds of solutions to their special problems.
- ◆ Universal implementation will be difficult due to incentives for any one actor to not participate (the "free rider" phenomenon).
- ◆ The Bank's reputation in servicing the environmental accounts of development will cause communities to fear its involvement under any disguise or premise.
- ◆ The Bank's approach avoids the unresolved tension between environmental and development institutions. The former fear a selling-out of the idea of conservation; the latter fear conservation at the expense of meeting human needs.
- ◆ The video fails to give a sense of the scale of change that is involved in moving toward sustainable development.

**c) Recommendations and issues to be resolved**

- ◆ The Bank's analytical logic, which maintains that processes have to be evaluated, changed, managed and manipulated, conflicts with the logic and processes of the Earth's "natural bank" (i.e naturally functioning ecosystems). Any definition of "sustainable development" should recognize the centrality of naturally functioning ecosystems. From ecosystem preservation come a myriad of benefits, such as water, oxygen, clean air, and so on, obtained without human intervention.
- ◆ Continued use of the Western, automobile-oriented, standardized planning model will threaten the uniqueness of communities by re-creating the pathologies of developed countries in developing countries.
- ◆ Sustainable development implies a movement away from the view that development means investment in large infrastructure projects (roads, dams, etc). In fact, real "investment" would mean purchasing all development rights and defending a sight against such projects.
- ◆ Development projects are more likely to succeed when agencies recognize and support initiatives started locally, rather than adopt the usual "missionary" approach (i.e. "this is what you need and here is how we will help you get it").
- ◆ The World Bank's strategy might support integrated environmental resources management strategies, of which ecotourism might be one component. These strategies would be different from the World Bank's strategy because they would identify alternative approaches to improving people's life conditions and regenerating natural resources that work within the needs of the natural and social system.
- ◆ In most developing countries there exists simultaneously an upper class which resembles and was indeed created by first world bilateral Aid Organizations, and a lower class which lives by the traditional, indigenous practices that are often labelled "third world." The more "developed" developing countries have experienced growth of an educated middle class of bureaucrats and businessmen. Within this class structure the World Bank is probably best suited to redirecting the projects it has already established at the macro level and to promoting the establishment of national environmental policies that allow for local community participation in the design and implementation of environment sensitive development projects.
- ◆ The World Bank must recognize and deal with the problem of communication and misunderstanding that has always underlined the development process. Until this is solved, solutions such as this latest strategy will have little chance of success. The

reality is that powerless people in poverty view governments as a capricious enforcer of mysterious regulations trying to control the informal sector (where the mass of business is done), but whose rules have little to do with the real workings of this sector, because this sector evolved in spite of governments. This problem might be approached by exploring the potential uses of technology in democratizing the development process, for example by enabling people at all levels to communicate with people at their level (perhaps both within and between countries).

## **2. Usefulness of World Bank's strategy to tourism industry**

### **a) Potential benefits of World Bank strategy**

- ◆ The video clearly stated how conservation and development can be integrated. The Bank's strategy might be seen as the "necessary conditions" that need to be in place if a country is to be a viable tourism destination.
- ◆ Tourism would benefit directly because its basic products are the natural and cultural environments.
- ◆ The strategy is useful for generating dialogue about the future role of industry in sustainable development. Industries such as tourism can be viewed from a completely different perspective. Entire layers of the tourism system could be removed that only exist because they are self-perpetuating. Direct links could be promoted between host and guest to allow for efficient exchange of knowledge and positive behavioral changes for both parties. This change in the tourism system is consistent with the broader need for developing countries to bypass centralized industrialization (which is the chief destroyer of the environment) and move to a more desirable civilization of self-sustaining communities.

### **b) Anticipated implementation problems**

- ◆ Tourism has historically been developed with short-term benefits in mind. Use of the Bank's strategy would probably only be justified when problems of scale set in, by which time prospects for its implementation would be limited.
- ◆ The strategy is not very helpful to tourism because it provides no specific techniques.
- ◆ The World Bank's strategy, like other development strategies, does not know how to deal with sustainable tourism.
- ◆ It is difficult to translate the World Bank strategy, which covers so many broad and complex issues, into a tourism economic development agenda.

### **c) Recommendations and issues to be resolved**

- ◆ Tourism's role in the Bank's strategy is an unanswered question that might be approached at the "on-site" level - the level at which tourism may impact poor areas. However, certain conditions also need to be addressed (e.g. would tourists visit these areas, and if so, would development benefit indigenous people?).
- ◆ Tourism's role in sustainable development will require a move away from the view that the vacation is a two-week hiatus from life.
- ◆ Two valid kinds of tourism development frameworks are being employed: the ecotourism type development, and mainstream development. The latter requires as much attention and should not be dismissed as "evil" by radical advocates of the former framework.

- ◆ A secondary type of (strategy) product is needed that covers the points in the Bank's strategy, attracts investment, and shows how including sustainable development in political agendas would enhance the role of relevant ministries in shaping their country's future.

**2. STRATEGY: Remove subsidies that encourage inefficient and environmentally damaging practices**

**1. Potential role of sustainable tourism in implementing strategy**

**a) Need for strategy in tourism industry**

- ◆ Most tourism development projects have been unsustainable due to subsidized real-estate speculation (e.g. 10-year tax-free incentives).
- ◆ Future tourism development should be consistent with the overall transformation to more efficient use of resources (e.g. by pricing them at true social cost, viewing pollution as a form of "design failure").

**b) Tourism industry's potential role in implementing strategy**

- ◆ Removal of damaging subsidies would discourage intensive development and could be combined with selective development of underdeveloped areas.
- ◆ Removal of subsidies is already happening (resulting in reduced fuel consumption, new generation aircraft and greater fuel efficiency). This is a win-win situation - it reduces costs and reduces emissions.
- ◆ When subsidies are removed, tourism projects can be used to demonstrate energy efficiency and the real costs of park use can be calculated.
- ◆ Removal of subsidies may help control the type and use of vehicles in parks and encourage lower consumption of fuel.
- ◆ The idea of replacing inefficient tourism with sensitive, economically viable tourism may help governments find excuses to remove damaging subsidies.

**2. Anticipated implementation problems**

**a) Implementation problems intrinsic to tourism industry**

- ◆ Subsidies in tourism development are usually used to import goods at a preferred rate of exchange. They will be difficult to remove because they help the elite live in the manner to which they are accustomed.
- ◆ In tourism the bargaining power lies with international companies, who are able to switch destinations should policy be too restrictive.
- ◆ Typically, privileged groups with money and sophisticated communications networks develop areas at the expense of traditional property development, channelling tourists into experiences owned and conceived by non-locals. This kind of subsidy overwhelms indigenous initiatives.
- ◆ Just as ecotourism proves itself to be an economically viable development vehicle, mass tourism tendencies develop (making ecotourism operators look like the instigators of problems when in reality most are doing what they can to make sustainable development happen).
- ◆ Hotel companies have deeply ingrained practices which create obstacles to change. For example, companies do not see the need to source locally when their management is rotated out of Chicago.
- ◆ Tourism by its nature requires a great deal of air and ground transport (and therefore fuel) and tourists demand western levels of comfort.

- ◆ Sensitive tour operations may use less fuel than other forms of tourism, but this does not necessarily solve fuel resource problems.
- ◆ For local people, tourism develops into a form of subsidy because people can get things from tourists easily.

**b) Implementation problems intrinsic to developing countries**

- ◆ Most countries do want to reduce their dependence on imports, but in some countries taxes on imports are a primary source of revenue.
- ◆ The colonial legacy, the influx of American goods, and television combine to maintain the view in many countries that "foreign is best."
- ◆ Many activities pollute the environment heavily, but governments are unlikely to take action until it is too late.
- ◆ High import taxes are placed on energy efficient equipment.
- ◆ The effectiveness of this strategy may be diluted by accelerating development problems such as population pressures.

**3. Recommendations and issues to be resolved**

- ◆ The Bank views development narrowly as that which can be made with a financial cost or an economic gain at the end of it. However, there is no one accepted definition of subsidies, which are viewed differently depending on context, values and circumstances.
- ◆ The environment movement has, on occasion, not had all the facts before deciding that a development proposal is environmentally damaging.
- ◆ From the private sector's perspective, it is not easy to identify where subsidies exist in the first place.
- ◆ It is not always easy to determine what practices are environmentally sound and what practices are not, especially when there is a lack of precedent. Hence the boundary between ecotourism and conventional tourism is a contentious one.
- ◆ Any development project that takes resources out of traditional use is a subsidy of sorts. Almost all development projects of a significant scale have damaged the environment enough to be considered an inefficient subsidy.
- ◆ Subsidization in some cases could be the only way of either protecting the environment or existing social order from the ravages of development or "kick starting" an appropriate and benign industry or practice.
- ◆ The potential for removal of subsidies depends partly on how they are organized and implemented. This is more likely to work when based on an understanding of the country in question, as opposed to basing development decisions on short visits by development consultants.
- ◆ There is a need for legislative backing to market incentives because operation of the free market does not result in sustainable practice.
- ◆ An examination of subsidies with a view to changing them should include an examination of the channels through which they are organized. This may determine what is practically possible.
- ◆ It is sometimes difficult to remove subsidies which encourage damaging practices without also removing the benefits accruing from them (can ecotourism guarantee equal or greater benefits than alternatives?).
- ◆ What are intended as subsidies that encourage sustainable development may turn out to have the opposite effect. When opportunities for unsustainable use of resources

diminish, pressure is placed on ecotourism to provide immediate benefits to more people.

- ◆ The prospects for success of this strategy depend on local empowerment and support of NGO's.

**3. STRATEGY: Improve evaluation of natural resources by removing incentives to exploit them and providing incentives for responsible actions.**

**1. Potential role of sustainable tourism in implementing strategy**

**a) Need for strategy in tourism industry**

- ◆ Natural resource protection should be the foundation upon which all other investment decisions are made (the planning process should start by defining what is required to sustain natural resources in the long run, and then work backwards).
- ◆ Natural resources are better valued and priced when industries such as tourism are developed in sustainable ways.

**b) Tourism industry's potential role in implementing strategy**

- ◆ Better natural resource management is possible through better organization of tourism (e.g. changing the spatial flows of tourists so that more tourists can be distributed more evenly throughout parks).
- ◆ Tourism can be as powerful an incentive to preserve nature as other development vehicles are to destroy it (and can be developed with little government involvement).
- ◆ Tourism organizations can help in efforts to achieve the critical mass needed to make a difference in resolving problems (for example by getting tourists involved in reforestation programs).
- ◆ Tourism may help create the conditions for a re-evaluation of the importance of natural resources by helping people see problems and innovations in developing countries for themselves.
- ◆ Tourism has the ability to impact communities that live around resources, and these communities are abundant in the Third World.
- ◆ Visitors are stronger than laws, tradition and the legal system. This demand pull will ensure tourism impacts continue to take place and will change relationships between individuals, communities and resources.
- ◆ Tourism can improve the valuation of man-made resources by creating new uses for them (rainforests are not the only resources that can be adapted for tourism purposes).
- ◆ The promise of greater economic returns through ecotourism provides incentives for responsible actions (in ecotourism projects it is quite possible for investors to receive a 12 percent unleveraged return at conservative 50 percent occupancy rates and below-market room rates).
- ◆ More and more tourists are prepared to dedicate a portion of their package price to resource conservation if they know where the funds are going.

**2. Anticipated implementation problems**

**a) Global/national political-economic context**

- ◆ The vulnerability of the third world to political-economic factors is a major obstacle. Tourism development can only be judged in the context of the precarious situation facing these countries.
- ◆ Tourism development tends to be driven more by short term factors such as natural disasters, military action, famine and drought than by longer term concerns such as the

viability of natural environments that serve to produce water or provide areas where tourism is possible.

- ◆ Despite the efforts of tourism and other organizations to curb problems such as erosion, unless the government takes these efforts seriously, the prospects for success are minimized.
- ◆ The problem is that incentives tend to be covert. For example, bribes can be paid, logs can be stolen, or land can be demarcated so that it seems larger than it actually is.
- ◆ Local elites will be resistant to many measures, as will the travel industry outside of these countries (transport companies, hotel chains, etc).
- ◆ A central problem is that of being realistic (pure environmentalists or conservationists do not always see the business side of things).
- ◆ Many instruments (such as taxation) have not been fully developed.
- ◆ It is not clear who should conduct environmental assessments.

#### **b) Implementation problems intrinsic to tourism industry**

- ◆ The tourist's idea of efficiency is use of amenities at all times.
- ◆ Many tour guides are still not properly trained and have no knowledge of the areas they are travelling through. Relationships with others on tour routes are developed through trial and error.
- ◆ Tourism may not be good for all communities.
- ◆ In tourism the monopolistic approach to the use of natural resources and the immediate returns this generated is an incentive not to re-evaluate these resources.
- ◆ There is a lack of a two-tier system of fees for residents and tourists, and governments generally have fees go to general revenues.

#### **3. Recommendations and issues that need to be resolved**

- ◆ There is great potential for using renewable energy in tourism activities, particularly since tourists are very intensive energy users.
- ◆ Local peoples are the best custodians of their own environment, and so putting them in the position of stewards of tourism resources would be vital (this also represents an efficient use of available manpower).
- ◆ Quantity constraints should be established. This becomes a political question which may be resolved by raising consciousness of the issues and alternatives.
- ◆ Tourists can pay the full price of a protected area if fees go directly to the park and not to general revenues.
- ◆ Disincentives to poaching can be provided (e.g. by providing incentives for wildlife farming, legalizing hunting, opening up farms as tourism destinations).
- ◆ Environmental assessments should be mandatory.
- ◆ The prospects for success of this strategy depend on local empowerment and support of NGO's.
- ◆ Natural resources are often externalized from decision-making.
- ◆ Different interests have very different ideas about the value of natural resources (e.g. wildlife may be seen as a nuisance or as something worth travelling and spending money to see).
- ◆ It is important to put a financial value on these resources so that they become an integral part of decision making. The problem lies in finding the right techniques to arrive at this value.

- ◆ It is not only difficult but inappropriate to try and put a financial value on natural resources that belong to "the global commons".
- ◆ We need different ways of evaluating natural resources that do not necessarily depend on how much oil there is in the ground or how many trees in the forest or river water volume in cubic feet per second.
- ◆ The danger with aesthetic criteria is that those with control over resources can justify change by claiming that "the view will be better without the trees there" or "the silt in the stream doesn't obstruct the view and comes from logging you cannot see."
- ◆ Can green auditing for industry be effective on a large scale? Will it be possible to implement this at the destination end, particularly in the developing countries? Who is going to be responsible?
- ◆ The pricing of resources should be managed through property rights.

4. **STRATEGY: Clarify property rights to managing and owning land, forests and industry, while enhancing competitiveness and stability.**

1. **Potential role of sustainable tourism in implementing strategy**

a) **Need for strategy in tourism industry**

- ◆ When rights are not clarified, politicians sell the land to investors who then control its development. This strategy is vital.
- ◆ Communities depend on their assets. Safeguards must be in place to ensure the long term viability of each part of that community.
- ◆ The feelingal boxes with windows." Nature tourism stations in remote locations can be built at half the capital value of their income and yield an unleveraged 12 percent return.
- ◆ The behavior of consumers may also be changed through common-sense economics. This is done when concern for the environment and the desire for new experiences is translated into economically viable tourism investment. When all rooms are suites, ranging from \$90 a day (1 bed) to \$110 a day (2 beds) and priced for an entire family, ecotourism becomes very affordable.

b) **Tourism industry's potential role in implementing strategy**

- ◆ Within a broader framework established for all sectors (which tackles human rights and other issues), evidence suggests that parks which are owned privately perform better than those which are publicly owned.
- ◆ There are ways to encourage tour operators to set aside funds to purchase land in the areas they are using. This and other ideas would benefit from some form of "seal of approval."
- ◆ Tourism which involves conferences and other meetings can provide a turning point to get new political relationships formed and make people realize the economic value of sustaining natural resources.
- ◆ Tourism is complex but relatively unsophisticated. There is potential for people who have traditionally been marginalized by development to participate without changing their traditions and identity as much as they would if they migrated to cities and worked in factories.
- ◆ Land claims can be settled and land dedicated to national parks when indigenous peoples benefit from self-government and ownership.
- ◆ Property rights may be clarified by buying up thousands of acres of land from landowners, for which they receive a substantial equity stake in an ecotourism development project. The acreage may then be divided to ensure different groups have rights, based on market needs and the sensitivity of different natural environments.
- ◆ This strategy can be enacted through more local ownership of tour companies and accommodation and partnerships with non-governmental organizations.

2. **Anticipated implementation problems**

a) **Global/national political-economic context**

- ◆ The integration of third world countries into international trade is very optimistic (the slow progress of GATT is but one example)

- ◆ Local ownership may not necessarily be any more sustainable (local elites may be allied to foreign interests).
- ◆ In most countries there are huge bureaucratic and corruption problems, (i.e. one dollar for the national park and one dollar for my mansion).
- ◆ National level policies often do not clarify property rights, which creates problems for implementation at other levels.
- ◆ Property rights are not immutable, even when clarified. They are tied to public processes.
- ◆ Conventional tourism infrastructure maintains barriers to access to resources for indigenous peoples, who may nevertheless be taxed to pay for it (effectively subsidizing rich tourists).
- ◆ The lack of infrastructure in some countries and the economics of many development options reinforce the reliance on imports and therefore control of development by those with existing rights to property.

**b) Implementation problems intrinsic to tourism industry**

- ◆ Tourism tends to develop at two levels, not at all or too much. Local peoples may develop their particular attraction to attract as many people as possible, and tour operators will adapt to changes in property rights to the extent that they will still be able to operate freely.
- ◆ Old methods are being used to develop new solutions. EC consultants are using inappropriate language such as "technology transfer." The old-age pattern that the West provides answers needs to be broken. The biggest obstacle to change is misinformation.

**3. Recommendations and issues that need to be resolved**

- ◆ The idea of clarifying property rights is a distinctly North American one. There are many societies that do not see property rights in the same way that American culture sees them (in which individual property rights come first). The balance between individual and community property rights is often different in other societies.
- ◆ Focusing property rights on individual ownership and competitiveness will lead to concentration of property in the hands of the few and to increasing landlessness (and therefore hopelessness) for the majority.
- ◆ Clarification may not always be effective. When the traditional use is a more appropriate ecological use, the fact that property rights are not clarified prevents adverse developments from taking place.
- ◆ Clarification creates a standardized and familiar format for those who would acquire and exploit land viciously, but now "legally."
- ◆ A formula answer may not always work.
- ◆ Property rights are hard to define with pastoral lifestyles.
- ◆ When property rights may benefit from being clarified, obstacles may stand in the way. Often the rules that govern ownership are arcane. The notion of title is established by tradition that everyone recognizes implicitly. When you try to change use, by for example planting rather than cutting trees, conflicts are created.
- ◆ What happenbanks, import houses). Currents of animosity, change and diversity create problems for education and planning efforts.
- ◆ This strategy is important because ecotourism is a process that necessarily involves all

actors in the development process. Because there's those who have no rights to property--the landless?

- ◆ The World Bank video tape did a good job of showing some of the realities of the world's desperate poor. It is important to put these issues first so that projects which involve land purchases do not further marginalize large numbers of people (this would also damage prospects for tourism).
- ◆ The Third World should be able to declare bankruptcy, like Pan Am.
- ◆ It is important to establish the right fee structure and carrying capacity for parks, to control volume and ensure self-sufficiency. Spatial patterns of development should also be considered.
- ◆ Governments need to assume a more proactive role, by providing subsidies to encourage local ownership, while recognizing the conflict between tourism, agriculture and traditional practices.
- ◆ Indigenous peoples should be given the right not only to manage and own land and resources but also to enjoy their resources (until now they have not been able to afford this).
- ◆ Local people need to be supported in the development of their own tourism products with international links to tourism generating countries.
- ◆ Transferring property rights alone is not enough. The problem will be in integrating property rights with the other dimensions in the World Bank's strategy.
- ◆ The prospects for success of this strategy depend on local empowerment and support of NGO's.
- ◆ Tourism, more than most other industries, demonstrates a close relationship between property speculation and development. More information is needed on who gains and who loses in development.

**5. STRATEGY: Accelerate education and better natural resource management**

**1. Potential role of sustainable tourism in implementing strategy**

**a) Need for strategy in tourism industry**

- ◆ Some forms of tourism have as their objective to take something away. Compared to other kinds of tourism, impacts of ecotourism are minimal.

**b) Tourism industry's potential role in implementing strategy: tourism-generating countries**

- ◆ The potential role of tourism in implementing this strategy lies in convincing people that what they have is what they can live on without disfiguring it.
- ◆ Tourists themselves have to be educated. Steps will have to be taken to remove colonial "master-servant" stereotypes.
- ◆ This strategy is important for educating tourists about new kinds of ecotourism projects before the experience so that their behavior is compatible with the environment, while still giving them the freedom expected in a vacation.
- ◆ Travel and tourism can contribute to an understanding of development problems through organized education programs, through which people rethink their realities and create changes in their communities.
- ◆ Non-governmental organizations have used education as a tool for fund-raising in developed countries (made possible through, and sometimes for the benefit of, tourism).
- ◆ Education of tourists may be accelerated in tourism through codes of ethics.
- ◆ Ecotourism is partly the result of a movement of ideas that started three decades ago. Once "sustainable development" starts to rival other images (such as the "information society" and the "post-industrial society") a new tourism experience will also emerge in which tourists experience future ways in which they might live.

**c) Tourism industry's potential role in implementing strategy: the tourism experience**

- ◆ Ecotourism brings people on-site for a unique educational experience. The link with conservation activity promotes better natural resource management, builds awareness and shows that tour operators stand behind their purpose.
- ◆ In ecotourism projects, tourists may have the option of learning about the environment through workshops operated by local resource stewards. They may also participate directly in scientific research projects.
- ◆ An informal kind of education takes place as people visit remote areas. Tourism creates a model of inquiry that helps people acquire more of a sense of the world. However, the full range of motives of different kinds of tourists must be understood (by asking what is at stake for indigenous peoples).

**d) Tourism industry's potential role in implementing strategy: partnerships with indigenous people**

- ◆ Education is the most important element of the strategy, and should involve every actor in the development process.
- ◆ Education makes an innovative ecotourism system possible (e.g. a business advisory service might train local people to run businesses).

- ◆ Tourist trips can be directed through chosen villages and stop in at local schools.
- ◆ Conference tourism, organized in the right way, facilitates effective transmission of knowledge (e.g. villagers managing one successful sensitive tourism project explain to other villagers systems succeed).
- ◆ The media and schools can be used in tourism generating countries to inform and build respect. Creating an appreciation for the scarcity of natural resources and the value of traditions is important.
- ◆ In places like Nepal or Madagascar, where communications are problematic due to distances and lack of technology infrastructure, educational radio programs may generate support for sustainable tourism efforts.
- ◆ Tourism can often help politically unconnected people obtain direct economic and educational benefits through private scholarships, invitations to visit a Western country, cash gifts.
- ◆ Tourism can contribute indirectly to education in developing countries through contributions to local infrastructure (schools, medicine).
- ◆ Local high school students could collect data periodically on tourist expectations and satisfaction/dissatisfaction. This would reduce reliance on outside help and improve the quality of tourism planning.

## **2. Anticipated implementation problems**

### **a) Implementation problems intrinsic to tourism industry**

- ◆ Tourism accentuates the contrast between rich and poor. Ecotourists should not be singled out as some special breed. In fact, they tend to operate closer to more indigenous people than conventional tourism.
- ◆ The educational process is a difficult one for tourism, because everyone is part of the tourism industry and is tied to its success or failure.
- ◆ There is a problem of standards and protocol in tourism activities. This remains a problem because tourism involves the coming together of different peoples, technologies and constantly changing expectations, creating clashes (e.g. between cruise ships and island cultures). How these clashes are resolved is often a matter of timing.
- ◆ Anonymous foreign operators dominate tourism and prevent meaningful change by preventing local investment and de-emphasizing local knowledge.
- ◆ Conventional tourism in large hotels for large groups may coerce education and behaviors designed to satisfy tourists rather than local cultural expectations.
- ◆ Tourism is still stuck in a "hand-out" mode (converting proud people into beggars). Many mistakes are made despite the best intentions of tourists.

### **b) Implementation problems intrinsic to developing countries**

- ◆ There are inevitable conflicts between short-term survival and long-term benefits and costs.
- ◆ One obstacle is existing incentives to exploit resources due to lack of alternatives, or habit. Poverty and sanitation issues have to be addressed before anything else can happen.
- ◆ There have always been and always will be, groups of people whose interests are at risk. The political struggles over property rights will be a major obstacle to education

efforts.

- ◆ There is often a lack of government spending on education, and too much foreign control of the development process.
- ◆ Sometimes governments limit what persons who are visiting are allowed to see and experience, so a complete picture of the reality of life is not available.
- ◆ Removing master-servant stereotypes will be difficult because these have been ingrained throughout history.
- ◆ There is a shortage of people with local know-how. Obviously locals "know how," but what is required is a greater knowledge of traditional needs and practices to integrate into decision-making.
- ◆ People in underdeveloped areas may see ecotourism work in other areas and try it. However, they may fail because their environments are aesthetically unappealing. They may try and adapt their environments to what they think people want them to be, with disastrous results.
- ◆ Unfortunately, the Western experience has shown that it is impossible for a country to go through the educational process of realizing the problems of development without experiencing them, because they would forego some of the more immediate and obvious benefits. The perception is that the greater the scale, the more benefits will accrue.

### **c) Implementation problems intrinsic to developed countries**

- ◆ Many potential ecotourists still cannot understand how a private enterprise can make money and be ecologically and socially sensitive at the same time.
- ◆ Tourism education in tourism generating countries is outmoded, based on development models developed 25 years ago.
- ◆ Travel companies may create a distorted picture of natural resources in their marketing campaigns by creating unrealistic expectations.

### **3. Recommendations and issues that need to be resolved**

- ◆ Codes of ethics produced by organizations with their own agendas need to be integrated and simplified for use in the travel and tourism industry.
- ◆ There is a need to get back to basics by defining terms. What is meant by "sustainable"? Sustainable in terms of constant earnings? Sustainable in terms of constant monetary value? Sustainable in terms of constant quantity? Sustainable in terms of levels of access with given different levels of investment?
- ◆ We need to reexamine the motives and means in the whole Aid process and in other means of interface. Aid, the media and tourism are major vehicles through which cross-cultural experiences take place. Those in Aid should recognize the impact that tourism has on shaping expectations, which happens regardless of whether institutions decide to pay any attention to it.
- ◆ There is a need to understand traditional practices rather than superimpose Western value systems (which is easy to do in tourism, which is designed to serve these and other industrialized markets).
- ◆ It is through knowledgeable indigenous people that communication and diffusion of ideas about different cultures, traditions, practices, languages and needs is possible.
- ◆ There is a need to understand where education comes from, and whose values it promotes or reflects. Development projects tend to promote only one side of

contentious issues such as free markets. Education tends to overlook the values of those who receive it.

- ◆ The major question is, who are the people who can make sustainable tourism development happen? It is the younger generation, who have or will have an ecological awareness. This has to be a pre-focused effort (high school and college programs which create role model tourists).
- ◆ People's views of a country are based on perception. Many national governments are perhaps unaware, when designing tourism development, of what these perceptions are. Perceptions may not match reality but nevertheless affect whether or not tourism takes place.
- ◆ Tourists must be better educated about what they are seeing. Past studies have shown a high latent interest in learning.
- ◆ Conflicts between environmental and cultural sensitivity are inevitable because development problems involve contradictions. Educating people about these contradictions is necessary but difficult.
- ◆ Although awareness is developing of specific issues which have been personalized in the media, what's missing is an understanding of things in a global context. Peoples of all countries have a thirst for information which is not being satisfied.
- ◆ Tourism should not idealize cultural or environmental features which do not exist by, for example, suggesting that a grandiose hotel displays traditional architecture. This is dishonest and demeans local culture.
- ◆ It is important to educate women about family planning and other matters (such as labor-saving technology, etc) before any action is attempted in tourism, since they are often the key to change in developing countries.
- ◆ Conflicts between environmental and cultural sensitivity are inevitable because development problems involve contradictions. Educating people about these contradictions is necessary but difficult.
- ◆ It is important to understand how knowledge is transmitted. It is not transmitted effectively from people in suits to villagers, but from villagers to villagers. Also, children tend to drive changes in adults (who become interested in watching sea turtles when their children do).
- ◆ Assumptions about what the new generation of tourists wants (which have been distorted by the media) need to be changed.
- ◆ The prospects for success of this strategy depend on local empowerment and support of NGO's.
- ◆ Regional strategic planning is required in developing countries. Local operators need to be identified and their skills developed.

## **6. STRATEGY: Invest in Water and Sanitation**

### **1. Potential role of sustainable tourism in implementing strategy**

#### **a) Need for strategy in tourism industry**

- ◆ Lack of water and sanitation makes tourism development unsustainable.
- ◆ This is a basic need, which, if provided for, can help reduce demands on other services, such as health clinics.

#### **b) Tourism industry's potential role in implementing strategy**

- ◆ Investment in water and sanitation is critical to the success of sustainable tourism (how safe are the foods and the preparation methods for foreign tourists?).
- ◆ This is one area where development aid can assist in meeting these and other basic human rights, so that people can develop their potential, rather than have us in the North make decisions for them.
- ◆ There is a trade-off between provision for basic human needs as a subsidized service and as a paid-for profitable enterprise (e.g. through tourism development). The decision should be based on the criterion of access to the facility.
- ◆ The danger is that travel and tourism will invest in water and sanitation facilities only for the visitors. If it can provide for the local host communities as well, and to the same standard, if appropriate, as for the visitor, then all well and good.
- ◆ Tourism can make use of available and capable manpower and bring immediate improvement in water and sanitation.
- ◆ The private sector may want to invest but may not have the support and expertise to do so. Non-governmental organizations in tourism generating countries can help by finding knowledgeable people.
- ◆ A proportion of revenues from tourism may be reinvested through community foundations into healthcare.
- ◆ There are many things that the private sector will not be interested in doing (e.g. providing site-specific basic needs and infrastructure). The World Bank may provide some assistance and facilitate tourism development. The World Bank can only gain from such involvement.

### **2. Anticipated implementation problems**

- ◆ Locally-administered projects (such as The Orangi Project in India shown on the video) would probably not meet the demands of tourist markets.
- ◆ There is little evidence of this investment taking place in tourism.
- ◆ Very little is being done in tourism beyond provision for tourists. Investment beyond this is only likely where developers have strong ties with communities.
- ◆ There is often a shortage of finance and expertise.
- ◆ Small private enterprises do not have the capacity to make such investments.
- ◆ The poor in developing countries often have to subsidize the rich through taxes.
- ◆ There is always a problem with the lag time between conception and implementation of new ideas.
- ◆ There are significant obstacles to implementation in many countries. Tax collection, regulation and enforcement are lax at best due to the lack of bargaining power against

investors and the wheeling and dealing going on between state officials and importers and exporters.

- ◆ Local people are often barred from using water and sanitation facilities provided for tourists.
- ◆ Mistakes can be made through lack of foresight (local values are taken for granted).
- ◆ Some environmentally sustainable alternatives may not be socially sustainable or logistically possible (organic foodstuffs may have to be imported for use in the tourism industry).
- ◆ One obstacle is that the initial systems set up to solve a problem are often re-applied to a superficially similar (but fundamentally different) project with disastrous consequences.
- ◆ In most developing countries, 50-75 percent of tourism revenues leak back to developed countries.

### **3. Recommendations and issues to be resolved**

- ◆ A great deal of education and training is required to establish operations that can produce food at an acceptable standard (the consequences of poisoning would be disastrous for tourism).
- ◆ Investment in water and sanitation and other basic services may not solve the discrepancy between standards expected by travellers and the standard by which very basic needs are provided for.
- ◆ It is important to answer the question, "who are the users?" In developed countries, water and sanitation systems are designed with adults (and especially men) in mind, while in developing countries the users are mainly women and children. It is the little things that, when overlooked, prevent people from doing the best they can do.
- ◆ Research in new technology should be encouraged and financing made possible.
- ◆ A great deal will depend on political will, i.e. making industry more conscious and providing incentives (to the extent that new investors comply with the law).
- ◆ It is important to address differences in the timing and rate of change in different developing countries. Belize is underpopulated and has an excellent well system. Water and sanitation is not a problem yet.
- ◆ Water and sanitation may not be the only problems that need to be addressed. For example, birth control is often required to reduce the population pressures that force slash-and-burn activity.
- ◆ The prospects for success of this strategy depend on local empowerment and support of NGO's.
- ◆ There is no doubt that living conditions may be improved through such investment. On the other hand, you may also raise property values and create an oasis that may not be sustainable in other ways. Basic needs cannot easily be provided for equitably for overpopulated regions whose resources are unproductive (e.g. where watersheds are depleted).
- ◆ This issue is related to the subject of education. People are better equipped to take action into their own hands when they understand what is possible within their own system. The problem arises when a reliable resource (a technology developed from outside) creates a dependence and then breaks down. A solution to a problem then becomes unsustainable.
- ◆ We should consider investment leakages in different countries (e.g. leakages are greater for small island nations).
- ◆ The World Bank should participate in assuring local product development and should

partially transfer funds.

- ◆ Are we only going to invest in water and sanitation through the spirit of the World Bank's strategy? (i.e. the spirit of free enterprise and the individual). If so, many people will go without basic services.

**7. STRATEGY: Change the behavior of producers and consumers through targeted regulation and incentives**

**1. Potential role of sustainable tourism in implementing strategy**

**a) Incentives for investment community**

- ◆ The behavior of investors may be changed through the common-sense economics of ecotourism investment (e.g. passive investment with no individual risk, which is assumed by locally-owned businesses).
- ◆ Ecotourism facilities are less expensive than conventional counterparts. Nature tourism stations can be built at half the capital value of their income and yield an unleveraged 12 percent return.

**b) Regulation for tourism industry**

- ◆ Encourage more responsible behavior by transnational hotel chains. Green consumerism (and in the future possibly green employees and green shareholders) and other trends will encourage firms to comply, but tighter regulation is also required to force firms to comply.
- ◆ Require or provide incentives for use of locally produced food rather than "familiar" imported foods. Require local employment.
- ◆ Sourcing locally and other related matters should be made explicit in tourism development contracts or implicit by telling developers that they will be charged duties on imports.
- ◆ Proper regulations are necessary. However, this should not improve competition and the growth of existing companies, nor create new ones.
- ◆ Women should organize themselves, especially to contact legislators and lobby for regulation.

**c) Incentives for tourism industry**

- ◆ The major incentive for tour operators is to prove that they are "greener" than the next company, because this is the trend.
- ◆ Encourage enlightened developing countries and tour operators to set their own standards.
- ◆ Behavior change takes place when revenues from sustainable tourism is higher when compared to existing income sources (e.g. hunting) using the same unit of analysis.
- ◆ In some cases the industry is being rewarded for providing opportunities for people to behave in a responsible fashion (for example by recycling). Industry must pursue the right target markets.
- ◆ Independent ranking of tourism companies for their level of sustainability provides an incentive for responsible actions through grassroots advocacy.

**d) Incentives for developing countries**

- ◆ Anticipate that indigenous groups may react negatively or violently to tourism development and start with a few small scale projects in selected places in order to restrict the movements of outsiders in accordance with the needs of indigenous groups.

This nourishes tendencies towards cultural preservation.

- ◆ Advise developing countries to demand more of tour operators. Demand local knowledge and issue licenses.

#### e) **Incentives for tourists**

- ◆ World problems have created an incentive for people to want to get their hands dirty when they travel, in order to find out what it is like to live in that part of the world. People should be given the opportunity to translate their concerns and desire for new experiences into economically viable tourism.
- ◆ The failure of many tours to live up to their expectations, and increasing dissatisfaction with mass tourism will act as a natural incentive for the concerned traveller to be more cautious in making travel choices. However, there must come a long process of education through experience, media comment and word of mouth.
- ◆ It is important to realize that market expectations are not homogenous or static (e.g. some markets may be more independent and expect different experiences than others).
- ◆ If changes take place on the demand side (i.e. consumers becoming more sophisticated and responsible in their travel decisions), the supply side will follow.
- ◆ Tourism can contribute to sustainable development when travellers become stakeholders and goodwill ambassadors--appreciating, learning about and encouraging environmentally and culturally sensitive development.

#### 2. **Anticipated implementation problems**

- ◆ There is a natural temptation to bend rules when there are financial incentives to do so (e.g. by tipping a driver to take a new route).
- ◆ Political decisions seldom conform to ecologically sensible principles and professional resource management.
- ◆ Government officials prefer mass tourism projects because of the deception pay-off.
- ◆ Deliberately limiting your tourist market is not the quickest way of making a buck. One solution would be to change the population/ government perception of tourism from a short-term, high turnover commodity to a long term, high quality product. But why should they be interested when they want to solve short-term financial problems?
- ◆ It is important to recognize that the higher rent charged to compensate for resource usage regulation is only likely to work when the experience is perceived by tourists as exclusive. In many cases governments undervalue resources and cannot create the infrastructure for the interpretive experience people expect, nor systems to control misuse.
- ◆ Tourists have few standards to judge tours against and cannot easily evaluate the experience before, during and after it. Evaluation may not even be that important anyway. For young people the main objective is to get drunk, take pictures and have a "good time" with new friends.
- ◆ Many tourists view these natural destinations the same way they would other destinations. The main objective is to do the circuit, just as they do Oxford, Bath, London, Chester, York, Edinburgh in the UK.
- ◆ There is skepticism on the part of the general public that if something is good for you or good for the environment, then it probably isn't fun. The idea of global stewardship is a difficult one to accept in a leisure context, where one is supposed to be relatively free of constraint.

- ◆ Even if the tourist is concerned about damage to the environment, when actually on-site and in an unfamiliar environment, he or she will do whatever he or she is told to do, and will still want the amenities that he or she is used to.
- ◆ Better educated tourists dress in a certain way, behave in a certain way and bring technology with them. There is nothing that can be done to prevent local people from wanting what they have.
- ◆ It is easier to convince tourists that their behavior must be restricted in high-profile places like the Galapagos Islands, whose problems have received a lot of attention and whose environments never fail to offer lots of wildlife, regardless of restrictions. Otherwise it is difficult to justify restrictions to places that appear to be more exciting than the travelled route and which tourists have paid a lot of money to see.
- ◆ Mass tourism helped develop the view that developing countries are leisure commodities, resource pools or potential markets. It is hard to convince producers not to exploit resources to capacity.
- ◆ Travel lobbies will fight to protect their position of strength.
- ◆ There will always be problems which the market may not be able to rectify immediately (e.g. misrepresentation by travel companies).
- ◆ The existing tourism development process has a set of covert incentives which make behavior change very difficult and institutions are not made accountable so needed changes do not change place.
- ◆ The ecotourism philosophy is filtering through to the rest of the industry, because of the lure of more money. However, abiding by sustainable guidelines involves trade-offs which are not acceptable to all organizations. Conventional tour operators may not be willing to compromise when the option of "doing it their way" is available.
- ◆ Incentives have not been as effective as was originally thought (e.g. tax incentives).
- ◆ Incentives are often outdated. The objective of getting as many visitors as possible results in the kind of development that creates conflicts (e.g. by targeting too many and often incompatible segments, such as "hunting" and "naturalists") and results in leakages (e.g. when tourism revenues are used to import Western-style amenities).
- ◆ Although regulation and incentives can be used to modify behavior so that it is more sustainable, this comes at a cost (e.g. people are employed to take care of problems other people leave behind).

### **3. Recommendations and issues to be resolved**

- ◆ Education should come before behavior modification. Knowledge improvements will have to be made to provide opportunities for local peoples to assume management positions rather than being confined to the lowest levels.
- ◆ It is surprising to see incentives under "breaking the negative links" because they are usually associated with building positive linkages.
- ◆ The notion of "targeted" regulation should be seen in its historical context. Credits have been given (in sectors such as agriculture) which have advantaged larger landowners but not those with less bargaining power. So the question is "who is our target?"
- ◆ Regulation should not be seen as "state intervention" but as society doing something intelligent, and very necessary.
- ◆ Existing policies are not effective in changing behavior. This problem stems in part from a misunderstanding of sustainable development.
- ◆ It is not always just producers and consumers whose behavior needs to be changed (e.g. in Belize national parks are being increasingly populated by immigrants seeking

refuge from troubled neighboring countries).

- ◆ Anywhere where people's travel decisions are influenced by information there are points of leverage which are potentially more effective in changing behavior than regulation and incentives.
- ◆ Regulation and incentives alone are not enough. Before this must come consensus on what is important. Then comes actions that are more likely to work because they are consistent with shared, agreed-upon values.
- ◆ The case for sustainable tourism must be justifiable in economic as well as social and ecological terms, otherwise the problems driving development will not be solved.
- ◆ Can responsible tourism be profitable on a large scale? How price-sensitive are tourism markets--can the additional costs be passed on to them without jeopardizing demand or diverting that demand elsewhere?
- ◆ Diversification is not a concept that is well understood in many developing countries. The monoculture philosophy is a deeply ingrained obstacle which may undermine the best-intentioned regulation and incentives ("one sell rice and beans, all sell rice and beans").
- ◆ Tourism is regulated by the value of the price that governments charge for everything from visas to park entry fees. This works as long as it applies to everyone and properly reflects the value of what is offered.
- ◆ Good operators and consumers want to be responsible but they do not know how to access information.
- ◆ There is a need to improve non-government organization access to project planning.

**8. STRATEGY: Improve knowledge and make the development planning process more transparent**

**1. Potential role of sustainable tourism in implementing strategy**

**a) Need for strategy in tourism industry**

- ◆ Tourism always requires planning. Its planning process should allow for local participation thus making it known to local communities.
- ◆ Knowledge is the crux of ecotourism because only local peoples have the knowledge to interpret their environments and their participation gives credibility to ecotourism programs.
- ◆ This strategy is important because ecotourism is a process that necessarily involves all actors in the development process. Because there are so many people involved, multiple interests distributed across large distances and many different kinds of relationships all undergoing change, the problem lies in figuring out how the process works so that these strategies can work.

**b) Tourism industry's potential role in implementing strategy**

- ◆ Organized sustainable tourism development projects help establish the "rules of the game," creating opportunities for a more transparent development planning process.
- ◆ "Stakeholder" tourists may improve knowledge when they return to their homes and become active in development programs supporting sustainable development in developing countries. The post cold-war era opens up opportunities for this kind of activity.
- ◆ Tourism includes travel by the scientific community to developing countries. From this perspective tourism plays an important role in improving and disseminating knowledge.
- ◆ Educational tourism can assist local residents to struggle anew for better schools.
- ◆ We will start to see knowledge moving from developing to developed countries, and tourism will help make this happen. As pressures on developing countries accelerate, innovations (such as "floating cities") will be transferred back to industrialized countries looking for a more sustainable way of life.

**2. Anticipated implementation problems**

**a) Implementation problems intrinsic to development project planning**

- ◆ The successful implementation of formalized strategy from the top downwards demands certain preconditions that do not exist in developing countries. These include a free-flow of information, cooperation between policy levels and an active electorate.
- ◆ Contrary to the World Bank's logic, "win-win strategies" use policies that promote understanding and voluntary compliance rather than regulations that all too often exacerbate suspicion and animosity between governments and their citizens. Indeed, the regulators are usually the ones most in need of regulation, restructuring, and reduction.
- ◆ The Bank's strategy fails to confront the fundamental problem of global inequality - the legacy of past development policy.
- ◆ The Bank's strategy represents an attempt to maintain control over development

projects now that effects of past policies have surfaced.

- ◆ The scale of Bank projects and wealth of its representatives detracts from its credibility as an institution able to respond effectively to indigenous needs.
- ◆ The Bank's strategy is useful only for dialogue in the First World due to the technical and language requirements it imposes. The potential lies in discussing ideas already put on the table by those well versed in this approach, not in communicating ideas to other parties.
- ◆ The World Bank might resemble a large corporation that espouses the advantages of vertical integration, transparent management, and employee initiative, but finds it hard to actually implement these changes. This internal tension is reflected in the schizophrenic nature of its strategy, part of which assumes that man is basically bad (such as property rights, incentives and regulation), and part of which assumes that change and diversity create problems for education and planning efforts).

### **c) Implementation problems intrinsic to tourism industry**

- ◆ The seductiveness of operating at scale tends to exclude those who are illiterate or uneducated or not well connected or not proximal to the development itself.
- ◆ Foreign operators do not need to involve locals, nor do they have the time and resources (it is easier to transport guides, etc).

### **3. Recommendations and issues to be resolved**

- ◆ It may be better to rely on those who operate at higher levels (but only those who have a vision and whose goals are not self-serving), rather than pull together an unwieldy grass-roots effort governed by a plan. The bottom-up approach does not show much evidence of success.
- ◆ The strategy makes a democratic assumption that people feel they have a right to speak. In many places people do not expect to be asked, they expect to be told (in many countries people do not expect governments to act in their interests, that that's the way governments have been and always will be). Also, corruption operates at all levels. We cannot assume that poor people who live innocent lives and work close to the land will make the best decisions for themselves or their communities.
- ◆ There is a need to reexamine assumptions about the meaning of development, and its present direction. Development projects may provide opportunities for people in developing countries to do what Westerners did during the industrial revolution (migrate to cities, be part of the working week, consume and pollute in mass quantities, deal with an oppressive social environment, etc), but when this happens to a farmer, does his or her quality of life really improve?
- ◆ Expatriate professional planners must start with the awareness that they can never know for sure what local people are thinking, what they want, or what is "best." Planning is always an arrogant exercise!
- ◆ Give local access to the planning process, and encourage them to develop their own ideas. Make it clear that locals should not have to change to be something tourists want them to be.
- ◆ Make it clear that the tourist entourage is not what it appears to be. Most tourists have to work 50 weeks a year to take a trip and are ultra dependent on their own world. Sustainable tourism may help break the stereotypes that tourism development to date has helped create.

- ◆ There is a need to create networks so that people who have had successful experiences with ecotourism can share their ideas and recommendations with those who are new to it.
- ◆ Changing gender roles is particularly important. Women's cooperatives have been successful in getting support through state funds to provide income and opportunities for women (e.g. in Greece).
- ◆ People make travel choices based on information, and there are many ways in which information enters their decision processes (e.g. travel agents, the media). This information also impacts the priorities used for decision making. It is important to confront issues such as "who should provide direction for consumers."
- ◆ The World Bank's strategy portrays knowledge generation and the planning process as a formal process. But planned change is done through convincing arguments and persuasive discussions through which people discover alternatives. Formalized frameworks are no substitute for local participation. Before people will participate, they must recognize that they are stakeholders in the outcome - which brings us back to education, media campaigns, etc on sustainable tourism.
- ◆ There is a need to build local capacity to work with tour operators and to improve local understanding of tourism in resource protection and development.

**9. STRATEGY: Strengthen institutions and make them more accountable.**

**1. Potential role of sustainable tourism in implementing strategy**

**a) Need for strategy in tourism industry**

- ◆ For benefits to accrue to indigenous cultures, some form of organization is essential--whether a cooperative or whether their own culture provides them with a means for making decisions.
- ◆ This strategy is important because ecotourism is a process that necessarily involves all actors in the development process.

**b) Tourism industry's potential role in implementing strategy**

- ◆ Tourism is a source of revenue for strengthening institutions, when developed with a long term perspective.
- ◆ Community-based tourism can act as an incentive for a stronger institutional framework at the community level. This framework (not found in mass tourism) can resolve the tensions between various needs.
- ◆ There have been many situations in which tourism organizations have worked with other institutions, particularly schools, clinics and monasteries or temples, where they are small enough so that small contributions can have a significant effect. It is direct support that starts during the on-site experience and develops into a relationship.
- ◆ Institutional structures formed to operate independently of government functions can be particularly effective. Strong leadership (for example, Dr. Richard Leakey's leadership of the Kenyan Wildlife Service) helps spearhead efforts to eliminate corruption, control tourism growth, crack down on poaching, raise funds.
- ◆ Tour operators may develop, over time, an allegiance to communities. This may develop into a relationship based on trust which yields greater understanding of issues such as regulation and leads to positive change.
- ◆ The new trend in tourism development is to transfer the planning process to state and municipal levels with more participation of local business and community.
- ◆ Organizations can be set up to work beneath entrenched bureaucracy in developing countries (e.g. U.S. AID in Madagascar).
- ◆ Institutional networks solve the problem of scale. However, in order to survive, the institutional network requires a central point which creates a workable framework in which institutions are held accountable.
- ◆ Institutions should perform specific roles. For example, public or quasi-public institutions may protect nature tourism stations, and community institutions may manage reinvestment projects.
- ◆ Tourism education can be included in appropriate education programs and training for Tourism and Environment Departments, non-government organizations and conservation groups.

**2. Anticipated implementation problems**

- ◆ Institutional frameworks are weak in these countries, and would be difficult to establish for tourism, which cuts across so many sectors.
- ◆ Mistrust of administration, the colonial heritage and the lack of precedent all obstruct

institutional development.

- ◆ This strategy is unlikely because it is viewed as an intrusion of sovereignty and limits the freedom of influential politicians and ministers.
- ◆ Most countries are concerned with building volume, not protection and environmental awareness. Non-government organizations have negative attitudes towards tourism.
- ◆ Accountability runs counter to the self-interest of those in power.
- ◆ Institutions are too slow in responding to what are obvious problems and may not even be enlightened from a self-interest viewpoint. The short-sightedness of the greed is an obstacle that defies solutions. Institutions like the World Bank may be the only agent left that can wield enough power to change this.
- ◆ Corruption and/or short-term interests abound. In Costa Rica the conservative government is publicly endorsing both conventional tourism and ecotourism.
- ◆ The reason and direction of new initiatives (such as investing in water and sanitation) are often thought out, but when communities do not know why things are being done, they undermine the institutions that serve them. The underlying problem is communication between peoples, not money, enforcement or laws.
- ◆ The existing development ideology prevents change. For example, there are definite gender implications of what is being done. This ultimately comes back to the value systems determining how money is spent.
- ◆ There is a problem in accepting that development has to proceed slowly and cautiously.
- ◆ Travel and tourism operators and institutions are not familiar with project development possibilities of this nature.
- ◆ Airlines, cruises, hotels monopolize the third world or the "new colonies."

### **3. Recommendations and issues to be resolved**

- ◆ The incentive to tie tourism with development is based on conscience--supporting something so that it can continue in a way that you experienced it. This silent partnership does not involve a stake in management or an entire program with a government or other system to work through which tries to bring everything up to a certain standard. It is easier to establish accountability as long as there is a sound management structure in place. This kind of "on-site" model can be replicated for other threatened environments.
- ◆ At a local level of development, individuals as opposed to institutions can often be pivotal in tourism. It is really single-owner businesses making contact with a community leader that gets projects started and sustained.
- ◆ A lot of the people in these countries working in ecotourism are people with money who have purchased large tracts of land and work beneath layers of corruption. There is a need to work with them to get things done. Institutions are important but are not the only actors with leverage in the development process.
- ◆ Institutions are required to prevent exploitation taking place. But the creation of such a framework depends on whether tourism markets demand this.
- ◆ While the role of institutions is indisputable, it is not so easy to identify a universal model for institutional organization in ecotourism projects because each situation is unique.
- ◆ Tour operators must inform the tourist about the importance of sustainable development, the role institutions play in achieving this, and how this ensures they have a good time (the bottom line). This will be in the self-interest of the tour operator.
- ◆ Tourism is profit-making and needs a profit component to happen. An unresolved question is how to make it profitable while also minimizing negative impacts and

distributing benefits equitably. Institutions will take different positions on this issue. The realities of different value-systems will have to be dealt with.

- ◆ People have not been given enough opportunity to give projects direct support. Specifically, wealthy travellers should be given the opportunity by industry to make direct contributions to credible charities supporting environmental preservation.
- ◆ The existing policy and institutional networks through which things are done already have very well established relationships. New ways of doing things will not be achieved through these networks.
- ◆ The policy process must be re-structured to achieve open access and dialogue and results that reflect the values represented.
- ◆ Dialogue may be achieved where it failed in the past with changes in communications technology, such as interactive video, cable TV.
- ◆ NGO involvement is essential. One reason is that institutions have the means and time to conduct important research which would not be feasible for private enterprise. Also, consumers perceive NGO's as having a neutral position in the development process and therefore being right at all times.
- ◆ Donor and recipient countries must simplify the development process and coordinate among donors. Otherwise investment lawyers run circles around local people.
- ◆ Strengthened institutions will only likely be possible through multilateral coordination through an aid consortium, and will only be successful if done before a country gets into financial problems (e.g. through a major devaluation of the currency).
- ◆ The successful implementation of this strategy depends very much on which institutions and whose interests they represent.
- ◆ Government or self-regulating standards and programs such as Green Management Workshops are required for operators.
- ◆ Television and the press should be used to bring out in the open the connection between tourism, third world ecological destruction, third world debt to the World Bank and cultural destruction (e.g. child prostitution).

**10. STRATEGY: Coordinate tourism activities with other sectors in society**

**1. Potential role of sustainable tourism in implementing strategy**

**a) Need for strategy in tourism industry**

- ◆ The problem with conventional tourism is that a lot of the capital and skills required are only obtainable from outside. This is not a market-driven but a developer-driven approach which limits the kind of benefit that tourism can have for these societies.
- ◆ This strategy is important because ecotourism is a process that necessarily involves all actors in developing countries. Because there are so many people involved, multiple interests distributed across large distances and many different kinds of relationships all undergoing change, the problem lies in figuring out how the process works so that these strategies can work.
- ◆ Coordination is important because the integration of tourism and sustainable development is successful when done simultaneously from inside and outside tourism. This requires a certain level of expertise in public participation and community development, sociology and planning, impact analysis and futures research.
- ◆ The success of ecotourism projects ultimately depends on coordination with other sectors in society. In tourism, one project cannot generate a large enough tourism flow to survive. On the other hand, too great a flow destroys tourism's asset base. Therefore, a condition of the investment should be that the state develops a regional development plan which guarantees controlled development according to standards applied to all projects.

**b) Tourism industry's potential role in implementing strategy**

- ◆ Tourism could be a catalyst for coordination between sectors (e.g. forestry and tourism) because it involves so many sectors. It can also provide a demand pull for other sectors, e.g. agricultural outputs.
- ◆ Tourism projects can contribute directly to sustainable development, so that communities not only provide resources but benefit from them. Tourism may make conservation of natural areas more economical than alternatives (like asset stripping).
- ◆ Tourism and agriculture can be coordinated through wildlife management, farming and viewing. A proportion of funds from tourism can be channelled into community infrastructure.
- ◆ New forms of tourism are using natural environments as they are rather than trying to create new ones. This kind of forward-thinking (helped by lobbying efforts) is building a positive image for countries and spreading the tourism dollars more broadly.
- ◆ Youth and environmental education programs can be coordinated with school programs. Young people may participate in tourism events and attend meetings.
- ◆ Sustainable tourism may provide a benchmark for enlightened foreign investment that generates local earnings.
- ◆ Coordination between tourism development and other sectors of society makes each sector more productive. Ecotourism projects may work alongside and support agriculture, pharmaceuticals and scientific research. Tourists may become involved in selected scientific projects, the revenue from which makes new projects possible.
- ◆ Through travel, tourism may actually help create a self-reinforcing pattern of change on the scale of some of the greatest changes of the past.

- ◆ Tourism may help developing countries leapfrog fossil fuel dependence (which they cannot afford anyway) to renewable energy systems and advanced communications that will make them energy-independent and energy-efficient.
- ◆ The conditions in developing countries will force innovations that will be transferred through tourism to developed countries. Tourism may help a convergence of ideas to take place.
- ◆ A growing segment of international tourism involves travel of people out of developed countries and into cities and rural areas in developing countries. This may potentially provide an incentive for desperate rural poor to remain around the resources and in communities they grew up with rather than be forced to migrate to cities.

## **2. Anticipated implementation problems**

### **a) Implementation problems intrinsic to development policy making**

- ◆ Sometimes there is little interest in doing things differently.
- ◆ Existing institutional frameworks are weak.
- ◆ Certain interests will not want to relinquish control.
- ◆ The World Bank does not have a policy on tourism.
- ◆ There has been a lack of acknowledgment about the economic importance of tourism, due to an image problem. Tourism ministers are often changed, reflecting a lack of political clout.
- ◆ There are limits to coordination because tourism is a secondary commodity. If a country has minerals to exploit then it will do so to pay off its debts rather than rely on the fickle travel decisions of unknown consumers.
- ◆ There may be conflicting interests between sectors (e.g. fishing and national parks), at all levels. Inflationary pressures of tourism may result in diversion of land away from original use.
- ◆ It is not easy to coordinate tourism with other sectors in a way that distributes benefits equally. Although the government encourages local support for the tourism industry, the industry decides who will best meet its needs.
- ◆ Decisions about tourism development still tend to be driven more by short term factors such as natural disasters, military action, famine and drought than about longer term concerns such as the viability of natural environments that serve to produce water or provide areas where tourism is possible.
- ◆ Coordination between tourism and other policy areas can be self-defeating.
- ◆ The major obstacle is that there is little precedent. Well-intentioned efforts may have negative effects if the same assumptions that guided development in developed countries are applied to less developed countries.
- ◆ Tourism is already coordinated with other sectors, but not in a way that is conducive to sustainable development.
- ◆ Stated policy may not reflect reality. For example, despite the Costa Rican Tourist Board's expressed support of ecotourism, the country has been experiencing a rapid expansion of traditional multinational resort/mass tourism, and along with it increased corruption, drugs, money laundering and expansion of prostitution.

### **b) Implementation problems intrinsic to the tourism industry**

- ◆ The investment machine is the major obstacle. The concept of a large ecotourism

project is a contradiction in terms. Unfortunately, the activities of the investment machine are made possible by political and other processes operating outside the tourism industry.

- ◆ Sustainable projects make life more difficult for many tour operators, who may become frustrated.

### **3. Recommendations and issues to be resolved**

- ◆ Tourism operators need to recognize that exploitative and extractive industries are not in their interest and resist them vociferously.
- ◆ Sustainable development will emerge only when a convergence of ideas takes place. On the one hand, the business owner will not listen to directives from outside. On the other hand, tourism development cannot exist in a vacuum if it is to be sustainable.
- ◆ There is a need to stimulate industry knowledge of environmental alternatives and improve industry and government understanding of sustainable tourism principles.
- ◆ There is a need to put environmental policies in a more primary position in tourism.
- ◆ Governments need to realize the opportunities that tourism creates for them to become more popular with their people .
- ◆ The reality of development is that every ripple of change is traumatic and has consequences. A conceptual framework needs to be developed to identify and link all the elements in and outside of tourism, so that business economic returns are connected with food handling, customer expectations and satisfaction, service, working conditions, etc.
- ◆ What can happen in tourism is dependent on what is happening in other sectors and how this affects taxation, compensation, treatment of labor, and so on. Incremental change will not be sufficient to make the level of integration needed happen--a systems approach is required, and communication, rather than formal planning, is the key to change.
- ◆ Tourism development needs to be independently evaluated to show how tourism companies are conducting business and how they compare with others on an environmental and socially responsible scale.
- ◆ The Bank needs to clarify its tourism policy with its environmental programs and sustainable economics. Tourism must be an integral part of all planning processes.
- ◆ In the long term, how far tourism will become a sustainable development tool will depend on the combined changes taking place in technological, social, economic, political and ecological arenas. The effects of the extreme growth that has taken place since the 1950's will probably drive a rearrangement of priorities in which the richness of life experiences, rather than net worth, will be key. Sustainable tourism experiences will then receive a higher priority.

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## VITA

Giles Alexander Jackson, eldest son of Jane and Malcolm Jackson, was born in Luton, England in 1964. He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Hospitality Business with First Class Honours from the University of Huddersfield, UK in 1987, a four-year course which included work experience with Crest Hotels and the Walt Disney Company. As a joint Masters/Doctoral student at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Dr. Jackson specialized in strategic management, tourism development and public policy. He received the Outstanding graduate student of the year award for his Department in 1990, was president of the Graduate Hospitality and Tourism Association and was awarded numerous Departmental and tuition scholarships. He also worked with RESULTS World Hunger Lobby and as a research associate with Michael D. Olsen & Associates. In 1991 he established a Master's course in tourism development and industry trends analysis at Victoria University of Technology, Australia.

Since Autumn 1992, Dr. Jackson has been Assistant Professor of Marketing at the Harry F. Byrd, Jr. School of Business, Shenandoah University, Virginia, where he is also a member of the Judicial Review Board and various University committees. He has recently been promoted to Director of Program Development for the Durrell Institute in Virginia. He married Nina Stefanie Wihan in 1991.

*Giles Jackson* May 1994